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EDITED BY
P. V. KANE
H. D. VELANKAR
N. A. NADVI

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THE VEDIC ACCENT AND THE INTERPRETERS OF PĀṆINI

By

SIDDHESHWAR VARMA.

[Read at the 15th Session of the All India Oriental Conference.]

Although modern philologists¹ have been unanimously led to the conclusion that the Vedic accent was musical, the data indicating any view on the nature of accent in the Prātiśākhya and the Pāṇineyan school of Indian Grammarians are extremely meagre. The only *debris* available so far are the following :—

(1) A round-about statement in the Taittiriya Prātiśākhya² that “Pitch is the sound-material in vowels and voiced consonants”. There is no mention of accent in this statement ; only with the help of other works, a corollary may be drawn therefrom in this manner— : if musical pitch is the characteristic of a vowel, accent being directly the attribute of a vowel, it should also be musical.³ Even this corollary, of course, can not be conclusive, in view of the fact that a language (e.g. English) may have stress-accent, although its vowels, individually, have musical pitch.

(2) A stray statement by Kaiyaṭa, on Pāṇ. I. 2. 29, that “this particular accent, which is learnt by practice, should be understood as being like the (notes of the musical scale) Ṣaḍja etc.”⁴

¹ Cf. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* (1900) Vol. I, p. 284 “The accent, which we have come to know from these sources, is essentially musical. The theoreticians always speak of its ‘height’, never of its ‘intensity’, to which corresponds the term Udātta, literally ‘high’, ‘prominent’, which is the designation of the chief accent.”

² The Taittiriya Prātiśākhya, with the commentary of Māhiṣeva, Madras, (1930) II.8 “नादो ऽ नुप्रदानं स्वरघोषवत्सु”.

³ Cf. a quotation given by Uvaṭa—: “A vowel is acute, grave or circumflex ; the three-fold division of accent is based on the vowel ; with this vowel, the consonant also (gets) the accent

“स्वर उच्चः स्वरो नीचः स्वरः स्वरित एव च । स्वरप्रधानं त्रैस्वर्यं व्यञ्जनं तेन सस्वरम्”
Uvaṭa on the Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana, Madras (1934), p. 41.

⁴ अम्यासस षडिगम्यश्चायं स्वरविशेषः षड्जादिवद्विज्ञेयः

Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, edited by Śivadatta (1935), Vol. 2, p. 26.

But the *Sikṣā* literature is, comparatively speaking, much richer in data on the musical nature of this accent. While the *Yājñavalkya Sikṣā* identifies the three accents with certain musical notes, the *Udātta* being *Nisāda* and *Gāndhāra*, the *Anudātta* being *Ṛṣabha* and *Dhaivata*, and the *Svarita* being *Ṣaḍja*, *Madhyama* and *Pañcama*,¹ the other *Sikṣās* go much further: they state that the various musical notes originate from these three accents, as has been copiously dealt with in the present writer's "Critical studies in the phonetic observations of Indian Grammarians (1929), pp.156 ff.

THE NATURE OF THE UDĀTTA ACCENT

All authorities on modern Sanskrit philology agree that *Udātta* represented the high tone. Thus Wackernagel, says² "*Udātta* is really the high tone,"

1 उच्चो निपादगान्धारी नीचो ऋषभवैवती शेषास्तु स्वरिता ज्ञेया षड्जमध्यमपंचमा :

The present writer owes this quotation to the courtesy of Prof. B. H. Ranade of Poona in a private communication.

2 Ib. p. 17 Cf. also the various Lexicons, sub-voce उदात्त :—

- (1) Böhtlingk and Roth's : as an adj. "highly accented" (hochbetont), as a noun "high tone, acute (hoher Ton, Acut)
 (2) Monier-William's (1) acutely accented : Pāṇ., Nir., R. Prāt., A. Prāt. etc.
 (2) highly accented : Pāṇ. etc. (3) the acute accent
 (3) Apte's (1) the acute accent (2) a high or sharp note.

8 In recent times, a startling theory has been propounded by M R. Ry. K. A. Śivaramakrishna Shastri in his learned introduction to his edition of the *Svarasiddhāntacandrikā*, Annamalai University (1930). According to him, *Udātta* was the middle tone, *Svarita* being the really high tone. His full statement to this effect is as follows :—"Udātta is the middle tone ; higher than this is *Svarita* : the low one is *Anudātta*. This (classification) is not confined to one school or to a particular region; it is universal everywhere." "उदात्तो मध्यमः स्वरः । तत उच्चः स्वरितः ;

नीचस्वन्नुदात्त इति । न चैतदेकस्यां शास्त्रायामेकस्मिन् वा देशे । किंतु सर्वस्यां सर्वत्र (पृष्ठ १५).

His reasons in support of his theory are as follows — (1) Both the *R̥gveda* and the *Taittiriya Prātiśākhya*s state that the initial mora of a *svarita* was higher than the *udātta* (2) Pāṇini himself does not allow two *svaritas* to come together, suggesting that they were high tones (3) The commentary *Vaidikābharana* on the *Taitt. Prāt. Sūtra* "*dhrtāḥ pracayaḥ kauṇḍinyasya*" states that *dhrtā*, a variety of *pracaya*, which sounded like an *udātta*, was not included among the rising tones, the *dhrtā* being itself a middle tone, suggesting that the *Udātta* also, as it similarly sounded, had a middle tone (pp. XVI-XX). But these arguments are not strong enough to deprive the *udātta* of the right of being called a high tone. For, (1) Granted that the *Svarita* was higher than the *udātta* (a statement which the present writer also is inclined to accept), it should be clearly understood that *Svarita* was only a product of *Sandhi*. It does not occur even in a single independent vedic word, for even the so-called independent *Svarita* was derived from *ī*, *ū* as Wackernagel, *ib.*, pp. 287-8 has pointed out, and as the *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* (1.111) had already noted. The *Svarita*, in fact, was a reaction of the *udātta* against the succeeding *anudātta* in concatenated speech ; (2) Even the *R̥k. Prāt.* definitely calls *udāta* as *ucca* in two passages (a) 12, 22 *imsūter upasargōṇām uccā ekākṣarā nava* "there are 20 prefixes, nine of which, being monosyllabic, are *udātta* (*ucca*). (b) 3.34 *ete svārāḥ prakamprante yatroccasvaritodayāḥ* "these *Svaritas* are depressed when followed by an *udātta* (*ucca*) or circumflex". (3) To drag the *udātta* into middle tones because its semblance *dhrtā* was so, is to overstretch the point and to overlook the statement of *Taitt. Prāt.* 23.17. द्वितीयान्मन्द्रस्तिरीयाणां तृतीयचतुर्थानन्तरं तच्च न्युर्मित्याचक्षते, the commentary on which clearly states that "in the *udātta* are included those accents which are very high (*uccatara*) "*uccaturād iva udātte* (a) *ntarbhavanti*". It is needless to add that the acceptance of such a theory would upset the whole structure of Indo-European Comparative Philology, the parallel phenomena of which have definitely established the fact that the Vedic *Udātta* accent actually corresponded to the high accent of allied Indo-European languages.

being so literally, as well as by the definition as given by Pāṇini, “a vowel spoken with a high tone is called Udāṭṭa”.

The commentary on the Taittirīya Prāṭisākhya Sūtras *uccair udāṭṭaḥ* (I.39) and *nīcair anudāṭṭaḥ* (I.40) defines udāṭṭa and anudāṭṭa exactly as modern philologists would do, viz. “That accent is termed udāṭṭa, in which high characteristics are perceived”, “that accent is termed anudāṭṭa, which is pronounced with low characteristics”.¹

UCCA-AS A SYNONYM FOR UDĀṬṬA

The use of the term *ucca*-(a stem which occurs in Pāṇini's definition of udāṭṭa : *uccair udāṭṭaḥ* 1.2.29) as a synonym for udāṭṭa is quite frequent in Sanskrit phonetic literature. Reference has been already made (p. 2 f. n. 3 to *ucca*-in this sense occurring in the Ṛgveda Prāṭ. The following additional occurrences may also be noted— :

(1) *uccajāṭṭaḥ = udāṭṭajāṭṭaḥ*, occurring in an unpublished work, the Pārisīkṣā (Vide S. Varma : Phonetic observations, etc. p.156). The whole line of the commentary on this passage runs as follows— :

गान्धाराह्यस्वरो मध्यमः, तदाह्यस्वरश्चोच्चजात उदात्तजातो भवति

“The note called Gāndhāra and the one called Madhyarā originate from the udāṭṭa (*uccajāṭṭaḥ*).

(2) *ucca-nīca = udāṭṭa and anudāṭṭa* in the following— :

अथातः स्वरशास्त्राणां सर्वेषां वेद निश्चयम् ।
उच्चनीचविशेषाद्धि स्वरान्यत्वं प्रवर्तते ॥

“I take this to be the conclusion of all the works on accent : the variation of accent is determined by the difference between udāṭṭa (*ucca*) and anudāṭṭa”² (*nīca*). Cf. also the use of *ucca*-in the same sense in the quotation given by Uvaṭṭa (p. I above, footnote), and in the commentary on the Taitt. Prāt. Sūtra 23.17 on p. I above.

¹ उच्चलक्षणैर्यं उपलभ्यमानः स्वरः स उदात्तसंज्ञो भवति : नीचलक्षणैर्यः, स्वर उच्चार्यते सोऽनुदात्तसंज्ञो भवति

² Nārada Śikṣā. The present writer owes this citation to the kindness of Prof. G. H. Ranadē

ADDITIONAL SYNONYMS FOR UDĀTTA

The following additional synonyms for udātta may be noted from Monier Williams' Lexicon— :

(1) *Tāraḥ, Tāram*. Occurring in the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa 7.1.17, Taitt. Prāt., "Śikṣū ;" Mahābhārata, and Mṛcchakaṭika.

(2) *ūrdhvam*, literally "in a high tone".

Besides the above, *ullama* may be taken as an equivalent for udātta in the following passage from the Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra — :

त्रीणि वाचः स्यान्निनि, मन्द्रमध्यमोत्तमानि ¹

"There are three grades of the voice, viz. low, mid and high".

The above synonyms further confirm the view that udātta really represented the high tone.

Of these additional synonyms at least two also occur as musical terms, and it may be of interest to ascertain in this connection whether *ucca*, so frequently used as a synonym for Udātta, and, as a stem, used by the Taitt. Prāt. and Pāṇini for the explanation of Udātta, was also used as a technical term in Sanskrit musical literature.

UCCA AS A MUSICAL TERM

ucca, in the sense of a "high note", was used in as early a work as Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra in the following line²—:

उच्चो नाम शिरःस्थानगतस्तारः स्वरः

"*ucca* is the high note, pertaining to the head" (p. 459, verse 41). As *ucca* here has been explained in terms of *tāra*, it is conceivable that this *tāra* was a more current term, which may perhaps be further confirmed by its above-mentioned use in the Brāhmaṇa literature.

But during the later development of Sanskrit music, *tāra* and *ucca* were differentiated : *tāra* being used for the Registers or the Saptakas, while *ucca* was confined to a single note in one octave. In the Saṅgītaratnākara there is a

¹ The present writer owes this quotation to the courtesy of Prof. B. H. Ranade.

² The present writer owes all the musical data of this section to the kindness of Prof. G. H. Ranade of Poona and Monsieur Alain Daniélou of the Visva Bharati Musical Board, Banares.

prescription that in a lute, the first string should be attuned with the lowest note, the second with a "slightly high note", for which the expression *ucca-dhvanir-manāk* has been used— :

कार्या मन्द्रतमा द्वितीयोच्चध्वनिर्मनाक् (३. १२)

Moreover, in the commentary on the same work, the phrase *adharādharatīvrah*, occurring in III. 13 of the text, has been rendered as "high" (*ucca*) on a descending scale.

On the whole, the following seven terms were used in the sense of a "high note" in Sanskrit music— :

Name of Note	<i>ucca uca</i>	<i>uttara</i>	<i>tāra</i>	<i>tara</i>
Authors by whom, or works in which, used	Tumburu Nār. Śikṣ. Amara Koṣa Sāmatantra	Dattila Nāṭya Śāstra Abhinava- Gupta	Vāyu Purāṇa Amara Koṣa Nāṭya Śāstra Abhinava- Gupta	Tumburu
	<i>udātta</i> all authors	<i>ūrdhva</i> Nāṭya Śāstra.		

That *udātta* was used as a musical term in the sense of a "high note" by "all authors", may not be mere chance, and so it is conceivable that both *ucca* and *udātta* have been borrowed by ancient Indian Grammarians from Sanskrit musical phraseology.

UDĀTTA AND THE INTERPRETERS OF PĀṆINI

While modern Philology, the Taittiriya Prātiśākhya and the Śikṣās directly render *udātta* as a "high tone", as pointed out above, the interpreters of Pāṇini state emphatically that the term *udātta*, as such, has nothing to do with anything acoustic,¹ but refers to the higher or upper part of the articulating organ from which the accent is produced. "That vowel is termed *udātta*, which originates from the higher portions of the articulating organs such as the palate etc".² The "height", suggested by the word *uccaiḥ* in the Sūtra *uccair*

¹ उच्चैरिति च श्रुतिप्रकर्षो न गृह्यते

"The expression *uccaiḥ* in the Sūtra *uccair udāttaḥ* has not been taken in the sense of *acoustic prominence*", Kāśikā on Pāṇ 1.2.29.

² ताल्वादिस्थानोर्ध्वभागनिष्पन्नो ऽ उदात्तसंज्ञः

Svarasiddhānta-candrikā, p. 6 ; cf. Prakriyākaumudi of Rāmacandra with the commentary "Prasāda", Bombay (1925) pp.22-23:—

" ताल्वादिषुहि भागवस्यु स्थानेषु वर्णा जायन्ते, तत्र य उर्ध्वभागजो ऽच् स उदात्तसंज्ञः स्यात् 'speech-sounds are produced in various organs consisting of parts : the vowel produced in the upper part of the organ will be called *udātta*."

udāttaḥ I.2.29 is not the height of the tone, but of the organ from which the accent is produced.¹ The modern reader of Indo-Aryan Philology, accustomed to the phrases "high tone", "height of accent", may here be surprised and ask : "what on earth could lead to this curious view of Udātta ?

The first disastrous step was taken by Kātyāyana, when, objecting to the definition of udātta as *uccaiḥ udāttaḥ* I.2.29, he said : "the term udātta would be unintelligible (if the expression *uccaiḥ* be used in the definition), for high and low are indeterminate".² In modern phraseology, he rejected the sense *uccaiḥ* "high" as referring to udātta, because in his opinion no standard of high or low was available. Now if the Vedic accent was really understood to be a musical accent, a standard of musically high or low was not far to seek, for Bharata in his Nāṭya Śāstra had already established "a standard interval" of musical Śrutis.³ But a musical expert is not necessary for setting up a standard of high or low tone in a language. In China the man of the street does not require to be told that there is a standard high or low accent. While he easily picks it up from the atmosphere, his teachers further facilitate his comprehension by setting up the standards of high and low tones, which have been established successfully by all educators of tone-languages during these days. Thus there would be no sense in saying that no such standard is possible. This objection on the part of Kātyāyana seems to suggest that he lived centuries later than the period in which Pāṇini had observed the actual facts of the Vedic musical accent.

The next disastrous step was taken by Patañjali, when he rendered *ucca* as "loud", as a rendering of the whole passage concerned will show— :

"The sense of *ucca* and *nīca* is indeterminate. The same sound may be *ucca* for one person and *nīca* for another. (Take the case of a person) who is reading. Some one hearing him may say : "Why are you shouting so loudly, be lower". Another person may say to the same speaker : "why are you reading

¹ Cf. the Padamañjarī of Haradatta, Benares (1895), p.109—:

"उच्चता नाम प्रमाणविशेष ऊर्ध्वतापरपर्यायस्तत्र ताल्वादिसम्बन्धो वर्णानामन्तरंग इति स्थानसम्बन्धिन्युच्चता गृह्यते, तत् कृतमुच्चैस्त्वं संज्ञिनो विशेषणम्.

"The term *uccatā* signifies a particular measure: it is synonymous with *ūrdhatā* 'height.' There being an internal connection of speech-sounds with the palate etc, *uccatā* concerns the vocal organs here, so the 'height' here is an attribute of the substance actually signified here, viz. of the vocal organs".

² उच्चनीचस्थानवस्थितत्वात्संज्ञाप्रसिद्धि :

Mahābhāṣya Op. cit., p. 26.

³ "The interval obtained by the raising and the lowering of Pañcama (which can also be considered as a) softening or (a difference in string—)length is called the "standard interval" (*pramāṇa-śruti*)

"पंचमस्य श्रुत्युत्कर्षावकर्षाभ्यां मार्दवायतत्वाद्वा यदन्तरं तत् प्रमाणश्रुतिरिति"
(Nāṭya Śāstra 28,22).

in a muttering voice, be louder".¹ Here *kim uccai roruvase* etc. has been appropriately rendered into Marathi by V.S. Abhyankar as "मोठ्यांदा काय बोरडतोस, जरा हळू म्हण "why are you shouting so loudly, speak a little lower".²

This deviation on the part of Patañjali suggests that he had gone quite out of touch with the theory of music ; otherwise in Indian music the concepts of pitch and loudness were held distinctly apart. The terms for high pitch or "note" have been already pointed out : those for loudness may be noted as follows— :

The main terms for "loud" in Sanskrit music were *puṣṭa* and *vyakta*. cf. कथं कंठस्थितः पुष्टः स्यादपुष्टः शिरः "why should the guttural sounds be louder and the cerebral sounds lower" ? (Sāṅgīta Darpaṇa I 37-38).

There is a further differentiation. When different octaves are concerned, the term is *puṣṭa*, but one and the same loud note in any single octave is termed *sthūla*. When once such a leader of thought in ancient India had lost the distinction between loudness and pitch, the succeeding generations for centuries naturally further went down, and so the essence of the Vedic accent was entirely missed by the interpreters of Pāṇini.

LATER EXPONENTS OF PĀṆINI

Later exponents of Pāṇini further spoil the main issue by emphasizing non-essentials. Thus Kaiyyaṭa and Nāgeśa noticed that *uccaiḥ* was a particle. Being a particle, its denotation was location, and so, strictly speaking, it referred to the place of articulation.³ If the reference to accent had been intended, the adjective *ucca* should have been used. That this exposition was superficial, a moment's reflection will show. In the first place, had these exponents considered the possibility of an adjectival rendering of *uccaiḥ*, as was done by the commentator of the Taitt.Prat. Sūtra *uccair udāttaḥ* noted above on p. 3 ? What harm was there in rendering it as "*uccair lakṣaṇair upalabhyamānaḥ suaraḥ*" in which high characteristics are perceived", as has been done by this commentator ? Has not *uccaiḥ* been used as an adjective by great Sanskrit masters ?

¹ इदमुच्चनीचमनवस्थितपदार्थकम् । तदेव हि कंचित् प्रत्युच्चंभवति कंचित्प्रति नीचं । एवं-कंचित्कश्चिदधीयानमाह, किमुच्चं रोरुवसे ऽथ नीचंवंतंतामिति । तमेव तथार्थीयानमपर आह, किमन्तर्दन्तकेनाधीय उच्चंवंतंतामिति,

² वासुदेव शास्त्री अभ्यंकरः व्याकरण महाभाष्य मूळ आणि मराठी भाषांतर शके १८६०, खंड १, पृष्ठ ५०४.

³ "The denotation of the particles *ucca*, *nica* is primarily location ; 'of the vowel' (*acah*) being understood from the preceding sūtra, the meaning of the present Sūtra would be :—"The accent perceived on the higher part of (the articulating) organ is termed *udātta*, and this occurs where the vowel is produced."

"उच्चंवीर्णो वैरित्येतेऽव्ययेऽधिकरणशक्तिप्रदाने । तत्राच इत्यनुवृत्ती सत्यामर्थो भवति :— उच्चंस्थान उपलभ्यमान उदात्तसंज्ञः स चाचः स्थान इति.

Cf. Kālidāsa— :

Kumārasambhava 5.64 : जनोऽमृच्चैःपदलंघनोत्सुकः
 “this person is ambitious for attaining a high position”.
 Śakuntalā 4.16 उच्चैः कुलं चात्मनः “one’s high family”

That *uccaiḥ* was used as an adjective in Sanskrit musical literature, may be noticed from the following examples— :

अत्युच्चैस्फुल्लं गानं शिरसि गतम्

“very high and full singing is said to have gone in the head” (the commentary Vivaraṇa on the Nārādīya Śikṣā 1.3.7).

उच्चैः स्वरेण यद्गानं स तारस्वर उच्यते

“the singing of the high notes is called tāra” (Caturdaṇḍiprakāśikā).

उच्चस्तरो ध्वनी रक्षो विज्ञेयो वातजो बुधैः

“A sound high (*ucca*, *tara*) is harsh. The wise know it to be born of wind” (Attributed to Tumburu by Kallinātha 1.3.10-16).

Who knows Pāṇini had picked up this adjectival use of *uccaiḥ* from the musical technique of his times ?

THE PĀṆINEYAN EXPONENTS’ INCONSISTENCY IN RENDERING *uccaiḥ* IN 1.2.35

It is astounding that only five sūtras ahead, the exponents of Pāṇini unanimously and unhesitatingly render *uccaiḥ* in the Sūtra *uccaiḥ vā vaṣaḥ-kāraḥ* 1.2.35 as *udātta* or a “high *udātta*” (i.e. higher than *udātta*). By this Sūtra, the Vedic exclamation *vaṣaḥ* has been prescribed as being *udātta* or higher than *udātta* when occupying a final position. When *uccaiḥ* directly refers to *udātta*, why should not *uccaiḥ* do so ?

SANSKRIT GRAMMAR PARTS COMPANY WITH PHONETICS : AN OPEN CONFESSION

That a Pāṇineyan’s exposition of Sanskrit phonetic problems should not be unhesitatingly accepted, could be gathered from Patañjali’s open confession in the course of his comments on Paṇ.1.2.32 (*Tasyādīta udāttam ardha-hrasvam*). The whole passage is so important historically, that it must be quoted here.

“So the Ācārya, in the interest (of his readers) explains this much is *udātta*, this much is *anudātta*, in this place there is *udātta*, in this place there is *anudātta*. Question : If he is so much interested (in his readers) why does he not explain other details as well ? What are they ?—The place of articulation, the mode of articulation, the sound-material—? Answer : Grammar is a

science belonging to a later historical period. Only he who has studied metrices (and Phonetics etc.) can understand this subject intelligently".¹

"The practice in ancient times was that after (undergoing) the consecration ceremony (for initiation into learning) Brahmans started the study of Grammar. They were taught Vedic words after the knowledge of the various organs and modes of pronunciation, as well as sound-material, i.e. pitch, had been imparted to them. Such is not the practice in modern times. People just read the Vedas and quickly pass for as scholars".²

Kaiyyaṭa, commenting on the same Sūtra (1.2.32) puts the whole thing in a nutshell when he says— :

"... For the actual function of Udātta etc. is learnt by Vedic students from the Śikṣā only"

"सिद्धो हि वेदाध्यायिनां शिक्षायामेवोदात्तादिव्यवहारः" Ib., Vol. II, p. 29.

CONCLUSION

The above study gives us the following results :—

- (1) The nature of the Vedic accent in general, and of the Udātta in particular, was rightly interpreted by the Taittiriya Prāṭisākhya and the Śikṣas, confirmed as it is by the findings of modern comparative philology.
- (2) The term udātta definitely meant the high tone and Pāṇini also most probably meant it so. If the Udātta was a high tone, the Svarita was possibly an "over-high" tone—the three-fold accentuation corresponding to short, long and over-long (pluta) vowels.
- (3) The interpreters of Pāṇini have failed to produce any convincing reason for not taking udātta in its literal sense as a high tone.
- (4) The present writer may express the hope that we shall clearly appreciate the phonetic limitations of Pāṇini's system, as clearly manifested by Patañjali's confession, and supplement it with a more intensive study of the Śikṣās and allied subjects.

¹ तदाचार्यैः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टे इयदुदात्तमियदनुदात्तम् । अस्मिन्नवकाश उदात्तम्, अस्मिन्नवकाश-
ज्जुदात्तमिति । यद्ययमेवं सुहृत्किमन्यान्यप्येवंजातीयकानि नोपदिशति । कानि पुनस्तानि । स्थानकरणानु-
प्रदानानि । व्याकरणं नामेयमुत्तरा विद्या । सोऽसौ छन्दः शास्त्रेष्वभिविनीते उपलब्ध्याधिगन्तुमुत्सहते.

—Mahābhāṣya Ib., p. 28.

² पुराकल्प एतदासीत् । संस्कारोत्तरं कालं ब्राह्मणा व्याकरणं स्माधीयते । तेभ्यस्तत्तत्स्थान-
नकरणानुप्रदानज्ञेभ्यो वैदिकः शब्दा उपदिश्यन्ते । तदद्यत्वे न तथा । वेदमधीत्य त्वरिता वक्तारो भवन्ति

Ib., Vol. I, p. 47.

THE REVISED SAUTRĀMAṆĪ—TEXT OF THE
VĀRAHA ŚRAUTA SŪTRA

By

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(Read at the 15th session of the All India Oriental Conference)

The Vārāha Śrauta sūtra is one of the two sūtras that belong to the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda. The two sūtras, namely Mānava and Vārāha, even though much similar to each other, have their own peculiarities. The Vārāha śrauta sūtra was published by Drs. Caland and Raghu Vira in 1933. The edition is based on a MS of the work deposited in the Oriental Institute, Baroda. "It is designated as 'Press-copy' on the cover-board. It was prepared some years ago at the instance of Dr. R. Sama-sastry. It is nothing more than a mere copy of a Devanāgarī MS with variants (many of which are derived from the Āpastamba śrauta sūtra) noted above the lines from a second MS. Both these MSS are deposited in the Oriental Institute, Baroda." These are evidently the MSS bearing No. 11234 and 680. The editors "could not examine them, because the authorities did not permit their removal from the Institute Library." Enquiries made at Baroda show that the 'Press-copy' is the same as the MS No. 11234.

The sūtra-text, even though preserved to a great extent, is not completely available. For example, the sūtra for Agniṣṭoma was not available in the MS and hence not published in the printed text. The editors are really to be congratulated for presenting the sūtra as correctly as was possible with the help of a very defective MS, and thus for bringing to light an important sūtra work. It is, however, unfortunate that the editor has not found time to publish the detailed introduction to the text as well as an English commentary as promised in the Preface to the work. The publication of these important materials is eagerly awaited by students of ancient Indian culture in general and of ritual literature in particular.

The Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice belongs to the group of the seven Haviryajñas. It is a *nitya*, *kāmya* and *naimittika* sacrifice. It is an *iṣṭi* with Surā-offering combined with *Paśubandha*. The main deities are the Aśvins, Sarasvatī and Indra Sutrāman; the animals offered are goat, sheep and ox respectively. Maitr. S.2.4.1 lays down that the Sautrāmaṇī should be performed by one who, after drinking Soma-juice in a sacrifice performed by him, excretes or vomits the same, by one who has just performed the Rājasūya sacri-

fice, by one who is desirous of prosperity, by one who suffers from disease for a long time and even by one who is not a sufferer.¹ According to TS 5.6.3 it should be performed after the Agnicayana.² The Vārāha sūtra adds that it should also be performed by one who is desirous of food and animals, by one who has got enemies and by one who is accused. The Kaukili Sautrāmaṇī in the same sūtra lays down, besides these, three more purposes, namely brilliance, power and strength. According to the other sūtras it should also be performed by one who has just performed the Vājapeya sacrifice.³

The Sautrāmaṇī is of two kinds, namely *Carakā* and *Kaukili*. The Vedas give for them two different sets of mantras even though they do not mention them by name.⁴ Sāyaṇa refers TBr. 2.6 as the text belonging to the *Kaukili*.⁵ The names of *Carakā* and *Kaukili* are mentioned in Āp. Hautha Pariśiṣṭa⁰ (Praśna 2nd) and in the commentaries of Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara on VS 10.31, 19.1. In the sūtras both these kinds are described together, the *Carakā* being followed by the *Kaukili*.

The *Carakā* and *Kaukili* Sautrāmaṇīs are described in Vārāha sūtra 3.2.7-8. The *Carakā* Sautrāmaṇī as printed in the book runs from 1 to 87 sūtras of the 7th Khaṇḍa and the *Kaukili* is given in 1-15 sūtras of the 8th. In this paper the sūtras are referred to according to the printed edition. A casual reading of the whole portion shows that the text of the 7th Khaṇḍa lays down the ritual much of which is in duplicate and stands in a disturbed state and that the text of the 8th hardly contains anything of the main ritual of the *Kaukili*. Thus the whole text lies in an improper order. I, therefore, propose to make an attempt to revise the order of the sūtras and also to correct them with the aid of the available text, the Mānava śrauta sūtra and Maitr.S.

The Maitr.S. deals with the Sautrāmaṇī at two places, namely at 2.3.8-9, 2.4.1 and 3.11.1-12. These two places give two separate sets of mantras, the former of which is connected with the *Carakā* Sautrāmaṇī and the latter with the *Kaukili*. By comparing the mantras utilized in the Vārāha sūtra with those in the Maitr.S. we find that only the beginning and closing portion of Khaṇḍa 7th is connected with the *Carakā* Sautrāmaṇī and the remaining

¹ ... सा सुरा तँवा एतयाश्विना अयाजयताँ सीत्रामण्या ... सोमेनातिपुपुवानँ याजयेत् ... राजसूयेनाभिषिषिचानँ याजयेत् ... भूतिकामँ याजयेत् ... ज्योगामयाविनँ याजयेत् ... नानातँन यष्टव्यमित्याहुः तदाहुयँष्टव्यमेव ।

² अग्निं चित्वा सीत्रामण्या यजेत् ।

³ वाजपेयेनेष्ट्वा सीत्रामण्या यजेत्—Āp. Śr. 18.7.15, Satyā. Śr. 13.2.40.

⁴ cf. TS. 1.8.21, TBr. 1.4.2, 1.8.5-6 and TBr. 2.6. Maitr. S. 2.3.8-9, 2.4.1,2 and 3.11. KS 12.9-12 and 37.18 to 38.11. VS 10.31-34 and 19.21.; 28. ŚBr. 5.5.4 and 12.7-9

⁵ षष्ठे प्रपाठके सीत्रामणिः कौकिल्युदीर्यते ।

⁰ Printed in Satyāsāḍha Śr. Sūtra, Vol. IX, ĀSS.

portion of that Khaṇḍa as well as the 8th Khaṇḍa deal with the Kaukili. The Samhitā cannot be helpful for revising the text of the sūtra to any further extent since it contains no Brāhmaṇa for the Kaukili Sautrāmaṇī and very little for the Carakā. By comparing the ritual with that in the Mānava sūtra this much becomes evident that even the ritual of the Kaukili that remains in the middle of the 7th Khaṇḍa is not in order.

The next and most important means was to examine each individual sūtra of the Vārāha text itself in order to find out whether it belonged to the Carakā or to the Kaukili Sautrāmaṇī and also to find out the sequence of the ritual and the text. As already stated, both these kinds of the sacrifice are dealt with in all the sūtras one after the other, the Carakā being followed by the Kaukili. Naturally, while laying down the ritual of the latter, reference is made to that in the former wherever possible. Compare the Sautrāmaṇī in Āp.Śr 19.1-10. In the present text we find the following sūtras as containing relative statements :—

1. Sūtra 51 :—तेन घर्मेण सुरो विक्षारयति बालमन्तर्धायोर्णासूत्रं वा . . . Comp. sūtra 78 : कुम्भो शतातृष्णामध्यधि दक्षिणमग्निं कृत्वा तस्यो सुरां विक्षारयति (हिरण्य) मन्तर्धायि ॥

2. Sūtra 52-53 :—ऐन्द्रस्यावदानैः प्रथमं प्रचरति जघन्यमाश्विनस्य । पशुपुरोडासां : प्रचर्य पशुभिः प्रचरति । Comp. sūtra 81-82 :—ऐन्द्रस्यावदानैः प्रथमं चरति जघन्यमाश्विनस्य ॥८१॥ पशुभिः प्रचर्य पशुपुरोडासाः प्रचरति ॥८२॥

3. Sūtra 58 :—न मूर्धनि सादयति । Comp. sūtra 11 : ब्राह्मणस्य मूर्धन्सादयित्वा ॥

4. Sūtra 59 :—तेन घर्मेण सुरामतिपाव्य ब्रह्म क्षत्रमित्यूर्णासूत्रेण पयोऽतिपावयति । Comp. sūtra 11 : . . . द्रोणे बालं वितत्य सुरामतिपावयति पुनातु ते परिस्रुतमिति ।

5. Sūtra 69 :—ते पशवो बाहृस्पत्यवजं । Comp. sūtra 24-25 : यूषं सैमीय पशून्पाकरोत्याश्विनमजं सारस्वतीं मेधीमैन्द्रं वृषभं वृष्णिं (वा) ॥ बाहृस्पत्यं चतुर्थं सोमातिपवितस्य ॥

6. Sūtra 71 :—ते पशुपुरोडागाः । Comp. sūtra 26 : इन्द्राय सुत्राम्ण एकादशकपालः सवित्रेऽष्टाकपालो वारुणो यवमयश्चरुरिति पशुपुरोडागाग्निरुष्य ग्रहैः प्रचरन्ति ।

7. Sūtra 72 :—ते ग्रहैः प्रचरन्ति द्वाभ्यां द्वाभ्यामेकैकः । Comp. sūtra 27 : आश्विनमध्वर्युरादत्ते सारस्वतं प्रतिप्रस्थातैन्द्रं यजमानः ।

8. Sūtra 73 :—समानः संप्रेषः । Comp. sūtra 28 : अश्विभ्यो सरस्वत्या इन्द्राय सुत्राम्णे सोमानामनुब्रूहि ॥ अश्विभ्यो सरस्वत्या इन्द्राय सुत्राम्णे सोमान् प्रस्थितान् प्रेष्येति संप्रेष्यति ।

9. Sūtra 2 (Khaṇḍa 2) :—तेन घर्मेण सुरो संस्क. . . Comp. sūtra 3-5 : गार्हपत्य ओदनं श्रपयित्वा लाजान् संसृज्या तोक्यं नग्नहुर्लाजा मासरमिति ॥३॥ स्वाद्वीं त्वा स्वादुनेति शर्षः सुरो संसृजति ॥४॥ सोमो ऽस्यश्विभ्यां पच्यस्वेति ककुभ्यो समवदधाति ॥५॥

From these instances it becomes clear that the sūtras quoted first belong to the Kaukili Sautrāmaṇī and those quoted afterwards belong to the Carakā. It can further be said that the portion covered by the sūtras quoted first, that is from sūtra 51 to 73 (Sūtra 2 quoted above is clearly from the Kaukili Sautrāmaṇī) wholly belongs to the Kaukili and that similarly the portion covered by the sūtras quoted for comparison, that is from 3 to 28 and from sūtra 78 to 82 belongs to the Carakā. The context shows that sūtras 74-77 and 83-87 belong to the Carakā Sautrāmaṇī. This corroborates the general conclusion arrived at that the beginning and closing portions of the 7th Khaṇḍa belong to the Carakā. So if we join sūtras 1-28 and 74-87 together, the ritual for the Carakā Sautrāmaṇī can, for practical purposes, be considered as complete and in order. As regards the remaining portion, we saw that sūtras 51-73 of the 7th Khaṇḍa and all the 15 sūtras of the 8th belong to the Kaukili. The sūtras beginning from the 29th chiefly deal with the *abhiṣeka* of the sacrificer and by comparison with the Mānava sūtra we find that this ritual belongs to the Kaukili. Therefore sūtras 29-50 may also be considered as belonging to the Kaukili. Thus the whole group of sūtras 29-73 in the 7th Khaṇḍa belongs to the Kaukili.

The ritual for the Kaukili cannot, however, be considered to be in order if we simply join sūtras 29-73 of Khaṇḍa 7th and 1-15 of the 8th, as is clear by comparison with the ritual in the Mānava sūtra. There are, in the Kaukili text, two places which facilitate the determination of the real order of the sūtra : (i) The 2nd sūtra from the 8th Khaṇḍa : तेन घर्मेण सुराँ संस्क . . . is left incomplete. On closer examination of the text we find that the 56th sūtra (Khaṇḍa 7th) contains the word अभिरोति which is inexplicable and for which the editors have proposed the conjecture सुराँ संस्करोति. But if we take out the prefix अभि and put the remaining part रोति after the above incomplete sūtra, it makes a complete and readable sūtra : तेन घर्मेण सुराँ संस्करोति. Sūtras 56-73 show a continuous ritual commencing with the preparation of Surā and closing with the offering of the same. So, sūtras 1-2 (8th Khaṇḍa) and 56-73 put together make up a continuous piece of the text. (ii) The mantra यदापिपेष मातरं पुत्रः प्रमुदितो वयन् । एतत्ते अने अनृणो भवाम्यहृती पितरो मया ॥ is printed twice, namely after sūtra 44 and again in sūtra 3 (8th Khaṇḍa). It is to be noted that out of this mantra, the closing part णो . . मया is shown into bracket at the first occurrence and the beginning part यदापिपेष . . अनृ is shown into bracket at the latter occurrence. This shows that the portion put into bracket at both the places is supplied by conjecture. That means that the verse occurs only once in the text and that we have to read it after the 44th sūtra and not after the 2nd sūtra, because it ends abruptly and because it is related to sūtra 56 as already seen. Since the same mantra has occurred in the third sūtra, we have to read the sūtras subsequent to that, namely 4-15 after the 44th.

Now what remains to be decided is the position of sūtras 29-44 and 45-55, the solution for which is very easy. The context and comparison with the ritual in the Mānava sūtra show that the ritual laid down in sūtras 45-55, namely the offering of the Payagrahas and Surāgrahas, the pouring of the Surā for the Pitṛs in the Dakṣiṇāgni, the offering of Paśupuroḍāśas and the Paśus and the 32 libations of melted fat follows the taking of Payagrahas and Surāgrahas and hence to be placed after sūtra 73. Sūtras 29-44 chiefly deal with the Abhiṣeka of the sacrificer which takes place after all the offerings and are therefore to be read after sūtra 55. The clue for the joint between the sūtras 29 and 56 is the word अभि as has become evident from the discussion already made. The 29th sūtra is वपदकृतानुवपदकृते हुत्वाभिषेकाभिग्रहणादि etc. of which वपदकृतानुवपदकृते हुत्वा goes to the Carakā Sautrāmaṇi and अभिषेकाभिग्रहणादि etc. to the Kaukili.

The whole Sautrāmaṇi-text is, therefore, to be rearranged in the following way:—Carakā Sautrāmaṇi : Sūtras 1 to 29; 74 to 87. The sūtras 29 and 74 together make one sūtra : वपदकृतानुवपदकृते हुत्वाश्विनस्य सारस्वतेन यजति etc. Kaukili Sautrāmaṇi : 1 to 2 (8th Khaṇḍa) ; 56 to 73 ; 45 to 55 ; 29 to 44 ; 3 to 15 (8th Khaṇḍa). Sūtra 2 (8th Khaṇḍa) and part of 56 together form the sūtra : तेन धर्मेण सुरो संस्करोति । The opening word of sūtra 56 and the latter part of sūtra 29 together make one sūtra : अभिषेकाभिग्रहणादि etc. The conjectured part inserted into bracket in sūtras 44 and 3 (8th Khaṇḍa) is superfluous.

It is interesting to guess the circumstances which seem to have led to this confusion in the text. As already noted, the present edition is based on MS No. 11234. The misplacement of sūtras, as seen above, occurred at the 29th, 44th, 56th, 74th and the 2nd (8th Khaṇḍa) sūtra. If we suppose an additional point in the length of sūtras 1-29 and look at the extent of the divisions thus formed, the equality of length of all of them is strikingly felt. The *archetype* of No. 11234 might have been written in the following way, supposing that Sautrāmaṇi-text in it commenced on folio 1 A :—Folio 1 A = sūtras 1-11 F. 1 B = sūtras 11-29, F. 2 A = sūtras 74-2 (Khaṇḍa 8th), F. 2 B = sūtra 56-73, F. 3 A = sūtras 45-56, F. 3 B = sūtras 29-44, F. 4 A = sūtras 3-15 (Khaṇḍa 8th). Incidentally the order of leaves of the *archetype* was changed in the following way :—1A, 1B, 3B, 3A, 2B, 2A, 4A ; and MS No. 11234 was copied in this condition, that is why we find the Sautrāmaṇi-text in the present disturbed order (1-11, 11-29, 29-44, 45-56, 56-73, 74-2(8th Khaṇḍa), 3-15 in the MS and therefore in the printed text.

The information received from the authorities of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, confirms the revised order of the sūtras as well as the above conjecture about the cause of the confusion in the text. MS No. 680 gives exactly the

same order of text as proposed here. The conclusions drawn in respect of the reading of sūtras 29, 44, 56, 74 and 2 have been fully confirmed. The confusion would not have arisen, had the MS No. 680 been consulted by the editors. The MS No. 11234 which is a recent transcript seems to have been written on one side of paper. The Sautrāmaṇī text is written on pp. 152-58 of the same, that is seven pages, which number tallies with the conjectural enumeration of pp. 1A to 4A which together make seven pages or sides. The order of sūtras herein is the same as that in the printed text. Each page of the MS closes exactly with each of the abovementioned sūtras that formed the seven divisions of the text. The MS is not a transcript of No. 680, but of some other MS, since the number of pages covered by the text and the number of lines per page in it are different from those in MS No. 11234¹ and the beginning and closing line of each side is different.

Apart from the order of the sūtras, the text of MS No. 11234 and No. 680 is identical except a few differences due to the scribe. The reading of No. 11234 as recorded by 'first hand' agrees with No. 680, not the 'second hand'. Evidently, MS No. 680 and the archetype of No. 11234 had a common source.

The Revised Sautrāmaṇī-text

The Sautrāmaṇī-text as revised in the foregoing pages may now be given. Variant readings and different separation and enumeration of sūtras are discussed in the foot-notes in which reference to sūtras is made according to the revised order. For the sake of easy reference I call MS No. 11234 by 'A' and No. 680 by 'B'. Readings in the printed text are designated as 'Edn'. I have ignored certain incorrect readings in both the MSS. References to the mantras in the Maitr. S., even though recorded in the printed text, are given here for the convenience of the reader. As a result of the revision of the text, the number of sūtras in both the Sautrāmaṇīs is changed. According to the printed text, the Carakā Sautrāmaṇī extends to 87 sūtras and the Kaukili to 15 which together make a total of 102. According to the revision, Carakā Sautrāmaṇī covers 43 sūtras and the Kaukili 66 which together make a total of 109 sūtras. I am thankful to the Director of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, for kindly supplying me with the necessary information about the MSS.

¹ In the MS. No. 680 the Sautrāmaṇī-text runs from page 107 fourth line of first side to fourth line of second side of page 111. There are 18 lines on both the sides of each page. There are 28 to 32 letters in each line.

वाराहश्रौतसूत्रम् सौत्रामणी

सौत्रामणिं सोमवामिनः सोमाभिव्यजनस्य राजसूयेनाभिपिपिचानस्य भूतिकामस्य ज्योगामयाविनो ऽन्नाद्यकामस्य पशुकामस्य भ्रातृव्यवतोऽभिशास्यमानस्य वा ॥१॥ सीसेन क्लीवाच्छष्पाणि कृष्णेन तसरपक्ष्मणा^१ सोमविक्रियिणो^२ वा [क्रोणाति^३] ॥२॥ गार्हपत्य ओदनं श्रपयित्वा लाजान्संसृज्या^४ तोकमं नग्नहूर्लाजा मासरमिति^५ ॥३॥ स्वाद्वीं त्वा स्वादुना^६ इति शष्पैः सुरा संसृजति ॥४॥ सोमोऽस्यशिवभ्यां पच्यस्व^७ इति ककुभ्यो^८ समवदधाति ॥५॥ तिस्रो रात्रीः संहिता वसति ॥६॥ तिसृणां पारे पशुबन्धः ॥७॥ प्रणीतेऽनौ दक्षिणतोऽग्नेर्दक्षिणस्मिन्वेद्यं प्रणयत्यपि वा पर्यग्निकरणान्तं कृत्वा तदेवोल्मुकमुपसमादध्यात् ॥८॥ तस्य शेषं पशुश्रपणं हरेयुः ॥९॥ सन्नेष्वाज्येषु सुरामभ्युदानयन्ति ॥१०॥ ब्राह्मणस्य मूर्धन्सादयित्वा द्रोणे वालं वितत्य सुरामतिपावयति पुनानु ते परिस्रुतम्^९ इति ॥११॥ प्रत्यक्सोमं^{१०} इति सोमातिपवितस्य ॥१२॥ अग्नेण दक्षिणाग्निं सिकतानां खरः ॥१३॥ तस्मिन्पालाशमाश्वत्योदुम्बरं^{११} नैयघोषमिति पात्राणि ॥१४॥ तेषु कुविदङ्ग^{१२} इति सुराग्रहानृह्णाति उपयामगृहीतोऽस्यच्छिद्रां त्वाच्छिद्रेण^{१३} इति ॥१५॥ आश्विनं गृहीत्वा कुवलसक्तुभिः श्रीणाति^{१४} ॥१६॥ सिंहावध्वर्युर्ध्वयति ॥१७॥ सारस्वतं द्वितीयं प्रतिप्रस्थाता ॥१८॥ कर्कन्धुसक्तुभिर्व्याघ्रलोमैश्च^{१५} श्रीणाति ॥१९॥ व्याघ्रो प्रतिप्रस्थाता ध्यायति ॥२०॥ इन्द्राय सुत्राम्णे तृतीयं यजमानः ॥२१॥ [वदसक्तुभिः श्रीणाति ॥२२॥ वृकौ यजमानो ध्यायति^{१६} ॥२३॥ एष ते योनिरमुष्मं त्वा^{१७} इत्यायतने यथास्थानं सादयति ॥२४॥ यूपं संमीय पशून्पाकरोत्याश्विनमजं सारस्वतीं मेपोमैन्द्रं वृषभं वृष्णिं (वा) ॥२५॥ बार्हस्पत्यं चतुर्थं सोमातिपवितस्य ॥२६॥ इन्द्राय सुत्राम्ण एकादशकपालः सवित्रेऽष्टाकपालो वारुणो यवमयश्चरुरिति पशुपुरोडाशान्निरूप्य ग्रहैः प्रचरति ॥२७॥ आश्विनमध्वर्युरादत्ते सारस्वतं प्रतिप्रस्थातैन्द्रं यजमानः ॥२८॥ अश्विभ्यां सरस्वत्या इन्द्राय सुत्राम्णे सोमानामनुब्रूहि ॥ अश्विभ्यां सरस्वत्या इन्द्राय सुत्राम्णे सोमान्प्र-

^१ तसरपक्ष्मणा, Edn. by conjecture : रथंपक्षत A, रथंपक्षला B

^२ So Edn. by conjecture ; सोमविक्रिणा वा A first hand ; सोमविक्रियिणा वा A second hand ; सोमविक्रिणा वा B.

^३ . . . लाजान् सृज्यानो रक्मनग्नहूर्लाजा मासरमिति B. The editor has remarked that the sūtra is not perfectly intelligible.

^४ MS II 3.8

^५ सोमोऽस्य अश्विभ्यां पच्यस्व Edn ; सोमस्यशिवभ्यां पचति ककुभ्यां etc. AB. See MS. II 3.8

^६ The word ककुभ्यो is unintelligible.

