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EDITED BY

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CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF PUNCH-MARKED COINS—III
THE PAILA HOARD

BY

D. D. KOSAMBI

The hoard originally consisted of 1245 silver punch-marked coins found at the village of Paila in the Kheri district of U. P. in 1912 (misprinted 1922 W. 15). Of these, 1014 are now deposited in the Lucknow Museum. The group is in its own way unique and important because the coins have an unusual weight-standard, are punched on a rare system of four (instead of the far commoner five) obverse marks, have a reverse mark system which is undoubtedly shared by pre-Mauryan coins found at Taxila; and finally because of the large numbers which make an accurate statistical analysis possible.

1. PRESENT STATE OF THE HOARD.

The coins are now kept in the U.P. State Museum at Lucknow. They were sent on loan to the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research at Bombay, by order of Śrī (formerly Sir) Homi P. Mody, then Governor of Uttara Pradeśa (formerly the United Provinces), for accurate weighing and close study. His kind intervention, for which I am particularly grateful, ended ten years of futile correspondence with others which had rarely succeeded in getting so much as an answer. The coins were sent in two separate lots, with a typed description which seems to be identical with the list published on pages 39-78 in a paper by E.H.C. Walsh (W=*J. Num. Soc. Ind.* 2, 1940, 15-78). Walsh completed his examination of the original coins in 1928, his report being made to the museum at that date (W. 17) though his name does not appear in the copy sent to me, nor in any of the letters received from the Museum authorities till the time of writing (December 1951).

Walsh states that he returned the coins to Lucknow in 1928 "with each coin placed in a separate envelope, with the Class, Obverse Marks, Reverse Marks, Weights, and other particulars noted on them" (W. 17). As received at Bombay, however, some envelopes contained more than one coin, though in such cases the descriptions agreed, being generally coins with the same obverse and blank reverse ; on such envelopes, just one weight is entered, apparently a crude average for the coins. The minimum unit for the weighing seems to be a quarter of a grain and only 436 of the coins had been weighed (W. 27). None of the weights given are reliable even when the envelope contains just one coin so that reweighing would have been necessary in any case. But there is one very serious additional reproach that has to be made ; in spite of Walsh's careful work on the coins, and in spite of the six months taken at the Lucknow museum to make an inventory, the coins do not always match the descriptions on the containing envelopes. The most probable explanation is that some of the coins have not been put back into their proper containers; this seems all the more likely because the coins displaced are generally those which were set aside for making casts, or for the excellent photographs published by Walsh in the last three plates of his paper. This also suggests that the interchange was completed at the time the coins were finally packed for return to Lucknow.

In most cases, the coin can be identified by means of the descriptions on its own or some other envelope, but one misplacement is serious. This refers to the coin now under No. 1005, the last envelope of the collection. The official description is "defective coin, obverse surface flaked off. Only mark 2a (Taurine in a shield) identifiable". The weight as printed is 37·5 grains, as entered on the envelope 27·25 grains. But the actual specimen is "round" and the heaviest coin in the hoard. It should have weighed 55 or 56 grains on Walsh's balances for it weighs 3·618 grams on mine. No coin of the entire hoard is given as having this weight, though the piece now in 983 fits the description on envelope 1005. It would be of the utmost importance to know whether this specimen (whose marks are unidentifiable) really belongs to the Paila hoard, or is a stray intruder by exchange during the period of the hoard's reappearance ; it looks much the same as the rest.

Still worse is the fact that only the few specimens set apart for special examination, casts, and photographs have been carefully cleaned, to the extent of presenting a burnished appearance, though the surface in some cases shows (under magnification) regular scratches that one can only ascribe to the cleaners. The rest of the coins have either not been cleaned at all or cleaned in a per-

functory manner. For, they are so blackened as to soil the hand, and many show encrustation in small decuprified patches, some of which may conceal reverse marks. This lack of uniformity in cleaning wastes a great deal of the available statistical information. The heavy penalties agreed upon for tampering with the coins made it impossible to risk cleaning the specimens at Bombay. I weighed each coin separately on (Oertling) chainomatic analytic balances, to 1/10 of a milligram, and entered the weight as well as my description of the coin upon its own index card. After that, the coin was replaced in the envelope wherein it was received at Bombay, unchanged except for dirt rubbed off in handling, and returned to Lucknow. These painful details are given only as warning to any successor who may attempt a further examination ; another necessary warning is that Walsh's table A can not be trusted.

2. RESULTS OF STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

The main purpose of the careful weighing of every coin is to determine the chronological order of the major groups. My hypothesis is that the hoard was deposited at one time, from coins in actual circulation at that time ; the loss of weight would *ceteris paribus* tell us the relative age of the groups. Walsh differs as regards this main assumption (W. 24), apparently treating this hoard, perhaps hoards in general, as "rather in the nature of a family bank in which deposits were made from time to time and may have been made for successive generations, and from which money would be withdrawn as it was required, and that was not the order in which it was deposited in the hoard." The statement seems unjustified here, seeing that the Paila hoard was contained in an *earthen* pot (W. 15), which could hardly last over many generations of deposit and withdrawal. It seems to me that such hoards were mostly buried at the time of some impending catastrophe to the man in possession ; flights due to invasion by a foreign army and perhaps to epidemics would be major causes for burial and non-recovery.

The weight will not be exactly the same even for two coins of the same date of issue, nor the loss due to circulation identical from year to year for any two coins. However, the effect on the average of *groups* is quite marked, and a good indication of chronological order, provided the coins have not suffered unusual damage. The important point here is *that the reverse marks, as for the Taxilan pre-Mauryan coins, represent a system nearly as regular in time though independent of the obverse.* We take the weights of coins individually (discarding damaged or doubtful specimens) tabulate the coins according to the number of reverse marks, and try to see how much of the weight variation is explained by a regular fall against each additional reverse mark; this is the "linear regression". There will be some unexplained variation left over, some of which is due to

differences at the time of minting, and to other unknown effects, the rest being ascribed to deviations from regression. The results are summarized in technical language in table I.

Table I: Analysis of variance

source	d.f.	sum sq.	mean sq.	F	reg. coeff.
A : (all coins less 24 damaged)					
regression	1	75903		7.26**	- 4.37
deviation	10	138384	13838.4	1.32	
residual	937	9797559	10456.3		
total	948	1001846	10561.0		
B : (type <i>a</i> coins, groups I-III)					
regression	1	24375		2.42	- 4.14
deviation	8	143036	17879.6	1.77	
residual	445	4483808	10076.0		
total	454	4651219	10245.0		
C : (type <i>b</i> coins, groups I-V)					
regression	1	94822		8.98**	- 6.98
deviation	9	162924	18012.7	1.71	
residual	407	4298321	10561.0		
total	417	4556067	10925.8		

This tells us that the reverse marks are in all probability regular in time but that they behave differently for groups *a* and *b*. This division occurs only in groups I, II, III, *a* being that lot where the elephant faces right, and *b* to the left. It is a feature of the Paila coins that every major class has animals facing left, whereas elsewhere the animals almost invariably face right. Now the *a* division, which does not occur in all classes, is decidedly less regular with respect to the reverse marks, and the coins, (particularly *Ia* with blank reverse) have been roughly handled in antiquity, so that the variation within *Ia*-blank reverse is not normal (Gaussian), as would otherwise be expected. Some seventeen coins at least have to be discarded as being far underweight with respect to the average and norm of variation for the subgroup. As this procedure is rather dangerous, it would be safer to omit division *a* altogether when comparing averages. The reason for this unevenness seems to be that *the trade guilds responsible for the reverse marks operated with greater frequency in the region of issue of left-facing Paila coins, than of the right-facing.*

We now have three criteria for chronological order, namely average weight, average number of reverse marks, and maximum number of reverse marks. But for the irregular flaking and encrustation observed, the first would be the surest guide for such large groups ; here we cannot take it unsupported. The average number of reverse marks is suspect at least in group *a*, as indicated. Finally, the maximum number of reverse marks is a good indication where the groups are large in the number of representatives, but not to be taken by itself where just a couple of coins survive, by accidents of sampling. In that case, the average number of reverse marks would be somewhat better. The average weight is again not sufficient, inasmuch as worn specimens tend to disappear rapidly from circulation, so that the survivors of old issues are usually far above their proper average weight, and often show less than the due maximum number of reverse marks. My criterion is a linear index figure, calculated by standard methods, from both weight and reverse marks.

3. THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF MAJOR GROUPS

By the criteria of the previous section, the chronological order is to be settled with the aid of another table :

Table II : Statistics by groups (division *b* only)

group	no. coins	wt. (mgm)	variance	max. r. m.	mean r. m.	$\sqrt{\text{r. m.} - 0.5}$	index	<i>b</i> index
I	211	2614.7	13037.0	7	1.9	1.4	2.0	2.9
II	128	2665.7	6796.1	8	3.3	1.8	2.5	3.4
III	53	2686.8	7811.9	2	6.2	0.9	1.6	2.4
IV	17	2673.4	9153.7	5	2.3	1.6	2.2	3.1
V	9	2609.2	5181.4	12	6.1	2.5	3.1	3.7

(if $x = \sqrt{\text{r. m.} + 0.5}$, $y + 2 = \text{weight in grams}$, the index is $x + 2.3y$; *b* index $x + y$, approximately.)

Data for the full index is not given here. All calculations by Mr. S. Raghavachari.

Here, only the first five groups, which are the only ones having enough members for trustworthy statistics, can be included. The chronological order I get is then (*see fig. 1.*).

X-XIII, IX; VI, VII-VIII, V; II, IV, I, III.

The order preferred by Walsh is (W. 23).

IX-XIII, V, II, VII, VI, VIII, IV, I, III.

It is surprising to find that we agree in the relative order of I-V. Walsh's criterion seems to be the *maximum* number of reverse marks on any coin of a group, though he contradicts himself in the actual arrangement ; mine is the index-figure criterion. Now IX differs from X-XIII in having a wheel quite clearly marked, whereas the rest are older, with some sort of a whorl. Also, IX is represented mostly by double obverse coins, which I take to denote a violent change of dynasty, the classic historical model being the counterstriking of Nahapāna's coins by his conqueror Sātakarni in the Joghaltembhi hoard. So, the change occurred soon after IX reigned, whereas X-XIII were of the longer past than IX, whether those four groups represent one king or more. Now VI is the most frequent counterstriking authority, so we can logically place him in the next dynasty, plausibly as its founder, under the assumption that these successors had themselves no other coins before the conquest that are here represented. The change is also proved by changes in the obverse marks, the taurine symbol hereafter being enclosed in a shield. As for VII and VIII, it is not clear to me that they are two different coinages, not just two varieties of the same coin. I place them just after VI. The index worked out for groups I-V when applied to the two coins of VII-VIII places them earlier than IX, but this means nothing as there are just two coins, both unusually heavy.

The remaining five groups are in a totally different category, having enough representatives each for statistical treatment. In counting reverse marks, I generally prefer Walsh's classification to my own, because of his greater concentration upon their characteristics, and should have accepted it without question but for unmistakable evidence that the coins have been mixed. I have taken the data from my own observation. Group I is the largest of all, and would have been easy to place, but for the damage to the coins ; one may conclude that the king had a long and prosperous but nevertheless somewhat disturbed reign. No admissible number of discards from this group will make the average weight heavier than for IV.

One bit of evidence for regularity of the reverse marks is lacking altogether in the Paila hoard, in great contrast to the earlier Taxilan hoard. This is the regular absorption per reverse mark, which we do *not* find at Paila, whether by my own count or by Walsh's. The regularity is upset by the intrusion of group *a*, and does not exist even in *b*, the issues seeming to be quite uneven. My explanation is that the traders who put the reverse marks on the coins were nearer to the issue territory (in the sense of regular communication by trade-routes, not air-line distance on the map) of *b* than of *a*, but further away from both than for Taxila. This is again proved by the reverse marks here being of much the same type as at Taxila, with possibly a slightly larger fabric for the marks themselves. Moreover, such marks occur even on Persian sigloi. On the other hand, the Paila obverse marks have not hitherto been found away from the territory of ancient Kosala.

4. TIME AND PLACE.

These coins have been taken to belong to the ancient kingdom of Kosala by Durgā Prasād (Num. Supplement XLV to the *JASB*, 1934, XXX) in which opinion Walsh seems to concur (W. 28, 15). There seems to be no reason to doubt this, for the district of Kheri certainly belonged to Kosala at the time of the Buddha and earlier (F.E. Pargiter *An. Ind. Historical Tradition* 278-9). The question is of the actual time, which must be settled because, at certain periods, Kosala seems to have denoted a region very far away from the Nepal frontier. Dakṣiṇa Kosala of about the third or fourth century A.D. was the modern Chattisgarh including Bastār state (Pargiter : *Dynasties of the Kālī Age* pp. 51-2, 73). However, that is long after the period of punch-marked coins, which on all known evidence can't have lasted beyond the early Śuṅgas in UP ; on the other hand, coinage as such is not known to have begun before the 7th century B.C. in any part of the world. Thus the land may be taken as definite, on the evidence of the find, and the parallel though negative datum that four-mark coins are not found beyond Mathurā, if indeed the coins acquired from that place by Durgā Prasād were actually fabricated there.

The time of deposit of our hoard cannot be as late as the Mauryan period. For, by then, the Kosalan kingdom had long been an integral part of the Magadhan empire, and the five-mark system as well as the 54-grain standard would have to be expected, whereas the freshest group in our Paila collection, namely III, (206 coins) has an average of 2.67 gm with blank coins of average weight 2.68 (90 coins) and 2.70 (44 coins) gm for groups IIIa and IIIb respectively. This would give the weight standard of the Paila coins as $\frac{3}{4}$ that of the general standard for silver punch-marked coins current elsewhere, which latter norm corresponds to Mohenjo-dāro weight class D, and almost certainly to the classical *kārṣāpaṇa* of 32-*raktikā* (seeds of the *Abrus precatorius*) mass. The four-mark system, wherever found, seems to be of 24 *raktikas*, apparently a special Kosalan standard.

The single aberrant coin described as now occupying No. 1005 is of extreme importance here. It has been hammered out (presumably for recutting to the Paila weight) *after* being punched, but is undoubtedly a round punch-marked coin of the Magadhan (54-grain) standard. Its occurrence shows at least one point of contact between the two systems, and the solitary coin would indicate that Magadhan encroachment had not gone far. If the piece be admitted in evidence, we have support for the approximate period of deposit given above. If, on the other hand, this piece is one day proved to be an intrusion into the original hoard, the guess as to the date of the rest of the hoard is still reasonable. The coin may be that of Ajātaśatru or one of the later Śaiśunagas, from what can be seen of the marks.

Group *b* with its left-facing animals is constant for all the kings I-V, and so must be associated with the earlier developed northern capital, Śrāvasti; the other should be of the southern, Sāketa. If the river were the proper boundary between the two regions, we might take the right and left facing animals to denote the regions of right and left bank of the river. This is a conjecture, that seems to fit all the meagre data. Certainly, the earlier Kosalan trade route passed along the Terai, perhaps through Delhi or Mathura to the west; only later would the expansion to the South take place, presumably with a new set of traders to whom the reverse-mark guilds were still closed. The major trade settlement nearest to Paila would definitely be Śrāvasti. With Mauryan punch-marked coins, the reverse marks die out, to be replaced in general by a single mark of issue at the mint; this would be incomprehensible if the marks were the insignia of Magadhan traders. This also fits in with the reverse marks being so regular at Taxila and being found further west in the Persian empire, though Magadhan later becomes synonymous with trader and the peninsula proper was opened up by Mauryan armies.

5. THE KINGS.

We are now left with the task of restoring king-names, on the reasoned and reasonable assumption that the coins belong to Kosala of the 5th century B.C. or earlier.