^७ By conjecture. *माश्वत्योदुम्बरो B ; *माश्वत्यमौदुवरं Edn. The number of grahas required is three, not four.

^८ Edn. reads sūtras 15 and 16 as one sūtra.

^९ The editor has rightly noted that व्याघ्रलोमैश्च is not based on the Samhitā, so it may be an interpolation. A.B. have it.

^{१०} Sūtras 22-23 are shown into bracket. The word यजमानः occurs in sūtra 21 as well as in 23. The copyist mistook the occurrence of the word in sūtra 21 for that in sūtra 23. यजमानो वाचयत्येव ते A ; यजमानो . . . यत्येप ते B.

स्थितान्प्रेष्य इति संप्रेष्यति ॥२९॥ वषट्कृतानुवषट्कृते हुत्वाश्विनस्य सारस्वतेऽवनयति सारस्वत-
स्येन्द्र ऐन्द्रस्याश्विने^१ ॥३०॥ समवनीय होताध्वर्युः परिक्रीतौ यदत्र शिष्टम् इति भक्षयतः ॥३१॥
यदि न भक्षयेतां^२ द्वे स्रुती^३ इति बल्मीकवपायामवनयेदग्नी विशारयेत ब्राह्मणो वा प्राशनीयाद्यजमानो
वा स्वयं भक्षयेत् ॥३२॥ ये भक्षयन्त^४ इति तिसृभिस्तिस्त्र आहुतीर्जुहोति ॥३३॥ कुम्भी^५ शतातृष्णा-
मध्यवि दक्षिणमग्निं कृत्वा तस्यै^६ सुरो विशारयति बालमन्तर्धाय त्वं सोम प्रचिकित^७ इति द्वादश^८ ॥३४॥
तासां तिसृभिस्तिस्त्रभिरेकैकोऽनुमन्त्रयते पुरस्तादध्वर्युर्दक्षिणतो ब्रह्मा पश्चाद्दोतोत्तरत आग्नीध्रः ॥३५॥
पितरो^९ मदन्तां सोमप्रतीका व्यशेम देवहितं यदायुरिन्द्रपीतो विचक्षणो व्यशेम देवहितं यदायुः^{१०} इति
सर्वे स्रवन्तीमनुमन्त्रयन्ते ॥३६॥ ऐन्द्रस्यावदानैः प्रथमं^{११} प्रचरति^{१२} जघन्यमाश्विनस्य ॥३७॥ पशुभिः
प्रचर्यं पशुपुरोडाशैः प्रचरति ॥३८॥ सहस्विष्टकृदिडं पशूनां पशुपुरोडाशानां च ॥३९॥ ऋषभो दक्षिणा
सूतवरी च वडवा ॥४०॥ संस्थिते मासरैः शूलैश्चावभृथं यन्ति यथा वरुणप्रधासेषु ॥४१॥ मासराणि
पुरोडाशस्थाने ॥४२॥ चरुणा प्रचर्यं हृदयशूलानुपचरन्ति ॥४३॥

इति द्वादशाहे (द्वितीयेऽध्याये) सौत्रामण्यां सप्तमं खण्डम् ॥

कीकल्यां ते कामा ये पूर्वस्यामन्ये च तेजस्कामस्य वीर्यकामस्य बलकामस्य नर्याणि त्रीणि ॥१॥ तेन
धर्मेण सुरो संस्करोति^{१३} ॥२॥ संस्कृतामन्वहं^{१४} परितो पिञ्चता सुतम्^{१५} इति पयसा परिषिञ्चत्येकस्या

^१ A and Edn read sūtras 30 (आश्विनस्य सारस्वतेन etc.) to 43 as sūtras 74-87 cf. B. [आश्वि]
नस्य सारस्वतेन यजति सारस्वतीमैन्द्रस्याश्विनेन Edn; नस्य सारस्वतेन यजति सारस्वतीमैन्द्रस्याश्विने A;
हुत्वाश्विनस्य सारस्वतेन यजति सारस्वतीमैन्द्रस्याश्विने B.

The reading has to be emended as printed above. Cf. Baudh. Sr. sūtra : 17.36 अनुवषट्कृते
हुत्वाश्विनस्य संज्ञावै सारस्वतेऽवनयति । सारस्वतस्य संज्ञावमैन्द्रे ॥

^२ भक्षयेतां A B; भक्षयतां Edn, which may be a printing mistake.

^३ MS II 3.8

^४ MS.IV 10.6

^५ [हिरण्य] मन्तर्धाय ॥७८॥ त्वं सोम प्रचिकित इति तासां etc. Edn. मन्तर्धाय त्वं सोम
प्रचिकित इति A; मन्तर्धाय त्वं सोम प्रचिकित इति द्वादश B. comp. sūtra 28 (8th Khanda):
तेन धर्मेण सुरो विशारयति बालमन्तर्धायोर्णासूत्रं (वा) त्वं सोम प्रचिकित इति द्वादश etc.; also
sūtra 11 (7th Khanda) :... द्रोणे वालं वितत्य सुरामतिपावयति ...

^६ KS 29.2 which has... सोमप्रतीका मदन्तां व्यशेम... cf. Āp. Sr. 10.3.7: सोमप्रतीकाः
पितरो मदन्तां व्यशेम देवहितं यदायुः । इन्द्रपीतो विचक्षणो व्यशेम देवहितं यदायुः ॥. Text from B;
विचक्षाणो for विचक्षणो B; पितरो मादयन्तां [व्यशेम देवहितं] यदायुरिति Edn.

^७ प्रथमं प्रथमं चरति AB; प्रथमं चरति Edn; comp. sūtra 30 (8th Khanda) : ऐन्द्रस्या-
वदानैः प्रथमं प्रचरति जघन्यमाश्विनस्य ।

^८ A and Edn read sūtras 3 to 21 (and also रोति from 2nd sūtra) as sūtras 50-73 in the
7th Khanda; cf. B. Edn reads अभिरोति संस्कृतामन्वहं etc. as one sūtra.

^९ MS III. 11.7

दुग्धन प्रथमार्या व्युष्टायां द्वयोद्वितीयस्याम् ॥३॥ अदित्यै घृते चरुर्ऋश्च प्रथमः^१ ॥४॥ व्युदानयन्ति^२ ॥५॥
 न मूर्धनि सादयति ॥६॥ तेन घर्मेण सुरामतिपाव्य ब्रह्म क्षत्रम्^३ इति ऊर्णामूत्रेण पयोऽतिपावयति ॥७॥
 तथावैक्षते^४ ॥८॥ द्वे द्वे वायव्ये ॥९॥ तेषु कुविदङ्ग^५ इति पयोग्रहान् गृह्णाति उपयामगृहीतोऽस्यच्छिद्रां
 त्वाच्छिद्रेण^६ इति यथादेवतम् ॥१०॥ ब्रीहिसक्तुभिराश्विनै श्रीणाति यवसक्तुभिः सारस्वतं गोघूम-
 सक्तुभिरैन्द्रं श्यामाकसक्तुभिरुपवाकसक्तुभिरितरान् ॥११॥ श्येनपत्रेण परिमार्जनम् ॥१२॥ एष ते योनिस्ते-
 जसे त्वा इति प्रथमं सादयति वीर्याय त्वा इति द्वितीयं वलाय त्वा इति तृतीयम् ॥१३॥ नाना हि वामं^७
 इति सुराग्रहान् गृह्णाति उपयामगृहीतोऽस्याश्विनं तेज इति प्रथमं सारस्वतं वीर्यम् इति द्वितीयम् ऐन्द्रं वलम्
 इति तृतीयम् ॥१४॥ एष ते योनिर्मोदाय त्वा इति प्रथमं सादयति आनन्दाय त्वा इति द्वितीयं महसे त्वा
 इति तृतीयम् ॥१५॥ सोमो राजा^८ इत्यनुवाकेन ग्रहानुपतिष्ठते ॥१६॥ ते पशवो बार्हस्पत्यवर्जम् ॥१७॥
 त्वग्रस्थाश्विनोऽजः^९ ॥१८॥ ते पशुपुरोडाशाः ॥१९॥ ते ग्रहैः प्रचरन्ति द्वाभ्यां द्वाभ्यामेकैकः ॥२०॥
 समानः संप्रैषः ॥२१॥ सुरावन्तम्^{१०} इत्युत्तरस्मिन्नग्नी पयोग्रहान् जुह्वति^{११} ॥२२॥ यस्ते रस^{१२} इति दक्षिण-
 स्मिन् सुराग्रहान् ॥२३॥ समवनीयाध्वर्युः प्रतिप्रस्थाताग्नीध्र इत्याश्विनं भक्षयन्ति ब्रह्मा होता
 मंत्रावरुण इति सारस्वतमैन्द्रं यजमानः ॥२४॥ यमश्विना नमुचेः^{१३} इति पयोग्रहान् भक्षयन्ति ॥२५॥
 यदत्र शिष्टम्^{१४} इति सुराग्रहान् समवनीय दक्षिणस्मादग्नेर्दक्षिणा त्रीनङ्गारानुद्वह्य सुचर्याभिजुहोति
 पितृभ्यः स्वघायिभ्यः स्वघा नमः ॥ पितामहेभ्यः स्वघायिभ्यः स्वघा नमः ॥ प्रपितामहेभ्यः स्वघायि-
 भ्यः स्वघा नम इति ॥२६॥ अक्षन्^{१५} पितरैः ॥ अमीमदन्त पितरः^{१६} ॥ पितरः शुन्धध्वम् इत्यपो निनयति
 ॥२७॥ तेन घर्मेण सुरां विक्षारयति बालमन्तर्घायोगासूत्रं (वा) त्वं सोम प्रचिकित^{१७} इति द्वादश
 पुनन्तु मा पितर^{१८} इति द्वादश चतस्रोऽन्यासांतश्रोण्यासौ^{१९} व्यत्यासम्^{२०} ॥२८॥ ऋत्विजः सर्वे स्रवन्तीमनु-
 मन्त्रयन्ते ॥२९॥ ऐन्द्रस्यावदानः प्रथमं प्रचरति जघन्यमाश्विनस्य ॥३०॥ पशुपुरोडाशैः प्रचर्यं

¹ After द्वयोद्वितीयस्यां one expects तिसृणां तृतीयस्यां cf. Mānava śr. 5.2.11 ; Ś. Br. 12. 8.2.11

² [अदित्यै घृते चरु] रैन्द्रश्च प्रथमं व्युदानयति Edn ; प्रथमार्यां शूलायामदित्यै घृते चरुद्वयो-
 द्वितीयस्यामैन्द्रश्च प्रथमं व्युदानयति A ; प्रथमार्यां शूक्यामदित्यै घृते चरुद्वयोद्वितीयस्यामैन्द्रश्च
 प्रथमं व्युदानयति B. After the Caru-offering to Aditi the first of the two animals should be offered
 to Indra Vayodhas, the other being offered after the Sautrāmani sacrifice. व्युदानयन्ति of AB is
 a better reading ; cf. sūtra 10 (7th Khanda) : सन्नेष्वाज्येषु सुरामभ्युदानयन्ति ।

³ MS III. 11.7

⁴ Edn. तथा वक्षे A, तथा वक्ष्ये B. The sūtra is not clear.

⁵ MS III. 11.7 ; cf. MS. II.9.8

⁶ MS. II. 3.8

⁷ MS. III. 11.6

⁸ The sūtra is corrupt.

⁹ A and Edn read sūtras 22-34 as sūtras 45-55.

¹⁰ Edn ; अघ्वत्र A first hand ; अघ्वर्युः A second hand ; अघत्र B.

¹¹ MS. I 10.3

¹² MS IV. 10.6

¹³ MS III.11.10

¹⁴ ... व्यत्यासमृत्विजः सर्वे etc. Edn ; व्यत्यासो सुवृत्विजः सर्वे etc. B. The two words
 are unintelligible. Edn reads sūtras 28-29 as one sūtra.

पशुभिः प्रचरति ॥३१॥ पुरस्तात्स्विष्टकृतो रसं जुहोति द्वात्रिंशता शृङ्गशर्फः सीसेन तन्त्रम्¹ इति षोडश² ॥३२॥ द्वयोर्द्विग्राहमेकैकं वा जुहोति³ ॥३३॥ हृत्वा पात्र्यो संपातानवनयति ॥३४॥ अभिषेकाय⁴ प्रहणाभि पशूनां च वसया ॥३५॥ क्षत्रस्य योनिरसि⁵ इति सायणेणाधिमास्तमायासंदीमास्तीर्य दक्षिणत आहवनीयस्य निदघाति स्योनासि सुपदा⁶ इति ॥३६॥ सुपदामासीद⁷ इत्यारोहन्तमनुमन्त्रयते ॥३७॥ निषसाद धृतव्रत⁸ इति रूढाया⁹ व्याघ्रविष्टदिवेति च ॥३८॥ अभिषिच्यमाने¹⁰ साम गायत्यैन्द्रघां¹¹ बृहत्याम्¹² ॥३९॥ सँश्रवसे विश्रवसे सत्यश्रवसे श्रवसे¹³ इति निघनमुपयन्ति ॥४०॥ साम गायति द्विर्वा स्वाहाकरोति ॥४१॥ देवस्य त्वा¹⁴ इत्यभिषेकमादाय त्रया देवा¹⁵ इति यजमानमीक्षमाणो जुहोति ॥४२॥ प्रथमास्त्वा द्वितीयैः¹⁶ इत्यभिषिञ्चति ॥४३॥ भूः स्वाहा¹⁷ इत्याहवनीय आहुतिं जुहोति यथा राजसूये¹⁸ ॥४४॥ शिरो मे श्रीः¹⁹ इति यथारूपं गात्राणि संमृशति ॥४५॥ लोमानि प्रयतिः²⁰ इति पूर्णाहुतिं जुहोति ॥४६॥ जडघाम्यां पद्भ्याम्²¹ इत्यवरोहति ॥४७॥ द्वात्रिंशतं गा ददाति वडवो²² च सकिशोरा²³ ॥४८॥ यद्देवा देवहेडनम्²⁴ इति तिसृभिरवभृथमेव्यन्नाहुतिं जुहोति ॥४९॥ घाम्नो घाम्नः²⁵ ॥ यद्ग्राम²⁶ इति मार्जयते ॥५०॥ पवित्रमसि²⁷ इत्यवभृथे स्नात्वा उद्वयं तमसस्पदि²⁸ इत्यादित्यमुपस्थाय अपो अद्यान्वचारिषम्²⁹ इति समिध आहरन्ति ॥५१॥ एधोऽस्येधिषीमहि³⁰ इति समिदाधानः ॥५२॥ समवृतद्³¹ इति पूर्णाहुतिं जुहोति ॥५३॥

¹ MS. III.11.9

² Edn reads 32-33 as one sūtra.

³ A and Edn read sūtras 36-53 as sūtras 20-44. Edn reads 35-36 as one sūtra : अभिषेकाभिप्रहणादि (०ग्रहणाभि A) पशूनां च वसया क्षत्रस्य योनिरसीति सायणेण धिमास्तमासन्दीमास्तीर्य etc. The text printed above is from B. Certain part of it is unintelligible.

⁴ MS. II.6.9

⁶ MS. II 6.12

⁶ रूढाय व्याघ्रविष्टदिवेति चाभिषिच्यमाने¹⁰ etc. Edn; रूढाया A first hand; B; रूढाय A second hand; व्याघ्रविष्टदिवेति B. Edn reads sūtras 38-40 as one sūtra. The editor has proposed व्याघ्रचर्म विवेष्टयति for व्याघ्रविष्टदिवेति and अभिषिच्यमाने for 'माने.

⁷ Cf. SV 1. 259; VS. 20.30.

⁸ ŚBr. 12.8. 3 20; GBr. 2. 5. 7

⁹ MS. III. 11.8

¹⁰ The reference to Rājasūya shows that the sūtra for the same must have preceded that for Sautrāmaṇi. In many Vedic and Sūtra texts Sautrāmaṇi follows the Rājasūya.

¹¹ वडवां च सकिशोरां conjectural reading. वडवोश्च सकिशोरान् (?) AB Edn; cf. Mānava Sr 5.2.11; ŚBr. 12.7.3.21

¹² MS. III 11.10

¹³ MS.II.12.5

¹⁴ MS. I 3.39

यदापिपेय मातरं पुत्रः प्रमुदितो धयन् ।

एतत्ते अग्ने अनृणो भवाम्यहतौ पितरौ मया¹ ॥

अनृणो देवानामनृणः पितृणां मनुष्याणामनृणो भवामि यदक्षवृत्तमनृतं² संकरादाष्ट³ सर्वस्मादनृणो भवामि इति ह्रस्वेष्टिर्निर्वपति ॥५४॥ अदित्यै घृते चरुः ॥५५॥ संस्थितायामिन्द्राय वयोधसे⁴ पशुवृ-
षभो दक्षिणा घेनुरदित्या⁵ ॥५६॥ वत्सं पूर्वस्यां ददाति मातरमुत्तरस्याम् ॥५७॥ प्रथमोजुवाकः⁶
प्रथमस्य पशुबन्धस्याप्रीः ॥५८॥ आ चर्षणिप्रा⁷ इति षडर्चं⁸ याज्यानुवाक्याः ॥५९॥ द्वितीयोजुवाकः⁹
प्रयाजप्रैषाः ॥६०॥ तृतीय¹⁰ आप्रीः ॥६१॥ चतुर्थस्य¹¹ तिस्रो वपायास्तिस्रः पशुपुरोडावानाम् ॥६२॥
तासु¹² प्रथमामनूच्य मध्यमया यजेन्मध्यमामनूच्योत्तमया यजेदुत्तमामनूच्य प्रथमया यजेदिति व्यतिषजेत्
॥६३॥ अवदानेषु¹³ सप्तमी ग्रहाणामनुवाक्योत्तरा प्रैष उत्तरा याज्योत्तरास्तिस्रोऽवदानानामुत्तमे
स्विष्टकृतः ॥६४॥ पञ्चमो* जुयाजप्रैषा वायोधसस्य कवाद्वायो वसां प्रैषानधीयीत¹⁴ ॥६५॥ तस्योत्तम¹⁵
स्त्वाप्रीरुत्तमो¹⁶ याज्यानुवाक्या उत्तमो याज्यानुवाक्याः¹⁷ ॥६६॥

इति द्वादशाहे (द्वितीयेऽध्याये) अष्टमं खण्डम् ॥

समाप्तं द्वादशाहम् ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥

¹ VS 19. 11

² Text from B; यदक्षवृत्तं संस्करादीष्ट Edn. The source of this mantra is not known.

³ Reading conjectured by the editor who notes that the sūtra is corrupt. वयोधसे पशुवंधः पशुवंधो दक्षिणा पशुवंधयोरदित्यया A B. One could suggest : वयोधसे पशुबन्धः पशुदक्षिणा पशुबन्ध-
योरदित्ययोर्वत्सं पूर्वस्यां etc.

⁴ MS. III. 11. 1

⁵ MS. IV 14.18

⁶ MS. III 11. 2

⁷ MS. III. 11. 3

⁸ MS. III. 11. 4

⁹ तासु AB; तासां Edn.

¹⁰ Edn separates sūtras 64-65 in a different way : अवदानेषु सप्तमः ॥१३॥ ग्रहाणामनुवाक्या
उत्तरः प्रैषा उत्तरा याज्योत्तरास्तिस्रोऽवदानानामुत्तमः स्विष्टकृतः पञ्चमोजुयाजप्रैषा वायोधसस्य
कवाद्वायो वसां प्रैषानधीमहि ॥१४॥ सप्तमी B; सप्तमः Edn; the word refers to the R̥ (fem.)
in the fourth Anuvāka, not to the Anuvāka (masc.). ग्रहाणामनुवाक्योत्तरप्रैष AB. *मुत्तमे स्विष्टकृतः
AB; *मुत्तमः स्विष्टकृतः Edn. There remain two verses at the end of the 4th Anuvāka in MS. III
II. They serve as the Puroṇuvākya and yājya verses for the svīṣṭakṛt offering. प्रैषानधीयीत AB;
प्रैषानधीमहि Edn. The last part of sūtra 65 is not clear.

* MS. III. 11. 5

¹¹ MS. III 11. 11

¹² MS. III 11. 12

¹³ So B; याज्यानुवाक्या Edn.

ON THE ORIGIN OF BRAHMIN GOTRAS

BY D. D. KOSAMBI

1. The word *gotra* in the Ṛgveda means only a herd of cattle or a pen for cattle. In later times, down to the present day, it has the meaning of an exogamous patriarchal family unit, corresponding roughly to the *gens* in Rome. The words *gaṇa* and *jana* would seem more logical had the system been directly inherited from the Aryans, but they mean group or aggregate, and tribe respectively. In the Ṛgveda at least, we have no explicit statement of the current rules for exogamy ; RV.* x.10 shows in a dialogue between Yama and his importunate twin sister Yamī that such extremely close unions were regarded with horror by the male ; but the *patria potestas* is absolutely clear and marked, in that it is the spirits of the paternal ancestors exclusively who are propitiated by the cult of the dead, and the predominant deities of the pantheon are male.

Nevertheless, the gotra system is an outstanding feature of modern Brahminism, which has otherwise made so many compromises in the matter of worship and ritual. Apparently only the Brahmins have gotras, for the lowest caste, that of the *sūdras*, has no gentilic organization at all in our scriptures ; tribes and guilds were enrolled later by deriving them as mixed castes (cf. *Manusmṛiti* x.8, 11, 13, 18, 22, 33, 34 etc.) from the principal four without imposition of the gotra system. For the ruling warriors and the trader-yeomen, the *kṣatriya* and *vaiśya* castes respectively, we have the Brahmanic ritual such as the initiation ceremony etc., but their gotras are restricted. In the first place, Brahmin gotras are grouped into larger units (probably corresponding to the phratry) by common *pravaras*, of which Baudhāyana recognizes 49 sets in a far larger—almost unlimited—number of gotras, while in theoretically accepted lists as they now exist (*GPN* pp.207-285), we find not less than seventy-three. For the *kṣatriya* and the *vaiśya*, however, there is only one pravara

*Hereafter, citations from the Ṛgveda (for which I have also made use of the Macdonell—Keith Vedic Index and Grassmann's *Woerterbuch*) will be given without a preceding abbreviation ; the other commonly cited source is P. Chentsal Rao's collection of *gotra* lists and rules : *Gotra-pravara-nibandha-kadambam*, Mysore, 1900 ; This is abbreviated as GPN, with reference by page and line numbers. Keith's devastating criticisms in his book "Religion and Philosophy in the Veda" (Harvard Or. Series 31, 32) have been helpful in that they afford a good excuse for not making further detailed reference to the earlier writers, and restricting myself primarily to the sources. Other frequent citations: Vd= the *Vendidad*, Yt=the *Yast*, both in J. Darmsteter's translation, *Sacred Books of the East* vols. 4,23 ; Her.=Herodotos ; Marshall (Sir J., ed.), *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, London 1931 ; Mackay (E. J. H., ed.) 'Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro', New Delhi 1938 ; Vats (M.S.) 'Excavations at Harappa', New Delhi 1940 ; Frankfort (Henri) 'Cylinder Seals', London 1939 ; Herzfeld (Ernst) 'Zoroaster and His World', Princeton 1947. The Poona critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* is cited as Mbh, the *Vulgate* denoting the Calcutta editions.

each, namely Mānava-Aila-Paurūravasa and Bhālandana-Vātsapri-Mānkila, respectively, while Āpastamba and Kātyāyana are content with deriving both from Manu. But there is a very prominent rule for both these castes, namely that for marriage groups the gotra is to be taken as the same as that of the family priest, the *purohita*. (GPN. 126-7).

All this implies that the gotra is a purely Brahmanic institution which has been extended to the other two upper castes by Brahmin superiority. In support, we find that instead of the animal or food-tree totems of savage tribes, the gotras are always derived from the names of sages. I propose to show in this note that this system cannot have been present from the oldest times, and that there is considerable reason for believing the tradition to have been inverted (like several other prominent Brahmanic traditions which we shall point out) when the original situation had retreated into legendary antiquity and become too derogatory to acknowledge under the changed circumstances. My thesis is that, specifically as regards some important *Brahmins*, the gotra system is adopted by small groups of pre-kṣatriya and pre-Aryan people from Aryan invaders ; as these groups take to the functions of priesthood, they are most logically assigned to the patriarchal clan-group of those for whom they officiate. They consequently acquire the same gotra ; only afterwards does the rule become its opposite, when the vedic kṣatriyas have died out by the rise of settlements and the emergence of other warriors of obscure origin who fight their way to the top. At that stage, it becomes quite possible to assign to these newcomers the same gotra as that of the priests, who have maintained a continuity of tradition and acquired a monopoly of scripture by long and arduous study. I do not mean to imply that all *gotras*, or even all Brahmin *gotras* originate in this way.

Before proceeding to the proof, such as it is, one can note that the entire position of gotra and pravara is confused if one looks at it as a whole, and there is no historical or political reason given for the confusion though clearly part of the trouble arises from the fact that gotra lists could not be closed, and that newcomers were obviously being recruited into the ranks of the priesthood. The Nāgara Brahmins of Gujarāt are supposed to be medieval immigrants. If the institution of marriage were so strictly bounded by caste and gotra rules, it would be difficult to explain the strong racial heterogeneity of Brahmins in India, as well as the existence of endogamous regional units within them (amounting to sub-castes) which have no basis in scripture.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF GOTRAS

2. The various lists of the principal authorities, namely Baudhāyana and Kātyāyana-Laugākṣi seem to agree on the whole with the Matsya Purāṇa

which has presumably been copied, with local variants, from the earlier lists. But there are serious differences of detail, as one sees at once on looking into individual cases. For example the Āśvalāyana gotra is ascribed variously to the Bhṛgu, Kaśyapa, and Vasiṣṭha groups (GPN.36.16, 100.21, 106.4, 176.8.) while the apparently related Āśvalāyani belong to the Bharadvājas (GPN. 59.11, 61.15, 163.7), and Āśvalāyanin is a Kaśyapa gotra according to the Matsya Purāṇa (GPN.102.8). It would be quite easy to give many more such examples, though one would then have to go deeper into the distinctions between names that are quite close in sound, and also into the text-criticism of our sources, which have yet to be edited properly. But there is a class of double gotras which are not easy to explain unless in fact the *conscripti* were added to the original *patres* at several later stages and then not always added to the same group. We get the following combined gotras, whose members cannot intermarry with either pravara group (GPN.pp.180-5) Śauṅga-Śaiśiri = Bharadvāja + Viśvāmitra ; Saṅkṛti—Pūtimāṣa = Kaśyapa + Vasiṣṭha, being in fact Vasiṣṭhas by day and Kaśyapas by night ; Devarāta = Jamadagni + Viśvāmitra ; Jātūkarnya = Vasiṣṭha + Atri ; Dhanañjaya = Viśvāmitra + Atri ; Kata & Kapila = Viśvāmitra + Bharadvāja ; Vāmarathya = Vasiṣṭha + Atri ; no Bhāradvāja can marry any Ucathya-pravara Gautama. The brief soma-hymn ix. 86 has traditionally the joint authorship (besides Atri and Gr̥tsamada) of three double-named gaṇas not to be found elsewhere. The double name of Baka Dālbya = Glāva Maitreya (Chāndogya Upaniṣad i. 12) may be explained as a survival of matriarchal tradition.

These are the officially admitted discrepancies, not oversights, and the explanation given is that these *dyvāmuṣyāyana* are descended from adopted sons or bought, or descended through a brotherless daughter, or acquired in some, such "artificial" manner in order to perpetuate the cult of the dead, who would otherwise fall from heaven. But let us look for a moment at the largest groups into which the gotras are combined, which are only eight and which show how the historical reality was readjusted in theory to the needs of a growing system (and of course the converse in practice).

The *gotra-kāra* ṛṣis are 1. Jamadagni, 2. Bharadvāja, 3. Gotama, 4. Kaśyapa 5. Vasiṣṭha, 6. Agastya, 7. Atri, and 8. Viśvāmitra. No Brahmin gotra is valid that does not contain the name of one of these or his (supposed) descendants and the pravara groupings contain the names of one, two, three, or five in one line. But these are not the original ṛṣis even in Brahmanical theory. A Brahmin is the descendant of Brahmā, as such, has one of the ancestors : 1. Bhṛgu, 2. Aṅgiras, 3. Marīci, 4. Atri, 5. Pulaha, 6. Pulastya, 7. Vasiṣṭha. Some measure of accord has been restored by taking Jamadagni as the descendant of Bhṛgu, a tradition which there is no reason at all to doubt though why Bhṛgu himself could not survive in the previous list has to be explained.

Bharadvāja and Gotama are then descendants of Aṅgiras, which might pass. With less justification, Kaśyapa, Vasiṣṭha and Agastya are taken to be descended from Marīci, and for no immediately apparent reason Viśvāmitra is made a descendant of Atri. This explanation from the Matsya Purāṇa could only have been made if there were some need for it and if it were not against what was generally current at the time of writing. It is to be noted that Vasiṣṭha has a secondary and not independent position, while Pulaha and Pulastya have disappeared, the explanation being that they generated Rākṣasas and Piśācas respectively, beings that are some sort of demons, (which, as we shall see means non-Aryans) in any case nothing to do with Brahmins as such. Nevertheless, one finds both these names in the gotra lists. Pulaha is ascribed by Kātyāyana to the Agasti group while a Pulasti appears as a Bhṛgu-Veda or Agasti; Paulastya also as a Jamadagni, perhaps the Palasti of iii.53.16. These could only have been so indicated if the particular gotra-names had actually existed within the living tradition. In other words, the conflict of tradition goes back very far, to the original sources.

Finally, there are the additional ten families which are ascribed to just two major groups: Vītahavya, Mitrāyu, Vena, Śunaka to Bhṛgu; Rathītara Mudgala, Viṣṇuvṛddha, Harita, Kauva, Saṅkṛti to Aṅgiras. These are the *kevala* or "occasional" Bhārgavas and Aṅgirasas respectively, for they had followed professions other than those of priesthood (as can amply be confirmed by tradition, independently of these gotra lists) before becoming priests. We now have to see whether there is other evidence for such change of caste, and then to look deeper into the tradition for the actual characters named here.

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE EXISTENCE OF GOTRAS

3. It is not my purpose to trace the entire development of the gotra-pravara system, even if there existed material with which this could be done. That the system did expand is certain, for it has catered to the needs of an increasing population while assimilating an additional number of regional and racial groups which could not possibly have belonged to the vedic categories. Some of this has been reflected in the gotra-pravara confusion. For example, my own pravara is Vasiṣṭha-Maitrāvaruṇa-Kuṇḍina. But looking into the genealogies, the position of Maitrāvaruṇa is anomalous, for this hyphenated sage is then son of Vasiṣṭha but also his father; in some stories, Vasiṣṭha is born of the ejected seed of Mitra and Varuna (vii.33.9-13), who are gods and not ascetic ṛṣis. Thus Vasiṣṭha is himself Maitrāvaruṇa. In addition, there seem to be Kauṇḍinyas among the Bharadvājas (GPN.163.1). There is no point in speculating how all this came about nor in attempting an explanation for every detail of the entire system. Let us first see whether there is any historical evidence for gotras other than the Brahmin.

Some gotras are found in inscriptions. A well-known case is that of the Sātavāhanas, who have a Vāsīṣṭhīputra (Puṣumāvi) at least one Gotamīputra (Yajñāsri Sātakarṇi), a Māṭharīputra etc., while Bhavagopa, the commander-in-chief of Yajñāsri's army is called a Kausika in the Nasik cave inscription. Though they gave plentifully to the Buddhist Saṃgha, the Nānāghāṭ inscription (of Nāganika?) as well as the Nasik inscription of Puṣumāvi show that these kings were completely Brahminized, conscious followers of Brahmanic ritual. The same double loyalty without conflict appears in Hāla's *Śaṭṣaṭī*. Now it is remarkable that the gotra-names are all found in Brahmin lists, and this would give support to the current rule that the kṣatriya is to be known by his purohita's gotra. We need not stop to consider whether the reference by matronymic is indicative of a matriarchal system ; such reference is also to be found in the genealogy at the end of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, for the succession of Brahmin teachers.

The Sātavāhana kings are about the last complete line found in the Purāṇas*, as would be expected from the probable date of revision of the documents, and the dynasty's close association with Brahmins. But let us go back to the previous dynasty, the Kāṇvāyanas, the last of whom was killed by Simuka Sātavāhana. These kings were themselves Brahmins according to the explicit statement of the Purāṇas, and the first Kāṇvāyana Vāsudeva was a minister who usurped the throne after killing the last of the Śuṅgas. Now both the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvāyanas are to be found in gotra lists. We have noted the Śauṅga-Śaiśiri confusion above ; a famous sūtra of Pāṇini (4.1.117) ascribes Vikarṇa, Śuṅga, Chagala to the Vatsa, Bhardavāja and Atri groups respectively. There is no need to doubt the genuineness of this sūtra in spite of its not having been commented upon by Kātyāyana or Patañjali, for it is simple enough not to need any comment and in any case the detailed attention which Pāṇini pays in the entire section to gotra derivatives shows both the actual existence of the system in his day as well as its great importance. Turning to our gotra lists, we only find a Vikarṇeya ascribed to the Kaśyapas by a variant of the Matsya Purāṇa (GPN. 103.20), whence it may be assumed that the gotra was extinct by that time. In antiquity, the 21 Vaikarṇayas are against Sudās and overthrown (vii.18.11). Chagala is still an Atri gotra. Śuṅga and Śauṅga are both given among the Bharadvājas (GPN.57.14 & 62.15), while the Kāṇvāyanas are uniformly enrolled as Bharadvājas though Kaṇva and Mahākaṇva are put by the Matsya among the Vasiṣṭhas (GPN.177.23 & 113.12). However, the concordance is good enough, and again shows agreement between a king's gotra and that of his priests, admitting that the priest was likeliest to become a minister.

*F.E. Pargiter : "The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age". Oxford 1913. The Kāṇvāyanas are the only proper Brahmin (p.36) kings while we have the statement (p.26) that after Mahāpadma Nanda, all succeeding kings would be śūdras or śūdra-like. This would mean primarily that they did not claim vedic ancestry nor observe the pure vedic ritual, and there is no reason to doubt this, for the Mauryas certainly did not.

To go back further, into the realm of pure tradition, we hear of a Gautama Śvetaketu yielding to the superior philosophical knowledge of the kṣatriya Pravāhaṇa Jaivali (Bṛhad.Up.6.2). Remarkably enough, the Pravāhaṇeyas are still found in the list as Bharadvājas (GPN.56.5 & 162.20, on the authority of Baudhāyana), which is a branch of the Aṅgirasas as are the Gotamas. Śvetaketu is also called Āruṇi, which has a doubtful position, perhaps a Bharadvāja (GPN. 57.16). Jaivali is a Pāñcāla and the Pāñcālas form now a Kaśyapa gotra (GPN.96.21 & 174.3). The point is that the Pāñcālas are an entire (composite) tribe, and it is conceivable that some of the Pāñcāla Brahmins—if indeed the name means the same thing in both cases—could have been Kaśyapas. The name is associated with a definite locality, and there is no need for a locality to have been occupied altogether by people of the same gotra, though we know that clan territories did exist in all countries under certain circumstances. The Kaurukṣetris are Bharadvājas (GPN.59.18 & 163.12) while the Kauśāmbeyas (of whom I am not one in spite of the surname) are Bhṛgu (GPN. 32.1 & 43.15).

GOTRAS IN OLDER INDIAN TRADITION

4. So far, we seem to have reasonable confirmation of the gotra theory as it now stands. But let us go back still further. Identifying gotras of famous names is not always easy, and proving their historicity apart from tradition even less simple. Pāṇini's existence is not in doubt. But why are the Pāṇinis ranked among the Bhṛgus by Baudhāyana (GPN. 30.3), Viśvāmitras by Kātyāyana (GPN. 90.10) and the Matsya (GPN. 171.2)? The great commentator Patañjali is uniformly a Bharadvāja in the gotra lists.

That the other two upper castes had their own distinct gotras is quite clear from Patañjali's commentary on Pāṇ. 2.4.58, where he also quotes the opinions of other grammarians on gotra-derivatives; two vaiśya gotras seem to have been Bhāṇḍijaṅgli and Kārṇakharaki. Buddha quotes a verse as by Brahmā Sanatkumāra to the effect that among those with gotras, the kṣatriya is chief (in *Dīghanikāya* 3, and again in 27). There occur Brahmin gotra names in Buddhist stories of the earliest period, and even comparatively rare ones like Pauṣkarasādi of the Dīgha-nikāya are to be found in the lists (GPN. 111.10) But we also find kṣatriya gotras given on occasion. It is clear from Buddha's arguments with the Brahmins of his day that the kṣatriyas did have a gotra system of their own, and many families took immense pride in the purity of their lineage. Buddha (descended from Okkāka = Ikṣvāku*, by tradition) claimed the *ādicca* (= *āditya*) gotra, and if the Buddha himself is Gotama, it can only

* Ikṣvāku is mentioned by name in x.60.4; hymns x.57-60 are supposed to be by the Gaupāyana, dismissed priests of Ikṣvāku. With him and the Cečians we come to the end of the Vedic tradition and the beginning of the Purāna-Mahābhārata complex.

be his personal name as his mother's son ; for his step-mother, his mother's sister, is Mahāprajāpatī Gotamī and marriage within the gotra is excluded. The story of Viḍūḍabha senāpati (*Majjhimanikāya* 87,90 ; *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā* iv. 3) shows that the Buddha's tribe, the Sakkas, cheated their overlord king Pasenadi of Kosala (supposedly of the low Mātāṅgas, according to the *Lalita-vistara*) with Vāsabha-khattiyā (the daughter of Mahānāma Sakka by a *dāsī* concubine) when he desired a Sakka girl as his queen. The result was that the son Viḍūḍabha, after usurping his father's throne, took the first suitable opportunity for wiping out the insult and the Sakkas together, washing his throne with their blood. Nothing is said of the priestly gotras being those of their royal masters. King Pasenadi was generous to many Brahmins, among them the Pauṣkarasādi above who is a Vasiṣṭha and the Brahmin Lohicca, whose gotra is presumably Lohita, uniformly given as a Viśvāmitra ; both, apparently, had performed costly fire-sacrifices for Pasenadi. But here one can at least set down a reason for imposing the priest-gotra upon the other two eligible castes : that the Brahmins alone preserved the gotra system in spite of later changes, both in the structure of society and in its provincial reorganization. Recruiting new members into the other two castes needed much less specialized training in the traditional ritual than recruitment into the Brahmin caste - which undoubtedly also occurred in much smaller proportion.

This specialized training of the Brahmins was in the scriptures, primarily the vedas. Of these, the Ṛgveda is the oldest and the most authoritative, and we should expect some information from the traditional method of its transmission. In fact, we find that books ii to viii are "family books", the hymns being written (at least in theory) by particular families,* and supposed to be their special property ; this is borne out to a considerable extent by the style of composition and sometimes by the specific blessings called down upon the seers. One could reasonably expect these seven family books to belong to the seven families of gotra-founders, or of the seven original sons of Brahmā. But in fact the list differs from both, being : ii. Gr̥tsamada (Bhārgava), iii. Viśvāmitra, iv. Vāmadeva (Gautama), v. Atri, vi. Bharadvāja, vii. Vasiṣṭha, and viii. the Kaṇvas. Jamadagni hasn't disappeared altogether, for he is mentioned several times with special favour: the phrase *gr̥ṇānū Jamadagninā* in iii. 62.18 and viii. 101.8 shows that the special form of panegyric ascribed to the Jamadagnis was approved of by both the Viśvāmitras and the Kaṇvas. Similarly in vii. 96.3, *gr̥ṇānū Jamadagnivat stuvānā ca Vasiṣṭhavat* shows that the Vasiṣṭhas did not think badly of it ; ix. 97.51 ascribed to Kutsa Aṅgiras has *ārṣeyam Jama-*

*H. Oldenberg gave an excellent discussion of the authorship problem for the Ṛgveda in ZDMG xlii, 1888, 199-247. But preconceptions as to the original position of the Brahmins seem to have prevented conclusions being drawn about the fusion of two originally inimical peoples and their traditions, or alternatively the development of irreconcilably antagonistic caste-classes.

dagnivat, while the priceless gift (of speech) to Viśvāmitra in iii. 53.15 is *Jama-dagnidattā sasarparīh*. Nevertheless, the ṛṣi has not a book to himself in spite of founding a principal lineage. The Dīgha-nikāya (3, Ambaṭṭha-sutta) gives the list of Brahmin teachers, presumably vedic, as Aṭṭaka, Vāmaka, Vāmadeva, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Angiras, Bharadvāja, Vasiṣṭha, Kaśyapa, Bṛḡu; of these, the first seems to be Aṣṭaka, author of x. 104, son of Viśvāmitra by MādHAVI (Mbh. Crit. Ed. 5.117.19), and the second is unknown unless the name is taken as Vamaka, which may be found in one of the later cyclic Saptarṣi lists for the various *manvantaras*. The Saptarṣis according to the vedic Anukramaṇī seem to be, in order, Bharadvāja, Kaśyapa, Gotama, Atri, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, and Vasiṣṭha (on ix.67, ix.107, x.137; seven ṛṣis mentioned without names in x.82.2, x.109.4). The one constant feature of lists naming the founder ṛṣis is their number - seven.

A surprising deficiency is that there is no Kaśyapa book of the Ṛgveda. The name is mentioned only once, in the very last hymn of the ninth book (ix.114.2), which may be a later addition; the *anukramaṇī* tradition (which I generally accept whenever possible) ascribes to Kaśyapa several hymns such as for example i.99, 101-115, and the Kaśyapas are more frequent authors than any other group in the book dedicated to Śoma, namely the ninth, but this is hardly in keeping with the position of Kaśyapa in the gotra system. The name itself is totemic, having the secondary meaning of a tortoise. The objection that we know of no totemic rites in connection with a tortoise is negated by the injunction that one must be built into the fire altar (Śat. Brāh. vii.5.1); as the heads of all five main sacrificial animals, including man, horse, and bull are so utilized, the use of a tortoise is significantly totemic. Fainter is the indication one obtains from the inclusion of the tortoise in the "five five-nailed animals that may be eaten." Not only is Kaśyapa a prominent *gotra-kāra*, but no less an authority than Baudhāyana says that if by mistake both parents are found to belong to the same gotra, the embryo may be taken without blame as a Kaśyapa (GPN.p.136, *garbho na duśyati, kāśyapa iti vijñāyate*), though others like Āpastamba would consider the child as an absolute outcaste, *cāṇḍāla*. Similarly, if one's own gotra and that of the family priest be both unknown for some reason, we have the authority of Satyāśāḍha, who seems to quote a still older source, to the effect that the gotra must be taken as Kaśyapa: '*gostrasya tv aпарijñāne kāśyapam go'ram iśyate*' (GPN. p.187) The very same Satyāśāḍha states that Kaṇvas and Kaśyapas are not to be recipients of sacrificial fees: *na kaṇva-kāśyapebhyaḥ* (Sat. śr. sūtra 10.4); the commentator Gopināthabhaṭṭa hides his bewilderment under the ridiculous explanation that Kaṇva means deaf and Kaśyapa the one-eyed! We have seen the Anukramaṇī and Bṛhaddevatā schemes relate the Kaṇvas to the Aṅgiras group, but Mbh. 1.64.25 calls the sage Kaṇva a Kaśyapa, inverting the ṛgvedic scheme. This ṛṣi has the position of stage-director in the Śakuntalā episode, which qualifies

him to a special claim on the Bharatas (Mbh. i.69.47-48), supposedly descended from the son of Śakuntalā (herself a daughter of Viśvāmitra by an *apsaras* Menakā = 'the woman'), but in any case a real historical people with a central position in the Ṛgveda. This is how Kaśyapa is gradually promoted to be a father of all creatures, fit to receive the whole world as his sacrificial fee (Śat. Brāh. xiii. 7.1.15). This again demonstrates the inner heterogeneity of Brahmin tradition, and proves that both Kaśyapas and Kaṇvas are latecomers into the vedic fold. Nevertheless, the seven traditional Brahmins groups are undoubtedly very old, no matter what their actual original names might have been. That the claims of Kaśyapa and the Bhṛguś could be permitted only means that a considerable part of the Brahmin priesthood acknowledged the special position of these later conscripti; this again supports the thesis that Brahminism itself comes into being by the adoption of indigenous pre-Aryan priests. Kaśyapa is a *prajāpati* later on, one from whom almost all living creatures are descended (Mbh. i.59.10 ff.), which would then account for the special importance attached to that gotra. The Agastyas are also not prominent in the oldest veda, though ascribed the authorship of i.166-191, mentioned in i.117.11, and x.60.6.

THE ṚGVEDA AS A SOURCE-BOOK ; TVASTR

5. We have therefore to look at the central groups left to us if the oldest source, namely the Ṛgveda, is to be analysed. These groups are the Bhṛguś, Aṅgirasas,* Atris, Vasiṣṭhas, and Viśvāmitras. Of these, the first two are closely associated. The story of Cyavana's rejuvenation, for example, goes back to i. 117.13, the hymn being ascribed to Kakṣivān who is an Aṅgiras, while Cyavana (or here Cyavāna) is supposedly Bhṛgu; but the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (iv.1.5.1-13) is doubtful whether the aged ṛṣi was the one or the other. Gr̥tsamada and the Gārtsamadās are Bhṛguś in the gotra lists, but the *anukramāṇī* calls him son of Śunahotra Aṅgiras at the beginning of his special book, ii. Vatsa is still a Bhṛgu-Jamadagni gotra (my mother's) but the earliest known ṛṣi named Vatsa is called son of Kaṇva (viii. 8.8), hence a *kevala-aṅgiras*. Nodhas Gotama says in i.58.6 that the Bhṛguś have brought fire to mankind, and in 1.60.1 that Mātariśvan had brought fire as a gift to the Bhṛguś; this is confirmed by x.46.2,9—a hymn ascribed to the principal Vaiśya gotra founder, Bhālandana. Even the Viśvāmitras have the same ideas, as expressed iii. 5.10. But the association of the Aṅgirasas with fire and the first discovery of fire is also well attested, as for example in i.83.4. The Atris have one peculiarity which distinguishes them from the other particular families of ṛgvedic seers: they alone are mentioned often outside their own book. In the Kaṇva book, for example, viii. 35-38, 42, etc. we find them prominent, while viii. 36 is by

*It may be noted that whereas all Gotamas and Bharadvājas are Aṅgirasas, the converse does not hold and authorship attributions in books viii and ix seem to prove the existence of Aṅgirasas who were neither.

Syāvāśva and the Atris or the Atris alone. They also occur in vi. 50. 10, vii. 68.5, vii. 71.5 and are therefore respected by or associated with both the Bharadvāja-Aṅgiras and the Vasiṣṭha groups. We cannot expect much in the way of special features from these. It might be objected here that the Aṅgirasas and to a lesser extent the Bhṛṅgus also appear prominently outside their own books. Actually, a distinction has to be made between the remote deified ancestors, those in the middle distance on the dividing line between myth and history, and those contemporary with the hymn. These three stages are seen for the Aṅgirasas in x.62 (by the seer Nābhānediṣṭha), in a prayer addressed to the Aṅgirasas themselves; the important middle stage being in x. 62.7, which mentions unity with Indra, i.e. going over to the Aryans. A tendency to respect the legendary and scorn the modern ṛṣis is manifest in the Śat. Brāh : "Now when the Bhṛṅgus or the Aṅgirasas attained the heavenly world, Cyavana the Bhārgava or Cyavana the Aṅgiras was left behind here (on earth) decrepit and ghostlike" (iv.1.5.1). The remaining groups are those of Viśvāmītra, and the Vasiṣṭhas. Before seeing what tradition has to say about these, let us consider for a moment the general nature of this tradition.