The first step is to identify each four-mark group with a king. With the five-mark system starting from Mauryan coins, I have shown that each five-mark group cannot belong to one king, but that each major group, even there, of four marks does indicate one ruler, the fifth being that of the issuing authority, mint, or lieutenant. Here, such minor authority may be indicated by differences in the individual punches of the same general shape, apart from the right and left-facing elephant which we have already tried to explain. The first mark is common to all the coins, much as the sun-wheel is common to all royal five-mark issues, hence has no individual significance beyond the possible indication of sovereignty. By the significance of a mark is not meant its inner, mysterious, perhaps magical and certainly beneficial meaning, or general heraldic content, but special association with some particular individual. The mark is a development of the *triskelis*, three running legs, here not starting from a point but pushed out into the form of a triangle by the central dot; it can be verified from Walsh's photographs, as well as the original coins, that there are two forms of this, as of the *svastika*, where the movement indicated by the legs would be clockwise or anticlockwise. Both occur on the coins. I have not been able to separate their groupings to any purpose. The second mark is the taurine symbol, the Brahmi letter *ma*, which is unenclosed in groups IX-XIII, but in a shield on the rest; this is, on a very few coins, stamped twice presumably by inadvertence. Its universality again frees us from paying too

much attention to its role, which could not be intended to distinguish individuals. The third marks—and it is understood that the numbering is in the order of relative frequency—fall into just three groups : on the oldest, the hexagram of two interpenetrating equilateral triangles with a large central dot ; then the crescent with a hollow circle above it which may be taken as ‘sun-and-moon’ ; and in the freshest and by far the largest set, the elephant, with various fabrics, facing to the right or to the left, but in each further group always with one left-facing subgroup.

The choice before us, therefore, is to take each three-mark group as that of one king, which would give us just three kings ; or of one dynasty, which would then give us three dynasties. I take the latter view. In such a large number of coins, finding only three kings would indicate that coinage was a comparative innovation. But the intruding coin of 32-*raktika* standard, and in any case the diversity and regularity of the reverse marks shows that a general coinage and trade system was prevalent, which is again supported by the large numbers in each later issue. Finally, from the experience of the Taxilan hoard, where the weights were far more accurately preserved and the coins show virtually no damage, we know that it is difficult to separate the individual issues (fifth-mark groups) of one king, whereas the kings themselves generally show separation which is unmistakable. Here, we should expect the separation to be far fainter, because the reverse mark system is more irregular as proved by the absorption. The lower incidence of circulation, and therefore of trade is proved by the lower loss of average weight per reverse mark than at Taxila. Seeing that the marks have so much in common in these two hoards, it is difficult to believe that the placing differed as to periods of time, hence the difference must be due to decidedly *less* circulation than at Taxila. This would increase the irregularity observed.

The main conclusion, therefore, is that *each four-mark group of the Paila hoard represents one king.*

The single group offering the greatest number and variety would be the king with longest rule. This fits group I of the coins, particularly when note is made of the fact that the pentagram has many distinct types, i.e., with no dot visible in any of the angles, with dots in all the angles, and a third variety at least with dots in some but not all the angles. This should indicate king Pasenadi (skt. Prasenajit) of the records, if our guess as to the time of deposit is admitted. The elephant mark for the dynasty is good confirmation in this case, for we have seen that the family was descended from the Mātāngas, which would be the clan totem mark. In that case, the last group is III, and must be of Viḍūḍabha Senāpati. That this hoard was buried during his reign is possible, but a better reason would be the invasion of the kingdom after his death. Thus the negative evidence of the hoard combines with the negative

evidence of the records to make it very likely that there was no Kosalan king after Viḍūḍabha, and the kingdom was soon annexed to Magadha, during or at least not long after Ajātaśatru's reign. Group IV must then be Mahā-kosala, though the name is of a tribal leader, not a personal name. For a complete discussion, the reader may find my preceding paper in this journal (*JBBRAS*, 27, 180-213) of interest.

What the coins tell us about Kosalan dynasties is that a far earlier line with at least two kings striking coins is also represented. It has the hexagram as its dynastic mark. The king whose personal mark was the six-spoked wheel was the last, and there was a violent change in the succession, after which some of the older coins were reissued with marks of the new king, our VI. The new dynasty has the crescent-and-circle for its mark, perhaps the sun and the moon, reminiscent again of the solar and lunar lines of ancient Indian kings. This has an uncertain number of kings, for it is not clear that VII and VIII are different coinages. King V is next in the legitimate line of succession, but it is remarkable that his personal mark, the elephant, becomes the dynastic mark of successors. Presumably, he came to the throne by right and not force; this should represent some sort of marriage alliance between a Mātaṅga clan and the previous rulers. The earliest superseded dynasty would *not* be that of Kāśī, which was supposed to have conquered Kosala at one time, to be defeated in turn and permanently absorbed, unless such coins are found in the Pañcakrośī of Benares. A deep pit, say for a well, scientifically excavated in the fort area at Benares might give the answer to this, but in any case more archaeological evidence is needed. For the present a reasonable guess would be that the oldest coins of the hoard represent the last of the real ancient Ikṣvākus, to be distinguished from successors like Pasenadi and the far later, even more mixed, southern Ikṣvākus whose inscriptions are found in the distant south near the Mahānadi.

The figure gives the coin groups in chronological order. The first column represents the order as I have determined it, the Roman numerals in the second column give Walsh's groups; the next four represent the actual marks found, where it must again be said that there is no special regularity in the right-or-left-turning *triskelis*, that the elephant in nos. 6,8,9 is found facing to the right also. The last column gives the data for ranking, with nos. 5-9 being given one index number each which represents the mean age. For the horizontal lines, that after 2 represents a violent change of dynasty, from the real Ikṣvākus to some conquerors; from 4 to 5 is a peaceful change of dynasty, possibly to the Mātaṅgas by marriage alliance. No. 7 should be the Mahākosala of the Jātakas, 8 the great Pasenadi, coeval with Buddha, and 9 the last Kosalan sovereign Viḍūḍabha Senāpati.





































1	X-XII					19 rm
2	IX					(D. O. old)
3	VI					(D. O. new)
4	VII-VIII					5+ rm
5	V					3·7
6	II					3·4
7	IV					3·1
8	I					2·9
9	III					2·4

Fig. 1 : Chronological order of Paila coins.

GĀRUDATTA AND MṚCCHAKAṬĪKA

By

G. C. JHALA

The controversy regarding the authorship of the thirteen plays ascribed by their discoverer and first publisher to Bhāsa has been rendered more complicated in the case of *Cārudatta* by the question of its relationship with Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika*. As in the case of some other issues of our literary history, there is at present something like a stalemate in the wider controversy regarding the authorship of these plays. All available evidence has been spotted and sifted and all possible arguments have been availed of ; and yet the *Pro-Bhāsa* and *Anti-Bhāsa* opinions remain as divided as ever and are waiting for further evidence to help solve the issue. The present writer is one of those who believe that the plays in question do not seem to be the creations of a single individual, much less of the famous dramatist of antiquity, Bhāsa. Before dealing with the main topic of this note, it will not be amiss to emphasise that *Cārudatta* is the one drama that stands starkly apart from the common prevailing pattern of these plays on the strength of which, to no small extent, their common authorship is postulated. The *Pro-Bhāsa* opinion lays great store by the common formal features, viz., the short stereotyped *Sthāpanā* (Introduction) prefaced by a benedictory stanza and the *Bharatavākya* (the concluding benedictory verse) often with its reference to a king *Rājasīmha*. The *Sthāpanā* of *Cārudatta*, however, is totally unlike this standard pattern in the matter of its size, form and content. Again, while other plays have made even frantic efforts to abide by the technical requirements of a *Bharatavākya* (*Ūrubhaṅga's Bharatavākya* consists of just a single *pāda*), it is remarkable that *Cārudatta* should have dispensed with it altogether both in spirit as well as letter and ended without the hero on the stage. These formal divergences strongly urge against *Cārudatta* having a common authorship with the rest of this group of plays.

To turn to the main point of this brief note. The close correspondence between *Cārudatta* and *Mṛcchakaṭika* has compelled all readers to concede a "genetic" relationship between the two dramas. But, once again, the question whether *Cārudatta* is an abridged recast of *Mṛcchakaṭika* or the latter an amplified version of the former has given rise to a lively controversy, both views having found staunch and eminent supporters. Belvalkar, Morgens-tierne, Sukthankar, Devadhar and many other scholars have dealt with this question but arrived at different conclusions. The balance of probability can be tilted in favour of the one or the other of the two views by some fresh evidence only. Such a piece of evidence appears to be provided by the play itself.

Just about the end of the fourth and last Act,¹ the heroine calls her maid-servant (*ceṭī*) and hails her in a mood of ecstatic self-congratulation with "Friend, look how, even while awake, I have seen a dream here!" The *Ceṭī* replies in a highly responsive vein with "*Pīam me, amudaṅkaṅāḍāam saṁvuttam*" (*Priyam me, amṛtāṅka-nāṭakam saṁvṛttam*). The mention of *amṛtāṅka-nāṭakam* is both unexpected and enigmatic and its interpretation and explanation have proved baffling and vexatious. Devadhar following Woolner and Sarup translates it with "Ambrosial Act" almost with an air of helplessness. Wondering why the word has been used and what it signifies, he asks, "Can it be the name of a class of plays? Can it be the author's commendation of his own work?" T. Ganapati Shastri has reported that the third Act of *Pratijñāyauḅandharāyāna* is called '*Mantrāṅka*' by the Cakyars who staged that Act alone without the others. This analogy obviously is inadmissible in this case, because the word *Amṛtāṅka* occurs in the body of the work; secondly, the fourth Act of *Cārudatta* is not known to have been staged all by itself; and, thirdly, the entire play (*nāṭaka*) is here referred to. The parallel of "Amṛtāṅko nāṭakāṅkaḥ" which is Devadhar's conjectural amendment of *Amṛdaṅgo*° in *Padmaprābhṛtaka* is interesting and, up-to a point, helpful in understanding the meaning here. *Mṛcchakatika* has no knowledge of this word.

Now, it is obvious that the employment of such an unexpected and intriguing word must have been resorted to with a definite purpose. The *Ceṭī* speaks in Prakrit; and whoever has been the author of this play has very cleverly sought to take advantage of a *double entendre* in the sentence: *amudaṅka-ṅāḍāam saṁvuttam*:—which may also mean—must have been intended to mean—"Amṛdaṅka-nāṭakam Saṁvṛttam:" i.e. the drama has ended, its Acts having no clay (*Na Vidyate mṛd yeṣu te amṛdah, amṛdah aikāḥ yasya tat*) or the drama has ended without being marked by clay (*Na vidyate mṛd eva aikāḥ yasmin tat*). The use of the word *mṛd* is a clear hint at "Mṛccakatikā" (the little clay-cart) which is the central *motif* of, and gives the title to, Śūdraka's play. As if not to leave his intentions in ambiguity, the author adds a reference to *Durdina*

¹ The concluding part of *Cārudatta* is reproduced here for facility of reference :

(प्रविश्य)

चेटी—अज्जुए ! इअहि ।

गणिका—हज्जे ! पेख्ख जागरन्तीए मए सिविणो दिट्ठो । एवं ।

चेटी—पिअं मे, अमदुंक्कणाडअं संवुत्तं ।

गणिका—एहि इमं अळङ्कारं गह्णिअ अय्यचारुदत्तं अभिसरिस्सामो ।

चेटी—अज्जुए ! तह । एदं पुण अभिसारिआसहाअभूदं दुदिणं उण्णमिदं ।

गणिका—हदासे ! मा हू वड्ढावेहि ।

चेटी—एदु एदु अज्जुआ ।

(निष्क्रान्ते ।)

(the rainy day) which is the title of the fifth Act of *Mṛcchakatika*. He intends to convey through the heroine's words "mā khalu vardhaya" that his abridged version is to end there. The strange-looking expression *amudanka-nūḍaam* has thus a conscious purpose behind its use and the dramatist has achieved it by fully exploiting the possibilities of the Prakrit speech of the Ceṭī. Here, perhaps, is as important and brilliant a piece of paronomastic expression in Prakrit as that other more famous one : *Saundalāvaṇṇam pekkha*.

Cārudatta would thus be an abridged version of Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakatika*.

THE ORIGIN OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS

By

B. G. GOKHALE

The Gupta dynasty to which Samudra Gupta's heroic exploits gave an extensive habitation and an imperial name has its roots buried in the realms of obscure antiquity. True it is that the famous Allahabad Pillar Inscription gives us a detailed genealogy of the family commencing with Śrī Gupta but neither in it nor anywhere else do the Gupta monarchs deign to give us information about their caste or *gotra*. It is only in the Poona plates of Prabhāvatī Guptā that we are told that the *gotra* to which the Guptas belonged was Dhāraṇa.¹ It is, however, curious that the Gupta kings themselves should forget to mention their own *gotra* in all their inscriptions and that it should devolve upon the daughter of Candra Gupta II to make the solitary mention of this significant fact of her parental dynastic history. It looks as if this silence is a result not so much of careless drafting as of deliberate omission. Referring to the mention of this Dhāraṇa *gotra* the late Dr. K. P. Jayswal advanced the evidence from the *Kaumudī-mahotsava* and concluded that the Guptas were Kāraskaras by caste and that "the word *gotra* in Prabhāvatī Guptā's inscription (Poona Plates) would mean a caste-sub-division. Dhaṅṛi, the jat clan found in Amritsar, may be compared with the sanskrit Dhāraṇa of Prabhāvatī Guptā".² But of the authenticity of the *Kaumudī-mahotsava* as a source for the reconstruction of the early history of the Imperial Guptas we need only point out that the work has been rightly denied that claim by majority of the scholars and that its value lies in its only being diverting and conjectural.³ The name Gupta is a term of very frequent occurrence in early Indian literature. Pāṇini names a Guptārāma;⁴ a *Jātaka* story has Guptā as the name of one of the seven daughters of Kikī, a king of Banaras;⁵ a Samchi inscription makes mention of a *śapurisa Gotiputa*—good man, son of Goti (Gaupti);⁶ a Sonari Stūpa inscription refers to a Dudubhisara, a *Gotiputa*;⁷ the Barhut gateway inscription names the *Gotiputa Dhanabhūti*;⁸ an Icchawar Buddhist statuette inscription refers to Mahādevī, queen of Haridāsa, sprung

¹ *Epigraphia India*, XV, pp. 42-43.

² *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, XII, p. 50 also see *History of India*, Pp. 114, 116.

³ See Majumdar and Altekar, *A New History of the Indian People*, VI, the Gupta-Vākāṭaka Age, p. 133, Note, 2.

⁴ *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, VI, 2, 90.

⁵ *Jātaka*, VI, p. 481.

⁶ Lüders' *List of Brāhmi Inscriptions*, No. 663.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 150.

⁸ Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 1.

from the Gupta race.⁹ The name does not seem to have any specific caste significance for, we find a Guptā and a Samitigupta mentioned in the verses of the Buddhist nuns and monks who are described as Brāhmaṇas.¹⁰ The *Mṛcchakaṭika* has a prince Guptāyaka who was obviously a Kṣatriya.¹¹ The *Divyāvadāna* speaks of Upagupta¹² as the son of a perfumer who may be presumed to belong to the Vaiśya caste while the *Mahāvamsa* tells us of a Gupta or Guptaka, a Tamil usurper, a horse-stealer by profession.¹³ The name Gupta is thus very widely distributed both with reference to its caste implications as well as locale and does not, therefore, help us much in understanding the social origin of the Imperial Guptas.

It has been stated that the Imperial Guptas were "low" in origin. It is pointed out that the "Guptas were, comparatively speaking, people of low birth who raised themselves to a higher social status by their political greatness", and that "the Guptas themselves nowhere disclose their origin or caste status as if they have purposely concealed it".¹⁴ But such adjectives as "low" or "high" are not very helpful if they are not precisely defined. The Licchavis, as we shall see later, were considered to be very "low" by Brāhmaṇical Law-givers like Manu while in their own estimation they considered themselves to be very "high" indeed. In this context, perhaps, the marriage of Candra Gupta I with Kumāradevī may give us a significant point of deeper investigation in relation to the social implications involved therein.

The marriage of Candra Gupta I with Kumāradevī was an event of great significance in the early history of the Gupta dynasty. It is prominently referred to in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta where the emperor is proudly described as "the son of the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Candra Gupta (I) (and) the daughter's son of Licchavi, begotten on the Mahādevī Kumāradevī".¹⁵ This event of the Gupta-Licchavi matrimonial alliance was considered to be so important as to have merited commemoration in the form of a special issue of coins bearing the figures of Candra Gupta I and Kumāradevī with the legend "Licchavis" on the reverse.¹⁶ That this event was regarded as deserving of the highest significance in their dynastic history by the Imperial Guptas themselves is further attested by the epithet "*Licchavi-dauhitra*" used in reference to Samudra Gupta in the Gupta records even down to the latest period. Its political importance was obvious as it has been inferred that by this union the territories of the Guptas and the Licchavis,

⁹ Lüders' *List*, No. 11.

¹⁰ *Therī-gāthā*, Verses, 163-168; *Thera-gāthā*, No. 81.

¹¹ *Mṛcchakaṭika*, VII, 2, 3.

¹² *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 349-351.

¹³ *Mahāvamsa*, p. 10.

¹⁴ Jayswal, *History of India*, p. 114.

¹⁵ Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*, pp. 15-16

¹⁶ Allen, *Catalogue of Indian Coins—Gupta Dynasties*, p. 8.

which lay contiguous to each other were merged leading to the foundation of the Gupta empire itself. As Vincent Smith observed "Kumāradevi evidently brought to her husband as her dowry valuable influence, which in the course of a few years secured to him a paramount position in Magadha and the neighbouring countries".¹⁷ But the gain for the Guptas was as much social as it was political and it is this point, when considered in some detail, that is likely to throw some interesting light on the social origin of the Imperial Guptas.

The clan of the Licchavis figures very prominently in the annals of early Buddhism. They are invariably described as *khāttiyas* Kśatriyas—and their assembly is compared to that of the Tāvatiṃ devas. Of their origin Buddhaghosa has the following to relate in his *Paramatthajotikā*—the commentary on the *Khuddaka-pāṭha*—: "It came to pass that the chief queen of the king of Banaras was with child. When her time came, she was delivered, not of a child, but a lump of flesh, of the colour of lac and of Bandhu and Jivaka flowers. Fearing the displeasure of the king if he should hear of this, the queen put the lump of flesh into a casket marked with the royal seal and placed it in the flowing waters of the Ganges. However, a certain god, wishing to provide for its safety, wrote with a piece of cinnabar on a slip of gold the words, the child of the chief queen of the king of Banaras, tied it to the casket and replaced it in the river. The casket was discovered by an ascetic, and taken by him to his hermitage, where he cared for the lump of flesh. After the lapse of some time, the lump broke up into two pieces of flesh, which gradually assumed shape, till finally one of them became a boy resplendent like gold, and the other a girl. Whatever entered the stomach of these two infants looked as if put into a vessel of precious transparent stone (*maṇi*) so that they seemed to have no skin (*nicchavi*). Others said : the two were attached to each other by their skin, (*līna cchavi*) as if they had been sewn together, so that these infants came to be designated Licchavis".¹⁸ This is obviously a fanciful interpretation of the two variant forms of the name—*Nicchavi* and *Licchavi*—whose precise meaning Buddhaghosa does not seem to know. But the significant point in the narrative comes further on when we are told that on coming of age the boy and girl were married to each other and from this brother and sister union sprang the race of the Licchavis. Vincent Smith thought that the Licchavis were of Tibetan origin while in the opinion of Satischandra Vidyabhusana their customs indicate strong Persian affinities. In this connection it is tempting to refer to the remarkable similarity between the two stories concerned with the origins of the Licchavi and Śākya races both of which are ascribed to brother and sister union.¹⁹ The *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* describes the Licchavis as Vratyas, clearly implying thereby that they were outside the pale of the

¹⁷ *Early History of India* (1924), p. 295.

¹⁸ See Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 296.

¹⁹ *Sumangalavilāsinī*. I, p. 258.

Brāhmanical Aryan civilization.²⁰ B.C. Law emphasizes the fact that the Licchavis are invariably described as Kṣatriyas. But the term *khattiya*, as used in the Pāli texts, is generally of a connotation which implies more of political power than membership of the second order in the Brāhmanical social hierarchy. Richard Fick has aptly pointed out that the Pāli term *khattiya* stands for "representatives of political power" and symbolizes "the idea of a community which stands above the family, above the caste, the idea, namely of the state".²¹ It has also been remarked that the "Licchavis were self-styled and not real Kṣatriyas. They were called so either through courtesy or on account of the fear they had inspired in the minds of their neighbours by their political ascendancy". They were one of the foremost of the republican tribes in the early days of Buddhism and they seem to have preserved this republican character even upto the days of Candra Gupta I as the legend of the Licchavis—on the Candra Gupta-Kumāradevī coins would indicate. They were immensely proud of their lineage and their laws forbade a Licchavi girl being given in marriage to an outsider.²² This rule would have even more rigorous application in the case of the marriage of a scion of a ruling family as Kumāradevī undoubtedly was. In this context, then, it is permissible to conclude that the Guptas must have belonged to a clan which was racially and socially similar to, if not closely related to, the clan of the Licchavis to make it possible for Candra Gupta I marry Kumāradevī. It is, therefore, permissible to conclude that like the Licchavis, the Guptas belonged originally to a non-Brāhmanical-Aryan racial and social *milieu* and were a late entrant to the Brāhmanical cultural fold. The Imperial Guptas affected high-sounding titles like *vikramāditya* and *kramāditya*, partly in imitation of their Kuṣāṇa predecessors in the imperial tradition but partly also due to the natural enthusiasm of a new convert. The performance of the horse-sacrifice, devotion to Brāhmanical religious duties and sacred scriptures as pointedly referred to in the case of Samudra Gupta are all indications of an enthusiasm of a late entrant to the hierarchy and cultural system of the emergent Brāhmaṇism. With this background in view, therefore, it becomes easy to explain as to why the Guptas were reticent about their caste and *gotra* in their official records. Like the Licchavis they may have considered themselves as *khattiyas* not so much in the Brāhmanical hierarchical sense as in the sense of a ruling class and in the context of their recent social background the term "caste" as understood in the tradition of the Brāhmanical Law-Books had little validity in their case. A description like "Low" born, therefore, is hardly warranted by the evidence before us.

²⁰ *Mānava-dharmasāstra*, X, 20, 22.

²¹ *Social Organization in North-East India in Buddha's Time* (Trans. by Maitra), p. 81. Hermann Oldenberg, however, thinks Fick to be far too sceptical about the real significance of *khattiya*, See *Indian Antiquary* XLIX, p. 227.

²² Chakravarty, "The origin of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī" *Indian Historical Quarterly*, IX, pp. 58-59.

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER

APOSTOLIC NUNCIO

1542-52

By

G. M. MORAES

When, by his bull *Aequum Reputamus* of 3rd November 1534, Pope Paul III first constituted the Diocese of Goa, it comprised not only the Portuguese possessions in the Orient, but also a part of Africa, India, China and Japan—in fact, the entire hemisphere to the east of the Cape of Good Hope. The Diocese had been carved out of the old Episcopal See of Funchal in Madeira to which these territories originally belonged, and of which the Bishop of Goa now became the Saffragan.¹ D. João III, the King of Portugal, selected as its first incumbent D. João de Albuquerque, a Franciscan friar, who arrived in Goa on the 25th March 1538 by the same fleet which also brought the Viceroy, D. Garcia de Noronha. But the long and tedious voyage had so told on his constitution, that it was not until a year later, when he had sufficiently regained his health, that the new Bishop could inaugurate the Cathedral and institute the Chapter.²

We do not know what special reasons the Portuguese monarch had in mind, when he selected Albuquerque for this important post. It was evident, however, that in order to organize this unwieldy diocese, the Bishop had to be a man of rare organising capacity and ability. But, from what we know of him from his subsequent career, Albuquerque was anything but an organizer. As a matter of fact, vice had eaten so deeply into the vitals of the empire that it needed a man of apostolic vigour at the head of the Church to save the state from ruin. The Portuguese were no doubt on the whole a religious and well-meaning people. But a number of them that had braved the perils of the seas in following the fidalgos to the Indies belonged to the lower strata. They were mostly young unmarried men, and living, as they did, amongst peoples of easy morals, they had soon taken to their life of ease and comfort and sensual pleasures. The slave markets of the East were usually sampled with women of every race, and the Portuguese had followed the example of the

¹ A. B. de Bragança Pereira, "Historia Religiosa de Goa," *O Oriente Portugues*, Nos. 2 & 3 (1932), pp. 56-57; D. Feroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, (Bangalore: Bangalore Press, 1939), Vol. I, p. 115.

² Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, Vol. II, p. 17; Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da India*, Vol. IV, p. 10, cited by Bragança Pereira, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

natives in providing themselves with a choicest selection.³ Nor were the married ones an exception to this rule. According to a mission letter of the times, 'they were so steeped in vice that they spent twenty or thirty years without caring to remember that they were married, neither providing for, nor even writing to their wives at home.'⁴ It had then become a fashion not to approach the sacraments, and the few that approached them, even if it be once a year, were looked upon as hypocrites; so that, observes Valignano,⁵ writing on the spiritual condition of the period, 'people who wished to see Jesus were afraid to do so by day and sought Him like Nicodemus at night.'⁶

To make matters worse, since the days of the Governor, Lopo Soares, the Portuguese officials had been permitted to engage in private trade, a practice against which the first viceroy, Francisco de Almeida, had protested to the Portuguese Crown as far back as 1508 that 'nothing will be well done so long as your officers of justice and revenue engage in trade.'⁷ And the Crown had given heed to this warning and prevented its officials from trading on their own account so that in the time of the great Afonso de Albuquerque, the Portuguese, devoting themselves to the service of God and their King, had risen very high in the estimation of all the eastern people—as a sort of knight errants.⁸ But now that they appeared in the role of mere merchants solely bent on making money, they had lost all that credit in the eyes of the natives. The enormous profits which they made violated all principles of right and justice and were clearly unconscionable. They committed piracy on the high seas and extortion on land,⁹ with the result that the Portuguese administration, as Burke said of the administration of the East India Company, in similar circumstances at a later date, was 'stinking to heaven'.

Nor was the condition of the clergy as such in any way better. Feeling the need of Indian auxiliaries, in the propagation of the faith, D. Fernando Vaqueiro, one of the early bishops to be deputed to India, had, as early as 1534, ordained a number of Indian priests, and Indians had continued to be admitted to the priesthood ever since.¹⁰ But at Cranganore (near Cochin) and Cape Comorian, some of the young Indians who had been ordained were

³ Alessandro Valignano, *Historia del Principio y Progreso de la Compania de Jesus en las Indias Orientales* 1542-64, ed. Josef Wicki (new ed.; Rome: Institutum Historicum, S.J., 1944), pp. 47-48.

⁴ Josephus Wicki, *Documenta Indica* 1540-1549 (Rome: apud "Monumenta Historica Soc. Jesu, 1948), I, 97, 16, Magister Fernandes Sardinha to D. João III.

⁵ The famous organizer of the Jesuit missions in the East, who was sent out as the Vicar-General and Visitor in 1574. His above work (see note 3) contains one of the earliest biographical accounts of St. Francis Xavier.

⁶ Valignano, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁷ Correia, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 897, cited by Bragança Pereira, *op. cit.*, OP, No. 5 (1933), p. 137.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 517; Valignano, *op. cit.* p. 49.

¹⁰ Henrique Bravo de Morais, deão da sé de Goa, *Noticia de como e quando se erigiu a cathedral de Goa e dos Bispos e Arcebispos que nella houze*, 1722, MSS. de Bib. Nac. de Lisboa, cited by Bragança Pereira, *op. cit.*, OP, No. 4 (1932), p. 18.

leading scandalous and disorderly lives—evidently taking their cue from the European clergy, among whom it was not unusual to find rakes, murderers and gourmands. Some of these priests had even taken to the profession of arms, and joining the armadas had entirely forgotten their sacred character. There were even among them, some who, though not ordained, had been celebrating Mass for years.¹¹

And yet, the Bishop, whose duty it was to suppress these abuses with a stern hand, was lenient in his dealings with the clergy, for fear, as Gaspar Correa, the historian, truly observes, that 'being a Spaniard and therefore a foreigner among the Portuguese, any strong action on his part might be attributed to his native Castillian severity.'¹² It was with utter disgust, therefore, that Cosme Anc, Controller of the Finances, a position next to that of the Governor, wrote to D. João III: "The Bishop, albeit a very virtuous man and a good prelate himself, is too slack and spineless for what is wanted here. Nor can he do anything more, because of the Governors, who wish to play the rôle of the King in the exercise of their powers; and he is so timid that he dare not speak anything except what pleases them."¹³

Nothing was therefore to be expected from this lukewarm prelate. And the King, being himself a fervent Christian, was possibly beginning to despair of ever being able to promote the spiritual and moral welfare of his subjects in his eastern possessions, when he heard of St. Ignatius and his companions, who in a spirit of self-abnegation had placed themselves at the service of the Church prepared to go out to any place, and the results of whose selfless ministry were being felt every day.¹⁴ When the Society of Jesus received the approbation of the Holy See, he applied to the Pope to let him have the benefit of the services of some of their number. The choice fell on Simon Rodrigues, the first Portuguese companion of St. Ignatius, and the Castillian Bobadilla. Bobadilla falling ill, at the nick of time, Francis Xavier was substituted in his place.¹⁵ The Portuguese King retained Rodrigues at his capital and prevailed upon Ignatius to send Xavier to India to accomplish the task on which he had set his heart.¹⁶

The object of D. João was nothing less than a complete re-orientation of the ecclesiastical organisation of his eastern empire. He commissioned Xavier to visit all the fortified stations in the East and to suppress any laxity of morals

¹¹ Wicki, *op. cit.*, I, 97, 13.

¹² Correa, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 10, cited by Bragança Pereira, *op. cit.* OP, Nos. 2 & 3, p. 59.

¹³ Wicki, *op. cit.*, I, 32, 3.

¹⁴ Torre do Tombo, *Corpo Chron* P. I, Maço 60, doc. 119, cited by Bragança Pereira, *op. cit.*, OP, No. 4, pp. 26-27.

¹⁵ Francisco Rodrigues, *Historia da companhia de Jesus*, Vol. I, p. 164, cited by Bragança Pereira, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹⁶ Baltazar Teles, *Cronica da companhia de Jesus na Provincia de Portugal*, cited by Bragança Pereira, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

he might find there. He was specially to concern himself with missions to the non-Christians, and confirmation in the faith of the newly baptized. Xavier was thus charged with the dual rôle of a reformer of morals and a founder of missions. And in order that he might carry out his task without let or hindrance on the part of the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities in India, D. João asked and received from the Supreme Pontiff the favour that Xavier be appointed Apostolic Nuncio.^{16a}

II

WITH PORTUGUESE CHRISTIANS

On arriving in Goa, the metropolis of the East, in the year 1542, after a voyage of more than twelve months, Xavier took up his quarters at the Royal Hospital and devoted earnestly to the task of raising the moral tone of the city by the example of his holy life, the fervour of his preaching, and the instructions he gave in the Christian doctrine. His stay at the capital was a daily round of duties—confessing, preaching, nursing the sick, visiting the prisoners, and reconciling the enemies. He supported these and thousand other works of charity by continual prayer in which he spent the greater part of the night. And so by his public preaching as well as by personal contacts he induced in the people a sense of their guilt. He instilled in them the fear of eternal torments which was to be the portion of an evil life here on earth, and persuaded them to change their ways. His mornings were filled with hearing confessions of the penitents, whom his irresistible affability and suavity of manners and gentleness of dealing and holy example had brought to his confessional. And they all went away grateful that through this messenger of His they had at long last made their peace with God, and resolved never to return to their life of sin.

Xavier was a real ministering angel to the sick in the hospitals and the inmates of the prisons, helping them spiritually with advice to bear their cross manfully, and materially with alms to relieve them in their numerous daily necessities. Thus, by his unremitting service and simplicity of life and pleasing ways, he won the hearts of the Portuguese at Goa to whom the very name of a priest had been an anathema.

He loved to teach the Christian doctrine to the children and the slave population of the city, and in order that they may learn it all the easier, he had the Catechism composed in plain and simple Portuguese, and was the first to initiate the practice which soon spread of singing it to a popular tune. As

^{16a} João de Lucena, *Historia da vida do padre S. Francisco de Xavier*, Tom. I, liv. I, cap. I, cited by Bragança Pereira, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

the local Christians did not understand Portuguese and usually dozed off, when explanation was given in that language, he had the Christian doctrine repeated to them in Konkani on Sundays and holidays. Thus the apostolate of Xavier worked a veritable religious revival in this eastern metropolis of the Portuguese.¹⁷

The self-same methods were followed in the other Portuguese settlements which Xavier subsequently visited. For instance, writing about his daily programme in Malacca, he says : 'I preach on Sundays and holidays in the Cathedral. Every day for an hour or more I teach the children. Many come to me for confession. At the hospital where I have my quarters, I hear the confessions of the poor patients. I say Mass for them and give them Communion. There are so many penitents that I am hardly sufficient for them. My major work is to render the Latin prayers in a language which the Macaëares can understand. This is a very difficult task for one not knowing the language.'¹⁸

But it was not long before he realized that with the hardened sinners of Malacca, this method was proving ineffectual. The Portuguese there had so fully succumbed to the pagan environment that in Muslim fashion they kept the wives they took from among the natives confined to the houses, and neither went themselves to the church, nor allowed their spouses to do so, save in lent to avoid excommunication.¹⁰ Xavier, therefore, had to devise other means of weaning them from their evil ways, and like St. Paul he made himself all things to all men so that he may win all to Jesus Christ. Thus by his pleasing conversation he made friends with them all, and often went to see them at play, and took a keen interest in whatever they did. And when in deference to him they would stop the game, he would ask them to continue, saying that as they were soldiers, they were not expected to live like monks, and that inasmuch as they did not offend God, it was better to play and otherwise amuse themselves than to gossip and commit other sins. At times, he would go to dine at their houses, and would on such occasions compliment the host on the excellent cuisine, and then request that the lady of the house who had prepared such a fine repast be brought forward. And when she appeared, he would praise her culinary talents, and in taking leave of her bid her to be a saint. At other times, he would request his host to show him his house, and examining every corner thereof, would ask him who the young woman was that dwelt there and to what country the other one belonged. And thus mak-

¹⁷ Georgius Schurhammer and Josephus Wicki, *Ephistolae S. Francisci Xavierii* (Rome : apud "Monumenta Historica Soc. Jesu," 1944), I, 15, 12-13 ; Valignano, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-51.