It is not the purpose of the vedas to provide the reader with historical information, for they were purely liturgical works in language that soon became obscure, with changed interpretation of many terms. Possible historical references have to be gleaned with caution, for they are fortuitous, and the main question before any reader is not only what many of the hymns mean but even whether a given character is human, or a supernatural being. For example, Indra is the principal god of human type, and next to Agni the most important. Was he a human being later deified?¹ It would appear to be a reasonable guess, but when Indra's help to such and such a person is lauded, it generally remains an open question as to whether it was help given by the god in answer to a prayer, as for example the Homeric deities helping their favourite heroes on the field of battle, or whether an Aryan chieftain actually appeared upon the scene in person and took part in the fight.² In some cases, the divine inter-

¹ Indra had been deified by some Aryan tribes as early as 1400 B.C. if we may trust the famous identifications of Hugo Winckler, who found Aryan gods on Boghaz-koï tablets; E. Forrer, ZDMG. lxxvi, 1922, 174-200. The actual gods, as reported by Forrer (p.230) are : 13. (the gods) mi-id-ra-ašš ši-il 14. (the gods)u-ru-va-na-aš-ši-el(Var, a-ru-na-aš-ši-il), 15. (the god) in-tar(Var, in-da-ra), 16. (the gods) na-ša-ad-ti-au-na. The equivalents would seem to be Mitra, Varuṇa Indra (cf. Grassmann col. 213-214), and the Nāsatyas, but the question remains unanswered as to why the first two are mentioned in the plural (with the unique termination šil) when the honorific plural is never known for any god in Hittite records. The Aryan element in those records is not to be doubted, and so Forrer's statement that an Aryan tribe Manda(=the later Medes) seems to have existed near lake Urumiah has to be accepted. The terms *traivartana*, *puṅcavartana* etc recognizable in their euniceform equivalents, and the method of breaking in horses which they seem to set forth, are particularly interesting. See also P.-E.Dumont in JAOS. 67. 1947, pp. 251-253, for Indo-Aryan names in Mitanni, Nuzi, and Syrian documents.

² In the case of Agni, there is no ambiguity. Fire was always used for clearing land by burning it over, as in x. 28.8, Śat. Brāh ii.1.2.21, and even for destruction of hostile cities and fortifications. The Mahābhārata (1.214-219) story of burning down the Khāṇḍava forest shows the combination of a sacrifice to Agni, land-clearing, and military operation.

pretation is not in doubt, and whether Vṛtra was a real person (perhaps a Paṇi) or not, killing him as a demon of darkness ranks Indra with Ahuramazda, Ashur, Marduk and a long line of Tiamat-killers. But Indra's chariot, weapons, and killing of specific people leaves little doubt that in some cases at least, human actions are meant. One is sometimes tempted to equate *asura* with Assyrian. It would make better sense to regard the Asuras as human, if not Assyrians, at least in x.138.3, ii.30.4 and vii. 99.5, for the interpretation that these Asuras were gods worshipped by the foe is quite unconvincing. Their traditional battle-cry *helayo helayah*, reported by Patañjali as an example of barbarous speech, is still familiar and recognizable in "Hallelujah." As a general principle, however, we may note that the more remote the event, the greater the tendency to regard it as superhuman rather than human. This may be taken as a reasonably safe guide. Now one tradition which I shall utilize with special emphasis concerns king Sudās and his people. These are helped by Indra, and as the battles take place with "ten kings" (by actual count of scattered references, nearer three times that number) in quite well-determined river valleys, we are safe in taking the reference as historical.

The second point is a matter of geography. There existed Aryans outside India, even in the oldest days, and there is no evidence for the hypothesis that all spread out from India, so that the Indo-Aryan tribes of the R̥gveda must be taken as invaders. The god Viśvakarman of x.81.82 has a great deal in common with extraneous deities like Ashur (perhaps himself explicit in x. 31.6) or Ahura-mazda, being the only god with both arms and wings (x.81.3); the storm-gods, the Maruts, cannot be unconnected with the Kassite Maruttash. The general story is of an advance to the east, the *Drang nach Osten* being proved by the displacement of names such as the Sarasvatī, identified with the Hilmand, with a stream in Anachosia, and so progressively down to a stream in south-east Punjab which, for all Indic tradition, is the real Sarasvatī. This is unfortunate in one way, as some doubt is raised thereby whether the events connected with Sudās happened in India at all, for the story could have been transferred with the river names. The answer is that there is no reason to doubt the accounts which mention the Yamunā and the Gaṅgā but nothing further east. The wholesale transplantation of stories not known in any other Aryan tradition would be extraordinary. Also, we have ample archæological evidence to the effect that before 1500 B.C. fully developed cities of a pre-Aryan civilization were destroyed by invaders, so that the fortified cities (*pura*) and fortresses (*durga* v. 34.7) destroyed by Indra have a definite existence.

There is ample evidence for the co-existence of more than one stream of tradition, even in the oldest sources. The first man is Manu in i.36.19, but also Yama in x.135.1-2; and as the first mortal (voluntarily choosing death for the

sake of posterity in x.13.4 ; in Iranian tradition, because one of his subjects violated a taboo against beef-eating), Yama is also lord of the dead. Both the name and the kingly function exercised by Yama seem to make this the proper Indo-Iranian tradition. There is a third candidate who appears very late, namely Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa, mentioned only by the first part of the name in x. 90, but with increasing prominence later on ; this indicates that he belongs to an older tradition which is only later assimilated. He is the first sacrifice, but then Yama is both first sacrifice (x.13.4) and sacrificer, while Manu is also the first sacrificer (x.63.7) ; both Yama and Manu are sons of Vivasvat (x.17.1 ; viii. 52.1) but both Manu and Puruṣa are autogenous. The etymology of Nārāyaṇa is later given as the god who dwells in the flood-waters (*nārī*), but the word, if Sanskrit, seems to mean merely "son of man". The similarity of particular details is due not to the unity of these clearly divergent representatives but to the need for adopting them to the vedic, fire-sacrificing ritual and cults. Another candidate for seniority seems to have faded out of the picture. Tvaṣṭṛ makes images of the gods, and seems to have, in some such manner, power to make the gods behave accordingly. In ix.5.9, he is the first-born, *agraja* and the adjective *agriya* i.13.10 gives him precedence ; x.7.90 shows that he is peculiarly associated with the Aṅgirasas and fire. Indra cannot have been the original anthropomorphous chief god of the vedic Aryans, for Varuṇa seems to have occupied that post and been superseded according to x. 124, perhaps when the Indic Aryans took to a life of constant fighting and conquest as in the properly vedic period. Possibly iv. 42 also has this supersession of Varuṇa by the powerful war-god for its theme, and shows us in its later portion that apotheosis of a human warlord is possible, for king Trasadasyu is called a demi-god (*ardha-deva*) in iv.42.8-9.

The god Tvaṣṭṛ, whose name continues to mean carpenter (AV.xii.3.33. ; Amarakośa 2.10.9;3.3.35), reappears in various minor ways in vedic mythology, either directly or through his 'son'. Viśvakarman in x. 81.3 has eyes, faces, arms in every direction—characteristic of the later Brahmā ; he created or rather fabricated heaven and earth : *niṣṭatakṣuḥ* (x.81.4), but the root *takṣ-tvaṣ* is also responsible for Tvaṣṭṛ. It will be shown from analysis of Iranian legend that a many headed god like Viśvakarman should be Vācaspati, as in x.82.7. The speech-goddess *vāc* being primarily the river Sarasvatī and in any case a water-goddess (x.125.7), other connections between rivers, many-headed gods, and Tvaṣṭṛ will, not surprisingly, appear. In x.82.3,5,6 Viśvakarman is specially connected with the embryo of the universe (cf. v.42.13) ; Tvaṣṭṛ is always fashioner and protector of all embryos, divine, human, or animal. It is peculiarly interesting to learn from x.17.1-2 that Tvaṣṭṛ's daughter Saraṇyu (= 'the flowing', hence a river-deity) was married to Vivasvat, giving birth to Yama-Yamī ; after her flight, her double became mother of the Aśvins who relieve so many priests in distress. Viśvakarman is both creator

and destroyer (*dhātā* and *vidhātā* appear as weaving women, like the Norns, in Mbh, 1.3.172); the funerary hymn x.18.5-6 specially calls upon Tvaṣṭṛ to protect the living, though the end of the hymn sends the dead man to his fathers and Yama. The reason for Tvaṣṭṛ's being invoked appears in x.18.10-11 in which burial is first described as return to the earth-mother's womb. Thus we have the combination of two entirely different rituals and a succession of Yama to Tvaṣṭṛ-Viśvakarman, apparently by mother-right. Therefore Tvaṣṭṛ is not originally an Aryan god like Varuṇa, pushed into the background by Indra and the fighting life, but rather a cult figure from the pre-Aryan background, adopted at various times under different names which are Sanskrit adjectives. The faint similarity between Varuṇa's supersession and Tvaṣṭṛ's was utilized in ancient times : in x. 124.5-7, Varuṇa is virtually a supporter of Vṛtra against Indra (taking the obvious rather than the Sāyaṇa meaning) ; in iv.42.3, Varuṇa even proclaims himself Tvaṣṭṛ, perhaps in the adjectival sense, but in any case unique. These are clearly attempts at assimilation. The Ṛbhus who quadruplicate Tvaṣṭṛ's wooden cup (i.206 ;iv.33. 5-6) seem to be purely Aryan craftsman-gods of limited aspect. A carpenter-god implies the existence and relative importance of craftsmen among his worshippers. We know that carpenters would be important when chariots and heavy wagons (*anas*) were ; also that some indigenous craftsmen were far superior to those of the invaders. It would then seem that Tvaṣṭṛ first enters the pantheon as a god brought in by the pre-Aryan craftsmen. But this does not necessarily mean that he was only a craftsman-god among the pre-Aryans.

In the south, to this day, Tvaṣṭṛ is worshipped under the name of Viśvakarman by the few surviving image-makers of the old school. They form a caste (*sthapatis*) by themselves, and still claim the right of wearing the sacred thread. In view of all this, it might be considered ridiculous to propound the view that Tvaṣṭṛ is borrowed or adopted from the pre-Aryans. Let me, therefore, point to Sāyaṇa's gloss on the word *br̥saya* which is either a name or means wizard. On i. 93.4, the commentator says "*br̥sayo'suras tvaṣṭā,*" though the supposed, Asura is here connected with the Paṇis by the text of the ṛk. On vi. 61.2, commenting upon *viśvasya br̥sasya māyinaḥ*, Sāyaṇa again says "*Br̥saya iti Tvaṣṭur nāma-dheyam*". Now Tvaṣṭṛ having a clear position among the gods, to the extent of being included in every *āpri*-hymn, to call him an Asura Br̥saya would have required great courage on the part of a devout fourteenth century commentator*, unless there had been a very clear tradition to that effect which could not be contested. As will be seen, we should have been driven to this conclusion even without the added help of Sāyaṇa's report.

* Sāyaṇa again calls Tvaṣṭṛ an Asura when commenting upon iii.48.4 but Prajāpati on iv.42.3, Viśvakarmā on i.32.2; i.61.6; i.85.9. One god entering into the pantheon under different names would make it easy to develop the later monotheistic syncretism. RV.ix.5.9: *tvaṣṭāram agrajāṇ gopāṇ puroyāvānam ā huḥ; vidur indro vṛṣā harīḥ pavamānah prajāpatih* shows an early beginning of such identification which is also to be seen in x.125, and iv.20, for other gods.

There is a possible (but insufficient) materialist explanation for the decay of Tvaṣṭṛ, namely the changing social relationships within Aryan society, due precisely to the conquest. The craftsman-god has much less honour than the war-leader god, as would be natural. With this we also get the greater urgency of ritual and a differentiation, then barely visible, between the functions of priest and king (iv.50.7-11). There is the corresponding rise of an altogether new god (of prayer or of the sacrifice) Bṛhaspati, who has varying degrees of respect, from a trifling mention in the Viśvāmitra book (iii.20.5 ; iii.26.2. = *agni* ; iii. 62.4-6, but this is a Jamadagni hymn in all probability), to having entire hymns dedicated to him in the properly Brahmanical books, as ii. 23 to ii.26.

The last note is about the structure of vedic society. The caste system is peculiarly Indian, yet the four castes are mentioned in just one ṛgvedic hymn (x.90) the famous Puruṣasūkta, quite obviously a later addition duplicated in the last of the vedas, the Atharva-veda. The four-caste system is mentioned nowhere else in the R̥gveda, nor are the two lower castes, Śūdra and Vaiśya. Brāhmaṇa in the sense of one belonging to the priesthood, with the special function of speech, is rare occurring only in the newest layer (vii.103 ; x.16.6 ; 71.8-9;88.19;90.12;97.22; 109.4). Kṣatra in the sense of the rulers or rule, and kṣatriya do occur both of gods and men ; but the book need not emphasize this, seeing that there is no competition. There can be no question of purohita-gotras exclusively, for the priesthood is not the exclusive prerogative of one caste ; in ii.1.2. = x.91.10, *brahman is actually separated from all other priests*. Even later, we have ample proof that the kṣatriya could officiate at the sacrifice, for all that the Brahmanical scriptures enjoin is that he should not officiate at the sacrifices of others as do the Brahmins; nothing prevents him from officiating at his own *yajña*. Even here, we find the story of Devāpi (Bṛhaddevatā vii.155-viii.10 on RV. x.98-101) who did so officiate at the ceremonies for his crowned younger brother Śaṃtanu. This is of some importance for us in the bearing it has on the caste system at its oldest stage, and its relation with the gotras.

VIŚVĀMITRA AND VASIṢṬHA

6. If we assume that all Brahmins were Aryans from the first, and that they were the priesthood which developed entirely from within, there is very little that analysis can tell us except that our legends are meaningless. But if we make no such hypothesis, then the most instructive tradition is that of the rivalry between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra. Later tradition has Viśvāmitra a kṣatriya who did his best to become a Brahmin in jealousy of Vasiṣṭha, and succeeded. The tradition is uniform that he was originally not a Brahmin but a ruler and member of the warrior caste, a *rājarsi*, though there is no

mention in most of the oldest records* of his actually having been a king. It does not need detailed reference to the Ṛgveda to prove that the Viśvāmitras are themselves Kuśikas (iii.33.5, iii.53.9-11, etc.). But the Anukramaṇī calls the third book that of Viśvāmitra, not of the Kuśikas, as it should clearly have been denoted ; in conformity with this Brahmanical method of labelling the entire clan after one great representative, we get in our later gotra lists the Kuśikas (owl-totem) generally indicated as a branch of the Viśvāmitras, which is again a characteristic inversion deriving from the adoption of a foreign system whose totemic basis had been forgotten, the clan system. As for the original position of the Kuśikas, it might be recalled that Indra is invoked as *kuśika* in i.10.11, and this seems unique among the 'Brahmin' clans as far as known, for *anīrastamas* in i.130.3 and *vasiṣṭha* in ii. 36.1 are direct adjectives, not patronymics. The Brahminization, in its surviving form, of the Viśvāmitra book may even be attributed to the Jamadagni influence so clearly visible therein. The Vasiṣṭhas have a special claim to priority in the priesthood, for the tradition is uncontradicted that they *first of all the Brahmins* "saw" Indra and began to worship him, whence they have first place at the fire-sacrifice. (Bṛhaddevatā v. 156-159 ; Tait.Sam.iii.5.2).

We are rather fortunately placed as regards this legend, for the Ṛgveda has preserved for us books of both families. Both are priests in the service of king Sudās, who could himself exercise priestly functions, being the reputed author of x.133. The senior priest is Viśvāmitra, the eponym standing for the entire group ; the gotra name, as has been shown, is really *kuśika* = the owl, a good bird totem. A famous hymn is iii. 33, by Viśvāmitra to the two Punjab rivers Vipās and Śutudru which he crosses with heavily loaded wagons of the Bharata tribe. This is apparently referred to in iii.53.9 and 11, where Sudās is the king is made to cross safely by Viśvāmitra, while iii.53.12 calls down a blessing of Viśvāmitra upon this tribe of the Bharatas. The implication is that Sudās and Viśvāmitra are Bharatas. This seems to be partially confirmed by vi.16.19, where the ancestral fire of the Bharatas is called the lord of Divodāsa, which is the name of Sudās's father or paternal ancestor.

But the Vasiṣṭhas also claim to be the priests of Sudās, in their own book, and there is ample support for this. This disposes of the fiction that the gotra of a kṣatriya is that of his priest, for it would follow that Sudās Paijavana changed gotras or had more than one ! We have to examine the question of priority between these two clans which occupy the priesthood in succession for the same people. Here for once we have unequivocal testimony : "Like sticks used to drive oxen were the Bharatas split and enfeebled (= *arbhakāsas* ;

*The Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa (xxi.12.2) may refer to some other Vasiṣṭha in calling the seer the son of Viḍu, though the same accounts call Viśvāmitra king of the Jahnus, which would seem to refer to the two founder ṛsis. But the conflicting double account of Vasiṣṭha's birth in RV. vii, 33.11-13 wherein he is born of a water-goddess as well as from a jug which received the semen of Mitra-Varuṇa, will appear to be of special interest in the sequel.

according to Sāyana, "with few children") ; then Vasiṣṭha became their chief priest (*purohita*) and from the Tṛtsus developed progeny (*viśas*)" (vii.33.6). The statement is perfectly clear, and the special Vasiṣṭha prayer for issue is to be seen in vii.4.7-8. Our verse above means that the Tṛtsus were a branch of the Bharatas—though the name is taken by some as synonymous for all the Bharatas, which looks unlikely unless it is from some other language. Vasiṣṭha was not originally their priest, but he *became* the *purohita* at some later stage, and then the tribe multiplied. Actually, in vii.33.10-11 Vasiṣṭha derives his origin from Mitra-Varuṇa¹ and the very next verse from an *apsaras*,² both of which mysterious legends have been amplified later. This, with the absence of an animal or tree totem, would strengthen the implication that Vasiṣṭha (whose name is merely an adjective proclaiming his superlative glory) was not as other Aryan men.³ On the other hand, he cannot be taken as a divine being

¹ Of course, we have other descendants of the gods. Bṛgu is sometimes a descendant of Varuṇa ; x.15-19 are by sons or descendants of Yama, x.135 by a Kumāra Yāmāyana; x.154 by Yamī. Among sons of Indra are counted Vimada, author of x.29-26, the ape Vṛśākapi of x.86, and Jaya, author of x.180. All gotra names ending in *-stamba* are Bhāradvājas.

² Apsu is good Sumerian for the sweet (potable) waters both above and below the earth and the *apsaras* (in spite of Grassmann's derivation *a+psaras*) is a water deity. One may note other Sumerian elements in plenty. The god Anu might even have been worshipped by the Anu tribe of the *dāsarījña* enemies of Sūlās. Certainly, Enki has features that remind us of Yama ; his being a god of the *apsu*, and sleeping (after creation), are reminiscent of the later Indian Nārāyaṇa. The reason for not giving way to this sort of speculation about the Sumerians is the lack of clear documentary connection between the two cultures, and the great difference in dates, though nothing prevents the legends and cults being common property of pre-Aryan peoples some of whom later became Brahmins. The other difficulty is our ignorance of the actual phonetic values which were assigned to Sumerian ideograms at various times and places ; a personage whom textbooks of a generation ago called the "*patesi* of Shirpurla" is now known as the "*isag* of Lagash." So, those who wish to follow in the footsteps of L.A. Waddell should find plenty of latitude of their conjectures. Let me present conjecture-mongers with the undeniable fact that the spotted cow Pṛṣni containing the sun, moon, and stars (viii.94.2) fits the Egyptian picture of the world-cow while Ṛgveda ii.13.8 mentions a Nārṇara whom someone is sure to equate to the Pharaoh Narmer-Menes. Then take the Yakṣus (vii.18.19) as the Hyksos, and so on.

³ Sāyana's gloss as well as the Bṛhaddevatā comment seem to take *māna* in vii.33.13 as referring to Agastya's birth from a jar, begotten from the joint semen of Mitra-Varuṇa. Here, it may be pointed out that Vasiṣṭha stands in a special relationship to Varuṇa not only in his descent but in the intensity of his feeling of guilt, demonstrated in the four hymns vii.86-89. In vii.84.4, the seer asks what his sin was that the god wishes to strike him down ; in 5, he wishes for release from some ancestral transgression or betrayal : *ava drugdhāni pitryā sṛja* ; the next ṛk pleads action against the singer's will and the seventh promises service of the humblest sort : *aram dāso na mīhuse kramēni*. In vii.87 the tone of self-abnegation is not so prominent, but the final verse again yearns for blamelessness before Varuṇa. The briefest of the lot, vii.89 seems charged with this sense of guilt acquired by unspecified but necessary action : *krateḥ samaha dīnatā pratiṣṭam jagamā sūce ; mṛtā sukṣātra mṛtāya*. Nothing of this is shown by any other seer of the Ṛgveda, though they all honour Varuṇa as the first-born, just, benign, and peaceful god. We might venture upon the interpretation that Vasiṣṭha was really guilty of having abandoned the ancestral cult in favour of more paying practices, such as the *yajña* and worship of the war-god Indra ; it is for this that his descendants had to ask forgiveness. In this case, vii.88.4 would even acquire a special significance in its statement that Varuṇa had made a *ṛsi* of Vasiṣṭha. When and where this supposed transformation occurred is not clear, but it must have been early to give the Vasiṣṭhas their traditional priority in *vajña* ritual (Bṛhaddevatā v.150-159; Śat. Brāh. xii.0.1.41, ii.4.4.2, etc.). Aryan wanderings extended far beyond the upper Indus land-mass and this has left its mark upon the ṛgvedic tradition also. Vasiṣṭha speaks of being taken up on the ship of Varuṇa, and Kaksivān sings (i.110) of Bhujyu being saved at sea by the Nāsatyas. A ship with a hundred oars (i.116.5) and journeys three days away from the shore would hardly be expected on the upper Indus or any lake in the Punjab. Quite incidentally, the father of Bhujyu is Tugra (i.116.3, 117.4), which is also the name of an enemy of Indra (vi.20.8 ; vi.26.4 ; x.49.4).

because he is actually the priest of a decaying clan, and vii.18, which describes the victories of Sudās over many hostile kings, ends with a description of the gifts to Vasiṣṭha ; these gifts would be uncalled for if some of the victories were not due to a Vasiṣṭha's incantations. The first battle (vii.18.5-8) is on the Paruṣṇī, but there is at least one other in vii.18.19, on the Yamunā. This virtually spans the whole of greater Punjab, if the Yamunā is to be understood as the modern river of that name (though it has been suggested that the name, indicating merely the "twin river", might again denote the Paruṣṇī ; but x.75.5 which has the only ṛgvedic mention of the Gaṅgā seems clear for our interpretation). Now we have noted that the general movement is to the east, specifically proved in this case by Patañjali's remark that the adjective "eastern" for Bharatas is superfluous, as there aren't any Bharatas except in the east : *bharata-viśeṣaṇam prāg grahaṇam anarthakam, na hy aprāñco bharatāḥ santi* (commenting on Pāṇ.2.4.66 ; later commentators take Auddālaki as an example of a Bharata). Whence Viśvāmitra's passage of the Beas and the Sutlej must be an earlier event, and the priority of Viśvāmitra is therefore not in doubt. The inversion consists in that Viśvāmitra is made the upstart by later Brahmanical tradition in direct contradiction to the clear historical development.

If Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra were both Brahmins as the term is understood by later writers, and the Aryan priesthood confined to the Brahmin caste, the logical development would have been the adoption of Vasiṣṭha into the Viśvāmitra or Kuśika gotra. The story of Śunahśepa (Ait.Brāh.vii.13-18 ; the names of the three brothers are a suspicious feature) does show such adoption, even of one chosen as sacrificial victim (cf. v.2.7 ; j.24.12-13). Indeed this adoption with the changed name of *Devarāta is made responsible for the double marriage restrictions upon the Devarāta gotra though contrary to the accepted results of adoption in tribal society. Even to this day, Brahmanical marriage restrictions are circumvented by adoption into some other gotra, which also forfeits inheritance rights. But Vasiṣṭha is emphatically called the first Brahmin priest, whence Brahminism is foreign to the original Aryan system. It sufficed, therefore, that Vasiṣṭha be adopted into the tribe, not necessarily into the gens of the original tribal priest, Viśvāmitra. It follows that Viśvāmitra, though a priest, is originally not a Brahmin ; this is attested by his title of *rājarsi*, applied also to several other kṣatriya priests, as for example the five (supposed) authors of i.100, the three of x.179.

While references to Sudās and his victories are scattered throughout the Ṛgveda (though with highest frequency by Vasiṣṭha), the name Tr̥tsu occurs nowhere outside the seventh book. There is a faint possibility that the whole of the Tr̥tsu group (including ancestors of Sudās) was adopted into, and not

*Śunahśepa, son of Ajīgarta, is the traditional author of i.21-30 ; the RV. knows a Bharata Devavāta in iii.23.2-3. The intended victim must have been a Jamadagni (cf.p.23).

a splinter of, the Bharatas ; but there is no clan name now extant which can be derived from Tṛtsu. The adoption seems at least to have been that of Vasiṣṭha and went to the extent of a common style in hairdressing ; vii.33 begins by describing the Vasiṣṭhas as *dakṣīnatas-kapardīnas*, with hairtwist on the right side, and *kapardīn* is used only of the Tṛtsus (vii.83.8) in describing human beings. The actual practice survived late, as we see from the appendix to the Gobhila Gr̥hya-sutra* : “The Vasiṣṭhas have a hairtwist (or braid) on the right, the Atreyas have three twists, the Aṅgīrasas five scalp-locks, the Bhṛigus have completely shaven heads, and the others wear a crest.” This is to differentiate between gotra-groups, and “the others” here are the Viśvāmitras and possibly the Kaṇvas, so far as the main Ṛgvedic families go.

THE DEATH OF A PRIEST: TVĀṢṬRA

7. The rivalry between the Viśvāmitras and the upstart Vasiṣṭhas is plentifully attested in later tradition, while iii. 53.21-24 are stanzas which still pass as curses against the Vasiṣṭhas, so strong that were one of them to hear the particular verses, his head would split into a hundred pieces (they are still capable of giving anyone a headache !). On closer reading, these stanzas actually do seem to be a mixture of curse and lament that the Bharatas are beginning to prefer strangers to their own, the ass to the horse ; there is no reason to doubt that they reflect the displacement of the Kuśikas by the Vasiṣṭhas. We are told (Bṛhaddevatā v. 112-120) that Viśvāmitra was deprived of his senses by Vasiṣṭha and speech (*vāk sasarpurī*) had to be supplied by Jamadagni. The brief hymn x.167 to Indra is given joint authorship of Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni, which supports this close association. It follows that here Jamadagni is not on the same side as Vasiṣṭha and their separate rivalry is attested by Tait.Sam.iii.1.7 ; v.4.11. Later tradition makes Jamadagni a sage at once hot tempered and forbearing ; capable of stopping the sun yet killed unresisting by kṣatriyas ; in revenge his son Paraśurāma completely wipes out all kṣatriyas from the face of the earth thrice seven times—though the Vedas have nothing of all this (Jāmadagnya being merely the supposed author of x.110). This is one more of the inversions, with passage of time and rise of the Brahmins : it was the kṣatriya who did the killing, and not conversely. In fact, even the Vasiṣṭhas are supposed not to have escaped unscathed, for the Bṛhaddevatā vi.28,33-4 reports “Now in the fifteenth and in the eighth

*For this stanza and a careful discussion of gotra-pravara exogamy as well as correspondence between the traditional lists and the classification implicit in Pāṇini's derivations. see John Brough, “The Early History of the Gotras” in JRAS 1940, pp.32-45 ; 1947, pp.76-90. Though the learned author's approach and point of view are entirely different from those adopted in this note, it is remarkable that he reaches the conclusion that at the time of composition of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the entry of the Jāmadagnyas into the Brahmanical fold was (probably) still comparatively recent. My thanks are due to Prof. Brough for suggesting some corrections, though we still differ on the main question.

(stanza) of the hymn (RV.vii.104) the son of Varuṇa (Vasiṣṭha), while as it were lamenting, his soul being overwhelmed with pain and grief, utters a curse. Vasiṣṭha was at that time pained as his hundred sons had been slain by Sudāsa who, in consequence of a curse, had been transformed into a demon (*raṅśas*). Such is the sacred tradition." Again, the Ṛgveda does not report this but the Tait. Sam.vii.4.7 does ; such a tradition in the face of all the favour supposedly shown Vasiṣṭha by Sudās cannot be devoid of truth¹. I suggest that *some* Vasiṣṭhas were so killed, perhaps some of those not regularly adopted into the Ṛtsus. Killing the priest or his son is a fashion set by Indra himself in beheading Viśvarūpa Tvāṣṭra, whose three heads he (or his double Trita, ii.11.19; x.8.8-9) struck off. This counts as a sin only in far later times, while we still have the Tvāṣṭreya gotra (GPN.156.18) among the Jamadagnis. The three heads of Tvāṣṭra became varieties of partridge (Bṛhaddevatū vi.151) and two of these bird totems certainly remain in the gotra lists, namely Tittiri and Kapiñjala, though neither is among the Jamadagnis proper. For that matter the demon Rāvaṇa, the warrior villain of the Rāmāyaṇa in later and more eastern legend, counts also as a Brahmin, and surprisingly enough the gotra is found in the Vasiṣṭha group (GPN. 113.11, 177. 22,177.1) though Vasiṣṭha is traditionally the chief teacher of Rāma ! Even the mild Atris did not escape as is seen by Saptavadhri's prayer for release from imprisonment (v.78.5-6) and by x.143.1-3, i.117.3, x.39.9, perhaps referring to Atri's release from a fiery pit.

The lasso as a weapon of war is used by the Sagartian contingent of Xerxes's cavalry (Herodotos vii.84), and by individual heroes in the Shah Nameh. This may be the original *pāśa* from which freedom is desired, perhaps symbolically, in several hymns. The gloss ascribes viii. 67 to fishes caught in a net and praying for freedom, which could have been dismissed as a myth had it not been for the fact that the Matsya tribe appears in vii.18; and in the Mahābhārata as the people of king Virāṭa. The Vaphio gold cups show us nets being used to catch wild bulls while the god Niṅṅirsu is shown on Eannantums' stela (stèle des vautours, in the Louvre) enfolding the men of Umma in a net and crushing those who try to escape, whence its use for prisoners² of war is also possible.

¹ The burning by the Saudāsas of a son of Vasiṣṭha named Śakti, is also reported by the Śātyāyana and Jaiminiya Brāhmanas (H. Oertel, JOAS xviii, 1897 pp. 15-48, particularly p.47). For the cannibal Saudāsa in later fable, Jātakamāla 31 etc.

² We seem to have a reference to both divine and human imprisonment (of Brahmins) in iv, 12.5 ūrvād devānāṃ uta martyūnāṃ. The *yādavā paśub* (viii, 1.31) could be a Yadu prisoner of war, particularly when read with viii, 6.48 : *śravasā yādavā janam*. The traditional Yadu capital Dvārakā cannot have been the modern port of that name in Saurāṣṭra. We have a clear narrative of the Yadus including Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, being driven out of Mathurā by Jarāsamḍha. They go westwards to found the new city in the safety of a mountain barrier : Mbh. 2, 12, 9 ; 2, 13, 44, 49, 05. This is the logical direction, considering the desert to the southwest of Mathurā ; the original Dvārakā may thus have been Darwaz in Afghanistan, or the capital of Kamboja in Buddhist records.

The Taittirīya Saṁhitā (ii.5.1, after Keith) says : “Viśvarūpa, son of Tvāṣṭṛ, was the domestic priest of the gods, and the sister’s son of the Asuras. He had three heads, of which one drank *soma*, one *surā*, and one which ate food. He promised openly the share to gods, secretly to the Asuras. Therefore Indra was afraid, (thinking) ‘such a one is diverting the sovereignty (from me)’. He took his weapon and smote off his heads. That which drank Soma became a hazelcock (*kapiñjala*) ; that which drank Surā a sparrow (*kalaviṅka*) that which ate food a partridge (*tittiri* ; note the name of the Saṁhitā itself). He (=Indra) seized with his hands the guilt of slaying him (=Tvāṣṭṛ) and bore it for a year. Creatures called out upon him ‘Brahmin-slayer’..”. The Yajurveda proceeds to list the evils and taboos which arose when Indra’s sin was partaken by others. It also says that Vṛtra was created by Tvāṣṭṛ to avenge his son’s murder ; later tradition has it that the plan miscarried because of a misplaced accent, whereby Vṛtra was killed by Indra instead of becoming Indra-killer. I wish to emphasize that, in general, legends of the gods represent some aspect of human class-relations whenever a complex social structure arises out of the amalgamation of different cultures. Now the Taittirīya Saṁhitā existed before the 6th century B.C., while its components, including the story above, are much older. In asking ourselves just what the story does represent, the main features have to be considered, namely : Tvāṣṭṛ has three heads (of which we have noted the gentile nature of at least two); he is a Brahmin, so that killing him is a sin here—though a creditable performance in other reports ; his mother is, nevertheless, a sister of the Asuras, whence Tvāṣṭṛ is an Asura in the matriarchal sense ; Indra maintains his sovereignty by the craft of this not properly Aryan priest. I hope to prove in the sequel that the story has a basis in ancient history, as seen from recorded tradition and archaeological finds. Its incorporation into vedic mythology does show a progressive change of emphasis, but the story itself cannot be wholly explained by mere internal development of antagonism between king and priest. The most likely interpretation, accounting both for the apparently historical features as well as the development of castes, is that the original vedic priesthood was expanded and transformed by absorption of very important pre-Aryan elements.

It is easy enough to show that this enmity between the brāhmaṇa and the kṣatriya is not merely a later growth with the increasing power of the priesthood; in fact such increase of power, till we come to Kāṇvāyanas is only in theory, naturally propagated by the unarmed and helpless Brahmins themselves.

The analogy of European struggles between the Papacy and the secular power cannot possibly apply till long after the early vedic period, certainly not before the Mauryans ; even here note must be made of the fact that Hin-

duism never developed an established church, and that the Brahmin caste began to serve the general population by ritual, rather than the warrior class by *yajña*, only after the rise of Buddhism. In the earliest days (as in Rome and Greece), it was the right as well as the duty of every head of a patriarchal family to perform priestly functions later reserved for Brahmins ; and knowledge of vedic Sanskrit was common without the prolonged study it necessitated later. If, under such circumstances, we find the beginning at least of endogamous castes, it is necessary to inquire what *external* forces would lead to and accelerate this type of partition. The major feature is the conquest ; it will be shown that this does account for the *śūdra* caste. But it is difficult to believe that no other portion of the conquered population survived besides the helots; that we should nevertheless find the reappearance of Indus Valley motifs, including multiple-headed and many-armed deities—particularly Brahmā. That cities like Mohenjo-daro could exist without class divisions is quite incredible in view of what is known of ancient society, and if their armament does not appear from known excavations (which are certainly incomplete) to have been very good, it implies the existence of some other method than pure force for maintaining the class division. This method, so far as known, can only be religion, and that in turn implies the existence of a strong, fully-developed, and well-organized priesthood. I may point out in this connection the importance of the desert bordering the river (as in Egypt and Mesopotamia) for this not only makes the development of agriculture, and later of the city-state, possible as well as necessary, but also economizes the energy spent upon defence against wild animals, barbarians, and in cutting down forests. The intervening desert is an excellent natural barrier against external enemies till they learn the advanced military technique necessary for crossing it and taking walled cities. The need for internal force is minimized by the priesthood. After the Aryan conquest, nothing would be easier than the absorption of some upper layers of the conquered society, and the most attractive would be the priesthood, even more important than the technicians in any primitive society. Of course, this would greatly intensify the development of classes among the conquerors as soon as they began to settle down ; which is precisely what we find on comparing the Ṛgveda with the Taittirīya Saṃhitā and later documents. As further support, I might point out that a considerable number of ancient stories appear rather late, albeit with claim to antiquity—as for example the flood legends and the *purāṇas* in general, though some of the material is undoubtedly pre-Aryan.

In this direction, it is also necessary to remark that matriarchy survives only among the least Aryanized of the people found in India today. If the conquered had even a remnant of this system, it would be easy for them to preserve their group structure for a while after adoption into various patriarchal gentes. Thus we should not be surprised at finding Dīrghatamas called

Māmateya after his mother, a custom to be observed in the final Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad line of teachers.

One sign of conflict between the Brahmin and kṣatriya castes, after full development of the system, appears in the original meaning of x.109, which seems to have been composed for the return of a Brahmin's wife abducted by a kṣatriya. One obvious reason for the later appearance of the Jamadagnis and the still later rise to pre-eminence of Bhṛgu is this previous enmity. These people were still being killed by the kṣatriyas when the Viśvāmitras were being ousted by the Vasiṣṭhas from the Bharatan priesthood. The objection will undoubtedly be made that the later Brahmins could have been Aryans from some extra-vedic branch. Why could the Jamadagnis, with their Indo-European name, not have been vrātyas? In the first place, the vrātyas were first differentiated from the rest long after the Bhṛgu-Jamadagni group was well established (though not necessarily in all parts of the country) and the vedas fully developed. In the Ṛgvedic age, the term vrātya could not have been used to distinguish extra-vedic Aryans because all Aryans were then wanderers while the development of the vedas itself reflects the rise of settlements. The vrātya tribes do not need the vedas simply because they continue to wander eastwards, into territory without a great civilization comparable with that of the Indus valley. At that later stage when the vrātyas proper have to be distinguished, the adoption of their priests would not only be unnecessary but highly improbable for the simple reason that their priesthood—if indeed it had a separate existence—would be much less developed than that of the main vedic Aryans. This can be seen from the *vrātyastoma* ritual, created later for the adoption of a vrātya, not of his priest, into the vedic fold; from book xv of the Atharva-veda, which seems written to placate the vrātyas; from the term *brahmabandhu*, applied to Magadhan Brahmins who associated themselves with the vrātya ceremonies, and even now used of *Brahmins without learning. The great vrātya tribe is that of the Licchavis, mentioned with respect by the Jains, and the earliest Buddhists, while maintaining a high social position down to the Gupta period at least. We have yet to hear anything of their priesthood. The philological argument from the name carries less force now that Hittite records have been read; also, adoption being a form of rebirth, a non-Aryan name would be the first to change. Even without adop-

* Śarabha is called *śribandhu* in viii.100.6 but without the forceful contempt that goes with the termination *bandhu* later on. The Licchavis are kṣatriya vrātyas according to Manusmṛti 10.21 var. *nīcchivī*, known to Buddhist literature generally as Vajjis (=the wanderers). Patañjali on Pān. 5.2.21 : *nānājātiyā ariyetavytaya utsedhajimnāḥ saṅghā vrātāḥ* shows that any tribal organization outside the Brahmin ritual and four-caste system could be called vrātya, foreshadowing modern guild-castes and professional tribes. The Mahāparinibbānasutta shows that the basic rules of the Buddhist saṅgha were derived from Aryan tribal constitutions, specifically that of the Licchavis. For a survey of the Brahmin literature (without realization that sūtras concerned only with reconciling vrātya observances with vedic ritual say nothing about the actual life led by the tribes) see J. W. Hauer, *Der Vratya* (Stuttgart 1927; vol. I only). The vrātya Gṛhapati of Pañc. Brāh. xvii. 1. 14, 17 could easily be the tribal chief with the usual priestly functions, and no other explanation will fit as well.

tion, conquest favours a new style in names, as seen from Greek names adopted by Jews. Proponents of the "extra-vedic Aryans" theory would have to postulate rather complicated relationships between groups of Aryans not known to have existed ; at the same time, the recurrence of Indus Valley types in later iconography would be very difficult to explain.

ADOPTED PRIESTS .

8. Looking closely at the first list of Sudās's enemies in vii. 18.5-7, we find the following* : Śimyu, Turvaśa, Yakṣu, Matsya, Druhyu, Bhṛgu, Paktha, Bhālāna, Viṣāṇin, Alina (and perhaps The Śivas) ; in vii.33.7, the ten kings opposing Sudās are called *ayajyavaḥ*, "without the fire sacrifice." The notable occurrence here is of the Bhṛgus, who cannot then have been merely Brahmin priests. This is to some extent supported by the surviving designation *bhārgava* (? "the roaster") for a potter, which is quite natural if fire were the particular technique of the Bhṛgus, as it appears to be in the Ṛgveda. Their chariot receives special mention in iv.16.20 and x.39.14 by the phrase *bhṛgavo na ratham*. Hence, they are a complete tribe, with all the professions. If their name survives only as that of a Brahmin gotra, it must be because some of them managed to become priests of the Aryans. That they were not always Aryans themselves would follow from vii.18.7, which specifically mentions Indra, as the friend of the Aryans, bringing aid to the other side. That the Indus valley culture could exist without strong class differences is incredible, and their priest class must have had specially refined ceremonial, which would enable them to be adopted fairly easily into the priesthood of the conquerors, provided they took up the new cults.

It is quite simple now to show that there are other elements besides the Bhṛgus which are so assimilated. Kutsa, for example, counts as a Bharadvāja gotra with Kautsa (GPN.63.14,165.21,61.4) ; it is therefore natural to find Kutsa the author of i.94-8. But in the body of the veda we read conflicting stories about him, for he is at times favoured by Indra and at times crushed ; the first may be seen in x.49.4 and the second in i.53.10. This can be explained

*Some of these names may be adjectives, but this seems a reasonable way to make up the *dāsarājña* ; just which people are qualified as *śitāsas* is not clear, so possibly The Śivas are one more tribe. The second battle is assumed to be distinct from the first.

by our present thesis of progressive assimilation of a Kutsa tribe. The Pūrus* are mentioned in i. 108 with the Yadus, Turvaśas, Druhyus, Anus, all originally hostile to Indra and the Aryans. The particular portion of the hymn is undoubtedly late; but it is to be noted that Yadu, Turvaśa, Anu, Druhyu, Pūru are all five made sons of king Yayati (the first two by Devayāni, a Brahmin (Bṛḡu) daughter of Śukra, preceptor to the Asuras) in later legend (Mbh. 1.78.9-10). Kṛṣṇa (=black), the incarnate god of the Mahābhārata, is himself a Yadu. A Kaṇva named Kṛṣṇa is the poet of viii.85, a hymn addressed to the Aśvins. It is notable that the seer is called "black" by name, like the Aṅgiras author of x.42-44; in the Atharva-veda ii. 25, *kaṇva* means "evil spirit", to be exorcised. It would be simplest to regard this not as a fortuitous coincidence, but as indicative of some Kaṇvas having been adopted from the dark pre-Aryans, of whom the unadopted portion was submitted to the usual process of demonization with the passage of time. Just when these five people became Aryans is not clear, but certainly the brave king Pōros defeated by Alexander in his invasion of the Indus valley is (with his nephew) the last Paurava known to history, so that some of these ancient lineages actually existed down to a late period, and had to be explained by a suitably rewritten tradition. This tradition never disguises the hostility between the dark (hence un-Aryan) Kṛṣṇa and Indra, which seems to go back to viii. 96. 14, 19 (accepting the reasonable Sāyaṇa gloss). We even get the Purukutsa combination as a king-name, probably the representative of an amalgamated tribe; in our Brahmin gotra lists the name is found among the Bharadvājas (GPN.61.14), which would be impossible except on our hypothesis. In fact, references in book vi. make it clear that some Bharadvājas were priests of Purukutsa's son, hence the formation of that gotra among the Bharadvājas. The descendant Kuruśravaṇa embodies the first mention of the Kurus, in his name (x.32.9;33.4).

When we come to *kevala* groups, the origin of the inverted rule that the priest's gotra is that of the king becomes still clearer. Vītahavya is a Bhārgava gotra (GPN.34.4-5) but the Śṛṅjaya Vaitahavyas of Atharva-veda v.18-19 are rude kṣatriyas who slaughter Bṛḡu's cow; the sage is helpless and the cow herself takes revenge upon the insolent warriors, who are destroyed. But this

*Identification is particularly difficult in the case of the Pūrus, for the name can be an adjective for plentitude, or a tribe of people in general, as well as a specific tribe named Pūru. In vi. 40.8, the particular tribe is meant, being mentioned along with Tṛkṣi and the Druhyus; similarly in i.108.8. But their position even as against the Vasīṣṭhas and Sudās is not clear, for vii.18.13 speaks either of having beaten or of hoping to defeat (*jesma*) the tricky-voiced Pūru"; in vii. 19.3, Indra is spoken of as having helped the Pūru king Trasasasyu; in vii. 96.2 the phrase *adhikṣiyanti pūracā* has been stood by some as indicating that the Pūrus were then settled on both banks of the Sarasvati. The adjective *mḍhravāc* is also used of the Panis in vii 6.3, the Dasyus in xv.29.10. Sudās might even be made out a Pūru by i.03.7. Hopkins in JAOS xv. pp. 252-283 outdoes the most ridiculous of Indian pandits in deducing that the *dāsarājña* was a conspiracy led or instigated by Viśvāmītra (pp. 261-266). The basis seems to be his main discovery, namely that vii.18 contains derisive allusions to Viśvāmītra as often as possible. Just how this escaped the Indian tradition, which is generally so hostile to Viśvāmītra, has yet to be explained; but undoubtedly some lineal descendant will appear to rectify the omission made by Hopkins!

would leave the gotra and pravara unexplained, so we have a still later story to round out the narrative, that Bhṛgu magnanimously and magically converted the refugee Vītahavya into a Brahmin merely by telling his pursuers that there was no kṣatriya in the hermitage. Vītahavya as an adjective is applied to Sudās in vii. 18.3, presumably in the sense of he whose libations are agreeable to the gods ; the name occurs as that of the author of vi.15, and explicitly in vi. 15.3 calling down blessings upon him. But the sixth book is of the Bharadvājas, whence we again have a contradiction. This may be resolved by the explanation that *some* Sṛñjaya Vaitahavyas, not necessarily connected with the singer of vi. 15, had a Bhṛgu as their family priest. But inasmuch as the kṣatriya was not by any means excluded from the priesthood, properly the function of any tribal leader or family head, those Bhṛguids who survived in this particular line had to be adopted by tribal rule into the Vītahavyas, whence by the later antithetic inversion we get the formation of a Vītahavya pravara among the Bhṛgus. This process is very clear among the ten extra families enrolled among the Bhṛgus and Aṅgirasas, as shown by the king-names that form the supposedly Brahmin pravaras. It will be fairly obvious that, at least as regards these special *kevala* families, the pravara develops by adoption by some Brahmin group of a kṣatriya family name. Mudgala is a Kevala-Aṅgiras group in the lists, but the Mudgala of x.102 is a splendid fighter. Though not in the Veda, the Purāṇas make Viṣṇuvṛddha son of Trasaclasyu, hence a kṣatriya, though the name is in the Brahmin pravara lists. The Vena of x. 93.14 seems to be a non-Aryan king.

With the exception of people within the tribe or cult, as in the case of Indra himself or Sudās, Ṛgvedic names of a tribe and its leader seem to be identical, particularly in speaking of people not intimately known to the hymn-singer. This agrees with what we know of tribal society in other places. The MacDonald would be the head of the clan MacDonald in Scotland. Not less than ten different leaders named Appius Claudius headed the Claudian gens in Rome after its incorporation under the first Sabine head (Attius Clausus) ; if Latin records were as diffuse as the Sanskrit, the deeds of all of them would have been inextricably confounded. The distinction between heads of families and ordinary members appears in Pāṇini's grammar (see J. Brough, *loc.cit.*, for the significance of the *yuvan*). Vd. xii.7 shows that the period of mourning among the Iranians for the head of a family was six times that even for a parent. For my purpose, the designation of whole clans by a single ṛṣi's name (for one Viśvāmitra or Vasiṣṭha can hardly have composed the entire books in their respective names) yields further support for the adoption theory. What needs careful proof is the statement that some of these adopted priests must have belonged to pre-Aryan Indian groups.