¹⁸ Schurhammer and Wicki, *op. cit.*, I, 52, 1.

¹⁰ Polanco, *Vita S. Ignatii et Chronicon*, Tom. VI, pp. 806-07, cited by A. Brou, *Saint Francois Xavier* (Paris : Gabriel Beauchesne, 1912), Tom. I, p. 356.

ing himself a soldier with soldiers and a merchant with merchants, he gained the confidence of one and all. The entire household, the Portuguese no less than their female slaves and servants, eagerly looked forward to his visit, as they knew that the saintly priest had a place for all of them in his heart.²⁰ These visits invariably brought about the desired results: the irregular connections were either dissolved or regularized.

But it was not always smooth sailing. For men were not wanting in Malacca, who resisted Xavier's efforts at reform. But he knew enough of human nature not to be impatient of results, but to wait and reclaim the sinner by degrees. With such, he would argue the first time he met them: those good-for-nothing slave-girls, besides eating away your income, were they not destroying your peace of mind in keeping up a quarrel the whole day and ruining your health? Then why not send one or two away at least? He would then repeat his visits, each time making the friend give up one more from among the less desirable, until at last being left only with the best, he would end by inducing the friend to take her in holy wedlock.²¹

III

WITH ST. THOMAS CHRISTIANS

In striking contrast to the Portuguese, the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar, though they lived in the same surroundings, preserved a high sense of Christian virtue. No doubt, their Church had for a long time ceased to propagate the faith, and the Christians had taken their due place in the Hindu hierarchy of castes as was vouchsafed for them by their economic power, ranking with the Nairs or the nobility of the land. Yet the church had retained sufficient vitality to prevent leakage in its members, none of whom were ever known to have lapsed into paganism or converted to Islam. The Christians lived close together so as not to be contaminated by the prevailing superstitious practices common among their neighbours; and their women folk prized domestic virtue and purity of life so much that they would not have among them any grown-up girl unmarried. 'And it is, because their women lived righteously', says Valignano, writing with admiration of these Christians of St. Thomas, 'that alone among these people of Malabar the sons succeeded to the inheritance of their fathers, contrary to the universal custom prevalent among these people who on account of the want of righteousness in their women regard their sons as illegitimate and exclude them from succession, passing their inheritance to their nephews or sister's children instead.'²²

²⁰ Valignano, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-90.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 333-40.

In his *Cronica do Felicissimo Rei D. Manuel*, the Portuguese historian, Damião de Gois, gives a fairly accurate picture of the religious life of this Christian community :

'The Christians who live in Malabar have churches like ours with crosses on their altars and the walls, painted like those of Quilon, but without images or bells. The people assemble in the churches on Sundays, where they assist at sermons and the divine office. The head of their church is called the Catholicos, who has his seat at Antioch with twelve Cardinals, two patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and other priests. The priests wear their tonsures in the form of a cross, and consecrate the body of the Lord in unleavened bread and wine made of raisins, as in the country there is no other. The laymen communicate separately with consecrated bread and wine like the priests. They baptize their children on the fortieth day, save in the case of danger of death. They confess before receiving the Sacrament. And instead of the Extreme Unction the use of which there does not exist, the priest blesses the sick. While entering the church they sprinkle holy water. They bury the dead in the same way as is done in the Church of Rome. After the funeral, the relatives and friends of the dead forgather for eight days, saying many prayers for the departed one. If the dead has left no will, his property goes to the next of kin. The law and custom permit the widow to take away her dowry, which however, is forfeited in case she marries within a year of the death of her husband. They have the same books of the Old and New Testaments as are accepted in the canon of the Roman Church. These books are in Hebrew and Chaldean and are read to them in their public schools, specially the Prophets, by their doctors—some of whom are very learned in the law. They fast in Advent and their Lent falls on the same days as ours. They neither eat nor drink from Pascal eve to Easter day. They have preachers who ordinarily preach to them in the course of the year and have besides books, expounding the law, written by the learned. Easter is observed by these Christians with much devotion and two octaves. They also keep the eighth day after Easter with great solemnity, because on that day St. Thomas put his hand in the side of our Lord Jesus Christ. With the same solemnity are also observed the feasts of Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity, and the Assumption of Our Lady and also her Nativity and Purification, Christmas, Epiphany, and all the feast days of the Apostles and Sundays of the year. They intercalate certain days in their calendar as do the Latins. The Hindus of this kingdom join the Christians in celebrating on the first of July a great feast in honour of the Blessed Apostle St. Thomas. There are monasteries for monks who dress in black cloth, and convents of the same order for nuns, both of whom live in strict discipline in the observance of integrity, chastity and poverty. The priests observe conjugal chastity, not taking another wife, when one is dead ; and in marriage, they believe that there can under no circumstances be separation between husband and wife, save in the case of death, and both parties have to live together for better or worse till death doth them part. These customs and beliefs are universally held by the Christians from Cranganore to Coromandel and Mylapore. At this last place lies buried the mortal remains of the Apostle St. Thomas who preached the word of our Lord Jesus Christ to these people. According to their legends and authentic books he first preached to the people of the island of Socotra and then to those of Cranganore and Quilon.'²³

²³ Damião de Gois, *Cronica do Felicissimo Rei D. Manuel*, ed. J. M. Teixeira de Carvalho and David Lopes (new ed. ; Coimbra Imprensa da Universidade, 1926). Pt. I, pp. 214-16. (First printed in 1566).

The Portuguese on their arrival in India had fraternized with their fellow Christians of Malabar. They were pleased to find that these Christians, though not in communion with Rome, yet shared with them the Catholic faith. They confessed the same mysteries of the Holy Trinity, Incarnation, Birth, Passion and Resurrection; and not least of all, the important articles of the Creed keeping their feasts in the same seasons and days on which they were celebrated in the Roman Church. In spite of this seeming similarity, however, there were visible signs that all was not well with the Church of Malabar. The clergy were mostly ignorant, and did not understand the distinctions between sins, nor the cases of conscience for guiding their penitents or even themselves.²⁴ The priests said their prayers in Chaldean, of which they understood very little. Moreover, the Chaldean bishops, as Barros, the Portuguese historian, was told by one of these St. Thomas Christians who was studying sacred theology at the University of Coimbra (24^o), when he betook himself to him for information on the Malabar Church to be included in his *Decadas*, were tax-gatherers rather than pastors of souls. They came on their visitations to India, moved not so much by a desire to serve God as by covetousness, which went even to the extent of Christians having to pay for being baptized. This left many a person in the poor families without baptism. Nor would they ordain any one, unless he paid them well; and when they ordained him they did so without giving him permission to say mass.²⁵

Though the Franciscan apostolate among these Christians of St. Thomas had been so far successful that their two bishops²⁶ had already made their submission to the Catholic Church, there was still much to be done, if the present conditions in the Church were to be improved. In the absence of a sufficiency of workers, the Franciscans had taken the only proper course of training an indigenous clergy. Frey Vicente de Lagos founded a seminary at Cranganore where very soon were gathered a hundred boys from the most aristocratic families of the St. Thomas Christians.²⁷ It would appear from the missionary letters of the times that the Christians of Malabar were reacting favourably to the efforts of the Portuguese clergy on their behalf. For, writing to

²⁴ Valignano, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-41.

^{24a} There were actually two of them who were educated at the University of Coimbra. Fr. Heredia describes them as learned (*letrados*), and says that they were residing at Cranganore in 1552. Wicki, *op. cit.*, II, 64, 16, to Loyola, 27th January 1552; *Ibid.*, 98, 9, to Gonçalves da Camara, 25th November 1552.

²⁵ Joao de Barros, *Da Asia* (new ed.; Lisbon: Agencia Geral, 1947), Dec. XIII, III, liv. VI, cap. IX, p. 401.

²⁶ Mar Abuna Jacob and Mar Thomas. They were reconciled to Rome through the efforts of Father Alvaro Penteado. See letter dated 22nd January 1550 of the Indian priest Matthaeus Dias to D. Joao III in Wicki, *op. cit.*, II, p. 412, note 18. Mar Jacob lived in the fort of Cranganore for more or less 20 years. He knew Portuguese and said mass in the Latin rite. See letter of Manuel de Viegas, Vice-Provincial of Malabar Province 1601, quoted in Schurhammer and Wicki, *op. cit.*, II, p. 63, note 9.

²⁷ Wicki, *op. cit.*, II, 37, 8, Viceroy D. Afonso de Noronha to Simon Rodrigues, 5th January 1551, and note 12.

Ignatius Loyola about his ministry among them, Fr. Antonio de Heredia observes: 'In this city of Cochin and around it there are many Christians made by St. Thomas (sic), who have many erroneous notions, as they were instructed by two bishops that came from Persia. In the places occupied by these Christians there are beautiful churches. These Christians are lost for want of workers to teach them the true way, which is obedience to the Church of Rome. Many of the sons of these are brought up in a College of Frey Vicente. . . . I went to visit two settlements of these Christians and I came away much consoled. I said mass for them, took with them two processions, praying from my heart that the Lord should send to this country many more workers who would come to them to deal bread (Is. 53, 7), because these Christians have been asking for it continually. Here I said mass and subjected them all to the Roman Church.'²⁸ And again, 'Last few days, I had been on a visit to one of the places of the St. Thomas Christians. I said masses for them and took with them four processions by which they were all consoled, praying with sincere earnestness that I should visit them oftener for the consolation of their souls.'²⁹

The heart of Xavier must have gone out to these worthy, but neglected sons of St. Thomas. He appreciated the work of Frey Vicente, who was wearing himself out in their service, and of whom he wrote to Loyola: 'Yo soi mui amigo deste padre, y el mio.' (I am a great friend of this father and he of mine). And so when Frey Vicente requested him to write to Loyola for obtaining from the Holy See plenary indulgences for the two churches of St. Thomas and St. James in the fort of Cranganore on the days of their respective feasts together with their octaves, he readily consented, and wrote to Loyola that he should try to obtain the indulgences through his efforts 'for the greater increase of devotion among the Christians of the land who are descendants of those whom St. Thomas converted and who are themselves very devout.'³⁰ He also recommended for the consideration of the Portuguese monarch the old and saintly Bishop, Mar Jacob Abuna, who for forty-five years had laboured hard in the service of the Christians of St. Thomas and His Highness and who 'now in his old age was very obedient to the customs of the Holy Mother the Church of Rome.' He requested the King that he should bid his Governor and the other Portuguese authorities accord him due honour and kindness, when he approached them for some favour, at the same time reminding the King that 'he stood more in need of the Bishop's prayers than the Bishop of his temporal favours.'³¹

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 98, 9, 25th November 1552.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 114, 2, Socii Goanis, anno 1552.

³⁰ Schurhammer and Wicki, *op. cit.*, II, 70, 13 (Spanish); 71, 11 (Italian); 73, 9 (Spanish) 70, 13, (Latin).

³¹ *Ibid.*, 77, 4.

It was Xavier's desire that these Christians of St. Thomas should find an honoured place in the 'Asia Portuguesa.' And so when he saw that they were not treated as they deserved, and that those of them that traded in pepper were being actually cheated by the Portuguese merchants in regard to weights and measures, he contrived through his friend, Michael Vaz, the Vicar General, whom he deputed to Portugal to place the religious affairs before the King, that he should order D. João de Castro, the Governor, personally to see that these Christian merchants were no longer so defrauded and their ancient customs of trade were scrupulously maintained. On this occasion, the King was also pleased to issue definite instructions in regard to the St. Thomas Christians, and in the course of this he commended them for being such good Christians, as he was told they were, and expressed his gratitude for the loyalty with which they served him which justified the confidence he reposed in them. He promised to favour them always, and lest the promise remain a dead letter, he charged Michael Vaz with the duty of investigating, if any injury be done to them and of looking after their interests as meticulously, as if they were the interests of the Crown, and instructed him that in case there were complaints, he should immediately move the Governor for redress, and report all matters to him.³²

IV

WITH CHRISTIAN CONVERTS

Xavier, however, was more concerned with the Christian converts of the Portuguese, who had been left to themselves after their conversion. A mission letter of 1550 describes the rough and ready methods the Portuguese had employed in the making of some of these converts: 'It is now fifty years since the Portuguese started inhabiting these parts of India, among whom the first to come were the soldiers. These soldiers went about taking lands and making men prisoners, and started baptizing them without any respect or reverence for the sacrament and without catechising them or teaching them the Christian doctrine.'³³ Most of these converts, it would appear, were from Islam. For speaking of the havoc caused by the Portuguese crusade among the Muslims on the coasts of Gujarat, Konkan, Malabar and even Arabia, Zinadim, an Arabic writer of the sixteenth century, exclaims in his *History of the Portuguese in Malabar*: 'Oh, how many women of distinction were captured by them and violated till they bore them Christian sons, enemies of the faith of God and so hurtful to Muslims! How many gentlemen, men of science as well as chiefs, were captured by them and maltreated till they were killed! How many true Muslims, men as well as women, were converted to Christianity!'³⁴

³² Wicki, *op. cit.*, I, 11, 10.

³³ *Ibid.*, II, 34, 2, Lancillottus to Loyola, 5th December 1550.

³⁴ Zinadim, *Historia dos Portugueses no Malabar* (MSS. Arabe do Seculo XVI, tr. David Lopes). p. 40, cited by Bragança Pereira, *op. cit.*, OP, Nos. 2 & 3, p. 25.

Gaspar Correia tells us in his disarmingly frank manner that in Cochin the young virgins who had been sold outright to the Portuguese soldiery by their mothers were among the first converts, as also the lewd women, who were resorted to by them despite heavy penalties for immoral conduct visited on his men by the first Viceroy Francisco d'Almeida, who also forbade the conversion of these women of loose morals. The viceregal ban, however, seems to have had little effect; and in course of time other women seeing the flourishing condition of these Christian sirens also converted themselves. Some of these women were Muslims, who says this writer, 'the more their husbands tried to shut them up, the more they fled from them, until at last receiving holy baptism, Our Lord in his great mercy despite their intentions not being right deigned to illumine for them the true way of salvation. They became such good Christians that today many of them are seen living in the fear of God with much devotion and charity, and without committing any sins, like many of us.'³⁵ In Goa, Albuquerque married the high-born Turkish ladies to his soldiers after converting them first to Christianity.³⁶

All sorts of motives were alleged to have been behind the conversions that were taking place. Deploring this state of affairs, a mission letter of the 10th October 1547 said : 'The people of this country are very bad, and almost never use their reason. Those who get converted to Christianity do so purely out of a desire for temporal gain and many of them come to an evil end. As invariably in these lands some people take others prisoners; those who are slaves of moors and gentiles make themselves Christians to achieve freedom; others to obtain protection against tyrants; others still do so, if any one gives them a cap or a shirt or some little things; others to prevent being persecuted, and still others make themselves Christians, in order to be able to converse with Christian women; so that blessed indeed is the man who makes himself Christian out of pure virtue.'³⁷

A few years before Xavier's arrival in India, a fracas between a Muslim and a Parava on the Fishery Coast leading to a cruel civil war between the two communities had brought the Paravas in a body to the Christian Church. The caste Hindus joined the Muslims against these pearl fishers who in their extremity approached D. João da Cruz, a Malabarian convert of great nobility of character who, on account of his faithful service to the Portuguese Crown, had been admitted to the exalted privilege of the membership of the Order of Christ. Da Cruz advised them to appeal to the Portuguese for help, offering to become Christians; and assured them, that the Portuguese would expel the Muslims from the coast and they would then be free to carry

³⁵ Correia, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 625, cited by Bragança Pereira, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

³⁶ Correia, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 115, cited by R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India 1497-1550* (Westminster, 1890), p. 58.

³⁷ Wicki, *op. cit.*, I, 24, 2, Lancellottus to Loyola.

on their pearl fishing peacefully. The Paravas accepted this advice and sent their Patangatis (pattankattis) or headmen to the Portuguese captain at Cochin to ask for help and baptism. A Portuguese squadron appeared on the coast; the Moors were chastised, and the Paravas became the absolute masters of the Fishery Coast—and in fulfilment of their promise as many as 20,000 entered the Church in thirty places.³⁸

In 1534, the city of Momoja in the island of Moro had become Christian, under similar circumstances. The people had persistently refused to be converted to Islam, and were being constantly harassed by their Muslim neighbours, when they were advised by Goncalo Valoso, a Portuguese merchant, who traded there, to seek the protection of the Portuguese arms in return for becoming Christians. Valoso himself headed the embassy from the chief of Momoja to the Portuguese captain of Ternate, Tristão de Athaide. The ambassadors were instructed and baptized and returned to the city laden with rich presents and dressed in Portuguese clothes. This was followed by the visit of the Chief to Ternate. He was received with due pomp, and on being baptized, took the name of D. João in honour of the King of Portugal D. João III. He took with him Fr. Simon Vaz; but the harvest was so great that one more priest Fr. Francisco Alvares had to be sent to his help. A Portuguese garrison was stationed at Momoja to defend the city against the likely attacks from the Muslims.³⁹

It cannot, however, be concluded from this that political and other less worthy motives were alone responsible for the conversions in India and elsewhere in the East. When, for instance, North Konkan was ceded to the Portuguese in 1534 by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and the Buddhist monks there were received into the Church, their example must have certainly served as an incentive to the people to seek conversion likewise. These monks lived in the Canary Caves, now in the Bombay Suburbs, and subsisted on the alms which they collected from the villages around. Fr. Antonio do Porto, an apostolic man of exemplary virtue, belonging to the order of Friars Minor, was instrumental in converting two of their number, one of whom was the head of the community and reputed to have been 150 years of age and the other one very much esteemed among them. The latter became such an ardent Christian that he started preaching the Gospel himself and converted most of his fellow monks and the other people.⁴⁰

In the absence of sufficient number of workers, the instruction of these converts had been neglected with the result that to most of them the change

³⁸ Lucena, *op. cit.*, Tom. I, liv. II, cap. VII, cited by Bragança Pereira, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-30, Ferroli, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-17.

³⁹ Lucena, *op. cit.*, liv. III, cap. XVI, pp. 30-31; Brou, *op. cit.*, Tom. I., p. 399.

⁴⁰ Diogo do Couto, *Da Asia*, VII, liv. III, cap. X, cited by Bragança Pereira, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

of religion had come to mean no more than a change of clothes. 'There are here at Goa,' wrote Antonio Criminal to Ignatius Loyola in 1545, 'many people not having anyone to say mass for them or to teach them the Christian doctrine. They know nothing except to say that they are Christians. If you ask them what they believe in, they only tell you, "we believe what the Christians believe," or rather they will tell you they know nothing. As to the *Our Father*, *Hail Mary*, and the *Creed*, they know not what it is, and have never learnt their prayers.' The fact was that the people were baptized without having received instructions in the Christian doctrine previously. As the same writer says : 'Those who present themselves for baptism say that they wish to be Christians; and as soon as the sermon is finished, if there is one, they are baptized. At the moment of baptism, they are told in four or five words through interpreters what they ought to believe. And always through interpreters, the significance of the sacramental rite is explained to them, in the course of the ceremony, and the time taken by this is in proportion to that taken by the ceremony itself.' The writer felt that it should be made a matter of obligation that the catechumens should wait for at least forty days, though the high authorities on the subject, such as the *Summa Silvestrina*, the *Summa Theologiae* of St. Antoninus and the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas, would all have the catechumens wait for six months.⁴¹

There is hardly any doubt that, had the missionaries followed this course, as had also been done in the primitive Church, and baptized the Catechumens only when they were properly instructed and could be depended upon to persevere in the new religion, they would have met with better results. But in the circumstances in which they were then placed, the more expeditious method they were following was not entirely without justification. Indeed the veteran missioner, Diogo de Borba, clinched the matter when he frankly told Criminal that, if they did not proceed in this manner, then 'the father, mother and other relatives of the intending convert would tear him away from his good dispositions.'⁴² But once he was baptized, he was as good as dead to these caste-ridden people. In fact, in accepting baptism, the convert broke away irrevocably from whatever ties that were holding him to his former religion, and the membership of the Church lost for him the membership of the caste into which he had been born, and this was a sure guarantee of his perseverance in the new religion and sticking to the new society that he had joined. Thus knowing, as they did, the conditions in India, the older missionaries could truly say, 'even if St. Thomas and other saints who wrote on the Sacraments and the Christian Doctrine were in these parts and knew these people, they would have perhaps written otherwise.'⁴³

⁴¹ Wicki, *op. cit.*, I, 4, 4, to Loyola, 7th October 1545.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*, II, 34, 2, Lancillottus to Loyola, 5th December 1550.

Nor should it be forgotten that it was the poorest of the poor that were becoming Christians. Many of them, when they were asked the reason, would frankly admit that they were asking for baptism, because 'they have nothing to eat.'⁴⁴ From such ignorant adults whom the moralists term *rudes* or *rudiores*, nothing was to be expected save the barest minimum. With this material one had to rest content with mere adherence to the chief articles of the faith and to the acts of theological virtues. It was beyond the intelligence of this class of men to retain what they had once learnt or to defend with reason what they had once acknowledged to be true. And if, on that account, they were not admitted to Baptism, there was little likelihood of their ever coming back for it again.⁴⁵ In fact, this was what actually happened whenever the missionaries insisted on a stricter test. For, as the Jesuit Lancillottus reported to Loyola: 'Then I make a discourse telling them briefly what it is to be a Christian and why they should make themselves Christians, and thus they come for fifteen or twenty days to the church for learning things of Christianity, and I baptize them afterwards. This is what they reply to me that, if I want, I should make them Christians at once, and if not, they go.'⁴⁶

The method, however, was beset with grave dangers. It made it necessary for the missionaries to exercise strict surveillance on their converts, lest subsisting on the margin of knowledge in matters of faith they should lapse into their former superstitious practices. Unhappily for the method, however, the *sine qua non* of its success could not be fulfilled during the period we are speaking owing to the insufficiency of priests, and it was no wonder, therefore, that, as Lancillottus writes in the same letter, 'in many places the baptized persons were returning to their idolatries *ut prius*, and those who live among us cannot in any way be made to come to the doctrine or to church, and they follow their old customs.'⁴⁷ Secondly, in putting off the instruction of their converts, the hard worked missionaries were running the risk of forgetting them altogether. As it happened, after baptizing the twenty thousand Paravas Fr. Diogo de Borba and the Franciscans, who had accompanied the soldiers in their expedition to the Fishery Coast, came away intending to complete their work of catechising them on the next occasion. But they could spare time only for flying visits during the lents that followed.⁴⁸ So that when later, Xavier went to the Paravas, he was struck by their ignorance. 'As soon as I arrived', he says, 'I tried to know what knowledge they had of Our Lord Jesus Christ. I questioned them on the articles of our faith and asked them

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 34, 3.

⁴⁵ Cf. Brou, *op. cit.*, Tom. I, p. 135.

⁴⁶ Wicki, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Couto, *op. cit.*, Dec. VI, liv. VII, ch. 5, p. 94 cited by Brou, *op. cit.*, I, p. 139.

what they thought of them and what more they believe now than when they were infidels. I had no other reply but that 'we are christians.'⁴⁹

But Xavier did not waste his time moralising on the method of conversion, but manfully grappled with the twofold problem it had created. He found it necessary first of all to win the esteem and love of the people ; and this was not possible so long as the hurdle of language remained there. 'We could not understand each other,' he says, when he went to the Christians of the Fishery Coast, 'they spoke Malabar (i.e., Tamil) and I spoke Basque (Bizcaina).' Moreover, he wished to establish direct contact with his Christians. 'And so,' he continues, 'I gathered together the most knowledgeable persons from among them, and sought out those who understood both our language (Portuguese) and theirs, and after much labour lasting for several days drew up the prayers beginning with the sign of the cross and the profession of the faith in one God in three persons, and on to the *Creed, Commandments, Our Father, Hail Mary, Hail Holy Queen* and the *Confiteor*.'⁵⁰ He also had a sermon similarly done in Tamil, in which he explained the substance of the Christian religion.⁵¹ He learnt these prayers and the sermon by heart, and dispensing with the services of the interpreters, commenced addressing the people directly in their own language.

All this must have meant a great amount of arduous and strenuous labour to a foreigner like Xavier pioneering on his own. For the European alphabet in which he must have transliterated these Tamil versions was too insufficient to express the various nuances of sound in which the language abounds, and which, if not properly rendered, would make of the speaker a laughing-stock. Moreover, he had to create a Christian language while employing exclusively a non-Christian idiom for rendering ideas till then unknown, indeed a delicate matter where dogma was concerned. As to the nuances of sense, however, he could not understand them as yet, and improved on the words he originally used only with improvement in his knowledge of the language. Thus he wrote to Mansilhas, one of his collaborators among the pearl fishers, when he found the words that he had used in the Creed did not answer to the original : 'In the *Credo* when you say enaquenum,' in the place of 'venum' you should say 'vichuam,' because 'venu(m)' means I want and 'vichuam,' means 'I believe.' It is better to say I believe than to say 'I want in God.' You should not say 'vão pinale,' because it means 'by force' and Christ suffered voluntarily and not by force.'⁵²

⁴⁹ Schurhammer and Wicki, *op. cit.*, I, 20, 2.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Valignano, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁵² Schurhammer and Wicki, *op. cit.*, I, 24, 4.

But primitive as the method was, the effort was well worth the labour; as it was the first step towards a proper scientific study of the language by the missionaries, which was absolutely necessary for the success of their work. For it had been found from experience that they could not reach the hearts of the people through the professional interpreters, the *topazes*, who were proving useless for the purpose.⁵³ Xavier thus initiated a literary activity among his companions on the Fishery Coast which was carried to a successful conclusion by Henrique Henriques, rightly styled the Apostle of Comorin,⁵⁴ who spoke and wrote Tamil as well as a native. In his letter to Ignatius Loyola of 12th January 1549, Xavier refers eulogistically to the linguistic attainments of Henriques and observes: 'Anrique Anriques, a Portuguese priest of the Society, a man of excellent virtue and exemplary life who is now at Cape Comorin, writes and speaks the Malabar tongue, and so he works with greater profit than the others, as he knows the language. At which the Christians of the land are surprised, and he is greatly admired for his sermons and discourses.'⁵⁵ Writing to Ignatius Loyola a few months earlier, Henriques had explained how he had learned the language: 'At the time, when master Francisco left for Moluccas, which was in the month of February of 1548, I did not know how to speak more than two words in the language. At that time I left the topaz to do other work. And having made up my mind to learn the language, day and night, I would do nothing else excepting of course visiting the places under my charge, and wishing that God would help me. I had a sort of a grammar made out to learn this language, because just as in Latin they learn the conjugations, so also I worked hard and conjugated the verbs for learning this language. To get at the preterite, future, infinitive and subjunctive etc., cost me much labour; so also I tried to learn the accusative, the genitive, the dative and the other cases, and thus learned what should be put first, whether it be the verb or the noun or the pronoun. I learnt it so quickly that when, I spoke to these people in their language, it surprised them to know that I should have learned the language in so short a time. Some of the Portuguese who have been here four to six years know something of this language, but what they should say for 'the present' they say for 'the future'; and they know neither the one nor the other. But when the people of the land see me speak their language in its proper moods, tenses and numbers, it is a matter of great surprise for them, and their wonder grows all the more on knowing that I could learn all this in five months; and they doubt, if this could have been humanly possible.' With his correct knowledge of Tamil, Henriques could now rectify the mistakes that had entered into the earlier compositions of Xavier. And on his part, Xavier appreciated the achievement of his collaborator so much

⁵³ Wicki, *op. cit.*, I, 24, 4,

⁵⁴ J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani* (Noa Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1859), p. LVII.

⁵⁵ Schurhammer and Wicki, *op. cit.*, II, 13-14.

that he asked him to compose a Tamil grammar, setting forth the conjugations and the declensions and the proper mode of speaking the language in order that the Fathers may learn it easily.⁵⁶ Henriques not only composed this grammar, but lived to produce in course of time numerous other works in this language such as a lexicon, a greater and a smaller Catechism, lives of the Saviour, our Lady and the Saints and several apologetical works.⁵⁷

It is not known how much progress Xavier himself made in this language. But we have it on good authority, he knew the language of the people of Goa—Konkani—very well. For speaking about his work in Goa, one of his fellow Jesuits wrote : ‘Of Father Francis I can hardly find words and describe the infinite favours which God, Our Lord, has done to him, and the favour and grace which attend his preachings and conversations, and the great profit which results from his confessions and from his doctrines and teachings. The boys and girls, free and slave, long to hear him, and are charmed by the sermons which he preaches to them in their native language (falla negra) or rather as it were in his own language.’⁵⁸

The missionaries had always been baffled by the babel of tongues by which they had been confronted in the East; and had before the arrival of Xavier successfully tried an ingenious means of reaching the non-Christian people. In Goa, Fr. Diogo de Borba had made use of his Indian students to convey his meaning while conversing with the local people on religious matters. He found them more successful than the *topazes*. And so it occurred to him that, if students speaking different languages could be trained in an institution, they could later on be used to advantage in missionary work in the capacity of priests and catechists. He broached the idea to his influential friends, Michael Vaz, the Vicar General, Pero Fernandes, the controller of the Finances, and Cosmo Anes, a high official, who all took up the idea most enthusiastically, and soon raised a building by private subscription.⁵⁹ In the frank and open manner which is all his own, Gaspar Correa, the historian, tells us that ‘by his industry, Master Diogo secured pagan and Muslim youths of all nations that

⁵⁶ Wicki, *op. cit.*, I, 45, 15, 31st October 1548.

⁵⁷ Joseph Dahlmann, *Missionary Pioneers and Indian Languages*, ed. J. C. Houpert (Trichinopoly: The Catholic Truth Society, 1940), p. 7. Henriques's Catechism is the first Christian production printed in Tamil characters “cut in 1590 by João de Faria, who printed works in that language. He was the celebrated engineer who built those gigantic arches of the ancient Church of St. Paul of Goa which gave it eventually the designation of *Sam Paulo das Arcas*.” The Tamil types cut by him are the earliest Tamil characters so far known. Gerson da Cunha, “Materials for the History of Oriental Studies amongst the Portuguese” *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti*, (Firenze: coi Tipi dei successori le Monnier, 1881), p. 88.

⁵⁸ Wicki, *op. cit.*, I, 53, 7. Paulus to Simon Rodrigues.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, I, 15, I, Lancillottus to Loyola, 15th November 1545.

he could get ; he made them Christians and added to their number others who were already so. These lads were all of twelve years or less, who knew not women. He gathered them, some willingly and others by force, in this building with a dormitory and a refectory, where they were well groomed and well fed, and lived a well regulated life. They were first taught to read and write, and were then given a course in Latin and other subjects.⁶⁰

The institution has been originally known as the College of the Conversion of St. Paul. It was re-named College of the Holy Faith on 27th June 1546, when a constitution was given to it. The age of admission was then raised from twelve to thirteen to fifteen years, the reason being that when admitted at a younger age, the boys forgot their mother tongue in which they were required to preach in their respective countries on the completion of their studies. Due place was therefore found in the curriculum for the vernaculars, and it was expressly laid down in the constitution that these vernaculars should be practised and spoken 'twice a day by youths of each nation separately by themselves.' The seats in the College were distributed according to the needs of the missions in the different parts of the eastern world : ten for Goa, eight each for Abyssinia and Sofala, and six each for Gujarat, Kanara, Malabar, Tuticorin, Bengal, Burma, Siam, Malacca, Moluccas, and China.⁶¹ And the College was organized on the Parisian model, being divided into the faculties of languages, arts (philosophy), and theology.⁶²

A distinguished alumnus of the University of Salamanca and held in very high esteem by the Goan public for his holy life and singular virtue,⁶³ Father Diogo breathed his own personality into these children ; and as Gaspar Correa says, 'God filled them with grace in such a way that in a few years they became good classicists and proficient in other sciences, and were in a position to preach in their language to the natives who would gather in large numbers on Sunday evenings to hear them. Thus preaching and speaking to them in their own language they weaned them from their errors and their idolatry with the result that many of them were converted to Christianity and baptized.'⁶⁴

But besides teaching, the institution also carried out various other works of charity. It ran a dispensary for the poor, buried the dead and saw to the performance of their obsequies,⁶⁵—works which the constitution expressly

⁶⁰ Correa, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV., p. 289, cited by Bragança Pereira, *op. cit.*, OP., 2 & 3, p. 40.