The distinction between Brahmin and kṣatriya priestly traditions even after their merger may be seen in the position of Viṣṇu, who is a very minor

god in the Viśvāmītra book.¹ But three complete hymns to Viṣṇu by Dirghatamas (i. 154-6) show a totally changed relative emphasis. The sage himself, according to the Bṛhaddevatā iv. 11-30, was the blind son of a Bṛghu mother, and in his old age cast into the river which carried him safely eastwards beyond the Aryan pale to Aṅgā.

PRE-ARYANS AND ARCHAEOLOGY

9. It is still necessary to show that some of these new recruits to the vedic fold were non-Aryans,² for there is no doubt that there did exist non-vedic Aryans; among the Indians, it sufficed to refer to the *vrātya* Licchavis. So, it might be suggested that the whole fight with Sudās's enemies was in fact a

¹Apart from stylistic and metrical variation, as well as the subject matter, the mere incidence of hymn dedications may be used as a guide to clan differences. The ninth book, being dedicated to Soma, and the Vālakhilyas as later appendages, have been discarded; in doubtful cases, I follow Grassmann as far as possible. The standard hymn order within books or groups allowed us to emphasize dedications to Agni, Indra, and all the rest. Among the "rest" have been counted even those hymns where Indra or Agni, or both have a share. This gives us the following table :

Book	Agni	Indra	Rest	Total
ii	10	12	21	43
iii	29	24	9	62
iv	15	17	20	58
v	28	12	47	87
vi	16	31	28	75
vii	17	15	72	104
viii	14	45	33	92
i	45	41	105	191
x	30	44	117	191
<hr/>				
Totals	204	241	458	903

Modern statistical tests give information that agrees very well with what we know from other considerations. The Viśvāmītra book (iii) differs from all the rest, as would be expected from the real Aryan ksatriya tradition. Books i and x may be grouped together. Books ii, iv., vi can also be combined among themselves, which proves the Bṛghu-Aṅgīras unity of dedication. The Kāṇvas are closest to this group in spite of their great predilection for Indra, while only Atri comes near Vasiṣṭha, though none too close. (Calculations by Mr. S. Rāghavachari for the chi-square test). In support, we may recall that the eighth book, though Kāṇva by tradition and with a good unity of metre and style, is unquestionably of mixed authorship; not only other Aṅgīrasas but Atri is, Bṛghus (including Jamadagni and Uśanas), Kaśyapa, possibly a Vasiṣṭha Dyuṁnikā (viii.87), Trita Āpiya (viii, 47, but this is impossible as the final verses show), and even Manu Vaiśvata are given a share in the authorship, by the Anukramāṇī tradition. Only Viśvāmītra is stubbornly excluded, and this is highly suggestive.

² Traditionally, the Soma book contains eight hymns ascribed to a Kavi Bhārgava, who is identical with or the father of Kāvya Uśanas, who is in turn the author of three more. But the famous Devayāni story of the Mahābhārata shows this personage as preceptor to the Āsuras, which can be explained only on our present hypothesis of assimilation of non-Aryan priests, not necessarily in India. In the R̥gveda, Uśanas is mentioned almost exclusively by the Aṅgīrasas: i.61.10-11 (Savya); i.83.5 (Gotama Rahūgaṇa); i.121.12 (Kakṣivān); iv.26.1 (Vāmadeva); vi.20.11 (Bharadvāja); .iii.23.17 (Viśvamaṇas, son of Vyaśva); ix.87.3 (Uśanas himself); ix.97.3 (Vṛṣagaṇa, supposedly a Vasiṣṭha); x.40.7 (Ghoṣā, daughter of Kakṣivān). Otherwise *uśanā* is 'desire, of which Grassmann takes the name as a masculine personification. One can't expect this in Aṅgīras books, where Bṛhaspati is an Aṅgīras (vi.73.1) and even Agni (viii.84.4) in a hymn ascribed to Uśanas. Without discussing his identity with Kai Kāōs or Kavi Usa of the Iranians, it is fairly clear that he must be a figure of the transitional period.

civil war among Aryans (as in part it must have been), that the hostility which can so amply be proved down to later times is professional, between the warrior and priestly castes, and at most derives from the ancient hostility among different Aryan tribes. After all, Kurunṅa is called a Turvaśa king in his *dānastuti* by Kaṇva, viii.4.19, and could be an Aryan; more ambiguously, Kaṇva begs Indra to let him see Yadu-Turvaśa again in ṛk 7. Not only in vii.83.1, but also in other hymns (vi.33.3, vi.22.10, vi.60.6) are both Aryan and non-Aryan (called Vṛtras here) enemies mentioned when praying to vedic gods for protection. In iv.30.7, Indra takes Yadu and Turvaśa across dry (or unbathed; the meaning is obscure) but kills two (presumably non-vedic) Aryans Arṇa and Citraratha on the other side. There is, then, evidence for the progressive recombination of Aryans and non-Aryans into vedic and extra-vedic groups. In vii.83.1, Indra-Varuṇa are to stand by Sudās and strike enemies, both Aryans and Vṛtras. But our point is easily proved.

Tura Kāvāṣeya is famous teacher in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, a leading priest in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and prominent in other Brahmin tradition, though the direct gotra does not seem to have survived. But his father, Kavaśa Ailūsa (scer of x.30-34 and priest of Kuruśravaṇa, x.30) is forcibly ejected as *dāsyāḥ putraḥ** by Brahmins, to die of thirst from which he is saved by his river hymn (x.30, because of which the sacred river Sarasvatī followed him into the desert; cf. Ait.Brāh.ii.19). The ancestral representative Kavaśa is overthrown in vii.18.12 along with the Druhyus, which should complete the story. But it might still be objected that *dāsī* means only a slave girl, and there is nothing to show difference of race, even though a slave girl's son would certainly be disqualified.

Dāsa in the greater number of ṛgvedic citations means a human foe conquered by the Aryans in battle, Indra *yathāvaśam nayati dāsam āryaḥ* (v.34.6 and others). They have their own cities, strong enough to be called brazen or iron; (ii.20.8) *hatvī dasyūn pura āyasīr ni tārīt*. Dasyu is taken as synonymous at times with demons, and again with *dāsa*, which shows that the strife is very old: (iii.12.6) *Indrāgnī navatīm puro dāsapatnīr adhānutam*. Some of these cities are seasonal, particularly autumnal (*śārādīḥ*): *sapta yat puraḥ śarma śārādīr dardhan dāsīḥ Purukutsāya śikṣan* (vi.20.10) which incidentally show that Purukutsa was befriended by Indra at that time, whatever the components of his name may have been earlier. They have a special colour *yo dāsam varṇam* (ii.12.4) which is not that of the Aryans: *hatvī dasyūn prāryam varṇam āvat* (iii.34.9). They are always different in religion (cf. Manusmṛti x.44,45), which is of far greater importance than the colour. They have not the fire-sacrifice: *ayajvānah* (i.33.4), nor the proper cult and are possessed of black magic: *māyāvān abrahmā*

* A similar reproach by Medhātithi against Vatsa Kāṇva was disproved by the accused (Pañc. Brāh. xiv. 6.8).

dasyur arta (iv.16.9), besides being black and possessed of cities : (iv.16.13) *pañcāśat kṛṣṇā ni vapah sahasrā atkaṇi na puro jarimā vi dardah*. They are treacherous, without the Aryan observances, and hardly human (x.22.8) : *akarmā dasyur abhi no amantur anyavrato amānuṣaḥ ; tvaṃ tasyāmitrahan vadhar dāsasya dambhaya*. Just what the designation *anāsas* ("noseless" or "faceless" ?) applied to them in v.29.10 means is not clear, but it surely refers to their different appearance.

Only in three cases does *dāsa* clearly mean a servant or slave, an early reference to the helotage to which a great part of the subjected people sank. Of these, x.62.10 referring to gifts made by Yadu and Turva to the bard mentions either two slaves or portrays the humility of the donors, but the names as well as the reference being part of the *dānastuti* may indicate a later addition. The reference vii.56.3 in a Vālakhilya can be ignored. In vii.86.7, the seer speaks of serving the god like a *dāsa*, which can only mean slave or servant, not enemy. The rare mention shows that the new relation was emergent, not fully established. Therefore, we are led to wonder whether Divodāsa means "slave of heaven", or whether the period is early enough for the name to indicate a *dāsa* who had been adopted by the other side. I myself incline to the latter interpretation, seeing that *dāsa* has generally the meaning of a specific people from whom the *sūdra* caste and servitude developed by conquest. In any case, the termination *dāsa* as part of a name is not to be seen elsewhere than with Divodāsa (and in later orthography his son "Paijavana" Sudās). Trasadasyu (son of Purukutsa) does not seem to mean the Dasyu named Trasa, but he who makes the Dasyus tremble.

The concept of tribal property in a migratory pastoral society enables us to sketch an outline of development for the *sūdra* caste. The Indus valley city dwellers could not have been fed without a comparatively large ancillary agrarian population. The invaders' way of life made such prisoners useless at first, for without agriculture a human being could produce very little surplus beyond that needed for his own maintenance. A prisoner would be sacrificed or adopted, as the Śunaḥśepa story tells us. If the agrarian population of the Indus valley had been effective as fighters, the conquest would not have taken place, or at least not been so devastating. They must have been too numerous to adopt en masse, but not dangerous enough to be killed off altogether. Thus the survivors would form a group by themselves and whatever they could produce by their own methods, as well as their labour, would belong to the conquering tribe as a whole. This is the first caste, initially a difference between Aryans and *dāsas*, as the word *varṇa* for caste and colour shows in conjunction with the recorded fact that the Aryans had a different colour from their predecessors in India. However, the existence of a caste, of surplus-producing labour, would necessarily promote rapid class and caste-differentiation among

the conquerors ; it certainly inhibited the rise of large-scale chattel-slavery in India. The wandering vrātyas alone preserved the older tribal institutions down into historical times, having need of neither Brahmin nor śūdra within the tribe ; kingship with them remains a tribal office of small importance even when the tribe developed into an oligarchy over a tributary population. Brahmin scriptures continue to give a fixed theoretical status of a helot for the śūdra, always distinguished from Arya : one who is not eligible for initiation, barred from handling weapons, even from owning property, and whose function is solely to labour for the benefit of the three higher castes—though we know that this was on occasion tacitly contradicted by the rise of a śūdra to the position of warrior, chieftain, or king, in historical times.

The conquerors must have destroyed cultivation as well as the cities ; otherwise they could have settled down like their cousins in Egypt, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia as a new layer on top of existing class-relations of production. It is well-known that without irrigation the Punjab plains can support only a comparatively small population along the rivers, the rest being desert. Nowhere in Alexander's time do we hear of any cities comparable in size and organization to Mohenjo-daro. On the other hand, we find the common vedic myth of Indra killing a demon to free the pent-up waters (sometimes called cows), which is invariably taken to denote a nature myth of the rain-god piercing clouds to cause precipitation. But we have a separate rain-god *parjanya* to whom entire hymns are dedicated (v.83 ; vii.101,102). Indra's action is described in terms that can only mean that *the river-dams were shattered* ; we know that a little to the west of Mohenjo-daro, there still exist tremendous prehistoric dams of this sort, though now useless in the absence of sufficient rain (Marshall, p.3). The breaking of dams would destroy the very basis of agriculture, whence the Aryans would have to move their cattle to fresh pastures after a few years. Perhaps the clearest description is to be seen in iv. 19.5,4,8: Indra shakes the ground as the wind the water, overthrows the mountains, forcibly bends down what was firm ; the rivers hasten forth, all the stones roll away like chariots ; for many days and years did Indra let the rivers run after the fall of Vṛtra, he freed the streams that had been bound (*badbadhānāḥ sīrāḥ*, the dammed rivers*). Only ignorance of the fact that there had been a civilization with fully developed agriculture in the desert, before the Aryans, could make anyone interpret this as a myth of rain-making. Similarly for i.32 .8-10 ; viii.96.18 ; we hear of seasonal barriers in v.32.2, and vii.18.8 speaks of vain attempts at diverting the Paruṣṇī river, perhaps one of the causes of Sudās's wars. In ii.15.3 *vajreṇa khāny atṛṇan nadīnām* has been interpreted as Indra making canals for the rivers, but this quite unique action on the part of

*The particular word for dam might have been *rodhas* or *rodhana*, i.38 11 ; ii.13.10 ; iv. 22.4 ; x. 48.2. In ii. 15.8, *riṇag rodhaṃsi kṛtrīmāni* shows that the obstacle removed by Indra was artificial, not natural ; the other references can at worst be taken to mean walls or river-banks.

Indra may be doubted, because the verb and tool both indicate smashing, which is possible for a dam, not for irrigation channels. Besides the *dāsa* as a source of labour power, the humped Indus cattle were also an acquisition of the conquest; they are mentioned explicitly in x.8.2; x.102.7, and perhaps in viii.20.21, and their truly Indian origin has generally been admitted. The use of the horse and of iron was known to the invaders before their irruption, according to archaeologists. We have here one reason for the victory of the Aryans over the indigenous population which knew neither.

Heterogeneity in the pre-Aryan people cannot be doubted. They cannot all have been residents of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa with but a single profession ! Even to support the inhabitants of a big city like either of these, there must have been a considerable food-growing ancillary population apart from the craftsmen in the cities, of whose social position we still know nothing, but who would be the logical candidates for the name and position of *Dāsa*, or *Dasyu*. All I can suggest is that a portion of the conquered rose instead of falling, and that they could only do this by adopting Aryan methods of fire worship, undoubtedly with some additions. Some of them must have had fire cults of their own, as for example the *Bhṛgu-Aṅgiras* group so often associated with the first discovery of fire. A few like *Divodāsa** may even have been enrolled into the ruling *kṣatriya* class, for the Aryans had come across many different people in their wanderings, and purity of "race" at so early a period means nothing in comparison to the cult observed ; adoption of a stranger needs only the formalities of initiation, and one becomes a *kṣatriya* merely on account of prowess in battle. It seems clear to me that the formation of an internal, Aryan caste system, essentially the separation of the *Brahmīn* in function and discipline from the *kṣatriya* and the setting of both above the householder *vaiśya*, after the *dāsas* had been conquered, must have been accelerated by the assimilation of a subjugated priesthood; for otherwise there is no reason for demarcation into endogamous castes. The Indic Aryans completed their own conquest at a far earlier period than the Zoroastrians (identifying *Vištāsp* with the father of Darius I, after Herzfeld p.30, p.88) with more primitive tools and over cultures which were far more locally concentrated. The question can only be settled with more archaeological evidence ; the purpose of such a discussion as the present is primarily to show the intelligent archaeologist what to expect, perhaps where to excavate, and how to interpret his finds.

As a preliminary, connections may be pointed out between certain obscure features of the *Ṛgveda* and actual finds in the Indus valley. The three-

* *Divodāsa* is a gift of the river *Sarasvatī* to *Vadhryaśva*, according to vi.61.1. As *Sudās* is both *Paijavana* (though no *Pijavana* is known) and a descendant or son of *Divodāsa*, there is some possibility of adoption here.

headed seated deity of the famous Mohenjo-Daro seal, our fig.1, may be taken for Tvāṣṭra, if the number of heads be actually three; there may be a fourth head away from the observer, which would make the deity proto-Brahmā. But the three-headed Tvāṣṭra cannot be entirely independent of other three-headed creatures on Indus valley seals. In E.J.H. Mackay's "Further excavations at Mohenjo-Daro" II, Pl. LXXXIII.24, XCVI.494, XCIX.B and Marshall's earlier work (Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus civilization, London 1931) III. Pl. CXII. 382, we find a seal depicting a three-headed bull. Now iii.56.3 refers specifically to such a bull in the Ṛgveda, while the entire hymn is to several otherwise mysterious multiple deities. So far, it has not been possible to demonstrate *dakṣiṇatas-kapardinas* on any seal but a god with braided hair is to be seen in our fig.2 (Mackay Pl. LXXXVII. 235); the god, along with a priest and a row of seven human figures who are attendants at the sacrifice all show long hair-braids (in Mackay II, Pl.XCIV. 430, Pl.XCIX-A = Marshall I, Pl. XII.18). Kapardin should rather mean with twisted than braided hair, but the matter is not settled. Punch-marked coins also yield occasional homo-signs with hair-twists or braids (Durga Prasad, JRASB.XXX.1934, Pl.21, nos.132-3) but the coins belong to the Mauryan period, and are tribal, not Brahmanical, as I interpret the evidence. The row of human figures at the bottom of the last seal referred to show a horn-like decoration on the head besides the braid; this might qualify them for the title Viṣāṇin (vii.18.7), while the god of fig. 1 has a headdress which certainly has two (buffalo?) horns for its components. The animals surrounding the deity are to be interpreted as totems, on the great seal of fig. 1.

Marshall (p.15) misses the significance of the cup-like depressions on the shoulders of the Harappa red stone statuette. They are not meant for fixing ornamental discs, for in that case the little boss in the center would be unnecessary; the intention is clearly to fix an extra pair of arms which could be swivelled around, just as the head is meant to be turned in the neck-socket. Marshall takes the other fragmentary Harappa dancing statuette* as with three heads or faces, though only the stump of a thick neck remains; it had not more than two arms. But the four-armed figure had become so classical as to be given the status of an pictogram in the Indus script. It is rather amusing to see Langdon (Marshall, p.446, *signs* 183,184) leave the particular homo-sign

*It might be as well to point out here that the Harappa grey stone image fragment which Marshall takes as an ithyphallic dancing Śiva actually represents a young girl dancing. Bronze dancing-girl statuettes have been found in Indus excavations. A comparison of plates LXXX and LXXXI in Vats or the corresponding plates in Marshall will show that the Harappa sculptors could delineate the difference between male and female in every line, not merely in the sexual organs. Also, the seven holes in the neck do not suggest a three-headed image but rather some elaborate head-dress or coiffure pegged into place, the head itself being turned to the figure's right. The two holes below the waist-line correspond precisely to the two bosses of the girdle in such terra-cotta figurines as Vats LXXVII. 51,53; the belted skirt or apron must have been of some different material held in place by pins into the holes.

unexplained, or call one variety "man supporting two clubs", when an extra pair of arms, or snakes, or rivers springing out of the shoulders could be the only possible explanation, as may be confirmed by looking at the corresponding seals in the volume of plates. The reduction to a hieroglyph may indicate that the type originates in or at least is closer to the Indus valley than to Mesopotamia. The transition from the Indus representations of a deity with an extra pair of arms to the Mesopotamian god with rivers flowing out of his shoulders may be seen in Vats, pictograph 383c (pl CXV) and seal 35 of pl. LXXXVI. Possibly, his symbol 388 *a* might also have developed from the common source. Mackay (pl. LXXVI. 8) reports a unique two-faced clay image fragment, the faces being beardless and slant-eyed whence the connection (if any) with the two-faced Mesopotamian Usmu is not direct. RV. i.51.5, *svadhābhīr ye adhi śuptāv ajuhvata* 'those who sacrificed upon the shoulders (and were destroyed by Indra)' might indicate cults related to the above Indus pictograms or rather to their originals.

The absence of fuller archaeological evidence from the Indus valley forces us to consider parallel Mesopotamian seals, permissible because the existence of a common element to the two cultures is admitted*. The Hydra (Nāga, Śeṣa) appears with five or seven heads (Frankfort p. 72, fig. 26; Pl. XXIII.j); much later, human figures with two animal heads, goat and stag (*ibid.*p.271). As the labours of Herakles originate in these seals, the three-headed Geryon-Cacus, or a Kerberos, would have linked up with the Indus seals. However, Ea (originally Enki, a water-god like Nārāyaṇa) has a *two-faced* attendant, Usmu according to Furlani, who performs the functions of minister and herald, i.e. is equivalent to a human priest or priest-king. The two rivers flow generally from Ea's shoulders, occasionally from a jar in his hand. His other attendant, a bearded naked athlete of the Gilgamesh-Herakles type, also sometimes holds such a river-jar. Frankfort Pl.XXVIII.k shows both on a Babylonian seal, in such a way that the rivers might seem to emerge from the hero's shoulders; this seems to be the general case later, c. Pl. XXX-IX.i; in XLIV.m the river goddesses themselves might be the two attendants flanking the hero from whose shoulders stream the waters. On Pl.XLIV.i (a peripheral seal) the two streams emerge from a naked goddess's shoulders, as well as those of a much smaller male, perhaps her son. As the water-hero goes back at least to Akkadian times, we must see in him a representative of Ea, and the two-faced attendant must be another such, like the goat-fish which is later Ea himself. This will have to be used in interpreting Indus

*Rather reluctantly, *Ann. Bibliography Ind. Arch.* (Leiden 1934), p.11; C.J. Gadd Proc. Brit. Acad. xviii, 1032, pp. 191-210; H. Frankfort *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939) pp.304-307. My special thanks are due to Mr. R.D. Barnett of the British Museum for references, particularly to BM 89115. For the seven antediluvian sages, G.L. Woolley, J.R.A.S. 1926, pp. 689-713; Zimmern, *Zeit. für Assyriologie* (N.F.) 35.1024. p. 151ff. Both Gilgamesh and Enkidu appear on Indus seals.

valley evidence, and R̥gvedic references.. The goat-fish symbol of Ea (Frankfort, Pl.XXV.d ; XXVIII. k ; this seems to me the original *matsya-avatāra* and *aja ekapāda*) is reversed on the Mohenjo-Daro 'sacrifice' seal, in that the animal before the god is a ram with the head of a fish (first pointed out by Fr. H. Heras S.J.). The sun-god has, like some other deities, rays emanating from his shoulders; usually three from each but the number is not fixed. This must be the original depiction of *saptaraśmi*, the vedic adjective. Other deities



Fig. 1. The Three-faced Indus God
(After DK. 5175)



Fig. 2. "The Sacrifice"
(After DK. 6847)



Fig. 3. Resurrection or liberation of the Sun-God from his mountain grave. (After BM 89115)

have vegetation replace the rays (Frankfort Pl.XX,*c,e,j,k*). On the Gudea seal (Frankfort p.143) the dragon-god Ningiszida shows two snakes or dragon, rising from his shoulders, like the later god Tišpak, XXV, *e*, which relates both to the Zohak of the Shah Nameh. Occasionally, as on the Hammurabi stele, the rays curl up at the end, and Pharaoh Ikhnaton's reliefs tell us that they could terminate in hands, whence it is natural that they should develop from or into supernumerary arms. The best cylinder seal for our purpose is fig.3, from BM 89115, Frankfort Pl.XIX.*a*, which shows the sun-god being resurrected or liberated from his mountain grave by Ea and a goddess (Ishtar). The sun and the goddess show rays emanating from their shoulders, the central rays of the goddess terminating in what might be taken as hands. Two rivers, proved to be such by the fish swimming therein, stream out of Ea's shoulders, and he is followed closely by the two-faced attendant. As for the goddess, whose various traits are fully enough developed (on seals) by the time of the first Babylonian dynasty to prove her identity with Ishtar, the rays radiating from her and her evoking the sun would make her also a dawn-goddess. As such, she has a great deal in common with the Indian Uṣas, worshipped even in the plural in the R̥gveda, too prominent for a mere goddess of the dawn. Indra comes into violent conflict with her, shattering her car (ii.15.6 ; iv. 30.8-11 ; x.138.5 ; x.73.6) ; this has, fortunately, no real interpretation as a nature myth, and can only indicate a clash of cults. If now Uṣas were a mother-goddess (for which one can easily find R̥gvedic indications) like Ishtar, her bringing out the sun (originally Tammuz) would still be remembered after the Aryan conquest and would enable her to claim a modest position as dawn-goddess, even after Indra had put her to flight. It is known that Enki-Ea is originally the god of the land, not of the waters. Frankfort p.116,fig. 32 shows us Inanna-Ishtar seated as priestess before her own image-altar, receiving homage from some devotee ; she holds the two-river jar in her hand. Thus the naked goddess (on Syrian group II seals) from whose shoulders the two rivers stream is an old survival, and Ishtar must—possibly under some other name—have been the earlier river-deity displaced peacefully by Ea. Her consort Tammuz is bewailed as both husband and son, the root-word *damu* meaning both. This is quite natural, and wherever we have a clear historical course of development within the culture, patriarchal cults develop in precisely this manner from the matriarchal, by consortship of a son or husband with the priestess. To revert to the common substratum for the Indic and Mesopotamian river-civilizations, it may be pointed out that the horned headdresses of Mesopotamian gods, though more complicated, again connect them with the three-faced Indus god, as well as the deity on the 'sacrifice' seal. The latter seal has seven attendant figures with braided hair, and the number is interesting though they lack individuality. The seven sages (*saptarṣis*) are not only an Indian group, but highly reminiscent of the seven Mesopotamian antediluvian sages, whose images are actually found buried in groups of seven.

Marshall (pp.64-5) takes the deity and ministrant figures in the 'sacrifice' seal to be female which seems quite unlikely to me, while the animal is ascribed a 'human' face instead of the quite obvious fish, which argues lack of care in examination, or myopia.

The row of seven figures marching single file hand in hand, but in the opposite direction appears again on a fragmentary seal (Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, New Delhi 1940 pl XCI 251). The principal difficulty lies in proving their connection with the seven Mesopotamian 'ancient *apkallu* who were before the flood in Shuruppak.' Their line of descent in India is clear enough. RV. i.24.10 calls the stars of Ursa Major *ṛkṣāḥ*, the Bears; Śat Brāh. ii.1.2.4 makes the Pleiades (*kṛttikās*) wives of these Bear-ṛṣis. Śat-Brāh. vi.1.1.1 even claims that these ṛṣis wore themselves out with toil creating the universe, which fits the ṛk iv. 2.15; Śat Brāh. ix 2.3.44 tells us that these seven were addressed as 'seven tongues', and *were made into one person*. The idea of our seven primary groups is obviously much older than the beginning of the present clan system. The seven, sages, as *vīpras* or *ṛṣis* are called "our ancestors" by the Brahmin seers of Ṛgvedic hymns, particularly by the Aṅgirasas in iv. 42.8 which makes them present when Durgaha's son (Purukutsa) was taken prisoner; and vi. 22.2, *tanu naḥ pīlaro navagvā sapta vīprāso abhi vājayanta*. This might seem self-contradictory as the Seven cannot be split into the Nine or the Ten, but association of the seven sages with the Navagvas and Daśagvas is repeated in i.62.4, and perhaps ix. 108.4 where Dadhīāñic appears as a Navagva. At the very least, we can say that they are pre-Aryan associates of a mother-goddess in creation. The goddess survives later as Uṣas, daughter of the sky, after being smashed up by Indra as an evil-plotting female (iv.30. 8-11). The Mizar-Alcor combination in Ursa Major is still known as Vasiṣṭha and Arundhatī, but we have several other versions in which the smaller companion star is the common wife of all seven of the sages (Mbh. 1. 188. 14).

It is clear, though difficult to prove, that the unnamed seven laid low by Indra (x.49.8) and whose enemy Indra became from his very birth though they had till then been without an enemy (viii. 96.16) are these seven sages. Their supposed consorts, the Pleiades, are to be seen often enough as a constellation on Mesopotamian cylinder seals.

Uṣas as a mother goddess connected with the seven sages appears explicitly in iv.2.15 : *adhā mātur uṣasaḥ sapta vīprā jāyemahi prathamā vedhasā nṛn*; 'we seven sages will generate men from mother Uṣas who (will become) the first ritualists; we shall become Aṅgirasas, sons of heaven, we shall burst the rich mountain, shining forth'. Mother-goddess figurines are perhaps the commonest Indus city finds, one type being bird-headed, like the dove-headed Venus of the early Mediterranean culture. Marshall p.52 describes the seal on plate

XII, no. 12 which shows a mother-goddess upside down, giving birth to vegetation¹, hence presumably the earth-mother ; the other side represents her or another female deity seated, with streaming hair, approached by some male worshipper. This last is mentioned only because Marshall interprets the scene as the sacrifice of a female by a man, for which the seal itself shows not the slightest evidence. The Aṅgirasas bursting the mountain, a common enough figure of speech, is highly suggestive, when we compare the action of the Sun-god on the Sargonid seal, with v.45.1-3. Only the saw is needed to complete the description. But the R̥gvedic scenes are remarkably well depicted on Frankfort Pl. XVIII *a*, where the god of light bursts the mountain and causes the gates to be thrown open.

One important difference has to be emphasized when considering these resemblances. Weapons such as spear or lance-heads found at Mohenjodaro have been so flimsy that they could have served only for decorations in some ceremonial ; this contrasts strongly with the sturdy bronze tools found in the same deposits, and with the war-materials in Mesopotamia. Allowing for the painful incompetence of our archaeologists, it still seems evident that the mechanism of violence was less developed than one would expect in a city of this size, even though it was primarily a trade and manufacturing center.

The archaeological evidence for battle and conquest being undeniable *one may venture to identify Harappa with the Hariyūpiyā* of vi. 27.5, making the assumption that the locality has preserved its name through the millennia. The hymn praises Indra's shattering the front line of 130 panoplied Vṛcivats whereby the rest of the army was broken in the battle on the Yavyāvātī river²; thus Indra handed over the Varasikhas and Turvaśa to Daivavāta, which may be Śr̥ṅjaya as well as Abhyāvartin Cāyamāna. Rather than press such identifications, which can have little value till we read the Indus valley script, attention may again be called to the two seals above. The (three-horned) trident which the supernal figure wears on his head in the 'sacrifice' seal (fig.2) is related to the buffalo-horn headdress of the three-faced god in the better-known seal of fig. 1, as well as to the three faces of that god, and the later tri-śūla symbol. The adjective *śr̥ṅgin* does occur occasionally in the R̥gveda ; (Agni described as) Tvaṣṭṛ seems to be three-horned according to v. 43.13 and we have noted the Viṣāṇin tribe, labelled *śivāsas*, in vii.18. Lastly, anyone with

¹ RV. x. 72.3,4 speaks of an original mother-goddess from whom creation came into being ; *uttānapadas* means 'with feet in the air' (for parturition) while Sāyaṇa takes this to mean 'tree' which would seem to connect the ṛk with the particular seal whereof the interpretation seems doubtful to me, the 'vegetation' resembling a crab.

² Pañc. Brāh xxv. 7.2 says that Gauriviti, descendant of Śakti, performed the 30-year *sattra* to reach great benefits on the banks of the Yavyāvātī (presumably the old Rāvī). This is the only other place where I have been able to find either of the two place-names above. As Daivavāta is a Bharata, Gauriviti a Vasiṣṭha, the whole account is unusually consistent and has a historical appearance.

the three-peaked headdress as on the sacrifice seal could be called *trīṣaṅku*, and as the figure is between heaven and earth (probably a god descending for the sacrifice), we have here one possible source of the Viśvāmitra-Trīṣaṅku myth.

For the first identification of the later cemetery at Harappa as Aryan, cf. V. Gordon Childe, "New Light On The Most Ancient East" (London 1935, 223-4) ; R.E.M. Wheeler 'Ancient India' no. 3, 1947, 81 ff, gives a discussion of the archaeological evidence for Aryan conquest and occupation at Harappa ; for the ponderous incompetence of Marshall's and Mackay's excavation of Mohenjo-Daro *ibid.* p.144.

IRANIAN PARALLELS

10. There is no doubt that Indo-Aryan society as reorganized with Brahminism opened up the swampy lands of the Gangetic basin, so that caste was an essential feature of more efficient means of production, the development of fixed settlements, and the state. The word *brahman* for the priesthood is not to be found outside India ; and whereas exogamous patriarchal gentes within the tribe or community are known to have existed among Latin and Greek societies after the Aryan invasion of those respective territories, we have no general example of fire-priesthood as the exclusive prerogative of a hereditary caste, though occasionally a gens has the rights of chief priesthood for some particular cult. There is, however, a rudimentary caste system and a fire-priest caste among a neighbouring Aryan people, the Iranians ; this case has to be considered in detail.

Our sources* of knowledge for the Iranians are the fragmentary Avestan and Pahlavi religious texts, plus the reports of Greek travellers and historians. The first group of documents is lacunary, of late redaction as shown by the reference to the followers of a heretic Gaotema (Yt. xiii.16, now identified with the Buddha and not Nodhas Gotama), and in addition bears the stamp of a thorough religious reform, that of Zoroaster, which succeeded with the Achæmenids in the 6th century B.C. Comparison with the Ṛgveda is difficult. Greek notices supply foreign travellers' accounts far superior to anything comparable for that period in India, but are occasionally hostile and sometimes

* I follow : for Avestan sources, James Darmsteter's translation in the Sacred Books of The East, vols.4 and 23 (Oxford 1895). For the general background, Maneckjee Nusservanji Dhalla's 'History of Zoroastrianism' (New York 1938) seemed to be competent ; for most of the contested points, Herzfeld's discussion in his 'Zoroaster And His World' (2 vols. Princeton, 1947) seems quite reliable, with a few possible exceptions such as the identification of soma with the vine. p.551. Herodotos is cited from the familiar translation by Rawlinson, with the abbreviation Her. Other abbreviations : Vd. = Verdadidad, Yt. = Yasht.

not credible. Taking all these into consideration, the presence of at least one major stream of common tradition between Indic and Avestan Aryans is not to be doubted. Apart from the language of the gāthās and old Persian inscriptions, so similar to Sanskrit, we have the common fear of the demons called *yātu*, worship of Vāyu, love of the sacred *haoma* = *soma* drink, and the basic position of the fire cult. Steady contact had been maintained through regions known to both people, as for example 'Vaekereta of the evil shadows' (= Kābūl), and the land of the seven rivers (= the Punjab), the seventh and the fifteenth respectively of the sixteen regions created by Ahura Mazda (Vd.i). King Yima is much more prominent in the Vendidad (Fargard ii) than Yama in the R̥gveda, but the identity is not in doubt; the Avestan Sarasvatī ("the beautiful Harahvaitī" of Vd.13) is the Arghand-āb, and not one of the seven rivers in India. Verethraghna is the "glory made by Ahura Mazda" (Vd. xix.37, and Yt. xiv); Indra has been made into a demon by the reform, though still under the title of *daeua* (Vd. xx.43,x.9). Then there is the rather ambiguous position of the golden-heeled Gandareva, a demon (Yt.v.38,xix.41), but not without respect (Yt.xiii.122,xv.28); he has been transferred to the deep though the Indians place him in the atmosphere.

For our main purpose, we have to note specifically the three supposed castes of the Iranians (Vd.i.16, three races, from the Azerbaijan). But the division into fire-priests, warriors, and husbandmen is not a degradation of the last as it was for the Vaiśya in the Taittiriya Samhitā and later Indian scriptures, for they are descended from the three sons of Spitama Zarathuštra who is himself not only the first and foremost fire-priest (Yt.xiii.94) but the first warrior and the first plougher of the ground as well (Yt.xiii.88). The husbandman is honoured on earth, and his progenitor supreme in the Var of King Yima (Vd.ii.). We have therefore a *division into classes, not castes*. Now the Avestan title of the fire-priesthood is *āthravan*, which is undoubtedly the vedic *atharvan*, and again shows an ancient unity of tradition to which Zoroaster reverted in clearing off the bloody (and of course uneconomic) sacrifices that obscured the (supposed) original purity of Aryan worship, whereas Buddha and the Jains took up the philosophy of *ahimsā*. The Iranian Athravan leads the way after a path has been purified from the extreme pollution of a funeral (Vd.viii. 19). The Athravans who read, and their pupils, will beg knowledge and prosperity of Ardvī Sūra Anāhita (Yt.v. 86). Yt. xiii. 147 says "here are the *āthravans* of all countries" come to worship the Fravaśis, while Yt.xvi.17 refers to the Athravans sent afar, presumably wandering (even mendicant) missionaries. The fine qualities of an Athravan are given in Yt.xix.53, and the caste still monopolizes the priesthood among the Parsis, theoretically endogamous though not rigidly so in practice.

On the other hand, western travellers know of Iranian priests as Magi though Zoroaster uses *maguš* and *magopat* only as adjectives, with the meaning of

great. The original Magi were one of the six tribes of the Medians (Her. i. 101), who were a western branch of the same race, first subject to the Assyrians, then independent and overlords of the eastern Persians, and finally conquered by the latter but in close alliance nevertheless after Cyrus and Darius I. Yet the Greek tells us that the Magi took a peculiar delight in killing all living things except dogs and men (Her. i. 140). The special protection given to dogs (Vd. xiii *et passim*) is, of course, a feature of ancient Persian means of production and of the high status of the husbandman; the dog in the Avesta is the most useful of man's friends in the protection of the household and of cattle. The killing of all sorts of lower animal life which Herodotus notices is sanctioned, and even demanded by Vendidad xiv.5-6. For our thesis, it is of special interest to note that the Magi recovered their original position of respect,* and continued as an "honorary tribe" to be priests (with readjustment to the new reforms) but that they had first undergone attacks similar to those suffered by the Bṛh̥gus and other early Brahmins. In particular, the story of Darius and the false Smerdis (Her. iii. 61 seq., fully supported by the inscriptions of Darius) and the festival of the Magophonia (Her. iii. 79) show that special action had to be taken against the Magi as a whole, but that massacre did not end their priestly function. For that matter, we also know that some of the older gods had to be readmitted into the pantheon (Herzfeld p. 401, 408-9) though with suitable changes. In other words, we have a parallel to the happenings in India, and for similar reasons: conquest and reassimilation, with a conquered (though here Aryan) clan imposing itself upon the priesthood by virtue of superior ritual.

The Ṛgvedic *atharvan*, though belonging to so remote a past as to appear more than human, and without a surviving gotra (unless we infringe upon sacred tenets of philology to relate *athar* to *atri*) to commemorate his existence, still occupied a far more important historical position than would appear by the comparatively rare citations. In x.14 and x.21.5, he is associated with Yama while in x.120.9 we have Bṛhad-diva as an *atharvan*; but the signal honour given in x.120 to the supposed ṛṣi and the actual meaning of the name itself seem to reflect the stature of someone like Ahura Mazda, who is himself a sky-god (Her. i. 131) sublimated and an *Athravan* (Yt. i. 12). In x.48.2 Indra Vaikuṅṭha declares that he protected *Atharvan* and *Trita*, and bestowed upon them the cattle released from *ahi*, presumably *Vṛtra* referred to as a snake; an Avestan parallel to the Paṇi episode is perhaps the prayer of cattle to *Mithra*, for release from the den of the *Druj* (Yt. x.86). In viii.9.7, as in ix.11.2, *atharvan* is clearly the fire itself upon which *soma* is sprinkled. In vi.47.24, the *Atharvans* and *Pāyu Bharadvāja* receive ten special chariots and a hundred

* To the extent of imposing exposure of the dead in spite of original burial (Her. i. 140, Herzfeld p. 747) or cremation (Herzfeld p. 748). Dhalla takes the Magi as west-Persian priests, *Atharvans* as eastern.

head of cattle from Aśvattha ; the same Pāyū Bharadvāja as the supposed seer of x.87.12 mentions the atharvan flame as most effective in driving away *yātudhāna* demons. The bones of Dadhyañc Ātharvaṇa are used by Indra to kill the nine nineties of his dark enemies : i.84.13 *indro dadhīco asthabhir vṛtrāny apratiṣkutaḥ ; jaghāna navatīr nava*. In fact, Atharvan is explicitly the first *yajña* sacrificer according to i.83.5 and x.92.10 while the atharvan fire-drill or method of lighting the fire is lauded in vi.15.7 as in vi.16.13-14 ; the last ṛk calls Agni by Indra's titles, *vṛtrahaṇam puramdaram*, which shows again that fire was used as a poliorcetic weapon by the early Indic Aryans, and incidentally explains how the Avesta could separate Verethraghna from Indra. The most important of all references to Atharvan is x.14.6 where we have an association in the same line with Aṅgiras, the pitṛs, the Nine seers (*navagrā*), and the Bhṛgu, the last of whom also appeared in x.92.10. At this stage, we note that the ṛks containing any reference to Atharvan are overwhelmingly of Bharadvāja or Gotama origin, i.e. of Aṅgiras authorship. Later, the whole of the Atharva-veda is called the Atharvāṅgiras, (cf. Mbh.5.18.5-8) and the special combination appears with the highest eminence in that veda. Finally, we have seen that the Bhṛgu-Aṅgiras combination also exists, which shows just why the extinct Atharvan was important in India : *The Atharvan is the proper fire-priest of one Aryan group, and association with him was the means whereby the Aṅgirasas and the Bhṛgu climbed into vedic priesthood*. This gives us much the same historical development as that of the Maguš in Persia. In the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad i.2 we have the line of teachers as Brahmā-Atharvan-Aṅgir-Bharadvāja Satyavāha-Aṅgiras. This is a step towards the final inversion to be found in still later traditions which makes Atharvan an Aṅgiras, the very first.

However, not everything can be explained by parallel historical developments, and like the name of the river Sarasvatī, there is possibility of a legend being transferred. The story of the hero Thraetona and the demon Azi Dahāka is here of considerable interest. The Persian hero of the Āthwya clan performs a great sacrifice of a hundred stallions, a thousand oxen, and ten thousand lambs to Drvāspa (Yt. ix.13-14) or Ardvi Sūra Anāhita (Yt.v.33-34) or Vayu (Yt. xv.23-24 ; cf. Yt.xvii.33-34) for the destruction of the snake. Azi Dahāka himself, "the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who has a thousand senses, that most powerful fiendish Druj, that demon baleful to the world" makes the same sacrifice in the land of Bāwri (= Babylon) to Ardvi Sūra Anāhita (Yt.v.29-31) and to Vayu (Yt.xv.19-21) "in his accursed palace of Kvirinta" in order to destroy the seven habitable regions of the world (Karshvares), but his great sacrifices are rejected. The hero Thraetona Āthwya prays successfully to destroy him and set free his "two wives, Savanghavāc and Erenavāc, who are the fairest of body amongst women, and the most wonderful creatures in the world" (Yt.ix.14). Now a three-headed demon is known to the Ṛgveda as Triśiras Tvāṣṭra, and in the slaying, Trita Āptya has

been seen to be associated with Indra (x.99.6, x.8.8) which has been taken as sufficient for the identification by most scholars. The divine Vāc, of which the Ṛgveda knows more than one variety, though not as the wife of Triśiras, is the speech monopolized by our Brahmins, later deified as Sarasvatī. The legend deserves a little closer analysis. The Avestan Thrīta is the first healer and founder of medicine (Vd.xx), but a member of the Sāma family, which again sounds familiarly vedic. Traitana occurs only once in the Ṛgveda, as the pre-Aryan or demon (*dāsa*) whose blow at Dīrghatamas recoils upon himself, leaving the sage unharmed, to float down the river : i.158.5 *śiro yad asya traitano vitakṣat svayam dāsa uro amsāv api gḍha*. It is possible to see the discordant features at a glance; the great difference of territory between the four-cornered Varena (Tabaristan), for which Thraetona was born to smite Azi Dahāka, and the eastern portion of the Indo-Aryan domain is significant. In addition, Azi Dahāka survives to tempt Zarathuśtra : "Renounce the good Religion of the worshippers of Mazda, and thou shalt gain such a boon as Vadhaghna gained, the ruler of the nations" (Vd.xix.6). Yet the historic substance of the legend is enhanced by analysis. In the first place, Azi is a king, as shown by his palace and great sacrifice, which was not only repeated by his slayer but (near lake Urumiah = Caecašta) by Kavi Husravah, "He who united the Aryan nations into one kingdom" (Yt.v.49,32, ix.22) ; at the White Forest by the 'murderer' Aurvasāra fleeing from Husravah (Yt.xv.31) ; and by Xerxes (Her.vii.43, 113 ; cf.i.50). His connection with Babylon is curiously supported by later legend, for the Shah Nameh describes him (= Zohāk) as with two snakes springing from his shoulders (cf.p.27 of the Shah Nameh translation into English verse by A. Rogers, London 1907). Zohāk is not an ordinary king but a successor to Yima-Jamshed himself. The black snakes that issued from his shoulders (as the devil kissed him there) appear on Mesopotamian seals as shoulder-rays from the sun, dragons from the shoulders of Tišpak-Ningiszida or rivers issuing from the shoulders of Ea or the hero Gilgames of Sumerian legend ; from them to the four-armed characters of the Indus valley seals and later sculpture is only a step, the actual transition probably being in the opposite direction. Śiśupāla (Mbh.2.40.1) the Cedian was born four-armed and three-eyed. The god (?Sun) on Hammurabi's stele has curved flames issuing from his shoulders. Thus, the legend is rooted deep in the historic tradition of Aryan conflicts with great pre-Aryan civilizations in the Indus valley as well as in Mesopotamia ; we know that these civilizations had long, continuous co-existence and intercourse, as well as many common features, probably some common origins. In this case, I should be inclined to consider the event itself as having occurred in the Indus valley.

Just what the snake-demon signifies I cannot venture to say in this context, especially as his connection with the cult of the Mother-Goddess and pre-patriarchal family life is known, but not preserved in either of the two Aryan sources under discussion. However, other heroes conquer multiple-headed

snakes as for example Herakles and the Hydra, or the Indian counterpart Kṛṣṇa and Kāliya ; yet the Hydra has one head which is immortal, and Kṛṣṇa only subdues Kāliya without killing him. The vast though inobtrusive current spread of the nāga cult need not be given in detail. One major Hindu holiday is dedicated to the cobra. Cobras are regarded by many (my mother, grandfather, uncle, and cousins among them) as embodying ancestral spirits, and the live snake himself generally forms an appendage of most rustic temples. Śeṣa's bearing the whole earth on his multiple hood goes back much further than the obviously recast legend in Mbh.i.32. Viṣṇu sleeps upon the great (many-headed) cobra, Śiva wears him as a necklace, and the cobra's protective hood is reared above the phallic symbol of Mahādeva. The chief cobra Takṣaka escapes being burnt down with the Khāṇḍava forest (Mbh.1.218.4; the whole episode is one of land-clearing in the typical Aryan manner, by firing the woods and slaughtering all inhabitants), and is barely saved from Janamejaya Pārikṣita's fire-sacrifice by his human nephew Āstika. The name *takṣaka* is related to *takṣan* = carpenter, hence to the god Tvaṣṭṛ; and to Takṣaśilā, (the Greek Taxila) which was the capital after the Mahābhārata war. Thus Taxila to Kurukṣetra must have been the territory of a tribe or tribes which had a cobra totem or cult. Nāgas remain extraordinary craftsmen in Indian folklore, demonic beings able to assume human form at will. Kṛṣṇa's elder brother is usually taken to be an incarnation of the great Nāga. The demon Vṛtra is called *ahi* in the veda, but the snake of the deep *ahir budhnyas* remains an object of worship. References to *ahi* are scattered throughout the veda with the important exception of the Viśvāmitra book. Here, the word *ahi* is found only twice (iii.32.11 and iii.33.7), in both cases referring to Indra's killing of the demon Vṛtra in order to release the waters. The peculiar difference between Vṛtra or Trisiras and Azi is undoubtedly to be explained by the historical differences in the relations between the Aryans and the conquered people in India, as against the Aryans and their Assyrian enemies in Persia. As for the Aṅgiras Dirghatamas (Bṛhaddevatā iv.11-12), his name itself shows association with darkness (explained away by his blindness, i.147.3 ; iv.4.13), hence with the Vṛtras who are the enemies of Indra and the Aryans. But in spite of the familiar royal persecution he left descendants who became Brahmins in the main priestly lineage, while Traitana left his mark only upon a very distant branch of Aryans. Thus even this legend supports the contention that the development of Indo-Aryan sacerdotal tradition is by assimilation of a pre-Aryan element, which has special connection with the Brahmin caste, particularly in its original stages. With the Zoroastrians, success meant that the religion was predominantly that of a comparatively small number ruling over vast territories inhabited by far more numerous peoples which had diverse customs of their own and in some cases law-codes going back to Hammurabi. Therefore, the development of a new gotra system among the Magi was not necessary. In India, on the contrary, the conquest meant destruction of the

Indus valley urban cultures, reorganization of society into castes, and progressive opening up of new, sparsely settled, and heavily wooded territories to the east. This gave opportunity for each group of priests to be attached to or adopted by several Aryan clans, which must have been the origin of Brahmin pravaras.

TRITA ĀPTYA; THE ORIGINS OF EPIC AND SAGA

11. The Avestan Vadhaghna can be equated without difficulty to Indra himself under the title of *vadhasnu*, bearer of the death-dealing weapon, though *vajrin*, *vajra-hasta*, etc. are the usual adjectives. Vadhasnu is actually used of Soma (= *indu*) in ix.54.3. We hear of the gods shooting down upon men (v.41.13) and Agni breaking down walls (vii.5.5) with a *vadhasna*. Indra's weapons have the same name in i.165.6 (*vadhasnaih*); equivalent forms *vadha*, *vadhar*, etc. are found in considerable profusion: vii.83.4, Indra-Varuṇa *vadhanābhir vanvantā*; So, Triśiras being a *purohita* of Indra might be reflected in the association of Aḥi Dahāka with Vadhaghna in the Avesta.

Of the block of seven hymns (i.51-57) ascribed to Savya Aṅgiras and all dedicated to Indra, i.53 begins "Let us sing a hymn to great Indra, dedicate chants to him in the abode of Vaivasvata". The location is reminiscent of the Var of Yima. "Thou (Indra) hast crushed under thy irresistible chariot-wheel the twice ten tribal kings with their 60,099 men, who fought against kinless (*abandhunā*) Suśravas. Thou didst aid Suśravas with thy support, Indra; with thy protection thou gavest to the victoriously advancing (*tūrva-yānam**), Kutsa, Atithigva, Āyu into the hands of the great young king" (i.53.-9-10). I suggest that this fits the Avestan Husravah very well, though here the title of Kavi is not mentioned, and the opponent Aurvasāra is not recognizable.

Even more instructive is the series of references to Trita Āptya. Let us first report what the meticulous Grassmann (col. 557) has to say: "Trita is originally 'the third' and therefore set up against a 'second' (viii.47.16).1 Designation of a god who is probably obliged for his name and worship (i.187.1; i.163.2.-3; 1.52.5; viii.7.24) to a pre-vedic point of view, because of which he also occurs often in the Zend. Already in the Ṛgveda, his original being appears obscured, in that he shows to a certain extent as the background for the world of vedic gods. Thus he appears in a definite manner as the prede-

* I treat *tūrva-yāna* as an adjective, without yielding to the temptation to take that and the allied *turanyu* as "Turanian". It is an adjective of Agni in i.174.3, of Cyavana in x.61.2. It seems to be a name by itself in vi.18.13; that *ṛk* repeats the substance of i.53.11 above without the name of Suśravas. Sāyana turns the meaning completely around and makes Indra here the protector of Kutsa, Āyu, Atithigva. One may compare x.49.3-5, 8 where the same characters (and a Savya) appear while 3.8 speaks of Indra helping Atithigva against Karaūja and Parnaya. Velankar, in the *Ann. Bhandarkar O.R.Inst.* xxiii.1942.657-608 (on Divodāsa and the other Atithigvas) identifies Kutsa with Āyu and Atithigva for the hymn under discussion, while making out a good case for more than one Atithigva and several Kutsas (which latter is clear, the name being representative of a tribe).

cessor of Indra, who strikes down demons just like him and frees the imprisoned streams ; for this relationship i.52.5 is particularly characteristic, where it is said of Indra that he broke the defences of Vala like Trita. 2) So he blows upon Agni (v.9.5 ; x.46.3), discovers him, establishes him in the houses of men. 3) He leads Varuṇa-Soma to the sea (ix.95.4) and even seems himself to be Varuṇa (viii.41.6) .4) He appears in alliance with other gods (ii.31.6 ; ii.34.10,14 ; v.54.2 ; viii.12.16), namely also 5) with the winds (x.64.3 ; x.114.4) and 6) with Soma (ix.32.2 ; ix.34.4 ; ix.37.4 ; ix.38.2 ; ix.86.20 ; ix.102.2, 3 ; ii.11.20), so that the fingers that purify the Soma appear as Trita's virgins (ix.32.2 ; ix.38.2), the Soma stone as Trita's stone (ix.102.2) and Soma as coming to Trita (ix.34.4). So he is represented 7) as living in the far unknown distance (i.105.9) and therefore 8) carried away to Trita (viii.47.13, 17) is equal to carried very far away. In all these conceptions, he appears with the qualification *āptya*, as also in meaning 9. But besides this conception of Trita as a higher deity, he appears also 9) as a lower god (i.102.1 ; ii.11.19 ; x.48.2 ; x.99.6 ; x.8.8) who performs labours in the service of Indra or 10) calls upon the gods for help (i.105.17 ; x.8.7) when fallen into a well. Finally 11) in the plural, a whole class of gods is so denoted (vi.44.23) in whose abode Indra found the nectar of immortality".

This shows that Trita, though faded, had at one time a substantial following. The whole nexus can very well be explained by our present hypothesis if the course of historical development be taken into consideration. One may remark that viii.47.13-17, where evil demons and nightmares are exorcised away to Trita *Āptya* need not just mean driving them away to a far distance but may also be in the nature of a curse upon Trita. In any case, Trita's distance in time and place from the ṛgvedic seers and the major stream of tradition need not be doubted, particularly as he finds no mention in the *Viśvāmitra*, *Vāmadeva*, and *Vasiṣṭha* books. The higher forms of Trita must indicate his antiquity and ancestral position for some clans, say the *Āptyas*, while the prayer from a well might preserve a memory of his actual humanity. Very significantly, Indra is himself called *āptyam āptyānām* (x.120.6). Knowing what we now do of the Aryan invasion, it seems plausible that Trita is Indra or one of the invading Aryan chiefs, later collectively deified under the title of Indra*. His separation from Indra is helpful, seeing that some time after the conquest Indra has to be worshipped by *brāhamaṇas* in spite of the still-remembered killing of their ancestors, and destruction of their gods and cities. In fact, we have seen from the Avestan tradition that *Aži Dahāka* is literally a *vācaspati* as the husband of two kinds of *vāc* ; the word *vācaspati* is used without

*Against my interpretation of Trita, see A.A. Macdonnell, J.R.A.S. xxv. 1893 pp. 419-496, identifying Trita with Agni ; in the same vein, M. Fowler JAOS vol. 67-1947. pp. 59-60. But there can be no possible doubt that Trita is a double of Indra at least in the one performance that interests us most, namely the killing of Trisiras.

further definition in ix.26.4, ix.101.5, x.166.3, while we have *vācaspatim viśva-karmānam* in x.81.7. Vācaspati is peculiarly Bṛhaspati or Brahmanaspati, and so it is not surprising to find Bṛhaspati as with seven (instead of Trisiras's three) mouths; *saptāsyaśas* in iv.50.4, while iv.51.4 has *yenī navagve aṅgire daśagve sap-tāsye revātī revād ūṣa*. Brahmanaspati may have developed later (cf. x.68, Bṛhaspati rivals Indra's seats; Brahmanaspati as the creator, x.72.2) quite naturally into the four-headed Brahmā, which confronts us again with the possibility of purely internal growth. But the archaeological evidence pointed to above, and what is known of theogony in general, would make it extremely unlikely that a multiple-headed god was invented out of nothing by the Brahmin class as their own special creator. The alternative interpretation is that one aboriginal Brahmin god at least survived in their memory, and was re-adopted into the new pantheon after the priests had become Aryanized. The Brahmin demon Rāvaṇa killed by Rāma had sprouted as many as ten heads!

Bṛhaspati is not the only god to grow out of comparatively brief mention in the Ṛgveda into quite overpowering glory. Viṣṇu is a known example, and Puruṣa in x.90, even more striking as Nārāyaṇa. These are clearly foreign additions to Aryan cults, but a parallel to Bṛhaspati is better seen in Prajāpati. He begins as an adjective, being Savitṛ in iv.53.2, and Soma pavamāna in ix.5.9. A cow has been given by Prajāpati in x.169.4 and x.184.4 addresses to him part of a prayer for offspring. The very late x.85.43 shows him as a god. An entire hymn is dedicated to him only in x.21, where he is mentioned in the last *ṛk* by name; later comment has made the interrogative *kaḥ* of the refrain into a name for Prajāpati, perhaps from ancient memories of the significance of the word as a man's soul or essence (as it also was in Egyptian). The crowding into the last books is clear proof of a later date than for Bṛhaspati.

Memories of Brahmanical adoption of strange ways in distress survived quite late. We know that the ascetic tradition in India goes back to period far earlier than that of the Buddha, and that many of these ascetics were specially learned, as well as versed in the mysteries. For a development purely within the jungle, this would be impossible. On the other hand, if some of the (originally) unassimilated and unenslaved priestly survivors of the pre-Aryan culture took to the forest and eked out a painful existence on the margin of slowly growing settlements, the high respect accorded to ascetics is explained, as well as the gradual merger of the two streams in later philosophy. Manusmṛti 10.108 speaks of Viśvāmitra accepting dog meat from the hands of a Cāṇḍāla, but there is no vedic support for this, and as the book is of Bṛghu redaction (Ms.11.59-60), we may pass this by. The two previous ślokaś are confirmed. Ms.10.107 proclaims that hungry Bharadvāja, with his son, received many heads of cattle from Vṛdhu Takṣan. The reference is found in the Ṛgveda (vi.45.31-33) in a genuine Bharadvāja *dānastuti* of king Bṛbu,

the most generous of princes, who victoriously achieved chieftainship of the Paṇis like Urukakṣa Gāṅgya. When we recall that the Ṛgvedic Paṇis are regularly maligned as greedy, mercantile, and even cattle-stealers (x.108 gloss) Vṛtra himself being a Paṇi at times, or that they are demons—which means old enemies of the Aryans, it is clear how Bharadvāja had sinned. However, he had another Aṅgiras predecessor, Vāmadeva. Ms.10.106 tells us that starving Vāmadeva was unstained by eating dog's flesh, and this is again supported by a ṛk of Vāmadeva (iv.18.13) where the seer narrates that in distress he was reduced to seeing his wife in degradation, and to cooking a dog's entrails. But this is no less a *dānastuti* of Indra, in older form, than Bharadvāja's to Bṛbu; for Vāmadeva concludes that then the Falcon (Indra) brought him Soma. This can only mean granting the right to Soma, which implies granting membership in the tribe, i.e. adoption as an Aryan follower or priest of Indra. Says Vāmadeva (iv.24.10) "Who will buy from me, for ten cows, this Indra who is mine? After he has defeated the enemies, let him return (Indra) to me". This has been interpreted as hawking an image or fetish of Indra for hire, a unique practice in the Ṛgveda not supported by any authority. But hiring out the ṛṣi's services for a specific occasion, to secure the aid of Indra in battle, would seem far more natural, would fit the context of the hymn better, and is also the traditional Brahmin practice. Getting Indra back is essential; "What use to you (Indra) are the cows of the Kikāṭas" (iii.53.14) shows such an attempt at enticing Indra away from others. As for the specific mention of those who did not believe in Indra, we have two quite distinct classes: those who are the enemies belonging to the aboriginal population (vṛtras, dasyus, etc.) and those who are treated with more circumspection though denying Indra, as in ii.12.5, viii.100.3. These might be *vrātyas*, extra-vedic though Aryan, but later tradition like that of the Bṛhaddevatā says explicitly that the reference is to particular seers, Brahmins who had once denied Indra and then "seen", i.e. acknowledged him. There is no reason to doubt this, and it supports our main contention.

This tale of woe, being found in all layers of the Ṛgveda, is no later invention; x.33 begins as a song of hunger by one who has barely escaped death by starvation. The numerous *dānastutis* cannot be separated (as done so often by Grassmann) from the hymn proper. In the first place, similar praise is found in the body of other hymns, in the same metre. Secondly, Malinowski's experience with Trobriand Islanders' folklore shows that the coda is an integral part of the story, prime cause of its preservation. The record of gifts to the singer could have been important only if they were comparatively rare, life-saving events whose chanting was at once grateful remembrance and incentive to other donors. The properly historical names of the Ṛgveda occur for the greater part in such *dānastutis*. One can see groups like the Bharadvājas and the Kaṇvas cast about for protectors among all sorts of chieftains. Even

the two *dāsa* chiefs Balbūtha and Tarukṣa are praised to the utmost by Vaśa Aśvya, and it is their generosity to him that, presumably, brings them under the grace of Indra and Vāyu in viii.46.32. This, incidentally, shows that Brahminism cannot be a purely Aryan growth. Thus the hostility to Yadu-Turvaśa (vii.19.8) and friendship in vi.20.12 are explained because Vasistha and Bharadvāja were then priests to different, hostile tribes, and called upon Indra to support their own party. The all-importance of giving to Brahmins, so nauseatingly familiar to any reader of classical Sanskrit, goes to iv.50.7-11 (which would fit into any Purāṇa) and is the economico-theological basis for the priest's special sanctity and development into a caste apart.

Most important of all, these appended verses of gratitude *provide the transition between fixed, sacred hymn, and improvised, 'fluid', popular lay*; hence the deliberate change of metre in the *dānastuti*. The Mahābhārata epic, for example, is a re-edited collection of such lays about the main theme of a great civil war. Every digression (particularly genealogical) called for by any of the characters is made at once, which is clear proof of improvisation. The prologue has a vedic hymn to the Aśvins (Mbh.1.3.60-70; not out of place in the context) and claims that the work is a veda, which could hardly be admitted on the strength of a solitary hymn. One may therefore conclude that the glorifications (*māhātmya*) which intersperse the various episodes, telling of immense merit to be gained by listening to the particular story recited, make up for the disappearance of other hymns with which the minstrel must, in older days, have begun his set portion; the *māhātmya* is a later guarantee that the sanctity originally provided by the hymn has somehow been preserved. The Mbh being of Bhṛguid recension, with a fragment surviving of a rival compilation by Jaimini, we have here another encroachment by Brahmins; the professional bard (*sūta*; one actually recites the extant Mbh. according to the work itself) is of mixed caste—son of a vaiśya by a kṣatriya woman—which points to an ancient respectable origin of the guild, before class differences had developed into impassable caste barriers. The idea of caste-mixture is the Manusmṛti method of enrolling such guilds into the caste system. The cheerful poet of ix.112.3 says: *kānur aham tato bhūṣag upala-prakṣiṇī nanā*, 'I am a hymn-composer, father is a herb-doctor, mother grinds corn', all as professionals, for profit; this is certainly not the Manusmṛti idea of a family. The irregularities of Mbh *triṣṭubh* metre approach the vedic rather than later classical models. I suggest that the long tradition of free improvisation accounts in greater part for the 'fluidity' of the epic text as compared with the rigidly fixed veda or Pāṇinian *aṣṭādhyāyī*, though all three were orally transmitted for a while, and the two last for a much longer period than the growing epic. Vyāsa's stepping out of the role of poet to direct the actual characters of the epic may indicate some sort of stage-direction and the acting of scenes to accompany the recitation; this would account for the miming of Bhārata-yuddha episodes in Balinese tradition, derived from South-east India.

TRISIRAS AS PURE MYTH

12. The proposition must now be considered that all R̥gvedic stories are pure myth, from which no historical information is to be derived. The very survival of a myth indicates the existence of a class of people interested in repeating it till such time as it came to be recorded. Generally, in primitive societies, this implies connection with ritual and the priesthood that survives by performing that ritual. The existence of an early written version of the R̥gveda is extremely unlikely, though not absolutely impossible; Indic as well as extra-Indian Aryans had had violent contact with ancient literate civilizations. Writing was unnecessary at the intermediate pastoral and pioneering stage, from which settlements gradually arose to develop into kingdoms of an entirely different type. The priesthood was all the more necessary, and there is no reason to doubt the generally accepted theory of an entirely mnemonic transmission of the oldest veda in its early days. The point, however, is not material in our case.

Identification of ancient city ruins in the Indus valley with Dasyu cities destroyed by Aryans can no longer be stigmatized as Euhemeristic. Thus, the ritual that developed at the earliest period could not be the Yajurvedic-Brahmaṇic rite but something connected with, or influenced by, these clashes. The later veda preserves little or no trace of this, even in symbolic form, simply because the social, political, and economic situation had changed completely. Looking specifically at the story of Indra (or Trita-Thraetona) striking off the three heads of Tvāṣṭra, we find its narration and survival almost a casual feature of the R̥gveda. Later vedas use it only to introduce more prominent stories, such as the killing of Vṛtra, which motivate purification and Soma ceremonies. Therefore, the initial ritual, if any, has faded. Yet we have the three or four-faced god and several three-headed beasts on Mohenjo-Daro seals, as well as broken images with a human torso and one or more head-sockets. Moreover, the *trimūrti* continues to this day, with a totally different theology, as representing a deity synthesized from three later gods, of whom the four-headed Brahmā is one (though allotted only one of the three heads). Finally, there is now no striking off the heads of the image, which shows that both ritual and myth follow changes in the relations of production. If the Tvāṣṭra story indicates any Aryan ceremonial, it can only be the killing of a priest by the king, for priestly gentes continue to derive their name from Tvāṣṭra, even from his severed heads; the line of descent from Brahmā at the end of Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad iv shows two Tvāṣṭras. But the only other such parallel story is the striking off a horse's head from Dadhyañc Ātharvan (also in that line of descent), which head continues to be immortal and prophetic in lake Śaryanāvant, and from which perhaps Indra fashioned a powerful weapon, like Samson from the jawbone of an ass (Bṛhaddevatā iii.22-23; Rv. i.84.13-14; Sat.Brāh.xiv. i.i.18-25). This is the exact opposite of what has been propounded about such

myths¹ : That they represent the periodic sacrifice of a king. Here, instead of the priest sacrificing the king, it is the god-king who beheads his own priest. This cannot be taken as yet another Brahmin inversion, for the vedic priesthood grew steadily in power, and there is no reason for it to have taken a step against its own inviolability. The killing of Vṛtra might conceivably be related to a periodic human sacrifice, seeing that *vṛtra* also denote; dark non-Aryan enemies; whence some ritual for victory over them, or sacrifice of prisoners after a battle, would not be unlikely. For Tvāṣṭra, no such explanation seems to be possible.

Study of the Iranian counterpart Azi Dahāka shows us that we have to do with a non-Aryan king or priest-king. The motif of an initially monstrous king is strong enough to reappear in India down to Śiśupāla, king of a historical people Cedi. He is three-eyed, which is really equal to three-headedness, as will be seen, and four-armed at birth; killed by a later god, the dark Kṛṣṇa, after many trespasses have been forgiven. It is possible to conclude, following the reasoning of those who favour such analysis, that *the myth portrays, in its initial stages, the killing of a pre-Aryan priest-king somehow connected with the later Indo-Aryan priesthood.* The killer does not succeed to, but *retains*, sovereignty over the Aryan pantheon. There is nothing like a sacred marriage connected with the story, and the patriarchal society of the Ṛgveda does not allow anything of the sort to be fitted in. Later antagonism between *kṣatriya* and *brāhmaṇa* can explain neither the formation of the story nor its Iranian version, supplying at most a cause for its repetition, or for the usurpation by Bṛhaspati of some of Indra's saga. Thus, the "ritual" is at best adopted from the pre-Aryans, which would normally imply adopting some of the priesthood therewith.

It seems much more reasonable to admit what has already been demonstrated for Greece²: That conflict between gods indicates conflict between two

¹ A.M. Hocart : *Kingship* (London 1927) ; Lord Raglan : *The Hero* (London 1936). I am sorry to say that Hocart's evidence comes from a much later (for India) period, and has been reported in a fashion that needs correction. Raglan's analysis also seems incomplete, for I can show from personal experience how real historical characters have had myths attached to their names without any corresponding ritual or drama to account for the transference of older stories. Attention has to be paid to the class of people among whom the myth is current, and also to the pre-existence of a written tradition, or of other classes, which may provide the raw material for folklore. Yet these two works contain much that is suggestive and valuable, in contrast to the works of diffusionists like W.J. Perry.

² George Thomson : *Aeschylus and Athens* (London, 1944) ; *Studies in Ancient Greek Society : The Prehistoric Aegean*, (London 1949). But the direct analogue is not possible with the material we are now discussing. Indrāṇī, the wife of Indra, is a very late addition to the Ṛgveda, and the great female deities like Durgā-Pārvatī, Lakṣmī, etc are much later. Umā in the Ṛgveda does not appear to have any connection with the later goddess whose physical merging into the hermaphrodite Śiva indicates just what was shown for Greece, seeing the position she still occupies as Durgā, an eastern mother-goddess. The female deities of the Ṛgveda appear negligible, or local, like the dawn goddess *uṣā*, the goddess of birth *Śinivālī*, or the river goddesses led by Sarasvatī. I suggest that at the early stage, the invaders had an overwhelming victory. Only later did they find it necessary to admit these older elements, along with the people who preserved that culture or its remnants. Otherwise, we should have a course of development the very reverse of that generally found, from the patriarchal back to matriarchy. Then, why the least Aryanized of India's primitive tribes have the matriarchal system would be difficult to explain. My suggestion would also account for the fact that many very old legends, such as those connected with the flood, appear only at the post-vedic stage. What synthesis lies back of the multiple-headed Indus valley images cannot be analyzed from available sources, but undoubtedly, they had composite deities also. My own explanation follows in the next section.

or more cultures which were thereafter fused. In India, this fusion did not go to the extent of continuing the urban life of the older period, though that was essentially what other Aryans did further to the west. Had the amalgamation achieved nothing more than the formation of a helotage (the *śūdra* caste) from the conquered black Dasyus, there would be no such indelible mark left upon the Brahmin priesthood and tradition. Moreover, there is ample evidence for the existence of dark-skinned Brahmins in antiquity, the possibility being also admitted by Buddhists (Dīgha Nikāya 4) but not by Brahmins from the northwest (*JBBRAS* vol.23, 1947, pp.39-46); such clear evidence of racial admixture did not lead to any loss of caste. This completes the alternative line of reasoning, bringing us to the same point as before.

SURVIVALS OF MOTHER-RIGHT IN THE ṚGVEDA

13. The question of matriarchy* and group-marriage has only been skirted in the previous sections. I now propose to show that even in our oldest available documents there exists clear evidence to support our arguments, without violence to logic and with improved meaning. Such re-interpretation is necessary as the original simple meaning had become incomprehensible in the intervening millennia of a totally different form of society. Following the vedas, epics, purāṇas, grhya-sūtras, and smṛtis in chronological order, we find at times a reversal in the accepted sequence of development. Matriarchal features appear later, as for example *strīdhana* (property inherited in the female line), and recognition of consanguinity on the mother's side. These are due not to retrogression in the means of production but to absorption of the remaining pre-Aryans by comparatively peaceful methods. Matriarchy and the most primitive forms of exogamy are known to survive only among the least Aryanized of India's tribes. The leading Ṛgvedic gods Agni, Vāyu, Varuṇa, Mitra have no real consorts, for Varuṇānī, Agnāyī etc. (like the male Sarasvat for Sarasvatī) are palpable fictions which never took hold; the noticeable fact is that they should have been thought necessary at all. The slightly better drawn Indrānī (x.86) never establishes herself in the pantheon. Viṣṇu develops his supreme importance only in the later period when he has already married the sea-born Lakṣmī. Śiva-Rudra can become the great god because of his wife Pārvatī; he has often to appear as a hermaphrodite assuming half her body, so essential is her cult. The conclusion is irresistible that these divine marriages not only represent the fusion of the invaders with a set of predominantly ma-

* This is treated to some extent (for modern Dravidian India) by O.R. Ehrenfels : *Mother-Right In India* (Oxford 1941). The author's citations of our oldest sources : re perfunctory, second-hand, and irrelevant or inaccurate because of consequent misinterpretation. The comparison on pp.180-81 between what Marshall imagined to be the essential features of the Indus-Valley culture and what Ehrenfels believes to have been Nayar civilization at its height is particularly superficial and misleading, the supposed features not being exclusive.

triarchal pre-Aryan peoples, but even that the absence of such cult-fusion helps Buddhism push the older unmated vedic gods into the background, in spite of the grip maintained by vedic ritual. For direct reference to an earlier stage without forbidden degrees of marriage, we seem to have Ait. Brāh.iii.33·1 which speaks of everything as created out of the incest of Prajāpati with his own daughter. The incest, without naming Prajāpati, goes back to RV. x. 61.5-7, and must be much older. Ait. Brāh.vii.13 even says, "therefore a son his mother and sister mounteth," though such promiscuity must have belonged to a distant and repugnant past of the contemporary Aryans as shown by the Yama-Yamī dialogue. The sun-god Pūṣan is called 'lover of his own sister' in vi.55.4-5., while the gods actually marry him off to the sister Sūryā in vi.58.4. Both the Achæmenians and the Śākya had traditions of brother-sister marriages. In the Ṛgveda the minor canine goddess Saramā (x.108 ; i.62.3; i.72.8; iii.31.6; iv.16.8; v.45.7-8) finds stolen¹ cows as messenger of Indra. The termination *mā* was not understood by the later priesthood except as a negative injunction, depriving the name of all meaning. But the list of female deities or demons whose names so terminate increases immediately after the Ṛgvedic period : Umā, Ruśamā (Pañc. Brāh. xxv.13.4), Rumā, Pulomā, Ramā, Halimā (Mbh.3.217.9) etc; they are undoubtedly mother-goddesses² at one stage of their mythological existence. In x. 40 the levirate is clearly mentioned : *ko vā śayutrā vidhavaeva devaram maryaṃ na yoṣā kṛnute sadhasṭha ā*, but the very word for widow and the institution of widowhood shows us that the Aryans had long shaken off their own traditions of group-marriage and mother-right. Therefore, the direct references from the Ṛgveda which are cited in the following paragraphs are much more likely to represent absorption of pre-Aryan custom than an uncalled-for reversion to ancient practice.

My main argument is the following. A single child with many mothers is characteristic of a society in which group-marriage is the rule. "A child gives the name of mother not only to her who bore him but also to all his maternal aunts. A European not familiar with these relationships is surprised when he hears a native (of New Britain) boasting of having three mothers. His confusion is increased when the alleged three mothers stoutly assert '*amital qa kava iya*, all three of us bore him'". This is quoted from J.G. Frazer's *Totemism And Exogamy*, (London 1910, vol, 1, p.305, footnote), being itself apparently taken from P.A.Kleintitschen's *Die Küstenbewohner der Gazelle-halbinsel*. We shall now proceed to show just this attitude in some hymns of the Ṛgveda.

¹ Saramā's tracking down cattle *stolen* by the Panis is unquestionably a later story, to explain a legendary strife. No Ṛgvedic hymn which refers to Saramā says anything about the cattle having been stolen. The goddess presents a blunt, aggressive demand from Indra to the Panis, apparently for their own cows, in x. 108. The other references generally show that 'cows' can be understood as rivers; best of all in vi. 10.8.

² For Mā as a mother-goddess, cf. Amarakośa 1.1.29; what connection exists with the Hittite goddess of the same name is not known.

It may be objected that a plurality of mothers may indicate only polygamy. A moment's thought will make it clear that in a polygamous gentile patriarchal society, the father's *gens* and the mother's *name* become important; this is precisely what we do find in the oldest Pāli literature.

The usage in question—a single child with several mothers—is found explicitly in vii.2.5 : *pūrvī śiśum na mātaraḥ rihāne* ; i.140,3 : *tarete abhi mātaraḥ śiśum* ; and in viii. 99.6. The plural or dual 'mothers' in the sense of parents is excluded, though even this would be highly significant. Pānini vi.3.33 : *pitarāmātaraḥ ca chandasi* only shows that the compound could be used in the dual sense, as in Rv. iv.6.7 : *na mātaraḥpitarā*, to mean parents. By itself, *mātaraḥ* as dual would at least indicate two mothers, which suffices for our purpose. Where a specific interpretation is given (as occasionally by Sāyaṇa) we have the parents as the sky and earth : *dyāvā-pṛthivī* ; but both are feminine and x.64.10 calls the great sky also a mother : *uta mātā byhad-divā*. The common Sanskrit appellation for ancestors is *pitarah*, 'fathers', showing how natural patriarchal usage had become. Correspondingly we have the masculine 'father sky' *dyaus-pitā* (i.90.7; i.164.33 etc.) as in Greek, and Latin. Why should this one god common to all known branches of Aryan mythology appear as a *mother* so often in the Ṛgveda ?

Soma had several mothers: *tvām rihanti mātaraḥ* (ix.100.7 ; also ix.111.2). In fact he was born of seven mothers, ix.102.4 ; *jajūānam sapta mātaraḥ* who are sisters, ix. 86.36 : *sapta swasāro abhi mātaraḥ śiśum navam jajūānam*. These seven mothers are presumably the seven rivers : (i.158.5) *nadyo nūṣṭātmāḥ* ; i. 34.8 : *sindhubhiḥ saptamāṣṭyrbhiḥ*. The point is that they jointly bear a single child while there is no mention at all of the father in spite of the patriarchal nature of the society in which these hymns were chanted ; note again that the Greek rivers were masculine. Further, though a river is very useful to pastoral nomads, the superlative worship in *ambitame nadūtame devitame sarasvati* (ii.42 16, "o most excellent of mothers, rivers, goddesses, Sarasvatī") seems characteristic of the pre-Aryan riparian urban cultures. The connection between *ambā*=mother and *ambu* or *ambhas* for water is neither fortuitous nor to be explained psychoanalytically in this case but a fundamental attitude to be expected among people whose entire civilization owed its birth and its existence to the river. The primary sanctity of a river like the Ganges as a cleanser of sin belongs to a later period of Brahminism, though apparent even in x.17.10. These river-mothers might be meant in the famous line *yahvī ṛtasya mātari**

*In this phrase, the dual *mātaraḥ* is taken to mean night and Uṣas in i.142.7 and v. 5.6 ; the sky and earth in the remaining cases, but without internal evidence in ix. 102.7. This classical interpretation shows its own inconsistency, strengthened by ix.33.5 which has the plural, along with the adjective *brahmī*, which is unique in the RV and may therefore indicate connection with special Brahmin cults. Further, Sāyaṇa gives *udakasya* as an alternative meaning for *ṛtasya* even on v. 5.6 ; vi. 17.7 ; x. 59.8, which makes it likely that the origin of the phrase under consideration is actually in the cult of the river-mothers, perhaps of two rivers. By itself, *yahvī* is used in the sense of river, quite unambiguously in ii. 35. 9 ; iii.1.4,6,9 ; i.72. 8.—and even of the seven rivers.

(v.5.6;x59.8;ix.102.7.;ix.33.5;i.142.7,and vi.17,7 with the added qualification *pratne* =ancient) 'the never-resting mothers of truth' (or justice, *ṛta*; but note that Sūyaṇa on v.12.2 takes *ṛta* to mean water). The cult of the Mothers did exist, and was very ancient ; if derived from that of the rivers, one would expect the process to have taken place among people who still retained the matriarchal stamp.

The most interesting fact about such a multiplicity of mothers is its consequent effect upon the child. The deified fire, Agni , is also born of several mothers (x.91.6), specifically the seven blessed mothers (i.141.2), without an apparent father. We remark parenthetically that the fire-drill and the simpler fire-plough have only two essential components, the 'parents' of the fire generated by their friction ; the comparison with human procreation is so natural that both portions of the *araṇī* are not generally regarded as mothers. Fire is described in one place as seven-tongued(iii.6.2), a natural figure of speech for the flames. But one hymn earlier we have Agni as with seven heads (iii.5.5.) : *pāti nābhā saptaśṛṣāṇam agniḥ*, in one of his forms at least. Thus it is logical to find that Soma also has seven faces or mouths in ix.111.1.

The correspondence of one head per mother can be still better proved from a myth which has been recorded later, namely the birth of Skanda (Mbh. 3.214.ᱞ). He has actually six mothers, the Pleiades, whence his name Kārttikeya. But his other name *ṣaṅmātura* clearly means "with six mothers", and he has six heads: one from each mother as we are told explicitly in most accounts of his birth. The Mahābhārata story is a bit mixed in its details, saying that he was fathered by Agni who was enamoured of the seven wives of the seven ṛṣis (identified with components of Ursa Major ; these 'husbands' are presumably later, seeing that they never gain the importance of the Mothers, nor of the collective vedic gods like the Maruts, Rudras, Vasus). Agni's rejected wife *svāhā* (merely the sacrificial call) then successively assumed the form of six of these seven ladies to couple with the fire-god ; the combined semen was poured into a lake to generate the dread Skanda. The duplicated ṛṣi-wives are cast out on suspicion of unchastity, and adopt Skanda as his mothers. The great Mothers (of the whole universe, but seven in number) are asked to kill Skanda, but they too adopt him jointly instead. The story is an obvious effort to combine several versions into one while retaining and explaining away the six mothers with no particular father. Skanda being identified with a form of, or oftener as son of, Rudra, we have a still later purāṇic story wherein he is begotten of the seed of Śiva which Pārvatī forces upon Agni in her anger at the interruption ; this forms a sort of prefatory addition to the other story.

Sarasvat is variously given as son or consort* of the river goddess Sarasvatī, just as Dakṣa is both father and son of Aditi. The confusion, natural consequence of development from matriarchal cults, suggests the identification of Tvaṣṭṛ with Tvāṣṭra, at least in principle. Gods with several heads would be associated with the cult of several confluent rivers. To continue: Ṛgvedic Viṣṇu has a wife (*sumajjānaye viṣṇave*, i.156.2) and several mothers (iii.54.14) while viii.20.3 equates him to Rudra and the much later Viṣṇu-smṛti (1.56) calls him Saptasīrṣa without explanation. Both blocks of the fire-drill can simultaneously be *mothers* of Agni (v.11.3). Thus Agni or his heavenly representative the sun (born of heaven and earth) is *dvimātā* in i.31.2; i.112.4; iii.55.6-7; he is three-headed in i.146.1 but more naturally four-eyed in i.31.13 and *divisīrṣa* in the Śabdacandrikā. The elephant god Gaṇeśa is also *dvaimātura* (Amarakośa I.1.140). The Bṛhadratha king Jarāsaṃdha was born of two sisters, in two separate halves later joined together (Mbh.2.16.12-40), which rationalizes the two-mother tradition. Rāma emulates Indra and Thraetona in killing a three-headed demon Trisīras (Raghuvamśa 12.47; also Rāmāyaṇa). The Śabdakalpadruma refers to Kālikāpurāṇa 46 where Hara is called Tryambaka for having been born of three mothers. Böhlingk-Roth give Trisīras as an epithet of Kubera (whose three legs relate him to the triskelis and the three-strider *tripāda* Viṣṇu) as well as Śiva who in turn is made four-headed in the Tilottamā episode (Mbh. 1.203.26) and known both to literature as well as iconography in a five-headed *pañcamukha* form. Nāgas with two, five, seven heads occur in Mbh. 1.52.20, carrying us back to Mesopotamian seals. Even the old Aryan god Varuṇa is once called four-faced (v.48.5 *caturanīka*), and again lord of his seven sisters (viii.41.9) thus substituting for some pre-Aryan deity; Indra as *saptahā* (x.49.8) was too open an enemy (cf.viii.96.16) for this assimilatory treatment. The names Navagva and Daśagva, meaning of nine and ten parts respectively, give clear indication of ancient Ṛgvedic groups of nine or ten priestly clans of equal status with the oldest Āngirasas (x.62.6; the Navagvas are against Indra in i.33.6?). Yet each is used often in the singular as representing the conjoint group. This could easily arise from or give rise to the many-headed representation, as for example the 'first-born' ten-headed Brāhmaṇa of AV.iv.6.1, or a seven-faced Daśagva Āngiras in iv. 51.4. Tvaṣṭṛ creates Bṛhaspati from the essence of everything (ii.23.17) and also creates fire (x.2.7; x.46.9; ii.1.5); but the latter embryo is generated by ten maidens (i.95.2) symbolizing the fingers that twirl the fire-drill, reminiscent of the Vestals. Agni is three-headed and *saptaraśmi* in i.146.1, just as Tvāṣṭra is in x. 8.8; Bṛhaspati is *saptaraśmi* and *saptāsya* in iv. 50.4. As for mother-right, Namuci's army recruited women (v.30.9) to the derision of Indra. The Mothers join Skanda's army (Mbh. Vulgate, Śalyaparvan), and have still to be propitiated by his worshippers. The cow-mother Pṛṣṇī is another of the Maruts, and in

*Qingu, taken as consort by Tiamat after the killing of Apsu, seems also to be Tiamat's son (Langdon's translation of the *Enuma Eliš*, ii.34, ii.41). Similarly Tammuz and Ishtar.

viii. 101.15 'mother of the Rudras, daughter of the Vasus, sister of the Adityas' yet never rises high in the pantheon. In view of this rather mixed theogony, not much can be made of the phrase *śivas tvaṣṭā* in the āpri-hymn v.5.9, for Indra is called *śivatama* in viii. 96.10. Indra is also *ajātasatru* (v.34.1 ; viii.93.5), *bhīma* in many places, even *viṣṇu* in i.61.7 and perhaps *rudra* in viii. 13.20. That is, many of the later god-names are pure adjectives so that the fact of a god having a good Sanskrit or Indo-Aryan name does not necessarily make him a god of the Aryans from his beginnings. Even the solitary occurrence of *lakṣmī* (x.71.2) in the Ṛgveda is as an adjective.

The clumsily patched Skanda legend with its gaping seams is particularly revealing. Without it, we should have assumed, as is done for the modern *trimūrti* and Dattātreyā, that a multiple-headed god is merely the fusion of that number of male deities, i.e. of their cults, leaving the ancient Brahmā unexplained. But let us first look at the completed patriarchal transformation of such multiple parentage. The introduction of Agni in the Skanda story takes us only half-way. We have noted that two great gotra-founder ṛṣis with fictitious names, Vasiṣṭha and Agastya (also known as Māna), are born of the combined seed of Mitra and Varuṇa, from a jug or a lotus: two fathers but no mother; this method of generation appears down at least to the *siddha* Bhartṛhari, Bharatarī or Bhartri of the Kānpḥāṭā sect. The essential is the denial of a mother,* these great men being *ayonisambhava*, not of woman born. I suggest that this ingenious device became necessary because a patriarchal society had invaded and conquered by force, but these ṛṣis became nevertheless 'originators' of *gotras*. Later the seven sages are born directly of the four- (in some versions even five-) headed god Brahmā, without female intervention. Yet the names of the 'seven' are seen to be discordant among the various lists, while the one sage not born of Brahmā at all is *kuśika* Viśvāmitra, the only true Aryan gotra-founder. He is really a stranger to the seven, even though his book in the Ṛgveda is permeated by Jamadagni influence. Now not only do the seven mothers, the river-goddesses, continue to hold their high position in the Ṛgveda, but the divine representative of the priesthood, Bṛhaspati, is several times called seven-faced (iv.50.2 etc ; Sāyaṇa often takes *saptāsyas* as denoting the Maruts, fathered by Rudra). The conclusion is that *a pre-existing matriarchal form of society shows itself through the myth of several mothers jointly giving birth to a god with an equal number of heads or faces. These*

* An even better example is the Mandhātṛ legend. The king is perhaps mentioned in i.112.13, viii.40.2; the word elsewhere in the Ṛgveda means 'pious'. In the Mahābhārata (3.126) we have his father Yuvanāśva drink enchanted water in Bhṛgu's *āśrama* (an inversion of bathing in the enchanted pool), and so become pregnant, the son being ultimately born through his side and (in the vulgate Droṇaparvan 62) suckled on Indra's finger. This is a complete repudiation of maternity, as with the couvade. Mbh.3.127 has rationalization, by reversal, of the many mothers. Jantu is born jointly of king Somaka's hundred wives, then sacrificed in a *yajña*, by which each of the hundred mothers conceives a complete son. (cf. Kathāsaritsāgara 13.57-65). The Southern recension substitutes *jyēṣṭhāyām samajāyata* for *śrīṣṭate samajāyata*, rationalizing still further.

mothers, as representatives of local tribes or gentes, are later replaced by eponymous Brāhmin ancestors, the *ṛsis*. Indus valley seals show male animals (single and multiple) which may be interpreted as totemic. The polycephalic god is also present and the civilization has therefore *started before and gone beyond* the stage of pure worship of his mothers, the rivers or other goddesses. It will be objected that so highly developed a civilization could not have retained matriarchal tradition to such an extent as our analysis requires, but actually there is nothing against it. The main conditions are a relatively undisturbed and rapid advance from the primitive to the urban stage, made possible by the river and its isolating desert ; further, the comparative unimportance of fighting and the warrior in the development of the civilization. Archaeology, though incomplete, supports this, whatever the means (naked force, or religion) adopted by that extinct society to preserve internal class divisions ; the transformation of the many-headed god into Bṛhaspati and Brahmā suggest religion rather than violence. Even in the epic period, rivers continue to bear heroic sons ; the great figure of the Mahābhārata war, Bhīṣma, is born of the Ganges and a human father, Śaṃtanu.

Turn now to Triśiras Tvāṣṭra. This personage is supposedly the son of the ancient creator-god Tvaṣṭṛ ; a priest—though the father is nowhere called that—whence it is a sin to kill him ; and in some way an immortal god-priest or else the hymn describing his own killing(x.8) could not have been ascribed to him against all reason by the Anukramaṇi. The ‘father’ Tvaṣṭṛ is later enrolled among the Ādityas as well as among the Rudras ; he shares the adjective *viśvarūpa* with his son, but has not three heads. Nothing is said about the mother who bore so remarkable a son, one who is associated with rivers in the form of ‘snakes’ springing out of his shoulders, as we have seen in Iranian legend. One would guess that he is the son of three mothers, whetlier also of Tvaṣṭṛ or not. It cannot be a mere accident that we find another (nameless) god with three mothers, of whose father there is no mention at all, and who is early identified with Rudra. This is Tryambaka = ‘with three mothers’, worshipped according to vii.59.12 : *tryambakam yajāmahe sugandhum puṣṭivardhanam*. The Taitt. Sam. i. 86 calls Tryambaka Rudra and tells us that his animal is the mole. Later we have Tryambaka translated as ‘three-eyed’, for which there is no philological support but which does serve to eliminate the three mothers ; it also explains the three eyes of Rudra-Śiva. We have another reference in ii.56.5 : *uta trimātā vidatheṣu samvāt*, to an unnamed god (probably Agni) who has three mothers and is supreme in the divine assembly ; the hymn, it will be recalled, deals with several triple deities. This *trimātā* is glossed by Sāyaṇa as *trayāṇām lokānām nirmātā*, creator of the three worlds ; which, though silly as an explanation, gets rid of the awkward and incomprehensible three mothers while showing that the reference was supposed to be to some high god. The conclusion is again that one branch of culture contributing to the

Ṛgveda had a living tradition in which maternity could be joint and paternity quite unimportant. It is for this reason that Tvāṣṭra's severed heads could give names to Brahmin gotras, for they must actually represent matriarchal gentes to begin with. It is not the mother-goddess who has three faces, like Hecate or Artemis among the Greeks, but the son born of three mother goddesses. Just what ancient chain connects our myth to the story of Herakles killing the three-headed Geryon, capturing Kerberos, or decapitating the Hydra we cannot consider here, for we have not as yet enough glyptic evidence from the Indus and Mesopotamian regions.

This can be rounded out by other myths, usually dismissed as trivial but which can now be seen to form connective tissue in the body of vedic mythology. Indra drank the *soma* by force in Tvaṣṭṛ's house (iii.48.4;iv.18.3) thus presumably thrusting himself upon Tvaṣṭṛ's tribe, or depriving him of power, or both. It is thought by some that the father whom Indra took by the foot and smashed (iv.18.12) is Tvaṣṭṛ himself, but this is highly improbable. Indra's father is nowhere named, (nor is Indra reported anywhere as assaulting Tvaṣṭṛ) and his mother is doubtful too, though he is enrolled among the growing list of *ādityas*, sons of Aditi. The later *āditya* par excellence is the sun, while the first is Varuṇa ; both Tvaṣṭṛ and Indra occur in a continuously expanding list, and it is not clear that Aditi was a pre-Aryan mother-goddess, being once even cited in the masculine gender. The later Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa (xii.5.18-22) reports that Indra suffered from eye-disease after killing Vṛtra, and was lulled to sleep by the daughters of Tvaṣṭṛ. These daughters generate fugitive Indra from the cows in which he had hidden himself ; parallel versions show that the cows themselves are the daughters of Tvaṣṭṛ, so that the whole story is perhaps one of rebirth from several mothers, i.e. adoption. One may note that Durgā is called Tvāṣṭī (for Tvaṣṭṛī) in the still later Devī-purāṇa, and a living cult of Tvaṣṭṛ (or his son ?) seems indicated only by the Pāraskara Gṛhya-sūtra ii.15.5. The adoption of Indra by the daughters of his predecessor is meaningless by patriarchal standards ; either Tvaṣṭṛ or his son would have had to adopt the war-god for its validity. What we do see is that not only did Aryans adopt some pre-Aryan Indic gods but assimilation in the opposite direction was also attempted. As for the three heads of Tryambaka becoming three eyes, we have a distant parallel in the Tvāṣṭra story. Śat. Brāh. iii.1.3.12-17 says that a special eye-ointment from mount Trikakud must be used. Trikakud means with three peaks, points (or even heads). The mountain was the transformation of Vṛtra's eye after that demon had been killed by Indra ; but Vṛtra was the demon created by Tvaṣṭṛ to avenge his sons's murder by Indra. So the cycle is complete. The variant details of this and other similar narratives show that some background story which could not be forgotten was adopted by several different people at various times for vedic purposes ; the principle is the same as that of the starred reading in text-criticism, on a different level. It is at least plausible that this faded craftsman-

god Tvaṣṭṛ who is identified as creator with Varuṇa(iv.42.3) as well as the later Prajāpati, who appears as a Rudra as well as an Aditya, and who is connected with multiple-headed gods from Trīśiras to Bṛhaspati, is not originally an Aryan god with fixed position in the pantheon, but a figure from the pre-Aryan background which could not be suppressed altogether in spite of his conflict with Indra.