⁶¹ Wicki, *op. cit.*, I, 14, 6.

⁶² *Ibid.* 59, 3, Antonio Gomes to Simon Rodrigues, 20th December 1548.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 6, 4, Lancillottus to Simon Rodrigues, 22nd October 1545.

⁶⁴ Correa, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 289, cited by Bragança Pereira, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁵ Wicki, *op. cit.*, I, 32, 7, Cosmo Anes to D. João III, 30th November 1547.

provided for : 'Whereas, it will help the cause of the conversion of the gentiles, if they see us employing in their behalf all the works of charity and obligation, so that they may have no reason to complain that, after their conversion to our holy faith, we did not look after them, saying that, when they fell ill, we did not treat them, and when they died, we did not bury them, it was decreed that a hospital should be built next to the said house (i.e., College of the Holy Faith) and a piece of ground should be bought for being used as a cemetery. It was also resolved that the College should take special care that the hospital was built in order that as many poor as may come here may be treated and so become Christians.'⁶⁰

The kindred spirit of Xavier sympathised with the aspirations of Diogo de Borba. He gave him his support by appointing on the staff of his College Fr. Micer Paulo, his Jesuit companion, whom he had brought with him from Portugal. In his letter to Ignatius Loyola of 15th January 1544, Xavier describes this institution in the following words : 'Micer Paulo is with the students of this College. He says mass for them every day and hears their confession, and is unceasing in giving them spiritual doctrine. He has taken charge of the temporal things as well, which was necessary for the students. This College is very large, and you can have in it more than 500 students, and it has enough funds to maintain them. The Christians should thank God for the establishment of this institution, called the College of the Holy Faith. I hope in the mercy of God that before long the number of Christians will grow by leaps and bounds, and the frontiers of the Church will be extended by those who are studying in it.'⁶⁷ Already, a few youths from among the pearl fishers of Coromandel, the immediate field of Xavier's labours, had joined this institution, one of whom was holding out promise of a great future. For writing in 1547 to the Portuguese sovereign D. João III, Cosme Anes, who was on the board of administration of this College, said : 'There are in this College four youths of great ability, who preach to the native Christians. One of them is from Tuticorin. He is a genius, endowed with an excellent memory. He is sure to become a great preacher. He has already preached some sermons in very beautiful Portuguese, supporting himself on the greatest authority of the Doctors of the Church. Those who hear him are astonished ; they weep for joy and praise God.'⁶⁸

Indeed, in the course of his missionary labours on the Fishery Coast, it was to the children that Xavier devoted most of his attention, and it was through them that he conveyed the Christian ideals of life to their families. He was confident of raising a Christian community out of the young ones. 'Having

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 14, 21.

⁶⁷ Schurhammer & Wicki, *op. cit.*, I, 20, 9.

⁶⁸ Wicki, *op. cit.*, I, 32, 10.

made these translations in their language,' he writes, 'and studied them by heart, I began to go through all the villages, calling around me by the sound of a bell as many as I could—children and men. I assembled them twice a day, and taught them the Christian doctrines, and it took me a month to teach them the prayers. And I got the children to teach their fathers and mothers, and every one in the house and neighbours as well what they had learnt in the school.' He impressed upon his missionaries the necessity of having a school in every village with proper teachers to teach the children their catechism. The missionary, so ran his instructions, should assemble the children each time he visited a village, and should make them give an account of what they had learnt in the presence of the teacher, taking care to observe how much they had progressed or retarded since his last visit.⁶⁹

But Xavier was also anxious that the new religion that these people had adopted should make a difference in their lives. And so he launched on a programme of social reform. He moved from village to village, maintaining the closest contact with his neophytes. He was unsparing in their service and so won their hearts. He buried their dead, healed their sick, and baptized their new-born, catechised the children as well as the grown-ups, gave counsel and composed differences. He could now take steps to improve their manners. He saw that drink was their one besetting weakness, and he found from experience that this was one of those evils that would not yield to half measures. And the steps he took for its suppression and abolition can only be described as the strictest form of prohibition, which he was prepared to enforce, if need be, by calling in state aid. 'I am sending you a bailiff (meirinho),' he wrote to Mansilhas, 'who will be useful to you in my absence. For each woman that he catches drinking arrack I give him a sanam, and she will be imprisoned for two days. You should declare this in every locality. And you should tell the Patangatis that if I come to know that any of them is drinking liquor at Punicale, they will have to pay for it dearly. See that the time I return, the Patangatis change their manners. Otherwise, I shall send them all to Cochin, and they will no longer see Punicale. They are the cause of all the evil that is committed here.'⁷⁰ Xavier had no scruples to get those who opposed him in his work out of his way even with the help of the secular arm. But this was not necessary in the case of his Christians of Coromandel. He was so far successful in his efforts that he could write to Mansilhas, 'Treat them with the greatest consideration and do such work as might make them love you. I was very happy to learn that they no longer drink arrack'.⁷¹ Indeed, Xavier's procedure in adopting these strict measures was due to

⁶⁹ Schurhammer and Wicki, *op. cit.*, I, 20, 2 ; 64, 3.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 22, 2.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 24, 5.

the parental love which he bore towards his Christians, and only by chastising them at times that he could make them turn from the evil course.

Xavier had by now almost completed his appointed task in India. He had taken over the college of the Holy Faith, intended to be the feeder of the missions, and had appointed on its staff the very best men he could spare. He had appointed able and trusted men to the various missions he had founded in Malacca, Moluccas, Mylapore (Madras), Ormuz, Bassein and Travancore. The work of the Jesuits despite setbacks during this short span of five years was yielding excellent results, and by their exemplary life they had won for themselves the appellation of 'Apostles'. Wrote a high official to D. João III in 1548 :

'Great service is rendered to God by all the religious orders, and chiefly by the Society of Jesus as apostles,' because they make us extremely good Christians for what we were, which should be exceedingly pleasing to Your Highness. All the year round in the College of St. Paul they hear confessions and give communion to many people ; and when Master Francis is here, there is always preaching of doctrine there. He does not allow enmities, which do so much harm, to endure, and goes about reconciling people, a work in which they (the Jesuits) spend their time.

'All of them are very virtuous and humble. They do not take any money for masses, or in fact for whatever they do ; nor do they touch it, saying they are amply provided for thanks to the bountiful alms and other fees which they receive by order of Your Highness. I assure Your Highness that besides the other benefits which accrue from their service, they also warn your captains and officials in their sermons that they should discharge their duties properly, and are in this way of great use to Your Highness. These men live up to their profession, and of them it can truly be said that they are the salt of the earth.'⁷²

D. João de Albuquerque added his own meed of praise for the work of the Jesuits in India. For writing to the Portuguese Crown, the Bishop observed : 'I know from my experience there have never come to this country men of greater fervour, care and diligence in the service of the Christians and the conversion of the non-Christians and in assisting the Portuguese in working out their own salvation than the Fathers of the Company of Jesus. They go every day to the hospital to confess and nurse the sick ; they also visit the prisons continuously. In the soldiers' mess they preach thrice a week before dinner, while all the soldiers remain seated in order at table. In Lent, as is usual, they hear the general confessions of many eminent men. They visit the chapels and hear the excellent native seminarians, trained at the College of the Holy Faith, preach to the Canarin⁷³ in the language of the country (Konkani).'⁷⁴

⁷² *Ibid.*, 43, 2, Tome Lobo to D. João III, 13th October 1548.

⁷³ The name by which the Portuguese called the people of Goa.

⁷⁴ Wicki, *op. cit.*, I, 50, 5, João de Albuquerque to D. João III, 28th November 1548.

Ever, on the lookout for fields and pastures new, Xavier could easily have penetrated to the interior of the Indian sub-continent; but did not think it worth his while to do so just then, on account of the opposition he had encountered on the coast from the Brahmans, whom his apostolate had hardly touched. True, the Christian leaven was gradually spreading to the higher castes; and in Goa, a number of Brahmans had already been converted, as a result, it would seem, of street preaching done through these seminarians by the zealous Belgian Jesuit, Gaspar Barzeus.⁷⁵ One of such converts was the influential Brahman, Loku, who farmed the state revenues and custom duties and was on account of his official position high in the counsels of the Governors. He actually helped the poorer Hindus with money and alms so that they may not yield to the persuasions of the missionaries. Loku, however, could not remain long in the Hindu fold. Meeting with misfortune, 'the scales dropped from his eyes,' as the Bishop wrote in his letter to the Portuguese monarch. He saw more clearly the truth of the Catholic religion, and perhaps also the greater possibility of his being able to supplant his rival Krishna as the Thanador Mor of the Island of Goa, (this is actually proposed to the King by the Bishop), and thus repairing his broken fortunes, with the proceeds from this very lucrative post, if he changed his faith. He and his wife with a few of their friends and relatives were received into the Church with great eclat. A grand fiesta was held, and the entire populace went to see the baptism, accompanied by the gentry of Goa with the Governor himself, 'marching to the tune of music and the ringing of bells.' 'I baptized him,' writes the Bishop, 'A Father of the Congregation (i.e., the Society of Jesus) carried the basin, another the salt receptacle, a third the oils, a fourth censer, and others candles in their hands, all in procession, a sight which moved many to tears.' Garcia de Sa, the Governor, stood sponsor to the newly baptized, and adopting the surname of his illustrious God-father, Loku took at his baptism the name of Lucas de Sa.⁷⁶

The public conversion of Loku seems to have made a very great impression on the local people, and many Hindus followed his example. 'Every day,' says a newsletter, 'the number of converts is increasing, specially since Loku, who is now called Lucas de Sa, has become a Christian. This was indeed a great good, because he was one of the pillars of his religion, and now endeavours as much as he can to help us in our holy faith.'⁷⁷ The conversion also gave an impetus to the religious life in the city of Goa, and we are told that three or four days after this event, three fidalgos, Diogo Lobo, son of D. Rodrigues Lobo, third Baron of Alvito, Andre de Carvalho, and Alvaro de Ferreira

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 53, 3, P. Paulus to Simon Rodrigues, December (?) 1548.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 50, 2.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 58, 17th December 1548.

entered the Society of Jesus,⁷⁸ but only to be turned out after a few years, since they did not come up to the high expectations of Xavier.⁷⁹

Surprisingly enough, Loku's conversion, which must have been the talk of the town for quite a long time finds no mention in Xavier's letters—a circumstance, which makes one suspect that he attached no importance to such dramatic conversions. His heart was set on the humbler classes, trodden underfoot by the men of the higher castes, who were then being admitted into the Church in large numbers. Xavier was determined to ameliorate their social condition and raise their standards of life and see that, in course of time, they were ranked among the very best people in their country, for which purpose he desired that the Portuguese Government should favour them with gifts of office in preference to every one else. Indeed, had the missionaries left the caste Hindus alone and concentrated all their energies on the social and economic uplift of the outcastes that were becoming Christians in large numbers, what with the support of the State, Xavier's ideal would have soon been realised; and eventually the higher castes themselves would not have minded associating and merging with a highly cultivated and influential Christian community, from whatever stock its members may have been originally recruited. As it was, when the higher castes began joining the Church, they reproduced in Christianity the same caste distinctions, thus undermining the very foundations of the Christian brotherhood, with their fellow Christians of the humbler classes sinking to the position of the under-dog, condemned and despised by these new converts from the higher grades of Hindu society. To these converts, change of religion had meant no change in their outlook. They continued their class prejudices with the same intensity as before.

It has also to be admitted that Xavier looked upon the Brahmans as a class, with suspicion and distrust. It was too early at the time to expect in a European of the sixteenth century, ignorant of the eastern religions and of the sublime philosophical thought of the Hindu, the intellectual equipment that was necessary to appreciate the singular beauty of the Indian character, typified in the universal benevolence of Śākyamuni, and his pity for all creatures, which has its origin in the kindly and generous feelings of the Indian people.⁸⁰ To penetrate the subtle yet deeply religious mind of the Brahman and dissipate his prejudices, a different kind of approach was necessary. And it took fifty years for these extremely able, sincere and selfless men to realize that the real reason for the aversion of the Hindus to Christianity was not, as Xavier had imagined, that the Hindus were ungodly,⁸¹ but that the Christians, in eat-

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 50, 8.

⁷⁹ Schurhammer and Wicki, *op. cit.*, II, p. 324 note 3; 112, 3; 135, 4.

⁸⁰ Louis de la Vallée Poussin, "Buddhism," *The Legacy of India*, ed. G. T. Garrett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), p. 169.

⁸¹ Schurhammer and Wicki, *op. cit.*, II, 71, 7: "La disposition dell'indii di queste bande, quali per suoi grandi peccati non sono niente inchinati alle cose della nostra santa fede. . . ."

ing beef and drinking wine, did violence to their innate religious susceptibilities, which prejudiced them all the more against a religion which permitted these breaches with impunity. The missionaries had all along paid little heed to the warning of St. Paul—one of the greatest of psychologists of all times—not to scandalize their neighbours in the matter of food and drink:

‘If any brother’s peace of mind is disturbed over food, it is because thou art neglecting to follow the rule of charity. Here is a soul for which Christ died; it is not for thee to bring it to perdition with the food thou eatest. . . . It is not for thee to destroy God’s work for the sake of a mouthful of food. Nothing is unclean; but it goes ill with the man who eats to the hurt of his own conscience. Thou dost well, if thou refusest to eat meat, or to drink wine, or to do anything in which thy brother can find an occasion of sin, a cause for scandal or scruple. . . .’⁸²

Roberto de Nobili was the first to carry the Gospel to the interior of the Indian sub-continent in the early years of the 17th century. He adopted the dress as well as the life of the Indian ascetics. He ate in their manner, only once a day, his food consisting of a little rice, milk and vegetables. He applied himself to the study of the vernaculars, Tamil and Telugu, and the classical language, Sanskrit, and began preaching Christianity in the native tongue in Madura with such singular success, that within a short time he was able to enrol a number of Brahmans as his disciples and baptized them.⁸³

V.

IN JAPAN

Xavier, however, felt that it was no use wasting time over a people that were not at all interested in the Christian faith. While he was in Malacca, he had met there Captain Jorge Alvares, who had been in Japan, and had formed a high estimate of the Japanese character.⁸⁴ The three Japanese youths whom Xavier had brought from Malacca and who were undergoing training in the College of the Holy Faith, were also living up to their reputation. Xavier, therefore, thought that he had at long last found a more promising

⁸² Romans, XIV, 15, 21. (Knox) Not that Xavier was ignorant of this Pauline precept. We know it for certain that in Japan, when he came to know that the bonzes refrained from meat and even fish, he did not wish to scandalize them and rigorously adhered to the diet permitted to the religious. It was only when he saw that there was some superstition attached to it that he permitted himself to have just a bit of fish, and lived entirely on insipid rice-water with a soup of vegetables, whose taste, as one of his biographers has said, was as detestable as its smell was obnoxious. L. M. Cr6s, *Saint Francois de Xavier; son pays, sa-famille, sa vie* (Toulouse: 1804), p. 102, cited by Brou, *op. cit.*, Tom. II, pp. 190-01.

⁸³ Fern6o Guerreiro, *Relaç6o Anual das coisas que sizer6o os Padres da companhia de Jesus na Miss6es. . . nos annos de 1600 a 1609*, ed. Antonio Antunes Vieira (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1930), Vol. I, pp. 328-29.

⁸⁴ C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951), pp. 32-36.

people, and he left for Japan, taking with him these three youths together with Fr. Cosmo de Torres and Brother João Fernandes to help him in his work of evangelisation.