The three possible mothers of Trīśiras could very well be the original of a female tried which occurs repeatedly in the Ṛgveda(i.188.8 ; ii.3.8 ; iii.4.8;x.110.8), Iḍā, Sarasvatī and Bhārati. The last is the earth, perhaps here as a special goddess of the Bharatas. Iḍā is also the mother of Agni (iii.29.3) as personification of the lower wood of the fire-drill. Most important of all, she is the mother of Purūravaś(x.95.18). Since this Purūravaś is virtually the founder of the lunar line of kings, we have a complicated set of purāṇic legends making Iḍā a son of Manu, but transformed into a woman by stepping into a grove sacred to Pūrvatī. The original legend had to be twisted, presumably because a line in the patriarchal world cannot be properly founded through a daughter of Manu. We have already seen the prototype of the metamorphosis in the ambivalence of the sky-god or goddess and such changes of sex are far too common. Indra himself (i.51.13 ; AV vii. 38.2. Śat.Brāh. iii.3.4.18) ; Āsaṅga-Plāyogī(Sāyaṇa at the beginning of viii.1, and the Sarvānukramaṇī ; Bṛhad-devatā vi.41) ; Nārada, king Bhaṅgāsvana(Mbh.13.12, vulgate) and the 'monkey' Rkṣarajas (in a probably apocryphal addition to the Rāmāyaṇa) after bathing in enchanted pools ; Śikhaṇḍin who killed Bhīṣma(originally and significantly named Ambā in a previous birth) all change sex, and sometimes both beget and bear children. The roots go very far back, for the Tiraścī of viii. 95.4 is the seer of the hymn, but the name is feminine in declension and masculine in usage. The grove and particularly the pool which effect the metamorphosis (which will be found even in a tale of the *Arabian Nights*, and the *Qissah Hātīm Tāī*) has sometimes been equated to the fountain of youth, as with the rejuvenating immersion of Cyavana*. The actual transformation in the first instance being from male to female, they are much more likely to represent places dedicated to the mysteries and initiation rites connected with the cult of one or more mother-goddesses—places which men could enter only to emerge emasculated, performing thereafter the functions of women, presumably in the service of the goddess. Some such pre-patriarchal initiation must be the proper explanation of the verses at the end of viii.33, particularly 19: *strī hi brahmā bakhūvitha* 'thou, O priest, art become a woman.'

The foregoing, I believe, will suffice to show how correct and useful a guide Engels's "Origin Of the Family, Private Property And The State" has

* Actually the Cyavana story is not a parallel at all, for the rejuvenation is performed by the Aśvins and the immersion method is later (Mbh. 3. 123.15-17) than the Ṛgvedic, where the sage regains his youth by having his skin drawn off like a garment (v. 74.5 ; i.110,10). This is the older version, based upon primitive wonder at a snake's casting off his skin to appear rejuvenated.

been, though we cannot follow it slavishly because the story before us is that of the violent overthrow of a great pre-Aryan culture and its traditions. A few speculations may not be out of place. Widow Ghoshā sings of the Aśvins (x.40.8) opening the 'seven-entrance' cattle-pen to the thunderer : *stanayan-tam vrajam apa-ūrṇuthaḥ saptāśyam*. The word *saptāśyas* is already familiar to us ; seeing that *vraja* and *gotra* are originally synonymous, we may guess that the meaning of gens, tribe, or amphictyony could be used for the former here. If so, the line speaks of Indra being admitted to the fold of the seven ṛṣis, or the tribes descended from the seven rivers ; the Aryan set is generally of five peoples, the *pañca janāḥ* whose individual names are lost ; curiously enough, *sat tahā* seven-killer is a title of Indra (x.49). Again, Indrāṇī, the goddess who proved theologically not viable, participates in a mysterious and sometimes erotic triangular discourse which is the more notable as the gods' wives are generally called *gnās* in a group and remain silent, being under the special protection of Tvaṣṭṛ. Indrāṇī, in the one chance given her, speaks of women having gone to ritual celebrations in 'older times' : *saṃhotraṃ sma purā nārī samanāṃ vāva gacchati* (x.86.10). The very next ṛk speaks of her husband as never dying of old age : *na hy aśya aparaṃ ca na jarasā marate patiḥ* (x.86.11). The Rgvedic evidence wears thin here. Yet it is difficult not to think of goddesses and queens in other countries whose husbands never reached old age, being sacrificed in fertility rites before their vigour began to wane. Was this some older goddess of that type (she is addressed as mother in x.86.7 and occurs in one list of the Seven Mothers) thrust briefly upon Indra ? The famous Puruṣa-sūkta (x.90) speaks of creation as resulting from the sacrifice of a male god. The late hymn is purely Brahmanical, as it is unique in mentioning the four castes but the rite it represents is unquestionably very old, and there ascribed to pre-Aryan gods, the mysterious Sādhyas. Still better for our purpose is the dialogue (x.95) between the nymph Urvaśī and her human lover Purūravas son of Iḍā, which gave rise to a popular classical theme. The *sūkta* is not literally comprehensible if taken as the commentator interprets it, for Urvaśī is supposed to be merely hard-hearted in repulsing the advances of a human lover with whom she breaks off her temporary union. He is gratuitously promised heaven after death, his argument that his son will feel the absence of a father is brushed aside, and she asks him to go to his *asta*, home. As he is himself the son of a great goddess, there is no apparent harm in the permanency of their union which he desires ; Thetis could mate with Peleus. Nor is it clear why Urvaśī emphatically calls him *mṛtyubandhuḥ*, one doomed to death. There is a later, apparently pointless, legend in the purāṇas that Purūravas was killed by ṛṣis at a sacrifice while greedily despoiling their golden altar. But now take *asta* in its other meaning as death and matters become quite clear: Purūravas is himself to be sacrificed after having begotten a son upon the water-goddess. Both his pleadings and her 'wolf-heartedness' are absolutely proper ; that is

the reason why their son can never know his father, who is destined to keep the gods company in heaven¹.

This is less fanciful than might appear at first sight, Purūravas in x. 95.15 is assured that he is not to die, in almost the same language as the sacrificial horse in i.162.21. Both are going to the gods, and the horse is being freed from all his earthly travails. For the rest i. 162-163 give a simple rite of killing, cooking, eating the sacrificed and very carefully dismembered horse—with a caressing, almost apologetic attitude towards the principal victim (accompanied by a scape-goat). The Yajurvedic Aśvamedha lets the horse go free for a year (cf. RV. iii.53.11), makes his wanderings the excuse for military aggression (Śat. Brah.xiii.5.4), and imposes upon the chief queen the revolting duty of coupling with the slain victim (Taitt. Sam, vii. 4; Vāj. Sam, xxiii; Śat. Brāh.xiii.5.2.2 etc.) to the accompaniment of an obscene discourse, like Vṛṣākapi's in x. 86. The sacrifice has become a fertility rite, though now accompanied by a large number of other victims. The still later Sāṅkhāyana śrauta sūtra replaces the horse by a human victim (seen in the Puruṣasūkta, RV.x.90), with the same freedom for a year and the same duty imposed upon the chief queen. This shows clearly that the successive substitutions are for the original annual sacrifice of the queen's consort; the development is apparently in the wrong order, as explained, simply because of progressive assimilation of pre-Aryan customs with advancing settlement. Even the totemic rite seen in i.162-3 might have itself been derived from a far older Aryan sacrifice of the king². If the Śat. Brāh xiii. 6.2.20 really implies that the king had an option of betaking himself to the woods as an ascetic after the sacrifice, it can only have been because (at one stage) he was no longer king—even if allowed to survive the sacrifice. On the other hand the flogging of the king at the Rājasūya is ritual initiation ordeal, perhaps comparable to the Regifugium at Rome. The tremendous difference between a king's sacrifice and the beautiful theme of Urvaśi's pining lover measures the distance between barbarism and civilization, ritual and literature. Only fresh archaeological discovery can answer such questions. The urgent problem of the present is not speculation about the distant past but change of the means of production: without which we cannot free from bondage—old or new, religious or capitalistic, that great majority of our people whose labour has been utilized only for the profit of others.

¹ Compare here the outspoken and even obscene invitation of Istar to Gilgames (R. Campbell Thompson: *Epic of Gilgamesh* London 1928 pp. 33-34 =vi. 45-79) to become her lover. He rejects her advances scornfully, pointing out that all her previous lovers came to a sticky end. "The deified Gilgames" is two-thirds god, one third man, son of a queen of Erech by a *lilla*; whatever the father might have been (cf. S. Langdon, *The Babylonian Epic of Creation*, Oxford 1923, p. 215ff.), the mother must have been a goddess. The athletic hero nevertheless fails in his quest for immortality, and so is doomed to die, like Herakles, Purūravas, his own predecessor in the king-list Tammuz; and like Bhīṣma who rejected Ambā. Even in the R̥gveda, Urvaśi is a goddess of the rivers: v.41.19=*abhi na iḷā yāthasya mātā sman nadibhir urvaśi vā gr̥nātu; urvaśi vā bṛhad-divā gr̥nānā abhyūrvinā prabhṛthasya āyohi*. The exact translation is in doubt, but at least Urvaśi is on the same footing as Iḷā 'mother of the herds', and the adjective or name *bṛhad-divā* might equate her to Uṣas.

² As in the Persian festival of the Sakaia, Dio Chrysostom iv.60-68; here the prisoner substituted for the king actually enjoyed all royal prerogatives for a fixed period before being scourged and sacrificed.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM SURUHANI NEAR BAKU

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“ગુજરાતી,” તા. ૯ થી માચ ૧૯૪૧. પા. ૩૨૬.

“વૈદીક ધર્મ” (માસિક), ડીસેમ્બર ૧૯૪૮—“બાકુનાં જવાલા ખાતાજીનું મંદીર.”

The Fire-temple of Baku is situated at Suruhani near Baku, the capital of Russian Azerbaijan. This province was conquered by the Russians in 1823-1824 from Iran during the reign of Fatahali Shah Qadjar. The city is situated on the northern shore of the Caspian Sea in an oil-bearing region. The oil is extracted, for the most part, from oil-pockets lying under submarine rocks. Coming by steamer, therefore, from Enzeli, now Bender Pahlavi, to Baku, a traveller has the illusion of passing by a forest of iron pillars, which are nothing else but derricks constructed over the oil-wells. The city which has grown up after the Russian conquest is like so many other European cities with big buildings, four to five stories high. But its suburb has guarded many old houses, among them wooden ones and other local *cachets* or characteristics. There is an old Juma' mosque built by Shah 'Abbas I which is still frequented by Moslems on Fridays.

The visit I paid to Baku on an afternoon in May 1935 was very short. I was accompanied by a lady-interpreter employed by the State Tourist Agency, called the Intourist Bureau. She knew English and German, besides Russian which was her mother-tongue. We hired an automobile from the Intourist Bureau in Baku for Suruhani. We felt a peculiar acrid smell immediately on entering the environs of the Fire-temple. The latter is built in the pure Iranian style and consists of two parts, one, the pavilion where the fire was once kept burning, and the other, a series of cells on its three sides where priests and devotees resided; the entrance was on the fourth side. The pavilion is built in the middle of a square on a raised platform. It is covered by a dome supported on four columns and is open on all four sides like a Sassanian *Chahār-Tāq*. At present, there is no fire burning in the pavilion, but there are several yards of old gas-pipes lying at the foot of the pavilion on its left side and one piece of the pipe inside it, through the orifice of which the gas accumulated in the oil-bearing pockets once used to burn continuously after passing through the pipe. It is not exactly known when the gas stopped burning, but from the dates given in the inscriptions found over the lintels of the doors of several cells, it seems that it must have been probably in the latter half of the nineteenth century A.D.

The cells are low and narrow. Their walls are covered with a doab of earth mixed with chopped straw over which a thin layer of *gach* or plaster of Paris is applied. They had been once decorated on the inside with paintings, perhaps of a religious character, which are at present missing; only in one cell, we have an elephant and its rider painted on one of its walls. And this has also suffered much from climatic conditions.

The inscriptions, sixteen in number, mentioned above, must have been removed from their original sites and fixed on the outer walls over the lintels of the doors of fifteen cells (the inscriptions Nos. 2 and 15 are placed one below the other) certainly by a person ignorant of their scripts and their contents, as some of them have been fixed upside down. Their photographs taken by the Archaeological Department of Russian Azerbaijan are, therefore, faulty, as the letters have received the light from the wrong side. Moreover, the inscriptions have suffered greatly, as some of them have received several layers of white-wash. Monsieur Papoff, Curator of the Erivan Museum, had kindly procured for me sixteen photographs of these inscriptions from U.S.S.R. Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries of Moscow in July 1935. Thirteen of these inscriptions are in Devanāgarī characters, two in Gurumukhī and one in Arabic script. The Gurumukhī inscriptions (Nos. 3 and 10) had been kindly deciphered and translated for me by two Sikh pleaders of Peshawar, Anoop Singh and Bhagwant Singh by name, whom I had met on board the S.S. "Vansda" of the B.I.S.N.Co. in December 1935 on my voyage to Iran. But the Devanā-

garī and Persian inscriptions have baffled all attempts at deciphering them completely, not only by myself but by some well-known Sanskritists. The late Dr. Barnet, Professor of Sanskrit in the School of Oriental Studies of London declared them to have been written not in Sanskrit but in some Indian dialect. The gist of the inscriptions is, however, clear. All inscriptions in the Devanāgarī script begin with "Obeisance to *Ganesh*," two have invocations to "Rāmji Sata" or to the truthful Rāma. Moreover, the oft recurring word *Jvālājī* determine the character of the temple as dedicated to Fire. Three inscriptions give the names of the builders of some shrines in the temple. The dates given in the Saṁvat era fall in the nineteenth century, with the exception of one date Saṁvat 1770, i.e. 1714 A.D. The Gurumukhi inscriptions mention after the usual *Shrī Japjī* the names of some *gurus* and their disciples, who have constructed a cell or shrine in the precincts of the temple - बर्मकी जगा बनाई.

In what follows, I give my reading of these inscriptions, embodying therein corrections and suggestions of learned Hindu friends whom I have consulted. I do not think it necessary to translate the inscriptions in Devanāgarī and Persian, as their readings remain fragmentary.

Inscription No. 1.

On top of the inscription, in a rectangle, there are in two rows, the following motifs in relief: above row, from left to right—a flower with stem and leaves, a bell, the radiated head of the Sun-God Sūrya facing, a comb with two rows of teeth, another flower with stem and leaves; lower row, from left to right—leaves, a trident placed upright on a low stand with two pallets on either side of its shaft, a *svastika* with four pallets, another trident placed upright on a low stand with two pallets on either side of its shaft, leaves.

Below the rectangle, there is an inscription in relieved Nāgarī script in nine lines; each line is separated from the other by a broad band in relief. It is dated the 15th of the dark half of *Pauṣa*, Saṁvat 1873.

Inscription No. 2.

The inscription is in Nāgarī script in five lines. The characters are in relief. It is dated the 7th of the dark half of . . . , Saṁvat 1802.

Inscription No. 3.

The inscription in Gurumukhī script is in seven lines; each line is separated from the other by a thick line in relief. The characters are also in relief. I give below the transcription and translation of the inscription as follows:

Transcription: *ik ōnkār satnām kartā-purukh nirbhau nirvēr akāl-murt ajunī śē-bhan gurparsād jap ād sac jugād sac hē bhī sac nānak ōsi bhī sac sat gurparsād bābā . . . kā celā . . . dharamkī jagā banāi.*

Translation : "God is one. His name is Truth. He is the Creator of man. He is fearless. He is without enmity. He is everlasting immortal image. He is free from transmigration. Meditate on Gurparsād. He has been true from the beginning. From long time, He has been true. He is true even at present. He also will be true, O Nānak ! the truthful Gurparsād is Bābā . . . , the disciple of . . . has constructed a shrine".

Inscription No. 4.

The inscription in Nāgarī script in seven lines is wholly illegible except the words ॐ श्री गणेशाय नमः in the first line. The characters are in relief.

Inscription No. 5.

The inscription in Nāgarī script in nine lines remains illegible except the words ॐ श्री गणेशाय नमः in the first line and श्री ज्वालाजि in the third. The characters are in relief.

Inscriptions No. 6.

The inscription in relieved Nāgarī script in six lines remains illegible except a few words given below. It is dated Saṃvat ? 1801.

Inscription No. 7.

The inscription in relieved Nāgarī script in seven lines is damaged at the lower corners. It has a *svastika* in the beginning of the first line. It is dated the 8th of the dark half of *Vaiśākha*, Saṃvat 1839 ?

Inscription No. 8.

The inscription in Nāgarī script in six lines remains illegible except the words श्री गणेशाय नमः in the first line and the date वैसाख वद ७ and संवत् १८३९ in the fifth and the sixth lines respectively. Thus it is a day older than the inscription No. 7. The characters are in relief.

Inscription No. 9.

The inscription in relieved Nāgarī script in seven lines remains illegible except the words given below.

Inscription No. 10.

The inscription in Gurumukhī script is in seven lines; each line is separated from the other by a thick line in relief. The characters are also in relief.

¹ From *ik ōnkār* to *sat gurparsād* is the *Japji* of the Sikhs. It is considered by them a key to their sacred volume and epitome of its doctrines. For its translation refer also Max Arthur Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion, Its Gurus, Sacred Writings and Authors*, Oxford 1909, Vol. I, p. 105.

Transcription : *ik ñnkār satnām kartā-purukh nirbhau nirvēr akāl-murt ajunē se-bhañ gurparsād vāhe guruḷī sāhe bābā e dās bhangevālekā celā melārām tiskā celā kartārām (bhartārām?) udāsī juālāmēm dharamkī jagā banāe gayā vāhe guru vāhe guru . . . buj gai.*

Translation : "God is one. His name is Truth. He is the Creator of man. He is fearless. He is without enmity. He is everlasting immortal image. He is free from transmigration. [Meditate on] Gurparsād.¹ Oh ! May Guruḷī be with you ! O ! Bābā ! This servant, the disciple of Bhangevālā, Melārām, whose disciple Kartārām (Bhartārām ?), the hermit has constructed a shrine. O, Guru ! O, Guru ! . . . is extinguished."

Inscription No. 11.

The inscription in Nāgarī script is in six lines of unequal length. Every character is widely separated from the other. The surface of the stone is chiseled out only around its contours. The inscription is dated Saṃvat 1770.

Inscription No. 12.

The inscription in relieved Nāgarī script in five lines is wholly illegible

Inscription No. 13.

The stone bearing the inscription in seven lines in relieved Nāgarī script has been placed over an arch, and is, therefore, cut off in order to follow the curve of the arch. Only three lines of the inscription are thus intact, the remaining four are incomplete. It is dated Saṃvat 1770.

Inscription No. 14.

The inscription in relieved Nāgarī script in eight lines is wholly illegible.

Inscription No. 15.

The stone bearing the inscription in relieved Persian script has been fixed below that with the inscription No. 2. The inscription is in four lines ; each line is separated from the other by a thick line in relief. It is dated 1158 A. H.

Transcription : 1. *Ānantjīcand Kīśdah Bhavan Dadū- 2. jī Bhavānjī rasīdah abādak 3. bhamād-i nō ba-manzil-i mubārak-i mād guft ? 4. khūnah-i šad zi Vastāmal sanah 1158.*

Inscription No. 16.

The inscription in relieved Nāgarī script in seven lines is wholly illegible.

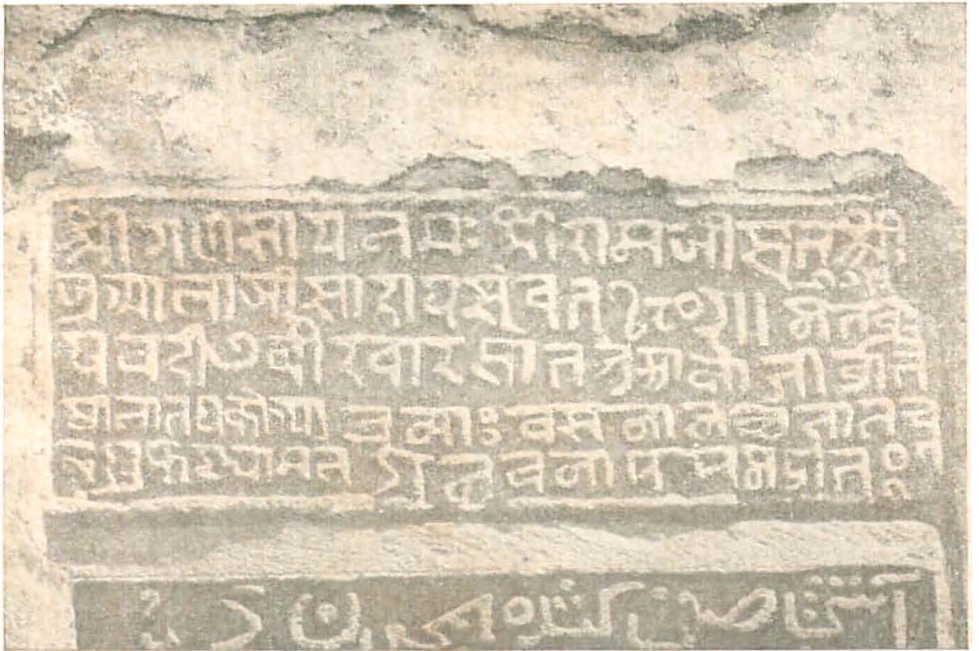
¹ From *ik ñnkār* to *Gurparsād* is the commencement of the *Japḷī* of the Sikhs ; cf. inscription No. 3, note 1.

It is regrettable that the article of Mr. W. Sisoew has remained inaccessible to me. It contains surely an authentic and detailed description of the temple. H. Ballantine and Alexandre Dumas have given a pretty good account of the temple, but they have identified it erroneously as a Zoroastrian fire-temple and the three solitary priests whom they had met therein as Guebers, one of whom was a new recruit from India, probably from the Panjab. The late Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi who has visited Baku in 1925 has given a good description of the temple in "પાર્સી મુંબઈ અહરની મેહેલ". He has correctly identified it as appertaining to the Agnihotrs of the Panjab. On December 15, 1936, I had read a short note on the Fire-temple of Baku in the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute and spoken of its definite non-Zoroastrian character. In spite of our efforts to depict the true character of this fire-temple, a well-known Parsi engineer has contributed an article in the Pateti Number of the "Kaiser-i-Hind" of Bombay, issue of September 1946, in which he has not only identified it as a Zoroastrian fire-temple, but he has illustrated his article with a reconstruction (sic.) of this famous temple with the Persepolitan façade decorated with fluted columns which are surmounted with capitals formed by the protomae of bulls, placed back to back, a reconstruction based on a wholly imaginary picture of the supposed original building.

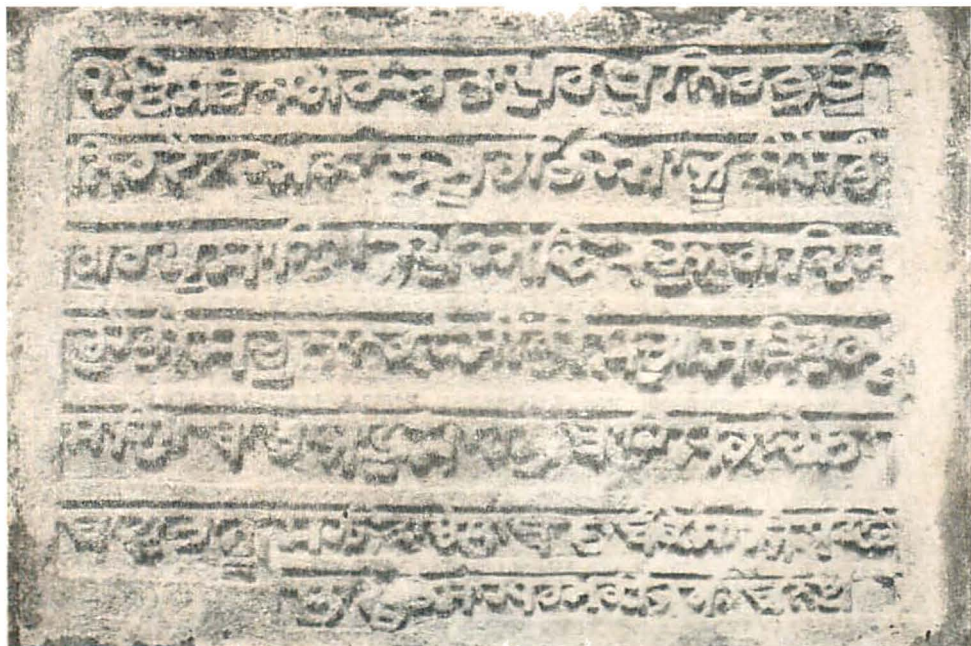
In 1941, while I was staying at Navsari, a friend of mine drew my attention to an article entitled આકૃતિ જવાલા માતાજી મંદીર, contributed to the "Gujarati" of March 9, 1941, p. 326. This article was a reprint from the monthly *Vaidic Dharma* of December 1940. It gives among other details the reading of an inscription in five lines in Nāgarī script dated *Āso vad 8*, Samvat 1866, which is said to have been found on a stone slab (પ્લેટ) of the temple. It cannot be identified with any one of the thirteen inscriptions of Baku in Nāgarī script, given below, which have been found above the lintels of the doors of as many cells attached to the temple. It is hardly possible to believe that this particular inscription has been lost or that it has escaped the notice of the Archaeological Department of Soviet Azerbaijan. Or are we to take this inscription in five lines as a mere fiction? The author of this article remarks that Atikecan mentioned in this inscription must have been a resident of Girhariyānā or some place situated near Kurukṣetra, as can be presumed from the words નિમિત્ત and બનાયા and from the date according to the lunar reckoning. This inscription seems to be new, as its text does not correspond to that of the inscription No. 2 which is the only one in five lines. It is strange, however, that he does not mention the exact number of the inscriptions seen by him in the temple of Baku. He attributes the two Gurumukhī inscriptions to an *Udāsī Sādhu* from the Panjab. He mentions another old Śiva temple existing in the Caspian province of the U.S.S.R., in the city of Rest. Now, Rasht or Resht, not Rest is the capital of Ghilan, a Caspian province of Iran. That a Hindu temple could exist un-



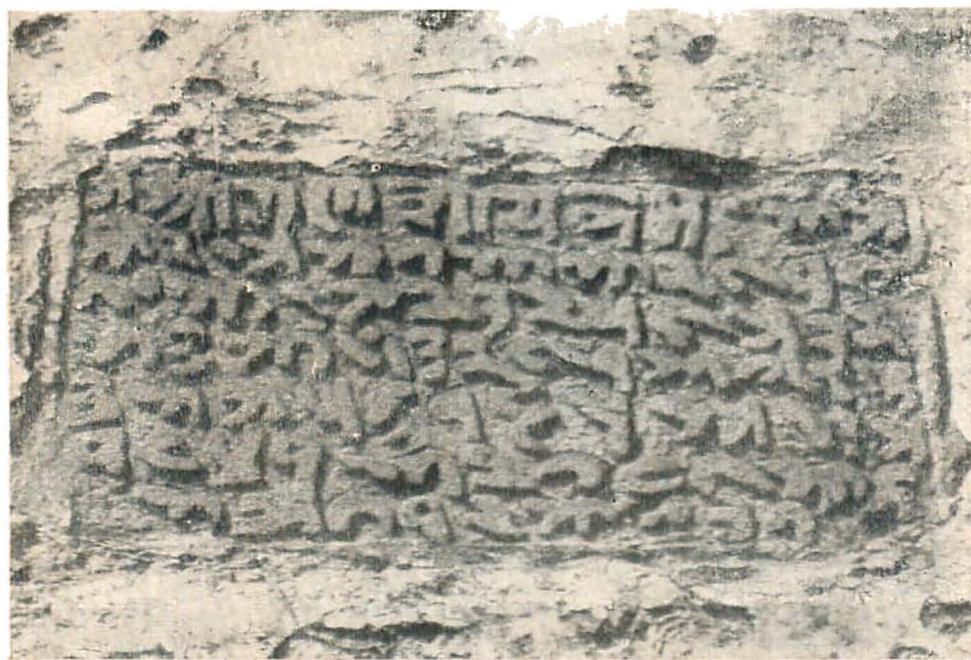
1 Inscription from Suruhani near Baku.



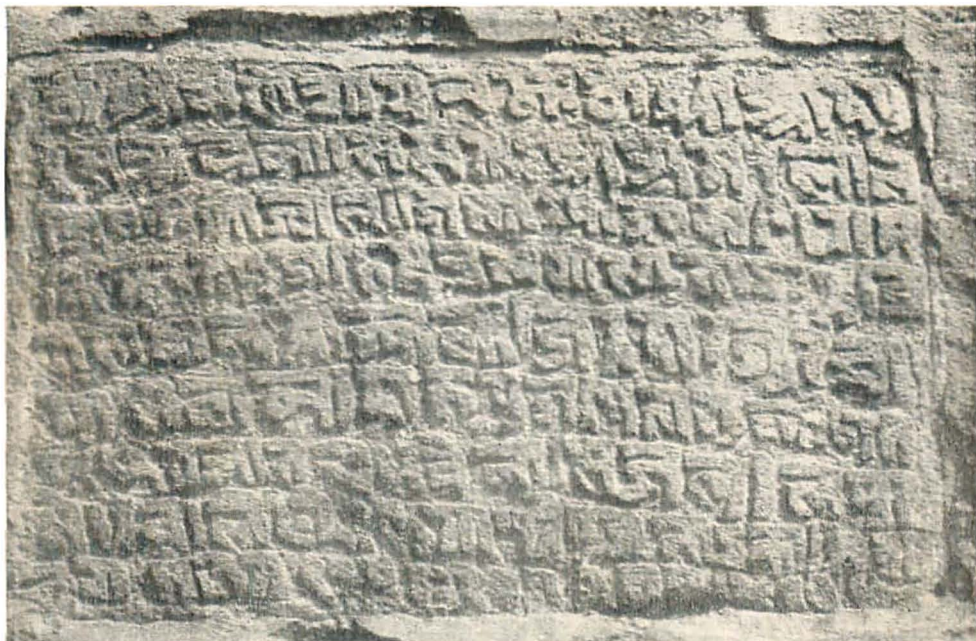
2 Inscription from Suruhani near Baku.



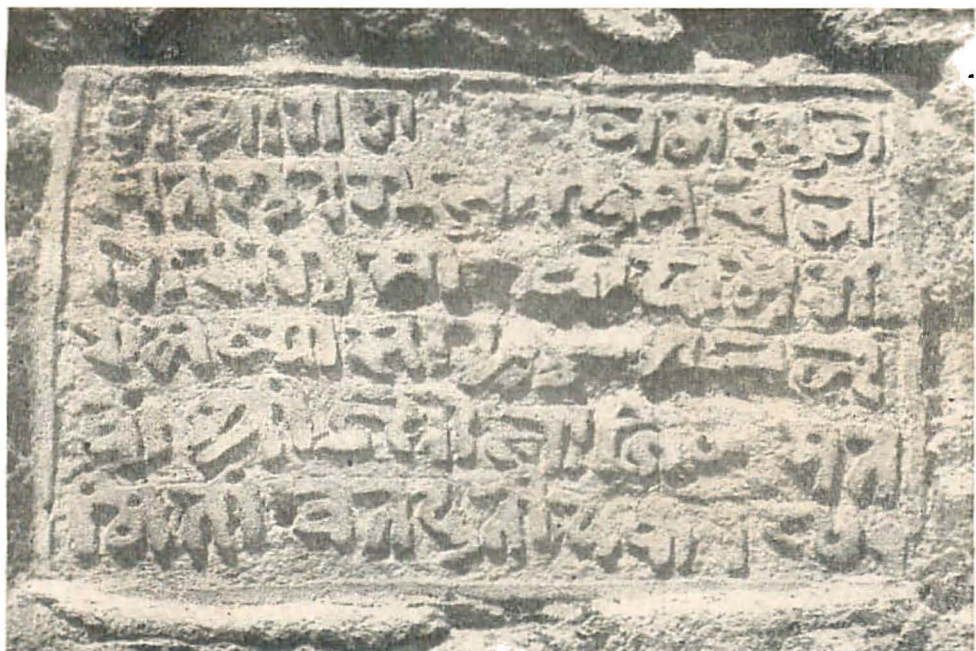
3 Inscription from Suruhani near Baku.



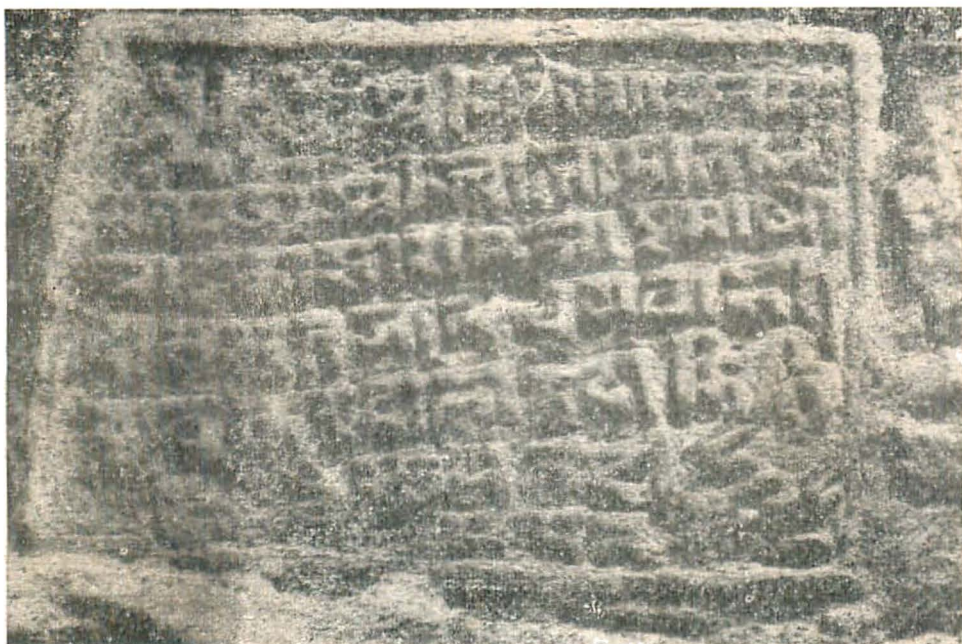
4 Inscription from Suruhani near Baku.



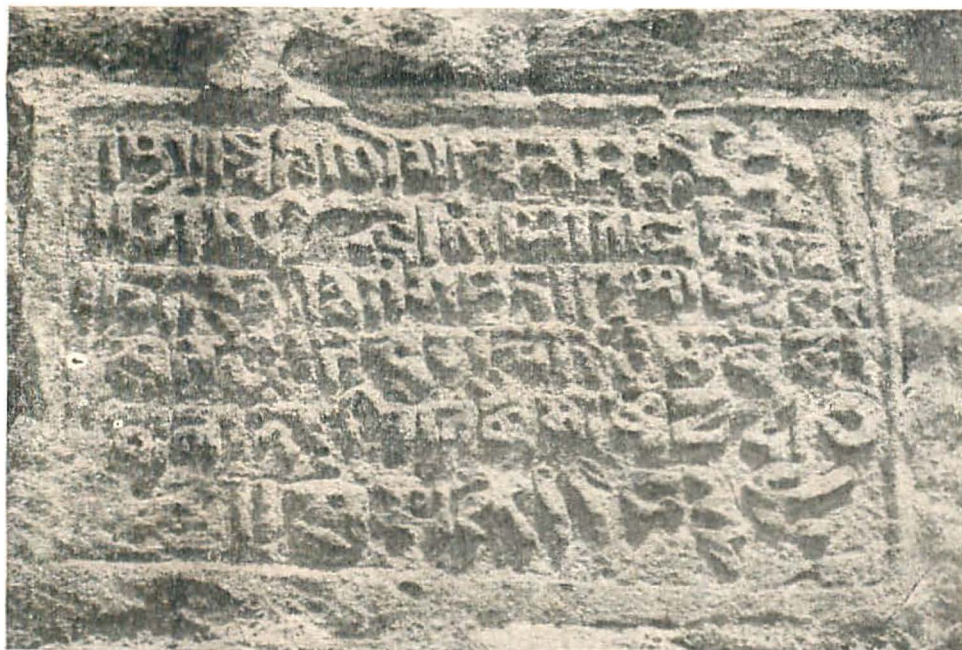
5 Inscription from Suruhani near Baku.



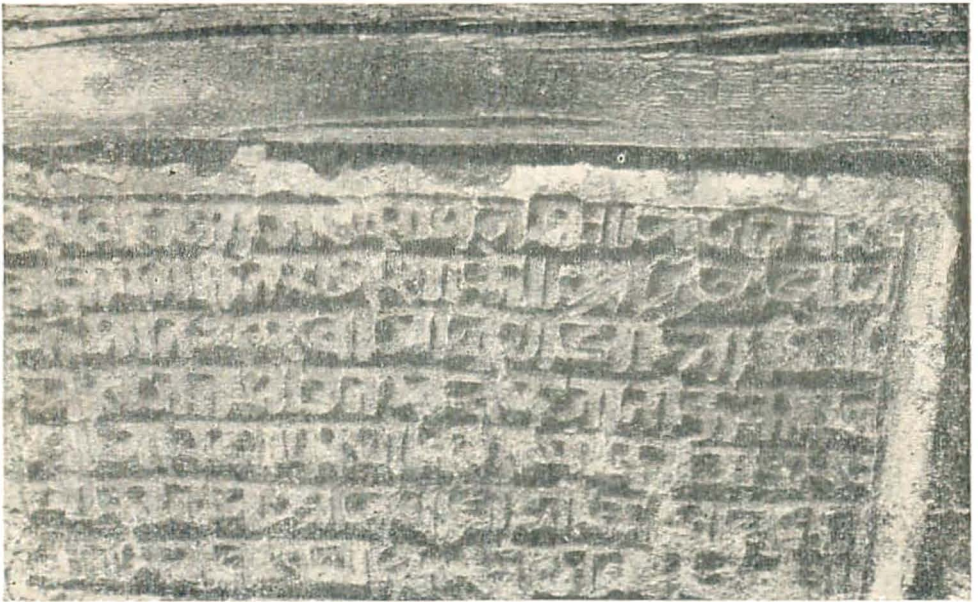
6 Inscription from Suruhani near Baku.



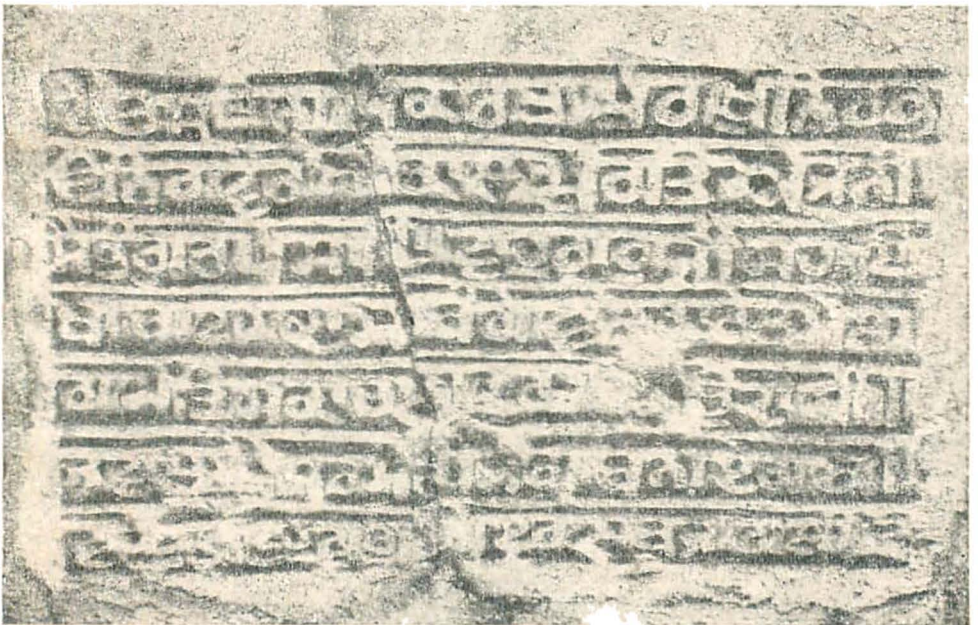
7 Inscription from Suruhani near Baku.



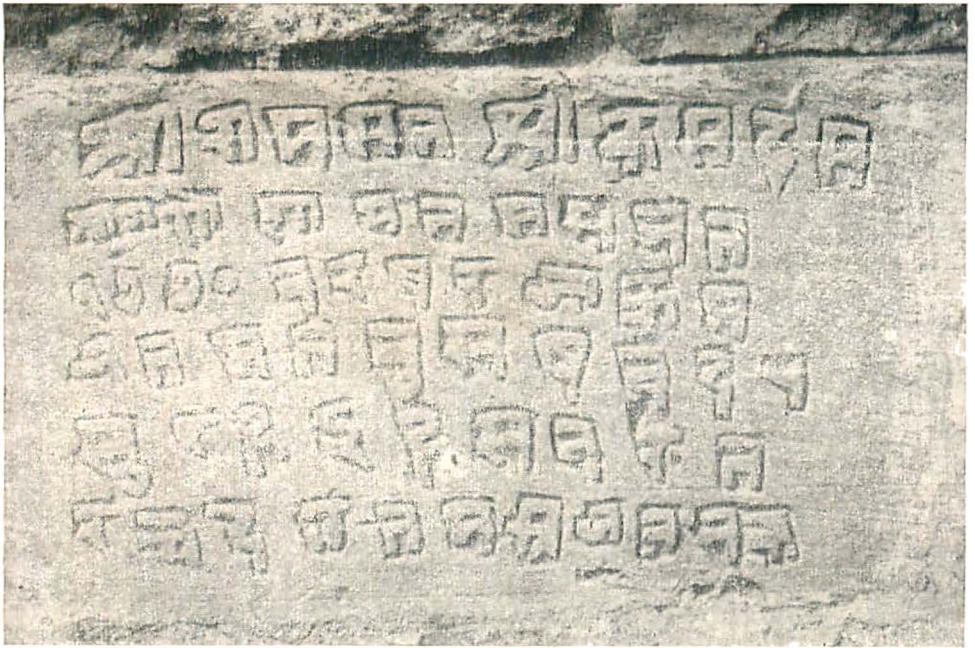
8 Inscription from Suruhani near Baku.



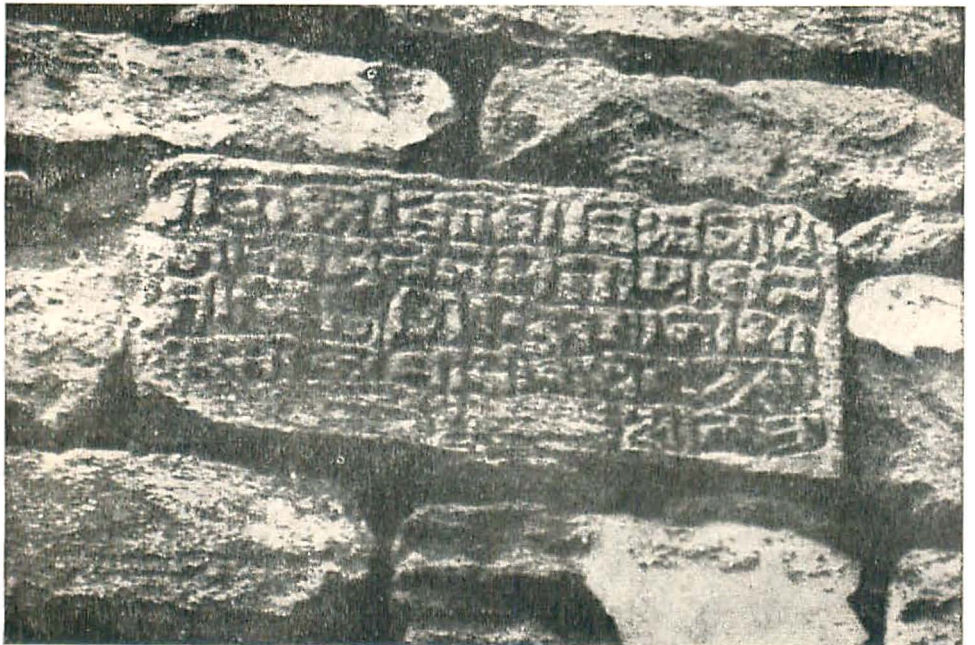
9 Inscription from Suruhani near Baku.



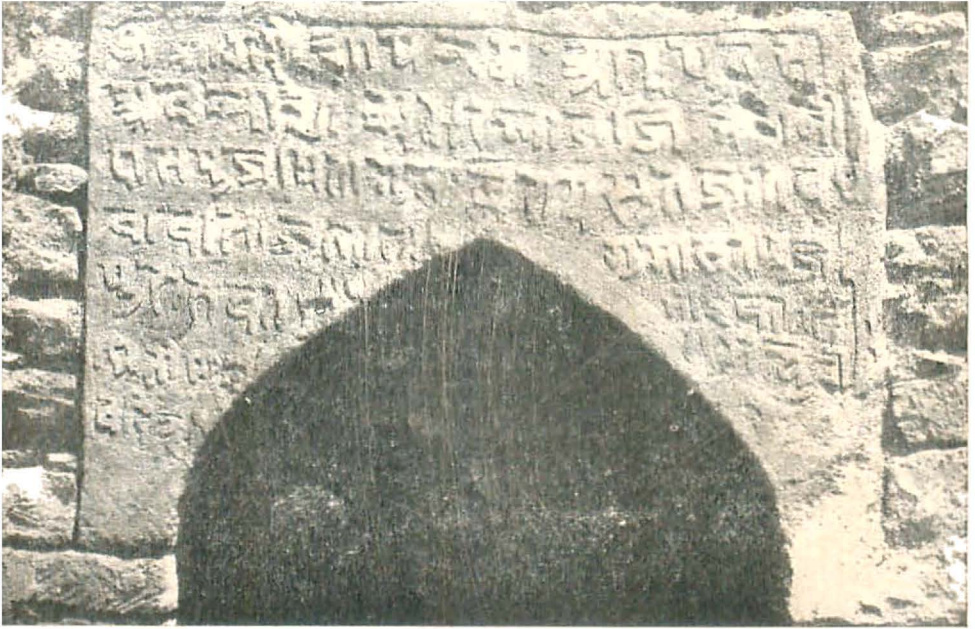
10 Inscription from Suruhani near Baku.



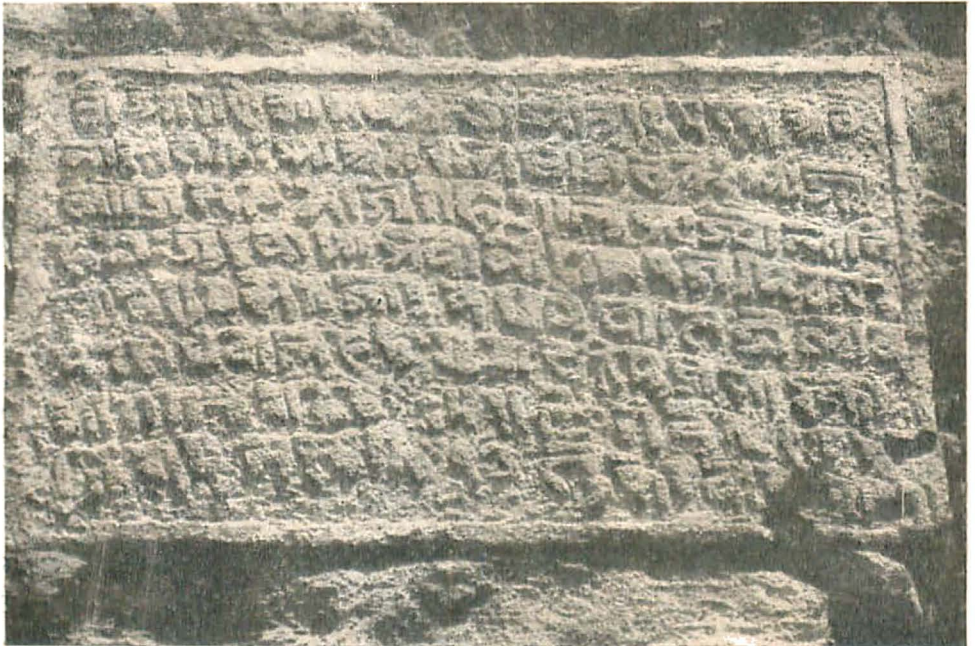
11 Inscription from Suruhani near Baku.



12 Inscription from Suruhani near Baku.



13 Inscription from Suruhani near Baku



14 Inscription from Suruhani near Baku.



15 Inscription from Suruhani near Baku.



16 Inscription from Suruhani near Baku.

scathed in Iran of the Qadjar period seems wholly improbable. At any rate, such a temple has never been mentioned by travellers, and there is no record of its existence in the archaeological department of Iran.

I

- १ जाप्तठि । श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ स्वस्ति श्री
- २ नरपति विक्रमादित राज आक्र (?) ऋतः स
- ३ वत्सर मास पक्षे रात्री दिना ॥ श्री ज्वालाजी
- ४ निमित्त मंदर बणवाया मजगम युघहे
- ५ रुवासा कुलक्षेत्र कालेला ज्वाला देऊ काशि
- ६ नाथ देऊ का जाता ॥ श्लोकः ॥ देवयज्ञ व्रत्ते
- ७ तीर्थे सन्प्राय ब्रह्म भोजने ॥ पितृश्राद्धे जटीहस्ते
- ८ धनं ब्रजति धर्म्यतां ॥ या मलशतकललप्न
- ९ रसाद बासा बोधपामिसि पोश वदि १५ सवत् १८७३

II

- १ श्री गणेशाय नमः श्री रामजी सत श्री
- २ जुआलाजी साहाय संवत् १८०२ ॥ . तवः
- ३ घ वदी ७ बीरवार सात जुआलाजी जति
- ४ धानात टीको आनुबाः वसलाल. . तातच
- ५ ल सुफर. . . मत गजवनापपन्प्रातः त

VI

- १ ऊं श्री [गणेशाय] नमः.
- २ सत गुह. . . चल.
- ३ गिर.
- ४ राम.
- ५ श्री ज्वालाजि. . . . मत. . .
- ६ मिता वत. १८०१

VII

- १ ऊं श्री गणेशाय नमः
- २ संताव ऊं श्री ज्वाला माताजी
- ३ भाइ कासीराम भाइ माघो
- ४ दास सुत जान स्वर्गवासी
- ५ वाला . . . दासिति
- ६ वैसाख वद ८
- ७ संवत् १८३९ (?)

IX

- १ स्वस्ति श्री. गणेशाय नमः . . पति वार
- २ वीरुमादित राज शाके ॥ श्री जुवालाजी
- ३
- ४ त्राराज तपी उतमचन्द जाती. . . .
- ५
- ६ तथा श्री जुवालाजी
- ७

XI

- १ श्री राम सत श्री ऊसदम
- २ श्री गणेशाय नम सबत
- ३ १७७० वरषे रजक्रम
- ४ लत मत वुसष वद ५
- ५ सु ८ हइ हसत र. त
- ६ रचद ल तम स्रज जनक

XIII

- १ ऊं श्री गणेशाय नमः आदपुहस
- २ अवनशी अमरलालजि भवानी
- ३ दास पुज पिता गुलाबरायसुतजात वध
- ४ बावासी जलासी. . . . गुमासा पुज
- ५ पुर. सवत् १७७०. . . भाइकति
- ६ मिति. राम चु. . . .
- ७ वदि.

XV

1. انتجی ضد کیشده بهون دوا
2. جي بهوانجي رسیده ابادک
3. بهاد نو بنزل مبارک ماد کفت
4. خانه شد ز ستامل سنه ۱۱۰۸

CONTEMPORARY INDIAN AND CEYLONESE KINGS

BY B. C. LAW

Dr. Geiger's list of synchronisms between the kings of Ceylon and those of India, China and Burma¹ follows the chronological table of Ceylon kings supplied by Dr. Wickremasinghe in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* (III, 1 ff.). Wickremasinghe has made no attempt at reconciling the two chronological computations of 483 B.C. and 544/3B.C.² This paper mainly considers the acceptability of Geiger's list of synchronisms between the kings of India and those of Ceylon in the light of some new relevant facts.

The first traditional synchronism is the one between Vijaya's landing on the island of Laṅkā and the Buddha's death.³ This synchronism establishes the contemporaneity of Vijaya, the first Indian king of Ceylon, and Ajātasattu, the king of Magadha.⁴

Next an unbroken line of Ceylon kings, all successors of Vijaya, is recorded in the existing chronicles of Ceylon in order to establish the synchronism between the consecration of Devānampiyatissa as king of Ceylon and the 18th year of Aśoka's reign. Taking 483 B.C.⁵ to be the date for the Buddha's demise, one gets the year 247/6 B.C. as Devānampiyatissa's coronation year⁶, and it confirms his contemporaneity with the great Aśoka of India.⁷

The third point of synchronism noticed by Geiger is the one between the reign of Samudragupta, the king of India, and that of Sirimeghavaṇṇa

¹ Geiger, *Cūlavamsa*, PTS. Trans. Series, No. 20., Intro., pp.xvi. ff.

² Geiger, *Op.cit.*, p.iv.

³ *Mahāvamsa* 6,47 :

"Laṅkāyaṃ Vijayasanāmakō kumāro
otiṅṅā thīramati Tambapaṇḍese
sālānaṃ yamakaguvānam antarasmiṃ
nibbātum sayitadīne Tathāgatassāti."

Dīpavamsa, 9,40 : "Saṃbuddhe pacchime vasse Vijayo idham āgato
manussāvāsāṃ, akārayi sambuddho dipaduttamo."

⁴ Geiger, *Op.cit.*, p.xvi.

⁵ Some hold 478 B.C. as the true date of Buddha's death (*IA.*, Vol. xliii, October 1914, pp. 197-204) while others accept 487 or 486 B.C. (Cf. *JRAS.*, 1905, p.51).

⁶ According to the *Dīpavamsa* (17.78) Devānampiyatissa was consecrated king 236 years after the Buddha's death :

"Dve satāni ca vassāni chattiṅṅsa ca saṃvacchare
Saṃbuddhe parinibbute abhisitto Devānampiyō."

⁷ Geiger, *Op.cit.*, p.xvi.

the king of Ceylon, who was the successor of Mahāsena.¹ The former reigned from 326 to about 375 A.D., and the latter from 362 to 389 A.D.² According to a notice quoted by Sylvain Levi³ from Chinese sources, a king of Ceylon Chi-mi-kia-po-mo (Śrī Meghavarman, Siri Meghavaṇṇa) sent an embassy to the Indian king Samudragupta (San-meou-to-lo-kiu-to) asking permission to erect a monastery at Mahābodhi (Bodh-Gayā) for the accommodation of Buddhist monks from Ceylon.⁴ The fact of building a large and magnificent monastery at Bodh Gayā by a king of Ceylon for the residence of the Sinhalese monks is attested by Hiuen Tsang.⁵ The plinth of this monastery survives to the present day.⁶

The fourth point of synchronism, according to Geiger, is the one between the death of a very eminent thera of the Mahāvihāra of Ceylon and Fa-Hien's arrival in the island from India.⁷ Geiger places this synchronism in the reign of Mahānāma, the king of Ceylon (409-431 A.D.),⁸ and takes the thera mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim to be no other than Mahādhammakathī who translated the Pali Sutta Piṭaka into Sinhalese during the reign of king Buddhādāsa⁹ (362-409) A.D.¹⁰ The suggested synchronism will help us to accept the three kings of Ceylon, Buddhādāsa, Upatissa I, and Mahānāma, the contemporaries of Candragupta II and Kumāragupta during whose reign Fa-Hien visited India and Ceylon.¹¹

Referring to Mahānāma's reign, Geiger points out that the Chinese sources furnish us with an exact date A.D. 428¹². For the arrival of Buddhaghosa in the reign of Mahānāma tradition gives us a date, which assuming 544/3 as the year of the Nirvāṇa, yields 412/3 A.D.¹³

¹ Geiger, *op.cit.* p.xvii; cf. *ibid.*, p. v.

² Geiger also mentions 352-370 A.D. as the date of Siri-Meghavaṇṇa (Mahāv. Tr. Intro. xxxix).

³ Sylvain Levi, *Les Missions de Wang Hiuen Ts'e dans l'Inde in J.A.*, 1900, pp.401 ff.

⁴ Geiger, *op.cit.* p.v.

⁵ Beal, *Records*, II, pp.134-0; Watters, *On Yuan Chuang*, II, p.130 Fa-Hien noticed three monasteries at Bodh Gayā, one of which is taken by Barua (*Gayā and Buddha Gayā*, I, pp.140-50, 178) to be the monastery built by the king of Ceylon. He says: "Of the three monasteries seen by him (Fa-Hien) one at least must have been a notable erection of a former king of Sīṃhala (Ceylon)".

⁶ Gunnigham, *Mahābodhi*, pp.5-7. Pl.II, Barua, *Gayā and Buddha Gayā*, I, p.102; II, p.26 Fig.23.

⁷ Geiger, *Op.cit.* p.xvii ff.

⁸ Geiger, *Op.cit.* p.xi.

⁹ *Cūlavamsa*, xxxvii, 175;

"*Tass eva rañño rajjaṃhī Mahādhammakathī yati suttāni parivattessi Sīhalāya niruttiyā.*"

¹⁰ Geiger, *op.cit.*, p.xi.

¹¹ According to Geiger, Fa-Hien went to Ceylon 411-412 A.D., *op.cit.*, p.xvii.

¹² Geiger, *op.cit.*, p.xviii.

¹³ Geiger, *op.cit.* p.xviii. Note that the Cūlavamsa does not mention the date of Buddhaghosa's arrival in Ceylon. According to Ceylonese tradition, Buddhaghosa came to Ceylon in 065 A.B., Malalasekera, *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p.81.

If it be granted, one has got to admit that Fa-Hien and Buddhaghosa arrived in Ceylon almost in the same year. This seems to be altogether unlikely. Fa-Hien indeed records that when he was residing in Ceylon, he heard a Buddhist priest from India reciting a sacred book and narrating the course of transmigration of an alms-bowl of the Buddha from country to country. The countries mentioned include even the western Yu-chi, Khotan and Kouche. The description leaves no room for doubt that the Buddhist priest from India was a *śramaṇa* of the Mahāyāna faith,¹ while Buddhaghosa was an out and out Theravādin or Hīnayānist. This Indian monk is evidently no other than Guṇabhadra (Kiu-na-phutho), a noted scholar of the Mahāyāna school,² who on his way to China visited Ceylon,³ Guṇabhadra came to China in 435 A.D. and worked on translation till 443 A.D.⁴

The Cūlavamsa account of Buddhaghosa's arrival and departure from Ceylon during the reign of Mahānāma⁵ seems guilty of an anachronism. Buddhaghosa in the epilogue to his Vinaya-commentary definitely states that he commenced his work in the 20th year and completed it just at the beginning of the 21st year of the reign of the king of Ceylon bearing the distinctive epithets of Siri-Kuḍḍa Sirinivāsa Siripāla.⁶ It has not been possible even now to give any convincing proof of the identity of Mahānāma and Sirinivāsa Siripāla.⁷ The Cūlavamsa account is in many respects nullified by the internal evidence of Buddhaghosa's own works.⁸ It cannot tell us precisely from which part of India he came to Ceylon, while Buddhaghosa himself tells us that when he was residing in Kāñcipura and such other places in South India, he was urged to go to Ceylon.⁹ The Cūlavamsa gives the name of the Thera under whose instruction he went to Ceylon as Revata,¹⁰ while Buddhaghosa himself mentions him by the name of Bhadanta Jotipāla.¹¹

¹ Beal, *Records*, i.p. lxxviii ff.

² Nanjio, *Catalogue*, pp.415-416.

He was also interested in Hīnayāna. Among his several Mahāyāna works two Hīnayāna books may be noticed e.g. *Samyuktāgamī sūtra* and *Abhidharmaprakaraṇapāda* (Bapat, *Vimuttimaggā and Visudanimaggā— A comparative study*, Intro.p.xvi)

³ Taisho edition of the *Vimuttimaggā* in the Chinese *Tripitaka*, 50.344 a.18.

⁴ Bapat, *Vimuttimaggā and Visudhimaggā*, Intro., p.xvi.

⁵ *Cūlavamsa*, xxxvii, 240-7.

“*Atha kattabbhakesu gātesu pariniṭṭhitim, Vanditum so mahābodhim Jambudīpam upāgami. Bhūtvā dvāvisavassāni Mahānāma mahānāhin. katvā puññāni citrāni yathākammaṃ upāgami.*”

⁶ “*Rañño Siri-nivāsasa Siripāla-yasassino*

Samāsisatime kheme jayasamvacchare ayam āradhā, ekavisuṃhi sampatte pariniṭṭhitā.”

⁷ Cf. Malalasekera, *Dict. of Pali Proper Names*, II, 1141.

⁸ *Cūlavamsa*, xxxvii, 216-17, vaguely refers to a vihāra in India (*ekam vihāram āgama. . . .*)

⁹ According to Dhammakitti's *Mahāvamsa supplement* Buddhaghosa went to Ceylon at the request of his preceptor Thera Revata. It is evident from the epilogue to his *Manorathapūraṇī* that he stayed with the most venerable Jotipāla not only at Kāñcipura and other places in the country of Coḷa or Drāviḍa but also at Mahāvihāra in the excellent island of Tambapaṇṇi.

¹⁰ *Cūlavamsa*, xxxvii, 218. *Tath' eko Revatonāma mahāthero vijāniya,*

Mahāpañño ayaṃ satto, dametum, vaṭṭatīi so.

¹¹ *Manorathapūraṇī*, Nigamana :

“*Āyācīto sumatinā therena Bhadanta-Jotipālena Kāñcipurādīsu mayā pubbe saddhīṃ vasantena Vara-Tāmbapaṇṇidīpe mahāvihāre vasanakāle pi.*”

Among the kings of Ceylon incidentally mentioned by Buddhaghosa, Muṭasiva (B.C.307-247),¹ Devānaṃpiyatissa (247-207 B.C.), Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (101-77 B.C.),² the national hero of Ceylon, and Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (29-17 B.C.) reigned all in pre-Christian times. Muṭasiva who was a contemporary of Aśoka, was the son of Paṇḍukābhaya. He ruled Ceylon for sixty years. According to the *Dīpavamsa* (V.82,XI,13), the sixth year of Aśoka's reign corresponded with the forty-eighth year of the reign of Muṭasiva who was made the king of Ceylon in the fourteenth year of the reign of Candragupta (Cf. Malalasekera, *Dict. of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. II, p.640). Devānaṃpiyatissa was undoubtedly a Ceylon contemporary of Devānaṃpiya Aśoka. He was pleased to send a priceless treasure as a gift to Dharmāśoka whom he had never seen. Dharmāśoka appreciated the gift and sent as a return-gift another treasure to Devānaṃpiyatissa who was then consecrated as the king of Ceylon. The *Mahāvamsa* (XX,17-25) preserves a traditional list of memorable erections just to honour him as the first great builder. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, the son of Kāka-vaṇṇatissa, gathered round him mighty and great warriors from far and near villages as well as from the royal and noble families. He developed a strong hatred towards the Damiḷas, who had more than once usurped the throne of Ceylon. He was determined to quell them down. He attained the paramount position in the early history of Ceylon by giving a crushing defeat to the Tamil hordes led by Eḷāra. Vaṭṭagāmaṇi was the son and successor of Saddhātissa. He figures prominently in some of the ancient inscriptions of Ceylon. He became famous as the vanquisher of the Tamil usurpers, as the king who caused the Pali canonical texts to be committed to writing, and as the builder of the Abhayagiri monastery. His lieutenants heartily co-operated with him in building up a memorable tradition of art and architecture standing as a lasting symbol of piety (B.C. Law, *Chronicles of Ceylon*, p.67). The reign of Coranāga,³ son and successor of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, is reckoned by Geiger from 6 B.C. to 9 A.D. Some have fixed his date as 3 B.C.-9 A.C. He was also known as Mahānāga, according to the *Mahāvamsa* (XXXIII,45). He was poisoned by his queen Anulā. King Mahānāga, whose magnificent gifts of medicine in connection with the art of healing at Penambarigana⁴ won for him a lasting fame, may be identified either with Mahādāthika Mahānāga (67-79 A.D.)⁵ or with Mahallanāga, (196-202 A.D.),⁶ father-in-law and commander-in-chief of Gajabāhuka-gāmaṇi, more probably with the former.⁷

¹ G.P. Malalasekera, *Dict. of Pali Proper Names*, II. 640.

² *Atthasālini*, p.80.

³ *Ibid.*, p.399.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.399.

⁵ Geiger, *op.cit.*, p.X.

⁶ Geiger, *op.cit.*, p.X.

⁷ His identification with king Buddhadāsa father of king Mahānāma does not seem to be correct

Among the Indian kings, those who find mention in his writings and who may be taken to stand nearer to the age of Buddhaghosa are the Sātavāhanas¹ and the Rudrādāmans ; there is none belonging to the Gupta and later Ages. The Rudrādāmans come in connection with a new type of the Indian coins, called Rudradāmaka (Dudradāmaka-Sinhalese Ed.) and standardised by them,² evidently at the time of Buddhaghosa.

It may be suggested that Buddhaghosa came to Ceylon either during the reign of Sirināga I (249-270 A.D.³, assuming 21 years as the length of his reign),⁴ who was a contemporary of some king of the line of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman I or during that of Sirimeghavaṇṇa, the son of Mahāsena (362-380 A.D. ; 362-409 A.D. according to some) who was a contemporary of Samudragupta and Rudradāman II (348-364 A.D.). The second alternative is more acceptable on the ground that Buddhaghosa has quoted the *Dīpavamsa*⁵ which brings the chronicle of Ceylon kings to a close with the reign of Mahāsena (334-361/2 A.D.), the father and predecessor of Sirimeghavaṇṇa.

Now, according to the *Buddhaghosupphatti* and Buddhadatta's *Vinaya-vinicchaya*, Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta were contemporaries.⁶ Buddhadatta in the *nigamana* to his three works, states that he wrote those works during the reign of Accuta Vikkanta or Accuta Vikkama of the Kalamba family, the king of Coḷa. Here the Pali Kalamba is not to be equated with Kadamba, for it stands for Kalabhra. As Professor Nilakanta Śāstrī points out, "Accuta could have been no other than the king of the same name, who is reputed in literary tradition to have kept in confinement the three Tamil kings, the Cera, Coḷa and Pāṇḍya."⁷

Thus the contemporaneity of Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta may be taken to establish the contemporaneity of Sirinivāsa Siripāla, the king of Ceylon, and Accuta Vikkanta, the king of Coḷa.⁸

¹ *Sumaṅgala-Vilāsini*, Pt. I, p.303 *Sātavāhana-rajjanṅ gantvā*.

² *Vinaya Piṭaka*, (Oldenberg), III., p.45 ; *Samantapāsādikā*, Sinhalese Ed., I., p.172 ; *Sārathappha kāṣiṇi*, Sinhalese Ed. I.493 ; *JBBRAS*, XX, 1899, pp.208-209.

³ Some have fixed the date of his reign as 240-268 A.D. (Malalasekera, *Dict. of Pali Proper names*, II., p.1140).

⁴ *Mahāvamsa*, Edward Upham's transl., p.220. According to the Pāli Mahāvamsa ; 19 years, B.C.Law, *Chronicles of Ceylon*, pp.8-9.

⁵ *Kathāvatthu-Commy.*, Intro ; B.C. Law, *The Debates Commy*, P.T.S. 'Tr. Series, p.3.

⁶ B.C. Law, *Buddhaghosa* p.62.

⁷ *The Colas*, p.121.

⁸ Buddhadatta who was a celebrity of the Mahāvihāra of Ceylon and an inhabitant of the Coḷa kingdom situated on the Kāveri found his royal patron in king Accutavikkanta of the Kalamba dynasty (Buddhadatta's *Manuals*, P.T.S. Intro.p.XVI).

Geiger has omitted an important fact that a matrimonial connection was established by Vijayabāhu I (c. 1054-1105 A. D.),¹ through his marriage with Tilokasundarī, a highly accomplished Indian princess, born of the royal family of Kaliṅga.² This serves as the chronological basis of contemporaneity of the Indian and Ceylonese kings. An attempt has been made on the evidence of the Belāva copper plate of king Bhojavarman of the Vaiṣṇava Varman dynasty of East Bengal that Tilokasundarī the second queen of king Vijayabāhu I, mentioned in the *Cūlavamsa* (p.181) is no other than Trailokyasundarī praised in the Belāva plate as the daughter of king Sāmalavarman the father and immediate predecessor of Bhojavarman through his wife Mālavayadevī. It is rightly pointed out that in the Belāva copper-plate the Varmans of East Bengal claim to have their descent from the royal family of Siṃhapura, and Bhojavarman expresses in pathetic terms his solicitude for the contemporary Ceylon king in his difficulties arising from an inimical action on the part of the *rākṣasas*. Once the personal relationship between Bhojavarman and Vijayabāhu I, is assumed as a historical fact, it becomes easy to understand why the former should express this solicitude for the lord of Laṅkā.³ It is evident from a Maṇimaṅgala inscription of 1053 A.D. that the Coḷa kings of the age were bringing heavy pressure to bear upon the kings of Ceylon.⁴ The possibility of the matrimonial connection of the Ceylon king Vijayabāhu I with the Varmans of East Bengal lies in the fact that Vijayabāhu and his successors themselves felt proud in claiming their descent from the royal family of Siṃhapura which was most probably a place in Kaliṅga.⁵

¹ According to Geiger, 1050-1114 A.D.

² *Cūlavamsa*, Ch. 50, 29-30 ;
Kaliṅgadharaṇīpālavamsajam cārudassanam
Tilokasundarīṃ nāma sukumāraṃ kumārīkaṃ
Kaliṅgaratthato rājā ānāpetva ciraṭṭhitiṃ
nijavamsassa icchanto mahesitte 'bhisecayi.

³ N.G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, pp.19 ff. ; Pramode Lal Paul in *Indian Culture* July, 1939, pp.58-59.

⁴ The fact is that the Coḷa king Parakeśarivarman alias Rājendradeva imprisoned two sons of the Ceylon king Mānābharaṇa. It is still open to dispute if Mānābharaṇa of the inscription may be identified with Mānābharaṇa mentioned in the *Cūlavamsa* (Chap.50 vs. 42,44) as one of the two nephews of Vijayabāhu I. He is nowhere mentioned as a king. Cf. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Coḷas*, p.302.

⁵ Hultzsch, *JRAS.*, 1913, p.520; *Et.*, XII, p.4. The Komarti plate of Candravarman and the Bṛhatprōṣṭha grant of Umavarman mention Siṃhapura which may be identified with Singupuram between Chicacole and Narasannapeta (*Et.*, IV, p.143). These two grants support the view that Siṃhapura was a place in South India.

Prince Mānavamma lived at the court of the Pallava king Narashimha I (middle of the 7th Century A.D.) *E. I. I.*, II., III., 343; *E. I.* XXII, p. 28 & n ; Mahāv., II, 35 (colombo, 1009).

KALĀPARICCHEDA AN OBSOLETE SECTION OF DAṆḌIN'S
KĀVYĀDARŚA EVIDENCE FOR ITS EXISTENCE IN THE
13TH AND 14TH CENTURIES A. C.

BY SADASHIVA L. KATRE

(Read at the 15th Session of the All India Oriental conference Bombay.)

From *Kāvyaḍarśa*¹ III. 171—

इत्थं कलाचतुःषष्टिविरोधः सावु नीयताम् ।
तस्याः कलापरिच्छेदेरूपमाविर्भव्यति ॥

It is quite evident that Daṇḍin at that stage intended composing *Kalāpariccheda* either as an independent treatise or as a subsequent section of the *Kāvyaḍarśa* itself. Many scholars, however, doubt if Daṇḍin really lived to carry out his said literary pledge and the *Kalāpariccheda* was actually composed at all at any time. For instance, P. V. Kane says² “.....He refers to a *Kalāpariccheda*, which he contemplated writing, probably as a part of his *Kāvyaḍarśa* or as an independent work. . . .” “... Some took the *Kalāpariccheda* as the third work. Whether Daṇḍin ever wrote a *Kalāpariccheda* (which was only contemplated when he wrote the *Kāvyaḍarśa*), whether it was an independent work and whether Rājaśekhara knew of any such work as a *Kalāpariccheda* by Daṇḍin are points that require to be established before the *Kalāpariccheda* can be fastened upon as Daṇḍin's third work.” A.B. Keith grants³ the possibility of the *Kalāpariccheda* being a lost chapter of the *Kāvyaḍarśa* but in this respect places it only on the level of the really never extant⁴ *Chandoviciti* of Daṇḍin which, too, he admits to be a further lost chapter of the *Kāvyaḍarśa* !

1 References in this paper are to the Lahore edition (Sarnvat 1900) of the *Kāvyaḍarśa*.

2 *History of Alankāra Literature* (Bombay, 1923), Pp. XXII-XXIV.

3 *History of Sanskrit Literature* (Oxford, 1928), P.296.

4 Vide my paper referred to in the next footnote for a detailed exposition of this point. The

conclusion that Daṇḍin in *Kāvyaḍarśa* I.12 (छन्दोविचित्यां सकलस्तत्प्रपञ्चो निदर्शितः । सा विद्या नौस्तितोर्बुणां गम्भीरं काव्यसागरम् ॥) mentions *Chandoviciti* not as a work of his own composition but merely as a science (*Vidyā*) of Metrics in general or as promulgated by Piṅgala in his *Chandaḥ-sūtra* is supported there with the evidence of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, Keḍāra-bhaṭṭa's *Ṛttaratnākara* and Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's *Ṛttaratnākara-ṭīkā*. To that evidence I have now to add the following passage from the *Brahmayajña* section of Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa's *Sūtradharmatattva-prakāśa* or *Sūdrakanulākara* :— . . . यद्वा तत्र ऋग्वेदाय नमः । एवं यजुर्वेदाय नमः । सामवेदाय नमः । अथर्ववेदाय नमः । शिक्षायै नमः । कल्पाय नमः । व्याकरणाय नमः ॥ निरुक्ताय नमः । ज्योतिषाय नमः । छन्दोविचित्यै नमः । अध्यात्मविद्यायै नमः । इतिहासपुराणेभ्यो नमः । तर्कविद्यायै नमः । पूर्वमीमांसायै नमः । उत्तरमीमांसायै नम इति जपित्वा . . इत्युक्त्वा तदुदकं स्पृशेत् ।

In my paper 'Fresh Evidence for Daṇḍin's Composition of Kalāpariccheda' contributed to the *Indian Historical Quarterly*¹ last year I tried to establish on the strength of some quotations in Jagaddhara's commentary that the said *Kalāpariccheda* was definitely composed and was known as a work of Daṇḍin at least to Jagaddhara, a reputed commentator who flourished² some time between A.C. 1300 and 1400. The conclusion, to put very briefly, was arrived at in the following manner:—Three of the six rhetorical passages cited under Daṇḍin's name by Jagaddhara in his commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava* are not traceable in the current recensions of the *Kāvyaḍarśa*. One³ of these passages, viz.—

..... विहारः सीगतप्रब्राजिकानामालयः । तत्र व्यापृता दासी विहारदासी । एतेन प्रकरणब्राह्मत्वमुक्तम् । यदाह दण्डी—

शकारः कुट्टिनी दासी घर्मशास्त्रवहिष्कृताः ।

वितचेत्चादयो नित्यं बाह्याः प्रकरणे मताः⁴ ॥

would baffle all attempts at insertion anywhere in the course of the current sections of the *Kāvyaḍarśa* since it evidently concerns the treatment of the Prakaraṇa type of drama and the current extent of the *Kāvyaḍarśa* nowhere enters the field of Dramaturgy. As the *Kalāpariccheda* is promised to contain an exhaustive treatment of Sixty-four Kalās or Arts and Crafts which include Nāṭya and Saṃgīta (i.e. Gīta, Vādyā and Nṛtya),—as a matter of fact, even the cursory illustrative treatment at *Kāvyaḍarśa* III.169-171—

मार्गः कलाविरोधस्य मनागुद्दिश्यते यथा ॥

वीरशृङ्गारयोर्भावौ स्थायिनो क्रोधविस्मयी ।

पूर्णेसपृस्वरः सोऽयं भिन्नमार्गः प्रवर्तते ॥

इत्थं कलाचतुःष्टिविरोधः साधु नीयताम् ।

तस्याः कलापरिच्छेदे रूपमाविर्भविष्यति ॥

takes note only of the Nāṭyakalāvirodhā and Gītakalāvirodhā varieties of the fault Kalāvirodhā or Contrariness to Kalā—, Jagaddhara's citation शकारः कुट्टिनी दासी etc. under Daṇḍin's name can most safely be assigned to this very *Kalāpariccheda* which should naturally be expected to deal exhaustively with Dramaturgy among other topics. In the light of this conclusion the line

मिश्राणि नाटकादीनि तेषामन्यत्र विस्तरः ।

¹ Vol. XXIV, No. 2, June 1948, Pp.114-122.

² Vide P.K. Gode's papers on the date of this Jagaddhara in *JUB*, Vol. IX, Pt.2, Pp. 116-125 and in *JSVOL*, Vol. IV, Pp.71-73.

³ The other two passages may somehow be inserted somewhere in the extant sections of the *Kāvyaḍarśa*. Vide my above-mentioned paper in the *IHQ*.

⁴ NSP fifth edition (1920) of Jagaddhara's *Mālatīmādhava-ṭīkā*, P. 14, com. on माधवानुचरः कलहंसो नाम विहारदासीं मन्दारिकां कामयते, subsequent to I. 18.

of *Kāvya-darśa* I. 31 was also suggested by me to be now taken as referring to this very *Kalāpariccheda* (by explaining अन्यत्र as अन्यस्मिन् परिच्छेदे) and not to Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* as was formerly suspected by P. V. Kane¹ and others who compared that line with the line

उक्तं तदभिनेयार्थमुक्तोऽन्यैस्तस्य विस्तरः ।

in Bhāmaha's *Kāvya-lankāra* I. 24. I also suggested that Daṇḍin's enumeration² of Sixty-four Kalās in all likelihood commenced with Nāṭya and that the current reading नृत्यगीतप्रभृतयः कलाः कामार्थसंश्रयाः of *Kāvya-darśa* III. 162 should therefore be suspected to be a corruption of the reading नाट्यगीतप्रभृतयः etc.

Since the publication of my above-mentioned paper in the *IHQ*, I have luckily come across some further and more conclusive evidence that not only corroborates my main findings in that paper but also leads to a final settlement of some other phases of the vexed problem.

Yaśodhara's *Jayamaṅgalī* in its treatment of Sixty-four Kalās recorded in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* I. 3.16 cites two passages as from *Kāvya-darśa* and also explains them with reference to the context. Thus on Kalā No. 30 'Durvācakayogaḥ' (Employment of words difficult to pronounce and understand) the *Jayamaṅgalī* reads³ :—

दुर्वाचकयोगा इति । शब्दतोऽर्थतश्च दुःखेनोच्यत इति दुर्वाचकम् । तस्य प्रयोगाः
क्रीडार्था वादार्थाश्च । यथा काव्यादर्श—

दंष्ट्राग्रद्धर्षा प्राग्यो द्राक्क्षमामम्बन्तःस्थामुच्चिक्षेप ।
देवघृष्टक्षिद्धचृत्विक्स्तुत्यो युष्मान्सोऽन्यात्सर्पात्केतुः ॥

अस्यार्थः—दंष्ट्राग्रस्य ऋद्ध्या प्राक्पूर्वं द्राक्क्षीघ्रं क्षमां पृथ्वीमम्ब-
न्तःस्थां पातालस्थामुच्चिक्षेपोत्क्षिप्तवान् । देवान्दुह्यन्तीति देवदुहो-
ऽमुरास्तान् क्षिणोतीति देवघृष्टक्षित् । "हि"शब्दः पादपूरणे । ऋत्विग्भिः
स्तुत्यः । सर्पान्तोतीति सर्पाद् गरुडः, स केतुर्ध्वजो यस्येति ॥

¹ HAL, P. XXIII.

² The enumeration cited in Madhusūdanasarasvatī's com. on *Mahimāś-tava* 7 from *Saivāgama* allots fourth position to Nāṭya, its first three being Gīta, Vādyā and Nṛtyā. It further allots 32nd position to Nāṭikākhyāyikādarśana. The enumeration recorded in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* I.3.16 commences with Gīta, Vādyā and Nṛtyā, allots 32nd position to Nāṭakākhyāyikādarśana, but does not include Nāṭya separately. That Daṇḍin's enumeration of Sixty-four Kalās commenced with Nāṭya follows from his taking up only Nāṭya and Gīta in his cursory illustrative treatment at *Kāvya-darśa* III. 160-171.

³ NSP *Kāvya-mālā* edition, 1891, P.37 ; Kashi Sanskrit Series edition, 1929, P.32.

Again, on Kalā No. 32 'Kāvyaśamasyāpūraṇam' (Poetical completion of a given incomplete portion of a stanza) it reads¹ :—

काव्यसमस्यापूरणमिति । समस्यते संक्षिप्यत इति समस्या । 'ऋहलोर्ण्यत्' । इह सामान्यात् 'संज्ञापूर्वको विधिरनित्यः' इति वृद्धिर्न भवति । यद्वा 'कृत्यल्युटा बहुलम्' इत्यन्यप्रकृतेरपि यत्, बहुलग्रहणात् । काव्यस्य श्लोकस्य समस्या, पाद इत्यर्थः, नस्याः पूरणं क्रीडार्थं वादार्थं च । तद्यथा काव्यादर्श—'आश्वासं जनयति राजमुख्यमध्ये' इत्ययं पाद उद्योगपर्वणि विष्णुयाने त्रिभिः पादैः संग्रथितव्य इति समस्या दत्ता । तत्र त्रयः पादाः—

दौत्येन द्विरदपुरं गतस्य विष्णो—

वंन्धार्थं प्रतिविहितस्य घातंराष्ट्रैः ।

रूपाणि त्रिजगति भूतिमन्ति रोषा—

दाश्वासञ्जनयतिराजमुख्यमध्ये ॥

इत्यादि² । अत्र विष्णोर्वन्धार्थं दुर्योधनादिभिर्मन्त्रः कृतः । त्रिषु लोकेषु सर्वभूतिमन्ति रूपाणि आशु शीघ्रमासन् संबभूवुः । जनस्य समागतस्य, यतीनां रामकर्णादीनां, राजमुख्यानां बाह्यलीकप्रभृतीनां मध्य इति ॥

These two passages cited in the *Jayamaṅgalā* as from *Kāvyaśarṅgā* are not to be found anywhere in the current three sections of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaśarṅgā*. However, as they are both concerned with a treatment of Sixty-four Kalās, which is the promised subject-matter of the *Kalāpariccheda* under question, we would probably not be an inch away from the reality if we assign them both to the *Kalāpariccheda*, which should now once for all be settled to be a subsequent section, now defunct, of the *Kāvyaśarṅgā* itself.

Thus the evidence of Yaśodhara's *Jayamaṅgalā* supplemented with that of Jagaddhara's *Mālatīmādhava-fikā* unties many existing knots in our hitherto vexed problem. In the first place, it is now proved beyond any shadow of doubt that the *Kalāpariccheda* was definitely composed and Daṇḍin's pledge in this respect did not remain unfulfilled. Secondly, this *Kalāpariccheda* certainly survived at least up to 1243-1261 A.C., the period of Viśāladeva under whom Yaśodhara wrote the *Jayamaṅgalā*³, and even up to 1300-1400 A.C., to which limits Jagaddhara's literary activities have been plausibly assigned. Thirdly, this *Kalāpariccheda* among many allied topics also dealt exhaustively with Dramaturgy. Fourthly, the probability of the *Kalāpariccheda* being an independent work advocated by some scholars formerly is now totally done away with and it must now be regarded only as a subsequent section of the *Kāvyaśarṅgā* itself.

¹ Ibid, Pages 38 and 33 respectively.

² 'Ityādi' here probably implies that the source of the quotation contained many verses illustrating the completion of the samasyā under question and that only one of those verses is cited here.

³ Keith : *HSL*, P. 469.

This last finding is not in the least controverted by the extant form of the *Kāvyaḍarśa*, since the concluding verses 186 and 187 of Section III, viz.—

शब्दार्थलिङ्गक्रियाश्चित्रमार्गाः सुकरदुष्कराः ।
 गुणा दोषाश्च काव्यानामिह संक्षिप्य दक्षिताः ॥
 व्युत्पन्नबुद्धिरमुना विधिदर्शितेन
 मार्गेण दोषगुणयोर्वशवर्तिनीभिः ।
 वाग्भिः कृताभिसरणो मदिरक्षणाभि—
 च्छन्धो युवेव रमते लभते च कीर्तिम् ॥

although appearing to be a conclusion to the entire existing bulk of the work, cannot be pressed to come in the way of the possibility of addition of a subsequent section any more than the concluding verse 105 of Section I, viz.—

तदस्ततन्द्रैरनिशं सरस्वती
 श्रमादुपास्या खलु कीर्तिमीप्सुभिः ।
 कृषो कवित्वेऽपि जनाः कृतश्रमा
 त्रिदग्धगोष्ठीषु विहर्तुमीशते ॥

or than the concluding verse 368 of Section II, viz.—

पन्थाः स एष विवृतः परिमाणवृत्त्या
 संहृत्य विस्तरमनन्तमलङ्कियाणाम् ।
 वाचामतीत्य विषयं परिवर्तमाना—
 नम्यास एव विवरीतुमलं विशेषान् ॥

Significantly enough, the extant three sections, too, of the *Kāvyaḍarśa* are designated as respective Paricchedas (and not as Prakaraṇas, Ullāsas, etc.) so that the *Kalāpariccheda* can very aptly be imagined to have ranked with them, when it existed, as a co-section of the *Kāvyaḍarśa*.

Custodians of MSS collections in the various parts of India and abroad should now put forth all earnest efforts to rescue from un-merited oblivion this *Kalāpariccheda* section of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa*, which would certainly be a rich and interesting addition to our old scientific and technical literature.

THE KAVYAKAUSTUBHA AND ITS GREAT SOURCE OF INSPIRATION.

By Sivaprasad Bhattacharyya

(Read at the 15th session of the All India Oriental Conference, Bombay.)

Alamkāra treatises, whether in the form of original works or compilations or digests have enjoyed local recognition and even wide popularity for reasons not always connected with their intrinsic value. In the case of the former, a revolutionary change in the outlook of literary assessment has overshadowed many a cherished treasure ; in the case of the latter, all-India circulation not unoften has been retarded by the misdirected energies of overzealous supporters. The Candrāloka, not a very ambitiously planned and well-executed Alamkāra nibandha of the latter half of the 13th century, very likely of Mithila, leapt into eminence and interprovincial patronage¹ because of its simplicity, an out-of-the-way straight and direct form of treatment and a non-academic avoidance of controversial issues and enjoyed this good luck in spite of the presence of more comprehensive, better planned and more authoritative works like the Kāvya prakāśa and the Sāhityadarpaṇa. The punctilious care and earnestness with which Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa alias Gāgābhaṭṭa, a scholar of proved merit in other fields, in the beginning of the 18th Century hailing from the Mahratta country, has carried out in his Rākāgama his self-imposed task of exposition and supplementing is an evidence of the popularity it had continually enjoyed in the course of the centuries which was reinforced by its being utilised as a source-book by the celebrated Appaya Dīkṣita in the beginning of the previous century. It is a pity that this spell of good fortune was broken from about the close of the 18th century, as is evidenced by its lesser and lesser use by commentators on kāvyas. Amongst the causes that had led to this decline in appreciation may be mentioned the apathy of the classroom, which had accustomed itself to later Kārikā-vṛtti-udāharaṇa form of presentation and had become over-conscious of the demands of *vicāra*² and *siddhāntaniṣṭhā* through the solution of issues like the *sphoṭavāda*, *abhivyakti vāda*, and of side-

¹ The C.A. marks the reaction against the too much emphasis of the suggestive element (the dhvaniḍambara in the language of the Nāisadhacarita) indulged in by the literary connoisseur. It has brought in the renaissance of the older thought of Bhoja etc. who were eclectic and who deemed themselves to be above partisan considerations in matters of literary taste.

² It is to be noted that Jayadeva, himself a sukavi (C.A. I. 10) has taken the side of those that are fed up with *nirvicāra*kavitā (indiscriminate verse) while professing not to enter the list of academic gladiators. (C.A.I.5 :- नारदः क्लृणीयं पूर्वेषां मतभेदेन दृष्यते ।

किन्तु चक्षुर्मृगाक्षीणां कज्जलेनैव भूष्यते ॥

issues and often distantly related and alien topics like the *abhihitānvayavāda* and its counterpart and of irrelevant matter e.g. bhagnāvaraṇā cit., (e.g. ās in the Rasagaṅgūdhara which also is noted as the view of some-p.10,K.K-) to satisfy pedantic ambitions.

The three main characteristics of the C. A. that have engaged the attention of the student of Alankāra literature are connected with the historical, doctrinal and poetical presentation of what matters most to critical taste. Being himself a logician of no mean order, as he describes himself in the *prastāvanā* to his drama, the *Prasannarāghava*, he did not think it worth his while to subscribe unstintedly to what he thought as the aberrations, effusions and excesses of the *rasadhvani-vādins*, who had established themselves as the arbiters of literary appraisal. He believed that the time had come—and he was heralded in this belief by poets like Śriharṣa and by ālamkārikas like Śobhākaramiśra, the author of the *Alamkāraratnākara*, who had stirred them up in his mission—when the rightful dues of *yukti* (reason) and *āsvāda* (sentimental relish) had to be naturally settled up relating to the unfathomable ocean of literary excellence (C.A.I.3).

What he proposed for his mission was nothing other than the churning of this ocean for the rehabilitation of grace (*śrī*) the recovery of the nectarine acumen of practical instruction (*upadeśakaufala*) and the emergence of the moon in all its pristine and all-embracing serenity and readily dispensed effulgence of light and purity (जगज्जगन्नास्वरपद्मकेसरशयः शीतांशुः). This he has sought to achieve in no mean measure by his matter-of-fact treatment of the *guṇas* and primarily by his supremely sensible treatment of *alamkāras*, which while accorded their role of honour as aids to poetry by predecessors in the line, became, as it were, a Norman's land at the hands of the later redactors of the *vyāñjanāvādins*, who in the triumphant flush of their achievements, had done not a little to belittle their worth. The K.A. of Appaya Dīkṣita brought to a focus the worth of this aspect of the C. A. and has been confused, ever since with this part thereof, so much so that late writers have not always cared to sift the original text from its newer accretion and earlier treatment of principles and classifications from their later elaboration. Indeed some of the printed editions of the work, including the Calcutta editions of 1874 and 1906 (the latter by Jīvānanda) have presented a deformed and lengthened text of the chapter concerned. But the deception is easy to detect and we have now editions (e.g. the latest Benares edition) giving a reliable text thereof.

The C.A. openly espouses recognition of the ten *guṇas* of the old school, not in a spirit of patchwork compromise but by a comprehensible and comprehensive way of adjustment of the *yukti* and *āsvāda* aspects promised in the introduction therein where, *ghanarasatva* (rasa-saturation) and depth of meaning (*arthama-*

himan) are blended, into a variety of adroitness (*vicāracāturya*) and taste and diletantism (*vaidagdhya*) are awarded their due share. Its treatment of doṣas in the twofold form of earlier manuals, i.e. in their varieties of *pada*, *padāmsā*, *vākya*, *vākyaṃsā* and *vākya-kadambaka* (II.39-40) marks the author out as one who could not reconcile himself to the accepted code of nibandha writers, who had, following Ānandavardhana, decided on *rasa* as the determining principle and hit upon the *rasadoṣas* as the fundamental blemishes. Jayadeva defines doṣas in terms of *rāmaṇīyatā* (which a later earnest poeticist revived as the cardinal principle in poetry) and dismisses *rasadoṣas* altogether. The forging out of the *bhūṣaṇas*¹ as a new category (IV.11-12) separate (*vyatirikta*) in scope and application from both the *alamkāras* and the *guṇas* is a feature of the C.A. due to considerations of logical precision and expressional distinctness. These latter approach the *guṇas* of the older appellation and owe their origin to their exposition as in Vāmana's K.A.S.V. and in the S.K.A. of Bhoja as much as to the niceties of emergence as noticeable in the works of classic masters and propounded in *Alamkāra* treatises of the *Kavisikṣā* type.

The outstanding and startling innovation of Jayadeva seems however to be the resuscitation of the old entity entitled *lakṣaṇas*,² current in another sphere and investing them with an element of preeminence as an inherent property of *kāvya*-expression (C. A. III. 11), mighty in its own right and distinctive with its own dazzle. (स्वर्णम्राजिष्णुभालत्वप्रभृतीव महीभुजः) These are not exhaustively treated nor are all the *lakṣaṇas* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* convention conditioned as they have been in a mode of interpretation, not the monopoly of one particular school of commentators on that work. While the variety of proposed equations for them severally in the *Abhinavabhāratī* and the *Rākāgama* on the C. A. indicate the futility of any attempts at their being incorporated in particular *alamkāras*, the attempts of Appaya Dīkṣita in the *Kuvalayānanda* and of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa in his *Kāvya-kaustubha* betray the boldness and haphazard apportionment of their nature in being discussed as figures of poetry of those devised and derived applications ; and this is a point brought into light in and through their illustrations, which again are as much prominent in non-dramatic literature as elsewhere, as we have pointed out in the paper referred to.

The *Alamkārasāra* by Bhāvadevasūrī (printed as an appendix to the G. O.S. edition of the *Alamkāramahodadhī*), if its author was the same as he who wrote the *Pārśvanāthacarita* (Vikramasamvat 1412), belonged to the third quarter of the 14th century. He knows *lakṣaṇas* and explains eight of them

¹ तिलकाढ्यमिव स्त्रीणां विदग्धहृदयगंगम् । व्यतिरिक्तमलङ्कारप्रकृतेर्भूषणं गिराम् ॥
vide the *Rākāgama* for necessary exposition.

² Vide the latest paper (Jan.1949) by the present writer entitled 'The Doctrine of Lakṣaṇa and a peep into its chequered history' in the P.K. Gode Presentation Volume.

in the light of, and on the lines of the C.A. which also is generally followed in plan and treatment (IV.9-13). The statement काव्यनूपतेर्लक्षणं त्विदम् । उत्तमं प्राहुः . . . is almost an echo of C.A. (III. 11). The Alamkāramahodadhī itself (of 1226 A.C) and therefore presumably earlier than the C.A. knows bhūṣaṇas and nyāsas (II.7) and gives a definition of doṣa which is akin to that in the C.A. but is modified in the next sentence so as to suit its rasa-affiliation. The concept of bandha (III.20.) and the definition of Kāvya with its earlier bias to *yukti* or *vicāra*, which might have been debated and accepted in the Jaina parlance as in the Anuyogadvārasūtra (referred to in the introduction) bring in the question of indebtedness of the C.A. to ālamkārika tradition recorded in nibandhas. The case of the K.K. drawing in upon the C.A. is a clear one. Its writer Baladeva Vidhyābhūṣaṇa, known for his prolific literary activities, was a Bengali domiciled in Jaipur, had his education in Vṛndāvana from the Bengal Goswāmins residing there, lived in the beginning of the 18th century and was thus a contemporary of the author of the Rākāgama. His K.K., so long known in mss and from citation in his commentary on the Stavāvalī of Sanātana Gosvāmin has recently been published¹. It has not 'the same arrangement and subject matter as in the Kāvya prakāśa' as Dr. De notes (Sanskrit Poetics Vol.I.p.303). This description relates to his other Alamkāra work the Sāhityakaumudī. The K.K. has affiliated itself to the C.A., esp. in chaps.I.(Kāvyalakṣaṇa), VI.(Doṣa), IX.(Alamkāra) which correspond readily with chaps. I,II & V of the C.A. respectively. In broad outlines chaps. II.(Abhidhādivṛtti), III.(Rasabhāva), IV.(Guṇa),V (Rīti) VII. (Dhvani), VIII.(Madhyamakāvya) cover the same ground respectively as chaps. I & IX, VI,IV (latter half), VI (latter half), VII & VIII of the C.A. Both the works are in the nature of short and simple practical manuals—the Mandāramarandacampū of a later age coming very near to them though of a more ambitious type—and do not deal in controversial issues or theories. The K.K. however is written in the kārīkā-vṛtti-udāharaṇa pattern, the fashionable form of Alamkāra nibandhas and was intended as a handy work for students in general and not for advanced specialists.