Nor was he disappointed. For he wrote to his confreres in Goa, after he had sufficiently studied the Japanese :

'From the experience we have had of this land of Japan, I can tell you what we have understood of it. In the first place, the people we have come across so far are the best that have as yet been discovered ; and it appears to me that among the non-Christians we shall never find another to surpass them. They are of an agreeable disposition, generally good and without malice ; they are men of honour to an uncommon degree and esteem honour more than anything else. They are generally a poor people, but their poverty both among the gentry and those who are not so, is not regarded as shameful. They have one quality which is found among no Christian people : it is that the gentry, howsoever poor they may be, and the commoners, howsoever rich they may be, they do as much honour to a poor nobleman as they would do, if he were rich. For nothing in the world, would a poor nobleman marry a commoner, even if he were offered many riches to do so. This is because they think they would lose their honour by marrying into a lower caste, wherefore they esteem honour more than riches. They are very courteous to one another ; they value arms very greatly and confide in them very much. They all carry, the gentry as well as the commoners, swords and daggers from the age of fourteen. They are not a people to put up with any sort of offence or contemptuous words. The commoners hold the nobles in great respect, and the nobles in their turn pride themselves on faithfully serving the lord of the land to whom they are very obedient. It seems to me that they do this more because, acting otherwise, they would lose their honour than because of the punishment which they will receive for disobedience. They are moderate in their habit of eating, but drink rather heavily. They drink rice wine, because there are no other wines in these parts. They are men who never gamble, because they consider it as a great dishonour, inasmuch as those who gamble desire to have that which is not theirs and hence they would be regarded as thieves. They swear but little, and when they do, it is by the Sun. A majority of these people can read and write, which is indeed a great advantage, because they can learn quickly the prayers and other religious rites. They don't take more than one wife. This is a land where there are few thieves, and this is because of the strict justice meted out to those that steal, in that none is there spared his life. They thus abhor this vice of stealing beyond measure. They are a people of very good will, agreeable and willing to learn. It pleases them to hear things of God, especially when they understand them. Of all the lands I have seen in my life, of the Christians and of those that are not, I have never come across a people so strict in the abhorrence for stealing. They do not adore idols in figures of cattle : they believe more in the ancients, who, I understand, were men who lived like philosophers ; many of them adore the Sun and others the Moon. They like to hear of things which are in conformity with reason : and granted that there prevail among them vices and sins, if it is reasoned out to them that what they do is evil, they appreciate it very well, when it is supported by reason.'⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Schurhammer and Wicki, *op. cit.*, II, 90, 12-15. Cf. Boxer, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38.

Arriving at Kagoshima in August 1549, Xavier at once went to pay his respects to the ruler of the place, the daimyo Shimadzu, with Paul of the Holy Faith, one of the Japanese young men from the College at Goa, as his interpreter. The Prince inquired of Paul about the manners and the customs of the Portuguese, their power and their riches, and was pleased with the answers given and did him much honour. Paul then explained the tenets of the new religion, and showed him an image of Our Lady with the Infant Jesus on her knees, and mentioned its significance. The daimyo watched it for a while, and then prostrated himself before it and commanded all those that were present to follow his example. He then showed it to his mother, who also became very much interested, and after some days sent a nobleman to Paul to order another image for herself, and to request the Fathers to give her an account in writing about their religion.⁸⁶ The formal audience with the chief, however, took place a month and a half later on the 29th of September, 1549. Xavier asked for and received from the daimyo permission for himself and his colleagues to preach the Christian doctrine, and to let his subjects embrace the faith, if they wished to do so.⁸⁷ This was readily given; but the daimyo would not allow him to depart for the imperial city of Miyako, as he wished to do, alleging that the winds were not favourable.

Naturally enough, the first conversions were all in the immediate family circle of Paul. With the real zeal of a convert, Paul preached day and night, and baptized his mother, his wife, and his daughter together with a number of other relatives.⁸⁸ This was followed by the conversion of the bailiff of the castle of Ichiko, belonging to a vassal of Shimadzu, at a distance of a few miles from Kagoshima. The convert took the name of Michael, and began preaching the religion with such success that everyone in the castle save the chief was soon converted.⁸⁹

In Japan, Xavier was once again required to go through the drudgery of translating the prayers, the catechism, and the other essentials of Christianity together with an outline of the life of the Saviour. And he had the same difficulty of language as on the Fishery Coast, Goa and Malacca. As Valignano wrote, a few years later, 'As a language, Japanese was more elegant and copious than the languages hitherto known. It had a fuller vocabulary and it expressed ideas better than our Latin. For, besides having a variety of terms for one and the same thing, it has a natural elegance and nobility, so much so, that it was not possible to use the same nouns and verbs for all persons and

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 90, 38-39.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 90, 58.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 90, 40.

⁸⁹ Cros, *op. cit.*, p. 51, cited by Brou, *op. cit.*, Tom. II, p. 139.

things, but these had to be varied according to the social status and quality of persons and things to whom they were addressed, using noble and vulgar terms and those of honour and contempt to suit each individual instance. They speak in one way and write in another and the speech of their men is very different from that of their women. . . . And, last but not least, being copious and elegant, it takes more time to learn, and has to be spoken and written in the way the people speak and write it. For, to do otherwise is to make oneself ridiculous and uncivil.⁹⁰ Xavier was as usual slow at learning a new language, and after three months of hard labour had made no great progress at all. As he wrote, 'May it please God to grant us the language so that we may be able to speak of the things of God. We shall then derive much profit with His help, grace and favour. At present, we are among them like statues. They talk and discuss about us many things; and we ourselves, as we do not understand their language, remain silent; and we are compelled to be like children learning their language, and would to God we were like them in the purity of their spirit and simplicity.'⁹¹ Brother João Fernandes, however, fared much better, and was able to speak the language in a short time.⁹²

What with the help of Paul of the Holy Faith, the translations were soon made in two copies, one in Japanese characters for the people and the other in Roman for their own use. But, the real difficulty arose when the missionaries began to address the public. They could not express themselves at all, and so could not answer the questions. Nor were the translations beyond cavil, as Paul was not a man of letters and could not bring out the real meaning of what he translated. The people were amused at their clothes and their gestures. And, indeed these 'barbarians of the south' did shake rather too much, while speaking. So they became the butt of the multitude. But, there were some in the crowd who reasoned that men who had come from such a great distance to teach a new religion could not be ignorant. And on this issue the crowd was divided. But nothing could daunt the ardour of Xavier. Twice a day he would regularly go up to the terrace of a temple, and address the crowd that would gather there. 'And it was the holiness of his life and the spirit which Our Lord communicated to him', says Valignano, 'more than the translations of Paul of the Holy Faith and the text which he read out that made the people understand that his teaching was good.'⁹³

He was now no longer content with preaching in the streets and at the door of the monasteries. He sought out the monks, challenged them to contro-

⁹⁰ Valignano, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-53.

⁹¹ Schurhammer and Wicki, *op. cit.*, II, 90, 41.

⁹² Cros, *Saint Francois de Xavier, sa vie et ses lettres* (Toulouse: 1900), Tom. II, pp. 50-51, cited by Brou, *op. cit.*, Tom., II, p. 140.

⁹³ Valignano, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

versies, and reproached them for their immoral conduct. And in this he found support with the laymen, who 'being less sinful and more amenable to reason were glad at seeing the monks being thus reproached for their immorality.'⁹⁴ The Buddhist clergy began soon to lose their prestige and their hold on the laity in proportion to the increase in the reputation of the Christian priests; and naturally they reacted violently against the foreigners who were exposing the hypocrisy of their conduct and the hollowness of their doctrines. They got their hirelings to stone them while addressing in public and forbade the people to assist at their discourses under penalty of excommunication. There was an imminent danger of the peace of the city being disturbed, which, it would appear, made the Governor join the monks in their demand to the daimyo that the missionaries be expelled forthwith. The daimyo had to yield to the irresistible pressure, and he proscribed conversion to Christianity on pain of death, except in the case of those that had already been baptized.⁹⁵

It was now no use prolonging their stay at Kagoshima any longer. During the last few days when the opposition was gathering momentum, Xavier had sought to strengthen the small band of Christians against the peril that was threatening them by explaining to them the mysteries of the Passion of the Lord. 'And we went to another land,' he simply writes, 'when we saw that the ruler of the country did not like to see the law of God accepted by an increasing number ; and we left our Christians, who took leave of us with many tears because of the great love which they bore us. They thanked us very much for the trouble we had taken to teach them the way of salvation. We left with these Christians, Paul of the Holy Faith, a native of the land and a good Christian, to instruct and catechise them.'⁹⁶

The little party had to pass along the castle of Ichicu. Xavier visited it and organized the religious life of the Christian community there. He appointed Michael, the bailiff of the castle and first convert, as the administrator. Michael learnt to baptize, and received a leaflet of prayers, a calendar, and the seven penitential psalms for the Friday meetings and the story of the Passion for the meetings of Sundays, which shows that at Kagoshima where they had stayed for thirteen months, the fathers had all along continued their translation work and begun to create a small library of pious books, in Japanese.⁹⁷

It occurred to Xavier at this stage that all obstacles in the path of progress of the Christian religion would perhaps be removed, if he were to succeed in

⁹⁴ Schurhammer and Wicki, *op. cit.*, II, 90, 16.

⁹⁵ Cros, *op. cit.*, p. 88, cited by Brou, *op. cit.*, Tom. II, p. 169.

⁹⁶ Schurhammer and Wicki, *op. cit.*, II, 96, 14.

⁹⁷ Brou, *op. cit.*, Tom. II, p. 170.

securing an edict of tolerance from the highest political authority in the land, the Emperor, who was ruling from Miyako. His bitter experience at Kagoshima had taught him that he should not put his faith in the feudal underlords, the daimyos. And so he decided to repair immediately to the imperial city. On the way, he halted for two months at the port of Firando (modern Hirado),⁹⁸ which he had visited once before from Kagoshima in Nov.-Dec. 1549,⁹⁹ and was accorded a warm welcome by the daimyo as on the previous occasion. 'At this time,' he writes, 'one of us (i.e., Brother João Fernandes), already knew to speak Japanese, and reading from the text, which he had composed as also by trying other means, we made many Christians.'¹⁰⁰ He left Fr. Cosmo de Torres at Hirado, and pushed on northwards with João Fernandes and the Japanese convert Bernard, touching the port of Hakata (modern Fukuoka) on the way and gained the city of Yagamuchi.

At this time, Yagamuchi belonged to Ouchi Yoshitaka, the most powerful of the daimyos of Japan. The city was rich and populous, and ranked as the virtual capital of Japan, since Miyako had been ruined by wars. Yoshitaka maintained a brilliant court with the emigre nobles from Miyako, who brought to Yagamuchi together with their effeminate manners, their taste for the refinements of elegance, and their scorn of arms, also their love of polite literature.¹⁰¹ When Xavier was apprised that there were many people in the city who wished to know what was the religion they professed, he decided to preach the Gospel there. And since the aristocrats could not join in the street meetings, he visited them at their own request in their houses. But few conversions took place at Yagamuchi. 'Many,' says Xavier, 'were delighted to hear the law of God, others made fun of it, while still others were weighing it in their mind, and whenever we went in the streets, we were followed by children and other people, who mocked at us, saying, "There go the men who say that we should adore God in order to be saved, and that nothing else can save us." And others who said: "There go the men who declare that a man should not have more than one wife," and so forth.'¹⁰²

Having borne all these affronts with a calm dignity which pleased the people, Xavier requested an audience with Yoshitaka. The daimyo asked him the reason of his visit to Japan, and when he was told that they had been sent to preach the law of God, he commanded Xavier to expound to him the new religion. 'And so we read to him,' says Xavier, 'a good part of the

⁹⁸ Schurhammer and Wicki, *op. cit.*, II, 96, 14, note 29.

⁹⁹ Brou, *op. cit.*, Tom. II, pp. 161-62, note 6.

¹⁰⁰ Schurhammer and Wicki, *op. cit.*, II, 96, 14.

¹⁰¹ Brou, *op. cit.*, Tom. II, p. 184.

¹⁰² Schurhammer and Wicki, *loc. cit.*

volume (i.e., the text which they had prepared at Kagoshima), and he listened to it most attentively all the time that the reading went on, which must have been for more than an hour, and then gave us leave to depart. We continued in this city for many days preaching in the streets and in the houses. Many were pleased to hear of the life of Christ, and wept when we came to his Passion and death.¹⁰³

As his chief object was to obtain the edict of tolerance from the Emperor as early as he could, Xavier resumed his journey to Miyako, which he reached in two months after braving many perils on the roads infested with brigands, and passing through countries where war was raging, not to speak of the intense cold of those parts. He was, however, disillusioned when he found Miyako a shambles, and he soon realised that the writ of the Emperor ran hardly beyond the confines of his own palace. Nor were the people in a mood to listen to the Gospel. And so judging the time inopportune, he returned to Yamaguchi.¹⁰⁴

His experiences were not without profit. He had learnt his greatest lesson that the Japanese were the one people in the world who could not at all be impressed by a miserable exterior. In fact, he saw that in going about in those miserable clothes, the missionaries were running the risk of causing the people to transfer their contempt from their persons to the religion they professed. Xavier had with him letters of the Portuguese Governor of India and the Bishop of Goa to the chief power in Japan, offering the friendship of Portugal in return for protection to the missionaries. Xavier could not use these letters at Miyako. And so he decided to present them as his credentials to the daimyo at Yagamuchi and appear before him in the character of an accredited ambassador from the Portuguese Government. These letters were on parchment. And Xavier added to them a number of presents : European knick-knacks which were sure to interest the Japanese, such as a clock, a manicordio, a musket and three cannon, a piece of brocade, a bottle made of cut glass, some looking glasses and telescopes, a suit of Portuguese clothes etc. etc.¹⁰⁵

The daimyo was delighted with the presents and sent in return to the missionaries a large sum of gold and silver and other gifts. 'But we would accept nothing,' says Xavier, 'and we begged of him that if he wished to do us any favour, we would desire nothing more than leave to announce the law of God in his kingdom and also to whomsoever among his subjects who would wish to embrace it.' He was struck with the demand and their complete

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*,

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*,

¹⁰⁵ Cros, *op. cit.*, p. 124, cited by Brou, *op. cit.*, Tom. II, p. 109.

indifference to material things. 'He gave the permission with the greatest good will,' continues Xavier, 'and had it announced in the streets that he was pleased that the law of God was preached in his kingdom, and that if there was anyone who wished to embrace it, he could do so.' He also assigned a monastery for their residence.¹⁰⁶

Xavier found the people in a more receptive mood than they had been on his last visit. 'A great many people came to us in this monastery,' he observes, 'to hear the preaching of the law of God, which we ordinarily did twice a day. . . . These sermons were attended among many other people by the priests and nuns as well as the gentry. The house was always full and many times the crowd overflowed'. Every one asked questions of the foreign savant on every conceivable subject, which impressed Xavier very much. And he remarks: 'And indeed thanks to the greatest manifestation of the mercy of God, I have never seen a non-Christian people more amenable to reason than the Japanese. In asking questions they are curious to importunity, and so desirous and anxious to learn that they never cease asking questions and commenting on what we say in reply. They did not know that the earth was round; nor did they know the course of the sun. They asked us about the comets, the stars, the rain, the snow, the eclipses, the waning and the waxing of the moon and other similar phenomena. They were quite satisfied with our answers, and took us to be very learned persons—a circumstance which gave no small credit to our words.'¹⁰⁷

Though convinced in their minds, the people could not be satisfied in their hearts with the replies of the missionaries on certain subjects. The fate of their dear departed was one of these subjects that touched a tender chord, and they were very much exercised when they were told that those who go to hell were beyond rescue. 'Many of them weep over their dead,' says Xavier, 'and ask if there is any remedy by means of alms and prayers. And I have to reply that there is none at all. . . . And they never cease weeping over the fate of their ancestors who are without hope of remedy. And I am also pained to see my dear and beloved friends grieve over matters beyond repair.'¹⁰⁸ The people believed in a communion of the departed souls watching over the welfare of those they had left behind, which attached them to their departed ones and kept up the memory of the dead. And so they were grieved that their ancestors could not have known the way of salvation, as it was now shown to them. Xavier consoled them by saying that they need have no fear, as those who led a good life in this world were sure to be with God, whether Christians or not.

¹⁰⁶ Schurhammer and Wicki, *op. cit.*, II, 96, 16.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 21; 110, 6.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 00, 48-49.