There is, however, one fundamental difference. The C.A. does not explicitly regard the dhvanikāvya as *uttama* or first-rate nor the *guṇībhūtavyaṅgya* to be *madhyama kāvya* or second-rate poetry. Its treatment thereof is apparently for purposes of imparting fulness and not to indicate the essential nature of the concept. Even its characterisation of *vyañjanā* (साम्मुख्यं विदधानायाः स्फुटमर्थान्तरं गिरः । कटाक्ष इव लोलाक्ष्या व्यापारो व्यञ्जनात्मकः ।) is that of the *taṭastha* who admires but is not convinced of its intrinsic merit. Jayadeva's description of *lakṣaṇā* (इयमलङ्काराङ्कुरव्रीजतया स्थिता । IX.16), his winding up of his Alamkāra work with the treatment of *abhidhā* (chap.X.) his

¹ Included in the Gaudiyagauravagranthaguccha and published in 1944 by Sri Haridas Das, Calcutta.

characteristic retort (अग्नीकरोति यः काव्यं शब्दार्थविनलङ्कृती । असौ न मन्यते कस्मादनुष्णमनलं कृती ।) I.S. betray his affinities with the old Alamkāra school, who, as Ānandavardhana points out, stake everything on abhidhāvṛtti. The K.K., true to its salt of Bengal Vaiṣṇavite tradition cannot accede to such a view of alamkāras suppressing rasas or emerging thereover—indeed with Baladeva, alamkāras come in connection with what with Mammata he regards as the adhama or the citrakāvya, not even of the madhyama as is the case with the bulk of later rhetoricians including the great Jagannātha. Baladeva, however, does not push the consequences of such a view to their extreme limits. His rather half-hearted admission and inadequate treatment of rasadoṣas is a pointer to his real motive in writing the K.K. It was out and out his intention to write an easy work on the lines of the C.A. Doṣa as defined in both the works betrays the indebtedness of the one to the other. The K.K. definition (हृदये निविशन्निर्योः क्षीयते काव्यचारुता । दोषास्ते कथिता प्राज्ञैः पदवाक्यार्थसंस्पृशः ॥) is merely an echo of C.A. (स्याच्चेतो विशता येन सक्षता रमणीयता । शब्दर्थे च कृतोन्मेषं दोषमुद्घोषयन्ति तम् ॥). Baladeva in his vṛtti qualifies his position with the mild statement :—अत्रार्थो व्यङ्ग्योऽपि रसादिग्रह्यः । That he cannot part company with the Vaiṣṇava masters also is patent from his detailed treatment of rasas and bhāvas, from his characterising guṇas as rasadharmā and enumerating them on the lines of the S.D. or rather the A.K. which he closely follows in his definition of poetry. (K.K. कविना निमित्तं वाक्यं काव्यं शब्दार्थविग्रहम् ; A.K.I. कविवाङ्निमित्तः काव्यम् . . . शरीरं शब्दार्थौ . . .

The qualified admission of vibhatsa and bhayānaka as rasas in the K.K. (भयानकेऽयं बीभत्से भगवद्रतिमिश्रणात् । भवेदानन्दरूपत्वमिति प्राहुर्ननीषिणः ।) is on the lines of an old ideology, which, inspite of its being thrashed out and refuted in the navya school, clung to ordinary viewpoint of life (loka) as a determinant of rasa along with kāvya and nāṭya (vide A.K.V.R.S. edn. p123). It is to be noted that the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas generally, like the Jainas were admirably informative¹, assimilating and adapting. Baladeva using the K.A. of Appaya Dikṣita and knowing the views of Jagannātha was no exception.

¹ It has not been a happy device of some scholars (e.g. Dr. Raghavan, in his Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, Vol. 1 Part II, pp.427, 431) to hint that mediæval Bengali scholars were not directly aware of the tradition incorporated in the works of Bhoja. The A.K. statement which he takes exception to is nothing but the viewpoint of Bhoja in his work the Samarāṅganasūtradhara which that scholar cites just a page ahead, where the original reading (there is nothing in the emended reading accepted by him worth acceptance) might have established the viewpoint of Kavikarṇapūra. It is also to be noted that the Rasārnavasudhākara which is stated to be one of the two works whose authors really saw the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, was a wellknown work in Bengal as much as the bhāvaprakāśana of Śāradātanaya. Rūpa Gosvāmin in the Ujjvalanilamaṇi, Jāgavāmin in his commentary thereon and in the Nāṭakacandrikā and very likely Kavikarṇapūra used these works. Bhoja's ideas and terminology—his four fold classification of sambhogāśṛṅgāra into samkṣipta, samkirṇa, sampanna and samṛddhimat are what are utilised and elaborated in the Ujjvalanilamaṇi. (pp. 467-76. N.S. edn.).

Kavikarnāpūra was a name to conjure with in Bengal Vaiṣṇava circles. Baladeva has clearly taken the edge off from Kavikarnāpūra's attack on the implications of vākyatā in kāvyatā and has shunted off in the line of Jayadeva's emphasis of *vicāra* or *yukti*, which are, as it were put under the double brackets of *camatkāra* and *cāturya*¹. This has led him to an undisguised appreciation of the lakṣaṇas of the C.A. five of which are covered under the guise of *cāturya* and illustrated in an exactly similar manner, three, with the self-same illustrations. Of the remaining as noted in the C.A. three (*nirukti*, *mithyā-dhyavasāya* and *yukti*, the last in a slightly different setting) following the K.A. are christened as *alamkāras* and two (*hetu* and *kārya*) are manipulated under other figures. The device of the K.A. explaining the one by the illustration of the other, as in the C.A. (K.A. kar. 167) is not resorted to in the K.K. for obvious incompatibility. It does not thus require any advocacy of opinionistic bias to show that the K.K., even though it eschews the term, subscribes to the fundamental principle of the lakṣaṇas in general parlance and in the accepted terminology of the *navya-nyāya* dilecticians which, it was difficult for Baladeva to shake off as much as the other potent associations connected therewith. Moreover he was far away from the atmosphere of inception and discussion veering around the concept in early mediaeval *alamkāra* literature.

A treatment of *alamkāras* in the K.K. affords the most tangible proof of its being inspired by the C.A. While the C.A.'s characterisation of this

The Gaeck. edn. of S.S.D. (Vol. II. chap. 82) has:—शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणा रौद्रप्रेयोभयानकाः । वीरप्रत्ययाशौ (?) च वीभत्सश्चाद्भूतस्तथा । शान्तश्चैकादशत्युक्ता रसाश्चित्रविशारदः ॥ Kavikarnāpūra remarks (A. K. P. 123)—भोजस्तु वत्सलप्रेमम्यामेकादश रसानाचष्टे । (प्रेमन् is on substituted for प्रेयस्). The reading *प्रात्ययामौ* is corrupt. Dr. Raghavan is inclined to accept *वीराह प्रत्ययाख्यौ*, which utilises an unfamiliar way of nomenclature. Was *वीरवत्सलसंज्ञौ लक्ष्यौ च* the reading here : Kavikarnāpūra takes this enumeration and not the ten of the *Sr. Pr.* & the twelve of the *S. K. A.* (which adds two more—the *udatta* and the *uddhata*—not generally accepted in the *Śāstra*), as it includes *प्रेयस्* over and above *शृङ्गार* and is in a line with the Bengal Vaiṣṇava tradition. *वत्सल* was actually recognised and read as a *rasa* by Bhoja (*Sr. Pr.* I. 6.). That *वत्सल* here (as much as its accepted connotation) is not coextensive with *प्रेयस्* may be inferred from the following extract (*S. K. A.* p. 514 N. S. edn.):—यदेव रोचते मह्यं तदेव कुरुते प्रिया । च वत्सलप्रकृतेरुक्ततया ललितनायकस्य प्रेयानिति प्रतीयते । रतिप्रीत्योरपि चायमेव मूलप्रकृतिरिष्यते । It may be conceded that *वत्सल* in this view loses itself under *rati bhāva*; a later Vaiṣṇava treatise *Rasabhakti-candrikā* realising this notes:—कुब्जाऽऽद्ये करुणे घरा प्रतिभाये पार्थो हरो नारदः कौरव्यः सुदृशोऽद्भुते कुरुजतिवीरे तु देवव्रतः । वीभत्सेऽमुरराट् भृगुर्मुनिवरो रौद्रे रसे पिङ्गला शान्ते प्रेमिणि कुमारिका इति दश ज्ञेया रसोपासकाः ॥ The proviso *ललितनायकस्य* in the *S. K. A.* extract just fits in with *Kṛṣṇa* the hero par excellence in Vaiṣṇava treatise and bars out *वत्सल*.

¹ cf. K.K. (p.c.) चमत्कारकरगद्यपद्यात्मना रचितं कवेर्वाक्यं काव्यम् । गद्यपद्योश्चमङ्कारकरत्वं चातुयदिव भवति । चातुयं तु युक्तिविशेषार्थनियोजनम् । the implications of this *cāturya* lead to the devices, which are introduced in parenthetical sub-kārikās printed as kārikās in the text (pp.2-3.). This is a pertinent feature and bespeaks K.K.'s affiliation to the lakṣaṇa-doctrine of the C.A.

entity (शब्दार्थयोः प्रसिद्ध्या वा कवेः प्रौढिबन्धेन वा । हारादिवदलङ्कारसन्निवेशो मनीहरः ॥) with no hint at its relation to rasa but with emphasis on charm alone (the Sāradāgama notes :—हारादिवदिति दृष्टान्तो न सर्वाशेषितु रमणीयतापातमात्रे ।) is not what is emphasised in the K.K., which as in the case of guṇas also, insist on the rasa substratum शब्दार्थवर्तिनः सन्तं रसमुत्कर्षयन्ति ये । तेऽलङ्काराः ॥ yet the essential nature of rasa connection is a bit diluted by the epithet सन्तम् which in the vṛtti is explained as सम्भविनम् । The śabdālamkāras of the C.A. are reproduced with a bit of touch and retouch here and there. The K.K. regards śleṣa as alamkāra pertaining both to śabda and artha, the C.A. introduces it (V.59.) in the arthālamkāra section, though arthaśleṣa (V.61.) is separately treated. It is in the arthālamkāra section that the K.K.'s enumeration and characterisation call for special notice. Of about ninety alamkāras treated there twelve are peculiar to the C.A. in the sense that they are not included in the K.P., the S.D. and other similar works followed in East Indian tradition, six, like prastutānkura¹ are based on the K.A. mode of treatment and three more, which appear as lakṣaṇas in the original, are classed as alamkāras on the authority of that work. The pramāṇālamkāras as in the K.A. are tagged at the end showing again how in the wake of the C.A. the *yukti* aspect of the entity was dominant in the mind of the later writer.

Here we meet with an agreeable departure from the plan of procedure and manner of emphasis laid on almost all the manual and commentaries dating from the 16th century, including the well known Kāvya-pradīpa of Govinda Ṭhakkura. While there are occasional traces of navya-nyāya methodology in the K.K. which certainly were handed down from the C.A.² in the majority of cases—the characterisation and polemic discussion which shows the niceties and intricacies of scholastic thought and phraseology are conspicuous by their absence. Alamkāras earn their right to be recognised on their kāvya-content. Even the twenty-or-so figures noted above that are additions to their normal number appear as welcome innovations in the light of the illustrations which too draw their essence and inspiration from the C.A. and are permissible on the broad lines of non-technical *vicāra* or *yukti*, the main plank of this divergent system of critique. Even the Alamkāra-kaus-

¹ Vide K.K. p.63 (anugūṇa)=C.A.v. 100 ; p.66 (pūrvarūpa)= C.A.v. 90 ; p.73(prauḍhokti) = C.A.v. 44 ; p.74(praharṣaṇa) = C.A.v. 46 ; p.77 (unmilīta) = C.A.v. 34 ; p.78 (vikasvara) = C.A. v. 65 ; p.78 (ullāsa) = C.A.v. 97 ; p.79 (avajñā) = C.A.v. 102 ; p.80 (asambhava) = C.A.v. 72 ; p.80 (visādāna) = C.A.v. 47 ; p.83 (parikarānkura) = C.A.v. 39 ; p.86 (lalita) which is after lalītopamā) = C.A.v. 14. The example of anavaya (p.58) is based on that of the C.A. The figures prastutānkura (p.62), mudrā (p.65), lokokti (p.72), chekokti (p.72), anujñā (p.79), ratnāvalī (p. 74) as well as those of nirukti, mithyādhyavasīti and yukti are included as in the K.A. It is to be remembered that quite many of them are known to earlier writers independent of total subscribing to the views of the rasadhvanivādīns including Bhoja.

² As one prominent though rather out of the way instance one may note the illustration of the *dosa* called apratīta, in the K.K. (p.39):—इदं वीतानुमानेन साधितं केन दूष्यताम् । केवलान्वय्यतुमानं वीतमुच्यते नैयायिकैः । the C.A. (II.9.) is more cryptic:—स्यादप्रतीतं शास्त्रैकगम्यं वीतानुमानादिवत् । The Śāstra par excellence to the C.A. is Nyāya”.

tubha which has been accepted as a model work, avails itself of occasions of dabbling in hair-splitting distinctions which do not find an echo in the K.K.

The emphasis on the fundamentals of certain lakṣaṇas of the C.A. in chap.I., the manner and method followed throughout specially in the doṣa and the alamkāra sections seem to lend some support to the view prevalent amongst certain Bengali Gosvāmins that Baladeva wrote a commentary on the C.A.¹ At best it is a guess—and even if such a work comes out in future it will not damage our position regarding the K.K. Baladeva is included in the list of commentators on the K.P. as the S.K. is based on that work, though not out and out an exposition on the stereotyped pattern. Did the tradition relating to the C.A. owe its inception to a similar characteristic? This can only be interpreted to mean that like the K.P., which was read everywhere, the C.A. in his time and among his circle was a highly popular work and was regarded as an ideal manual which can be placed in the hands of the beginners and of those who wanted shortcuts in the subject. Baladeva's concluding statement revealing the expository nature of his work may be noted with interest :—

विद्याभूषणरचितोचिततन्त्रं काव्यकौस्तुभं विम्रत् ।
तिष्ठति यदि कमनीयो नमनीयोऽसौ न किं सदसि ॥

¹ The Cat. Cat, Rajendralal notices, the collections of the Vaiṣṇava Gosvāmins of Navadvīpa and the Darbhāṅgā mss collection simply do not know such a work. The epithet ucitatantram (in accordance with the siddhāntas of a particular school) has to be interpreted in this light revealing the K.K.'s affiliation to the sampradāya which was still popular, as is evidenced also by the contemporary work the Rākāgama. Bengal Vaiṣṇava tradition ascribes a third work in Alamkāraśāstra on dramaturgy) to him and that is a commentary on the Nāṭakacandrikā of Rūpa Gosvāmin.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

India in Kālidāsa, By B. S. Upadhyaya, with a foreword by Dr. E. J. Thomas. Kitabistan, Allahabad—1947. pp. XVI+385. Rs. 25/-.

There is a great need of a book reporting all the data in the works of Kālidāsa, which would serve as a ready and exhaustive reference work to interested research students. Prof. Upadhyaya's *India in Kālidāsa* is such an attempt. In twenty chapters he has dealt with all aspects of India—geographical, political, social, cultural, religious, philosophical, all statements being as a general rule documented by textual references from the poets' works. There are occasional repetitions which could have been avoided. While the documentation on the whole appears to be exhaustive, omissions, e.g., *hālā* (Megh. I. 52), are also noticeable. An exhaustive index of all material words in the works of Kālidāsa is naturally expected in such a work.

It was inevitable that the author should express his opinion on the ever-vexed question of Kālidāsa's date, which he discusses in a separate appendix, although it is never absent from his mind in any chapter of the book. He holds that the poet flourished under the Guptas—he even surmises that he was born about 365 A.D. and died about 445 A.D. To this end he bends all his energies and adduces what he calls "absolutely new" arguments. The only really new argument in the book is based on sculptural evidence, and this is apparently the sheet-anchor of his view. According to him, the various descriptions of gods and goddesses, birds or flowers, and even conventional *dohadas* of trees given by Kālidāsa are all inspired by sculptural models many of which are preserved to this day in the museums at Muttra and Lucknow. "Imagination, howsoever wild," the author observes, "is chained to earth and it is always fed by incidents of life. Kālidāsa therefore is alluding to contemporary or antecedent models in art" (p. 240). He puts forward a novel interpretation of a well-known fact: "Kālidāsa is supposed to be a master of the suggestive (*dhvani*) art. Where he does not directly refer to a particular sculptural image, he actually indirectly expresses it by giving a complete picture of it" (p. 238)! And as all sculptural pieces generally belong to the Kushāna and Gupta periods, the author concludes that Kālidāsa must have flourished about 400 A.D.

Now, it is obvious that even if the main contention of the author were true, the conclusion about the poet belonging to the Gupta period is not warranted until it is definitely shown that these or similar sculptures could not have existed in earlier centuries—including even the immediately pre-Christian ones. This the author, frankly, is not in a position to do. He is conscious of this weakness in the build-up of his argument and often has to be

apologetic about his conclusion. What, however, he has failed to notice is the fact that such detailed and rich cultural activity presupposes the existence of a pantheon wherein gods and goddesses, their form and get-up etc. are all well settled. The sculptor, too, invents no more than the poet, however 'wild' his imagination might be. The rich and varied fund of Puranic mythology which undoubtedly had blossomed forth by Aśvaghōṣa's time must have provided the inspiration to these artists in clay, stone or wood ; and the same source might have obliged the literary artist as well, if not better. The absurdity of the proposition that practically every image or conception in Kālidāsa is based upon or 'suggests' a sculptural model is only too patent ; what a sculptor could conceive, there is no reason why a poet cannot. Let us discuss one or two illustrations utilized by the author for his purpose. He asserts that '*Uḥkīrṇā iva vāsayaṣṭiṣu niśānidrālasā barhiṇaḥ*' (Vik. 3·2) must have been inspired by a sculptured peacock 'carved in the round' or 'with its wings spread,' still preserved in the Muttra museum (p. 235). Now, here, in order to describe the quiet and repose of night-fall Kālidāsa conjures up the vision of peacocks dull with sleep and therefore motionless—as motionless as if they were carved ones ! The poet must have seen scores of such sights of sleeping peacocks in real life. Where was the need for him then to seek inspiration from somebody's handiwork of a peacock *with wings spread out*—a posture which sleeping peacocks are not known to adopt ?

Another example cited by the author is the conception, while describing the young Aja seated on a throne, of Kārtikeya riding on the back of a peacock *Mayūraprṣṭhāḥ trayiṇā Guhena*—(Ragh. 6·6) which, he holds, is inspired by a similar sculptural piece preserved in the Muttra museum. Now, it will be interesting to note that this very simile, of course divested of the apt and beautiful details of Kālidāsa, is found in the Rāmāyaṇa :

हयमुच्चैःश्रवःप्रस्थं ह्वेतं कनकमूषणम् ।
 मनोजवं महाकायमाहरोह नरान्तकः ॥
 गृहीत्वा प्रासमुल्कामं विरराज नरान्तकः ।
 शक्तिमादाय तेजस्वी गुहः शिखिगतो यथा ॥

युद्धकाण्ड, 69. 29-30.

The implications are obvious : the Purāṇic pantheon was so familiar with Kārtikeya with *Śakti* as his weapon and the peacock as his vehicle that this conception had become the stock-in-trade for such *similes*. Kālidāsa might have drawn upon the *Rāmāyaṇa*, or, what is even more probable, both Vālmiki and Kālidāsa might have exploited the rich mass of Puranic mythology that had already come into existence. Again, the author asserts that "the vivid picture that Kālidāsa has drawn of Śiva's meditation cannot be accepted to have been a result of mere fancy" . . . "without doubt the picture is a

second hand, attempted after" the Buddha images. (p.243, f)—and this after conceding that Patañjali's *Yogasūtras* were composed in the second century B.C. The height of fatuity is reached in the author's observation that "the busy huts of the hermitage of the Raghuvamśa (1.49-52) with their doors full of deer is (sic) remarkably carved in a long Śunga frieze at Muttra which gives a perfect picture of an ascetic's hut, deer, an altar, a *Kamaṇḍalu* and other surroundings of a hermitage" (p. 242), implying that the frieze has laid the poet under obligation. One is tempted, almost with the irreverence of Gārgī, to ask "Well, but what is that frieze based on?" Lastly, another illustration which shows to what straits the author has been driven by his pathetic faith in his theory: "We read", says he, "another reference to a sculptural piece in which the image of radiating moon encircled by lotuses was carved" and cites the words "पङ्कजा नां मध्ये स्फुरन्तं प्रतिमाशशाङ्कम्" (*Raghu* 7.64) for reference (p. 237). Here the author's theory has forced him to mis-represent Kālidāsa's fancy by dropping a very essential words, निमीलितानाम्, from the citation. The whole verse runs thus:

शङ्खस्वनाभिन्नतया निवृत्तास्तं सन्नशत्रुं ददृशुः स्वयोषाः ।
निमीलितानामिव पङ्कजानां मध्ये स्फुरन्तं प्रतिमाशशाङ्कम् ॥

Here, Kālidāsa presents the picture of the victorious prince Aja standing in the midst of the enemy soldiers lying unconscious on the battlefield and vivifies it by the simile of the reflection of the moon (in water) among closed day-lotuses. प्रतिमा in this stanza does not-cannot-mean a carved image. The author should not have suppressed the adjective निमीलितानाम् and created an altogether different impression—of the radiating moon encircled by lotuses which every one will naturally imagine to be full-blown. As a matter of fact, the context is different, the conception of the simile is too subtle and suggestive, and the sculptor has no earthly place in the scheme of Kālidāsa's fancy in this case.

Let us now turn to the historico-geographical argument based upon Raghuvamśa's *Digvijaya*. The author starts by stating that Kālidāsa is describing the natural and ideal boundaries of India, and yet cannot resist the temptation to discover references to Gupta times and events wherever he finds it possible to do so. Bühler appears to have taken the correct view from the very beginning that the *Digvijaya* list of countries and tribes is only traditional and not historical. The main difficulty in an attempt like Prof. Upadhyaya's to disentangle the traditional and the conventional from the historical lies in the absence of definite criteria, the judgments having therefore to be based more or less on personal opinions.

Prof. Upadhyaya has relied mainly on two pieces of evidence—the Vamśu —Oxus equation and the location of the Hūṇas and the Kāmbojas. Regarding

the first of these, he, following Pathak and others, accepts *Vamkṣu* as the authentic reading in *Raghu*. 4·67 and discounts Mallinātha's variant *Sindhu* with the observation, "The unsuitability of his reading is so patent in his own explanation that, thinking that his readers would easily confuse *Sindhu* with the great river Indus, which, he is sure, is not the one meant by the poet, he seeks to defend himself by calling it a certain different river flowing through Kashmir,—*Sindhurnāma Kāśmīradeśeṣu kaścinnada-viśeṣaḥ*" (p. 20 f). This observation is invalidated by Mallinātha himself, for, in his commentary on वेणीभूतप्रतनु etc. *Megh.* 1·30, he uses the self-same phrasology to describe the Indus: *kintu sindhurnāma kaścinnadaḥ kāśmīradeśe'sti, nadī tu kutrāpi nāstityupekṣyamīyācakaṣate*. In *Raghu*, 4·67, too, therefore, Mallinātha has the Indus in mind. The evidence of Kṣīraswāmi, while not without its value, cannot have any probative force.

The *Pārasīkas* whom *Raghu* defeated are identified by the author with the inhabitants of Fars, ancient Persia, who were continually at war with the Hūnas in the Oxus Valley. These Hūnas were overpowered by *Raghu* who next proceeded northeast against the Kambojas. The author locates the Kambojas to the north-east of Kashmir on the other side of the Himalayan range and seeks to support his view by stating that *Raghu* ascended the Himalayas after the victory over the Kambojas, cf. *Raghu*. 4·71. Prof. Upadhyaya, who refuses to locate the Kambojas in the north-western (or even north-eastern) part of Afghanistan because Kālidāsa "does not speak of a return" of *Raghu* after defeating the Hūnas in the Oxus valley, should have been equally aware that he does not speak of a return after the victory over the Kambojas either. The author has had to rely upon 'an ancient belief' and a possible shift in the course of rivers and mistaken identities—all because he has to interpret the word *Gangā* as the headwaters of the Ganges in conformity with his thesis. The fact remains, the elaboration of the author notwithstanding, that the description of the Himalayan region, *Raghu* 4·71-80, is a typical one this side of the mountain range, as the opening verses of the *Kumārasambhava* and a similar description in the *Meghadūta* indicate. What is significant, however, is the statement in vs. 80 that *Raghu* descended from the mountain after planting his glory there, thereby causing shame to the Kailāsa mountain. Mallinātha has correctly grasped the significance of the adjective—*Paulastyatulita*. This means that *Raghu* did not scale the hoary heights of the mountain range, much less did he march across it from one side to the other, as Prof. Upadhyaya's thesis certainly requires. Indeed, there is no question of *Raghu* crossing the mountain at any stage, for, had the poet had such a crossing in mind, he would certainly have referred to some pass like *Krauncarandhra* (as he does in *Megh.*), which alone could have made the crossing possible.

It may be added, moreover, that Kālidāsa calls the *Pārasīkas* Westerners while he includes the Hūṅas, the Kambojas and others among the northerners whom Raghu subjugates in the *Kauberī* direction. This distinction and the use of the specific word '*Kauberī*' may not be without significance.

The author has sought to explain why Raghu proceeded by the overland route in his march against the *Pōrasīkas*. The explanation he offers, is, however, unreal. No responsible leader of men will ever undertake risks which he can well avoid. The glaring omission of the mention of Malwa, Saurashtra etc. cannot be satisfactorily accounted for by reason of their lying "within the natural confines of India"; for that would raise the question why, then, are the 'eastern coast on the Bay of Bengal, the extreme South coast on the Cape Comorin' etc., which, too, 'lie within the natural confines of India,' mentioned? The explanation, evidently, is that Kālidāsa could not without losing grace describe even a legendary march through the metropolitan region of his patron whose capital was Ujjayinī. Consequently, he discreetly skips over the mention of this territory without sacrificing realities. Raghu's preference for the overland route indicates how Kālidāsa does not allow his imagination to turn its back upon realities; he stuck to the overland route, because mythologically, the regions, through which his expedition lay, being his own, would offer a safe and easy passage to the north-west.

The author refers in the Preface to 'mistakes of commission and omission by inadvertence,' of which unfortunately there are not a few, and some of them even surprising. Varatantu was not a typical pupil (p. 279) but a teacher. '*pātraviśeṣe nyastam guṇāntaram vrajati śilpamādhātuḥ*' (Vik. 1.6) has been roundly translated as 'the skill of the teacher had chances of being wasted in the manner of an article placed in a utensil of bad metal' (p. 280)! On p. 287 the author remarks, "In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* there is a passage referring to the return of the planet Mars" and cites a general reference to '*Māl.*' The passage in question can only be '*Yāvad aṅgāraka iva*' etc. occurring almost at the end of the third Act. The remarks in the foot-note on this passage indicate that the real meaning of the astrological reference has eluded the author's grasp.

The get-up of the book is decent and the quality of paper good. One wishes, however, the author had almost halved the number of pages by arranging textual references in the foot-notes horizontally and reduced the price of the book substantially.

The *Nvāyāvatāra-Vārtika-Vṛtti*. With an Introduction in Hindi. By pt. Dalasukh Mālavania, professor of Jain Philosophy, Benares Hindu, University. Published by the Singhi Jain Śāstra Śikṣāpīṭha, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, First Edition 1949. Price Rs. 16-8-0.

This is an important work on Jain philosophy, comprising the Sūtra of Siddhasena Divākara, and the Vārtika of Śāntyačārya. It is a fair and lucid exposition of Jain Logic and Jain Metaphysics. As Logic was a common armoury for all disputants in ancient times, it is but natural that its topics were treated in detail by all the three sects, namely, Brahmanism, Jainism and Buddhism. There were keen controversies about the number of 'pramāṇas' (instruments of right knowledge) as also about the existence of the soul and its size and functions, and each school maintained its peculiar tenets very stoutly against the others. In the present work, the learned Editor has given a fairly long introduction to the subject in Hindi which is destined to be the national language in the near future. The work is highly commendable, both for its internal excellence as well as external elegance.

K. M. S.

Stone Age Culture of Bellary. By B. Subbarao, M.A., LL.B., Deccan College, Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona. 1948. pp. 62. Plates XXV. Price—Rs. 8/.

This account of the stone age cultures of Bellary represents a part of the doctoral dissertation for the degree of Ph. D. of the University of Bombay. The foundations of prehistoric archæology in India were laid by R. B. Foote, an eminent geologist : they were strengthened by the late R. B. K. N. Dikshit who as Director General of Archæology revived the interest by encouraging the Gujarat Research Society to join in the first prehistoric expedition in Gujarat. The work has been eminently followed up by Dr. H. D. Sankalia, Professor of Proto-and Indian History at the Deccan College Research Institute, whose investigations in the Sabarmati valley, in Narmada valley, and the Deccan have produced brilliant results. The present investigation covers a geographically and culturally important area, which lies at the cross-roads of Maharashtra, Karnatak and Andhra, and is the gateway to the Tamil Nad, and which has been long regarded as the focus of the Neolithic culture of the South.

P. G. S.

Shri K. M. Munshi Diamond Jubilee Volume—Part I; Published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 7. Price Rs. 15/- (1949)

Mr Munshi's many sided literary activities called for recognition by scholars both Eastern and Western. The Bhavan authorities considered his Diamond Jubilee as the most suitable occasion to commemorate his work by presenting him with a volume of Indological studies. Accordingly contributions were invited from noted writers, both in India and outside and the result was a number of scholarly Essays on various literary subjects, valuable from many points of view, Research, Criticism, History, Antiquity, Archaeology, Astronomy, and a number of other and allied subjects in which Shri Munshi is interested and on which he has written himself; with ability and efficiency. Thirty such contributions out of a very large number are published in this part; the rest will be published later. Well-known foreign Litterateurs like Dr. S. G. Carpassi and Prof. M. Eliade have sent learned articles on subjects like 'Psychology of Dream-Phenomena of Vedic Philosophy and Sapta Padāni Kramati. In his 'Foreword' short but informative Dr. R. C. Majumdar, has set out the multiple activities of Shri Munshi in almost every subject dealing with the origin and development of human knowledge. His versatility of talent and driving force have been prominently mentioned and if, at times, his work suffers from undue haste or even superficiality, this drawback is more than compensated for by the originality and novelty of the performance and the new direction it points out for further work. Each Article in this volume invites thought as well as calls for our admiration for the strenuous research work involved in preparing it.

We naturally are looking forward to the second part which we do hope and trust would be as full of valuable matter as this one, if not excel it.

K. M. J.

Outlines of Muhammadan Law by Asaf A. A. Fyzee, Published by the Oxford University Press, Bombay—Price Rs. 16/- (1949).

The author, a distinguished Lawyer, and ex-Principal of the Government Law College, Bombay, has been a life-long student of Arabic Language and Literature and a noted Research Scholar. He felt that books—written on Muhammadan Law, as administered in India, were not such as would assist a University student. He, therefore, conceived the idea of writing such a book and due to his profound knowledge of Arabic Literature, has been able to produce a work which would help not only the University student whom he has in view but the general reader. His information is first hand and that is this book's greatest merit. He has adopted the business of expression and the

lucidity and clarity of style of writers like Dicey and Anson, of wide repute in the legal world. He has treated of the laws of both the sections, the 'Sunnies and the Shias.' The state of the Arab Society, when these laws were propounded, is set out here in detail as that is the back-ground on which an edifice of this sort can be based. Mr. Fyzee's Introduction is very instructive and the exposition of the Law concerned and its administration is supported by citations from Reported Cases of various Law Courts. Mr. Fyzee is at present India's Ambassador in Egypt, where he has got ample opportunities to follow his pursuits, literary and legal, at academic Institutes like the Al Athur University and others. The book we find a more than a *Vade Mecum*; though meant for students it is a scholastic work. We consider it a valuable addition to the Literature on the subject.

K. M. J.

Pañcatantra—Edited and Translated into Gujarati by Prof. B. J. Sandesara, M.A., Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 7, 1949 ; pp. 24+CXXIV+515. Price Rs. 8/-.

This is a welcome addition to the relatively meagre number of Gujarati translations of Sanskrit classics prepared on scientific lines. Prof. Sandesara's intimate knowledge of Apabhramśa and old Gujarati has enabled him to offer a translation into Gujarati which is at once faithful and precise. The difficulties in rendering the thousand and odd verses into Gujarati are obvious enough ; yet one wishes the editor had attempted the task—it would add to the verisimilitude of the translation.

There are a few—indeed, very few—places where the translation is not correct, e.g., I. 72 cd (p. 24 *Note*—All page references are to Sandesara's edition), II. 69 cd. (p. 181), III. 175 ab (p. 267). In I, ii a, *ḷṭābhikṣā re kaiḥ* should better be read *°rekaiḥ, reka* meaning 'pool', 'penniless' from \sqrt{ric} , to be empty. This interpretation would suit the context better. In the sentence, '*Bhavānapi svalpakāyaḥ svajātiśca nakhāyudhatvād abhākṣya eva*' (I. before st. 296), Sandesara (p. 104) prefers the reading *Śvajātīḥ* on the authority of the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press edition ; nevertheless, it appears that the reading *Svajātīḥ* is preferable here, in the light of a similar statement made about the tiger a little further down and supported by St. 299 which has the word *Svajāt-yānām*. On the other hand, some of the emendations of the text suggested by Sandesara are really worthy of acceptance, e.g., *Kirātāḥ* instead of *Kirātīḥ* (I. 17, p. 11), *Kūlikā* in place of *Pūtikā* (III. 98, p. 242), etc. The foot-note on *Mukalāpayitvā*, (*Preface*, p. 29) which is interesting otherwise, is however, based on a misunderstanding, for in both the places where it occurs, the word is *utkalāpayitvā* and not *mukalāpayitvā* (V. a few lines before st. 41 p. 345.)

A substantial part of this work is the exhaustive introduction running over a hundred and odd pages, in which Sandesara has utilized practically every available piece of information about the work, its author, versions and translations or adaptations in the West. The introduction contains, moreover, sections, evaluating the *Pañcatantra* as an anthology of beast-fables, a book of politics and a literary work. Sandesara has set about his job with a zest and industry which all translators or editors of such works might well emulate. His view that the western version of the *Pañcatantra* must have been the work of a Jaina of Gujarat can be readily endorsed, for quite a few more can be added to his list of words or expressions having a typically Gujarati ring about them in their Sanskrit form. He, however, takes exception to the facile acceptance of stories about monks as Jaina stories rather than Buddhist and attempts to drive his point home (*Preface*, p. 26 ff) by reinterpreting various words in the well-known story of 'The barber who smashed the heads of monks' in the fifth Tantra. Sandesara has the support of Bühler in his insistence that the monks in the story are Buddhist and not Jaina monks; yet it is to be noted that Bühler practically gives the show away while annotating the word *Śrāvaka* in the story. The story in question is undoubtedly a Jaina story because of the use of typical Jaina words like *kevala jñāna* and *viharaṇakriyā* and the reference to the Jaina practice, while praying, of covering the mouth with a piece of cloth in *Vaktradvāryastottariyāñcalah*.

Prof. Sandesara deserves congratulations for having performed his job in a neat and competent manner. Let us hope many more classics will receive such scientific treatment in their translations into Gujarati, especially on the eve of the founding of the Gujarat University.

G. C. J.

Kāśyapa-jñāna-Kāṇḍa or Kāśyapa-saṃhitā, edited by Pāṇḍit R. Pārthasarathi Bhattachar. Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Series No. 12. pp. II + 20 + 174 + 4 — Price Rs. 5/-.

This is a work of the Vaikhānasa Sect of Śri-Vaiṣṇavas. A Vaikhānasa Kalpasūtra and a Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra is ten prāśnās have been edited by Dr. Caland. The Vaikhānasa have a large literature of their own. The present work contains 108 chapters. In the beginning it is stated that the sages went to sage Kāśyapa and requested him to instruct them in the following matters: what god should be worshipped, with what mantras, and with what procedure in order to reach the highest goal. Kāśyapa answers these questions by first saying that Viṣṇu should be worshipped. In the learned Sanskrit introduction the editor gives information about the eleven Mss. on which the edition is based and brings out twelve characteristic points about this work. It is of interest to note that in the 105th chapter the work states that worship

of Viṣṇu may be done according to the Vaikhāṇasa way or—Pāñcarātra way, the first being mild in character should be employed in the worship of Viṣṇu in villages, towns and cities and the second being fiery should be practised in secluded spots such as river banks, mountains and forests. This work makes a substantial addition to our knowledge of Vaiṣṇava literature.

P. V. K.

Gautama-dharmasūtra-pariśiṣṭa edited by A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, M.A., L.T.—Adyar Library Series No. 64. pp. XLVI+130, 1948; price Rs. 9/-.

This work contains the second praśna of the Gautamadharmasūtrapariśiṣṭa, the first praśna being published in the Mysore edition of Gautama-dharmasūtra with the commentary of Maskarin. This edition is based on two Mss. The second praśna which is divided into twenty sections and 500 sūtras deals with prāyaścittas (expiations) which are rather briefly dealt with in the Gautama-dharmasūtra. The editor in his learned introduction deals with several matters relevant to the subject of the work. He points out how the 2nd praśna largely borrows from Yājñavalkya, Manu, Viṣṇu, Vasīṣṭha and the Matsyapurāṇa. Although he is not able to assign the work to a definite year or century, he has shown that it must have been composed some centuries after the Christian era. He has added on every page of the text very valuable notes in Sanskrit for comparison and explanation. At the end of the work he gives an index of words, authors and works cited in the footnotes and an index of vedic citations. This is a creditable performance and deserves the support of all Sanskrit scholars, though the price (Rs. 9/-) is rather very high for a work containing less than 200 pages.

P. V. K.

New Catalogus Catalogorum: an Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit and Allied works and Authors. Editor-in-Chief, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. Prepared by Dr. V. Raghavan. Vol. I (A—अ). Pages XXXVI+380. University of Madras, 1949. Price Rs. 25/-.

The present work owes its origin to the decision of the University of Madras to undertake the preparation and publication of a complete and up-to-date *New Catalogus Catalogorum* of Sanskrit MSS taking Aufrecht's work as the basis. The work started in November 1935, and a provisional fasciculus covering A-अ (अ—इ) in 55 pages was issued in December 1937, with a view to elicit opinions and suggestions from scholars. The work was transferred

to the Department of Sanskrit in the University with Dr. Raja as Editor-in-Chief in 1938, and Dr. Raghavan has been doing the work single-handed since 1942.

The work generally follows the plan of Aufrecht, and includes in addition, Buddhist, Jaina and Prakrit works and authors. All entries in Aufrecht have been checked up and incorporated in the present volume. New material has been collected from several printed catalogues, hand-written lists, and information gathered from individual scholars. The alphabetical arrangement of all references under a title will render considerable help to scholars.

For each work, we get references to important editions if the work is printed, and also to valuable points of textual criticism, if any. Besides his works together with a few references, an author's date is also entered, wherever possible. The most valuable part of the work is the references to critical notices of works and authors in research journals. It may further be noted that works and authors known through citations are also incorporated.

The importance of the work and the magnitude of labour may be gauged from the fact that whereas Aufrecht refers to only about a hundred different catalogues in the three parts of his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, the present work refers to about 400 catalogues, lists and hand-lists, of which nearly 200 are not printed. Dr. Raghavan has taken immense pains to make the work as perfect as is humanly possible. It is however, curious that the List of Sanskrit Jain and Hindi MSS deposited in the Sanskrit College, Benares, for 1907 and 1908 were not available (p. XXV).

The lists of MSS. furnish some interesting data. Among the handlists not printed, the Ānandāśrama Collection contains the largest number of MSS.,—8518. Trippūṇittura has about 2500 MSS. It may be noted that a few original MSS are (? were) preserved in Strassburg. Among very small collections recorded may be mentioned two MSS in the State Library, Ajaigarh State, and one in the Osmania University.

These lists further raise some important points. As Dr. Raghavan collected the information in pre-partition days, one would like to know what has happened to private collections at places now in Pakistan,—especially to the Jaina Bhandars in Western Punjab. It is to be hoped that the MSS collection in Sanskrit and Prakrits in the Universities of Punjab (pre-partition) and Dacca are well looked after. We do not know whether the East Punjab University has been allotted some part of the MSS collection of the old Punjab University.

Equally important is the care and preservation of MSS in private collection in Bhārata (India). Bühler, Peterson, Kielhorn, Bhandarkar (R. G. and

S. R.), Kathavate and others on this side of India, and Stein., Oppert, Bendall, Mitra, H. P. Sastri, Hiralal and others in other parts have recorded hundreds of MSS in private collections. When the University of Bombay recently acquired the Nirantar Collection catalogued by Bhandarkar, it was found that several of the MSS described in Bhandarkar's Report were missing. Similar must be the case with private-collections catalogued in several Reports and Catalogues. Besides these, Dr. Raghavan refers to a number of collections with private individuals. It is high time provincial governments set up a MSS Survey to report on important MSS and took upon them the preservation of important MSS before these are lost forever. At least microfilms can be kept in the provincial museums. The newly formed Board for Historical Records and Ancient Monuments in Bombay State has rightly taken the acquisition of ancient MSS as one of its important functions, and we hope it will be able to resuscitate many collections.

Sanskrit being the subject of study in several universities of the world the work is of international importance. To every research scholar who has to work in the field of Sanskrit this is a permanent work of reference and its value cannot be overrated. Dr. Raghavan deserves the thanks of all Sanskritists for this invaluable service, and it is to be hoped that the University of Madras will enable him to complete the work without undue delay.

A. D. P.

Paumasiriohariu: (Padmashri-Charita): Edited by Mr. Madhusudan. Modi & Prof. Harivallabh Bhayani: Published by—Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Price Rs. 4-12-0.

This is a biographical poem in Apabramshia by Dhahil, who assumed the nom de plume of Divya-Drashti. It has been very carefully and efficiently edited by Mr. Modi and Prof. Bhayani, under the inspiring and able guidance of Muni Jina Vijayaji, an experienced editor of ancient texts and a reputed philologist.

The editors have prepared this edition from a single manuscript available to them; their work became all the more difficult on account of various linguistic errors and faulty readings having crept in it by the scribe's inadvertence. And yet they have sincerely tried to come to the most natural readings by supplying the missing syllables, whenever possible, in accordance with the context. Variant readings have been mentioned in the footnotes.

But this original work, even though thus carefully prepared, would have lost half of its value and importance, had it not been prefixed by the introductory essay in Gujarati by Muni Jina Vijayaji. Munishri has given therein an

interesting and scholarly account of the origin and development of Prakrit, Apabhramsha and various modern vernaculars, and has also referred to some outstanding scholars, oriental as well as occidental, who have done some real research work in the field.

Mr. Modi has examined the original manuscript critically and has discussed in Gujarati the phonological and orthographical peculiarities thereof.

Prof. Bhayani also has increased the usefulness and worth of this edition by giving a flowingly simple Gujarati prose translation of the whole poem, and by explaining difficult words in simple Gujarati, with Sanskrit Tatsama synonyms wherever possible. He has also written a critical and scholarly note on the language and metres of the work, and the general nature of such biographical poems in Apabramsha literature.

The book is bound to be greatly useful to the student of comparative philology in general and of Apabramsha in particular. The value of the work would have been increased very much if the introduction had been written in English. The editors, however, deserve our warm and cordial congratulations for the valuable service they have rendered to the otherwise neglected field.

27th July

H. R. K.

Jayadāman : a collection of ancient texts on Sanskrit prosody, edited by Prof. H. D. Velankar as No. 1 of the Haritoṣamālā Series, published by the Haritoṣa Samiti, Bombay. Pp. Foreword (pp. 1-3), Preface (pp. 4-6), General Introduction by Prof. H. D. Velankar—(pp. 7-60), Sanskrit texts on metres (pp. 1-113), a classified list of Sanskrit metres (pp. 114-160) and Index of the names of metres (161-175). *Price Rs. Ten.*

Prof. Velankar of the Wilson College, Bombay, has been well-known among scholars for his studies in Vedic literature, the Prakrits and Apabhramṣa, the Jaina Literature and in Metres. He has also gathered round himself a band of devoted and distinguished pupils. In grateful recognition of the great debt they owe to their teacher the students of Prof. Velankar started a registered Society called the Haritoṣa Samiti. The word Haritoṣa has a triple aspect. It refers to God *Hari*, to the late Prof. *Hari* Mahadeo Bhadkamkar of the Wilson College under whom Prof. Velankar learnt and also to Prof. *Hari* Damodar Velankar himself who has held the post of the Professor of Sanskrit at the Wilson College for over thirty years with great distinction and has carried on the great traditions established by Prof. H. M. Bhadkamkar. One of the objects of the Haritoṣa Samiti is to publish the research work done by Prof. Velankar and his students. The present work is the first of the series of works,

which the Haritoṣa Samiti propose to bring out. The present work bears a significant name. As in the case of the name of the Samiti, Jayadāman suggests several things. It alludes to the glorious ties of affection between Prof. Velankar and his pupils ; at the same time it suggests the names of the several authors whose works are included here viz. the works on Sanskrit metres by Jayadeva with a commentary by Harṣaṭa, son of Bhaṭṭa Mukula, and the Chandonuśāsana of Jayakīrti. The name also conveys the idea that the work binds into one rope the four strands represented by the four works published here. The other two works here included are the Vṛttaratnākara of Kedārabhaṭṭa and the Kāvyaṅuśāsana of the Jaina Ācārya Hemacandra. These four are, excepting Piṅgala and Bharata, the most important works in Sanskrit on metres. All students of Sanskrit and particularly those who desire to make a special study of metres would be under a deep debt of gratitude to Prof. Velankar for this work. The value of the publication is greatly enhanced by the inclusion of a learned introduction by Prof. Velankar, in which he treats of the origin and growth of Sanskrit metres, makes critical remarks upon the four works on metrics included here and discusses the question of the dates of the writers of these works and of some of their commentators. At the end he gives several valuable indices viz. a classified list of Sanskrit metres (Samacatuṣpadī, Varnaṅvṛtta Daṇḍaka, Varnaṅvṛtta Ardhasamacatuṣpadī, Viṣamacatuṣpadī, Mātrāṅvṛtta Dvīpadī and Catuspadī). Lastly he gives an alphabetical list of all metres treated in the four works. Altogether this is a most creditable performance and makes a valuable contribution to the study of Sanskrit metres. The only fault that can be found is that there are many printer's mistakes. But एको हि दोषो गुणसंनिपाते निमज्जति ।

P. V. K.

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