Yagamuchi, however, was still proving a barren ground for the Gospel message, despite the undisguised admiration of the people for the Christian missionaries and their teaching; when an incident changed the entire prospect. One day, when Brother João Fernandes was preaching in the street, a member of the audience interrupted him with his mockery. Finally, he approached the Brother from behind, and on a pretence to have a word with him, turned, and spat at him full in the face and disappeared. There was some laughter, as also some indignation felt at the man's conduct. Fernandes, however, went on with his spiritual discourse, quietly wiping the dirt off his face, as if nothing had happened. A person who had never missed an opportunity of contradicting Xavier happened to be there. He was so moved and touched by this act of humility on the part of the Brother that he began to reflect and followed him to his lodgings, and asked him for baptism.¹⁰⁰

The lead had now been given. And says Xavier, "They persisted for several days with their questions and discussions; and after a long time began to be converted: and the first to be converted were the very persons who had, both in the course of the sermons and the discussions, shown themselves to be our enemies. In this city we made many Christians; and after their conversion they became such good and true friends of ours that I can hardly finish writing about it. They explained to us in precise terms what the religion of these gentoos was. . . . And, after we had a true and exact account of their different sects, we could look for arguments to refute each one of them with the result that, when we questioned them on their sects and their justification, every day the monks and the nuns and the sorcerers as well as the other people had nothing to answer and had to admit that there was no religion so good as the law of God (i.e., Christianity)."¹¹⁰ Many of these converts belonged to the gentry, and the new religion took such a hold on the minds of the Japanese that even those who did not want to change over, for reasons beyond their control, encouraged others to do so.¹¹¹

Just at this time, Xavier received an invitation from the daimyo of Bungo, in the island of Kui-sia (Kyushu), who was known to have been well disposed towards the Portuguese.¹¹² The Portuguese who were there, when they knew of the proposed visit of Xavier, prepared a grand reception for their *Santo Padre*, and Xavier made a triumphal entry into Bungo. But about this he merely writes: "The Duke gave me a kind reception and I was much pleased

¹⁰⁰ Cros, *op. cit.*, Tom. II, p. 140, cited by Brou, *op. cit.*, Tom. II, p. 294.

¹¹⁰ Schurhammer and Wicki, *op. cit.*, II, 96, 16-17.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 96, 31.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 96, 36-38.

with the Portuguese that had been there.¹¹³ After the audience with the daimyo, Xavier plunged himself into his work, and could hardly spare time either for eating or rest.

When the Buddhist clergy found the great progress the Christian faith was making at Bungo, they began spreading false reports about Xavier, and challenged him to a debate with one of their celebrated savants whom they had specially invited for the purpose. Xavier met him and the debate ended in the discomfiture of the Buddhist protagonist. The clergy thereupon laid the city under an interdict, closed the temples, and suspended the religious life of the country, which caused a ferment among the common people. The Portuguese were afraid, lest their presence should be the cause of any disturbance, and thought it wise to set sail. But Xavier would not leave his neophytes to the tender mercies of their countrymen, and decided to remain with his flock; whereupon the Portuguese ship which had weighed anchor also decided not to sail. Another public debate was organised by the bonzes, at which the daimyo himself presided. The debate lasted for five days, but the result was again inconclusive for Buddhism. Xavier's opponent had violated all the rules of Japanese etiquette, says Mendez Pinto, who was an eye-witness, and was angry with the daimyo and retired in confusion. And the opposition to the Christians seems to have died down.¹¹⁴

Xavier had thus succeeded all along in his dealings with the Buddhist clergy. But the task was not without its difficulties. In Japan, Buddhism had divided itself into nine sects, and the fathers found that discussion with all of them was not equally easy. It was plain sailing, for instance, while engaged with a sect like the Fokhe-siu, whose doctrines could be easily understood. But it was different when the *zen-shu* entered the lists. This sect held that 'nothing exists, nor do we exist, and salvation lies in the contemplation of nothing.' No one could answer these sophists to their satisfaction, and it was hardly any use arguing at all. For even when the arguments were convincing enough, 'it was not they who were convinced,' as a biographer of Xavier wittily puts it, 'nor was it their opponents who convinced them.'¹¹⁵ Then again there were as usual people who thought that Buddhism with its Dai-Nitchi was next of kin to Christianity with its Deus (God), whom Xavier preached. They were prepared to admit that Christianity was a pure form of Buddhism perhaps, but it was Buddhism all the same.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 96, 36.

¹¹⁴ F. Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinações* (Lisbon, 1614), ch. 211, cited by Brou, *op. cit.*, Tom. II, pp. 234-35. The authenticity of Mendes Pinto's narrative is doubted, but Boxer thinks that he is more reliable on Japan. Boxer, *op. cit.*, p. 21-22.

¹¹⁵ Cros, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 78, 157, cited by Brou, *op. cit.*, Tom. II, p. 213.

¹¹⁶ Cros, *op. cit.*, p. 145, cited by Brou, *op. cit.*, Tom. II, p. 209

But, despite all these and other difficulties, Xavier's apostolate in Japan had been crowned with success. Sure enough there were no mass conversions in Japan. But, however small their number (about 2000), as regards their quality, the Japanese Christians were second to none in the world. These had become Christians for no material gain whatsoever, but as a result of pure conviction, and in the teeth of tremendous opposition from their countrymen, specially the clergy. As Xavier said in those celebrated lines of his praising the loftiness of their character : 'Of Japan, there is so much to write that I shall never finish. . . . With this I close, without being able to close, because it is to my Fathers and Brothers so dear and beloved that I write, and I write of our great friends the Christians of Japan.'¹¹⁷ Apart from the fact that Buddhism in Japan had been discredited on account of the ungodly lives of its clergy at the time of Xavier's visit, what seems to have made the path of the Christian religion easy was the character of the Son of Man, when it was placed in juxtaposition with that of Śākya-muni. There is no question of the singular beauty and attractiveness of the Buddha's character. But it will be conceded that the scene at least of the meeting of Sudhodhana with his only son who had long left him lacks that human touch, which is so characteristic of Christ: 'Further, he (Sudhodhana Rāja) thought with himself how he had long ago desired (this interview) which had now happened unawares (without arrangement). Meantime, his son in silence took his seat, perfectly composed and with unchanged countenance. (1543) Thus for some time sitting opposite each other, with no expression of feeling (the king reflected thus) : 'How desolate and sad does he make my heart, as that of a man, who, fainting, longs for water upon the road, espies a fountain pure and cold and with haste the speeds (1544); towards it and longs to drink, when suddenly the spring dries up and disappears. Thus, now I see my son, his well-known features as of old (1545) ; but how estranged his heart : and how his manner high and lifted up ! There are no grateful overflowings of the soul, his feelings seem unwilling to express themselves ; cold and vacant (there he sits) ! and like a thirsty man before a dried-up fountain (so am I) (1546). Still distant, thus (they sat) with crowding thoughts rushing through the mind, their eyes full met, but no responding joy ; each looking at the other seemed as one who, thinking of a distant friend gazes by accident upon his pictured form.' (1547).¹¹⁸ The Japanese found in Christianity a religion which ennobled and purified their impulses, instead of trying to destroy them, as Buddhism sought to do.¹¹⁹

Xavier had by now accomplished his mission of laying down the foundations of Christianity in Japan. And when he left for India in October-Novem-

¹¹⁷ Schurhammer and Wicki, *op. cit.*, II, 97, 50.

¹¹⁸ *Aśvaghosha, Fo-sho Hing-Tsan-King—A Life of Buddha*, translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by Dharmaraksha, A. D. 420, and from Chinese into English by Samuel Beal, *Sacred Books of the East*, ed. Max Muller, Vol. XIX (Oxford; Clarendon Press, 1883), Varga 19, vv 1543-47.

¹¹⁹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII (1883), pp. 313-14.

ber, 1551, he placed the mission in charge of his worthy companions, Fr. Cosmo de Torres and Brother João Fernandes. These missionaries produced the first Japanese grammar and lexicon. João Fernandes knew Japanese as his own mother tongue. The Japanese found a peculiar grace in his speech, what they term 'muxuree'; and delighted in hearing his sermons, as he had all the manners and gestures of the most ceremonious people in the world.¹²⁰ Fr. Torres was an affable man of great force of character who practised austerities as much as or more than the bonzes sought to profess them, replying when his superiors asked him to modify the rigour of his austerities: 'Nothing will be achieved in Japan, unless one lives a life which is harder in reality than the life of the bonzes, which is so only in theory and appearance.' He always went on foot; lived on rice and vegetables, and strictly avoided all animal diet including fish, and would not touch wine. And when he died on the 20th of October, 1570, three years after Brother Fernandes, the Church in Japan already reckoned as many as 30,000 souls.¹²¹

¹²⁰ Bartoli, *L'Asia*, I, VIII, n. 42, cited by Brou, *op. cit.*, Tom. II, p. 237.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

DECORATIVE STYLE AND ALAMKĀRAS IN THE AITAREYA BRĀHMAṆA

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In the following pages, an examination is made of the style and the Alamkāras in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. It has now been generally accepted that a study of the compositional art of the writer is one of the useful methods of the interpretation of the texts, particularly the ancient ones. The employment of the decorations and the figures of speech form an important part of the conscious art of the writer and its study should be a help for the proper understanding of the texts, particularly the Brāhmaṇas which are found to be obscure in many places.

A study of the Vedic Samhitās tells us that in them, particularly in the Rgvedic Samhitā, there is a conscious effort made by the poets to show their individual skill in matter of versification paying due attention to the metrical accuracy, figures of speech etc. (e. f. RV. VII. 32. 13 ab). The most important part of the conscious art of the Rgvedic poets is the use of the figures of speech. In Rgveda, the Alamkāras abundantly employed are the Upamā, Utprekṣā, Rupaka and the Atiśoyokti, these four being the earliest and the most important ones.

When we turn from the Samhitās to the Brāhmaṇas, we see a rather different picture but not too dismal. The Brāhmaṇas are the texts written in prose with the chief aim of elucidation and exposition of the sacrificial ritual and hence the writer did not devote much attention to develop the style and make it ornate. It is, however, not quite correct to say, as some western scholars have done, that "in a style of this kind, ornament should be doubtless out of place and at any rate it is carefully avoided." In fact from our study of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, we find that the writer of the Brāhmaṇas frequently resorted to Upamā and Rupaka in order to explain, defend and illustrate many a sacrificial procedure. Hence the remark of Dr. Keith (Harvard Oriental Series, Lanman, Vol. 25 introduction—p. 97) that "an interesting or novel Metaphor or Simile can not be found in either Brāhmaṇa (i.e. in Aitareya and Kauśītaki) and in both of them, Similes are distinctly rare" seems to be unfounded. As the foregoing pages will show, the Brāhmaṇa writer has made frequent use of Simile and Metaphor, though it must be admitted that in a

good number of cases, the figures are not introduced as poetic embellishments but as an aid for understanding. His primary aim was to make the ritual understood and to offer an explanation for and a defence of it through a comparison or a identification selected from ordinary life. At times, the figure of speech is introduced to eulogise a particular rite through the medium of a comparison or identification with something bright or great. This probably explains why in the Brāhmaṇas, you come across Upamāns and Rupakas in which the generative organ and cohabitation figure as Upamāns, cf. तदेतद्देवमियुं यद् धर्मः स यो धर्मस्तच्छिन्नं यो शर्फी तौ शर्फी योपयमनी ते श्रोणीकपाले यत्पयस्तद्रेतः etc. (page 97*). cf. also p. 264. As a part of the decorative style, we find particles like ह, वै, नु, used as decorations, generally forming the 2nd word in a sentence.

Before we begin a detailed discussion of the Simile as found in this Brāhmaṇa, it will be proper to add that Similes can be generally classified under three heads according to the purpose they serve. (1) *Illustrative*—introduced by the writer to make his meaning clear with ease. cf. तेजन्या उभयतोऽन्तयोर-प्रस्त्रंसाय वसीं नह्यत्येवमेवंतद्यस्योभयतोऽन्तयोरप्रस्त्रंसाय वसीं नह्यति etc. (p. 49). Similarly ते वा असुरा इमानेव लोकान्पुरोकुर्वन् यथा तेजीयांसो वलीयांसः (p. 98). Also cf. यथैवादी मनुष्यराज आगतेऽन्यस्मिन्वाऽहृत्युक्षाणं वा वेहतं वा शदन्त एवमेवास्मा एतत्क्षदन्त यदग्नि मन्थन्ति—(p. 946). cf. also Upamāns on pages 255, 391, 408 etc.

(2) *Explanatory*—introduced by the writer to explain a particular sacrificial procedure. c.g. यथा वै मृत्यं एवं यज्ञस्य विष्णुः । (p. 391). Also cf. महाकर्म भरतस्य न पूर्वं नापरे जनाः । दिवं मृत्य इव हस्तभ्यां नोदापुः पश्य मानवा इति । (p. 953).

In some cases, it appears that the Upamā is introduced to confirm a particular sacrificial procedure through a popular illustration. cf. तस्मादिकस्य बह्व्यो जाया भवन्ति नैकस्य बहवः सह पतयो यद्दं तत्सा चामश्च समसाम्भवति—। (p. 345). Here the writer wants to tell us that the union of स and आम, representing Rgveda and Sāmaveda respectively, takes place when one ऋक् becomes three. Three ऋक्s are joined to one साम. This is illustrated by the example given in the quotation above. Because of the word तस्मात्, one feels doubtful whether the writer was giving only a justification for a particular rite or was introducing a comparison. Similarly cf. यथैवादः प्रियः पुत्रः पितरं प्रिया वा जाया पतिं सुखं शिवमुपस्पृति—एवं क्षत्रियस्य सुरा वा सोमो वा—(p. 946).

(3) *Decorative*—Apart from the two purposes mentioned above which the writer has in mind for introducing the Upamā, we do get in this Brāhmaṇa a few instances where, it appears, the writer was conscious of using a figure of speech and not merely choosing an illustration. cf. यथा ह वा इदं निषादा वा सेढगा वा पापकृतो वा वित्तवन्तं पुरुषमरण्ये गृहीत्वा कर्तमन्वस्य वित्तमादाय द्रवन्त्येमेव त ऋत्विजो यजमानं कर्तमन्वस्य वित्तमादाय द्रवन्ति—(p. 926). Also यथेह चेह चापथेन चरित्वा पन्थानं पयवेयात्तादृक्तद्यत्प्रज्ञाता अनुष्टुभः शंसति—। (p. 442) cf. also आदित्य इव ह स्म श्रियां प्रतिष्ठितास्तपन्ति सर्वाभ्यो दिग्भ्यो वलिमावहन्तः, इति (p. 893).

*The page-references are according to the edition published in the Ānavdas' Eama Series, Poona.

The Brāhmaṇa Simile is ordinarily a simple one like the Vedic, though not as poetic as the latter. Usually the four elements of the Upamā i.e. the Upameya, the Upamāna, the particle of comparison and the common property are expressed by the writer though there are occasions where one of them is dropped, thus making it a Luptopamā. cf. यथा रथचक्रमनन्तमेवं यदग्निष्टोम—(p. 408). Also अहेरिव सर्पणं शाकत्सस्य न विजानन्ति यतरत्परस्तादिति—(p. 408).

When we study these simple Similes, the following points as regards the syntax, deserve our notice :—(1) In the case of some Similes, the concord between the Upameya and Upamāna is not maintained both in respect of number and gender. (a) In such a case, usually, the common term or the words expressive of the common property are affected and thus become unapplicable either to Upamāna or the Upameya. cf. यथा रथचक्रमनन्तमेवं यदग्निष्टोमः—(p. 408). Here the common term is applicable to Upamāna alone (b) There are, however, certain cases where the disagreement in gender or number does not affect the common property, either because (i) the Simile is a Luptopamā with the common property dropped, as at p. 391 यथा वै मत्स्यं एवं यज्ञस्य विष्णुः । cf. also p. 369 or (ii) the common property is mentioned twice both with the Upameya and the Upamāna. cf. छन्दासि—श्रान्तानि तिष्ठन्ति यथाऽश्वो अश्वतरो बोहिवांस्तिष्ठन्ति देव—(p. 421).

Generally the simple similes are introduced with इव as the particle of comparison. But (a) we get quite a number of simple similes where the particle of comparison is यथा-एवम् cf. यथीजीयांसो वलीयांस एव ते वा अयस्मयीमेवे-मामकुर्वन्त—(p. 98) or यथा ह वा इदमनो वा रथो वाऽक्तो वर्तते एवं हेवाक्तो वर्तते—(p. 452). (b) In a few cases instead of इव, only यथा is introduced as the particle and not यथा-एवं. cf. तं वा एतं देवनीयं शंसति पदावग्राहं यथा निविदं—(p. 797). In addition to the simple simile, we come across many instances of a compound simile in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. Some of these compound similes can be called as 'Ekadeśavivartini Sānga,' where either one of the Upameyas or Upamānas, is dropped. cf. (i) यथा दुष्कृष्टं दुर्मतीकृतं सुकृष्टं सुमतीकृतं कुर्वन्निद्यादेवमेवंतद्यज्ञस्य—मुशस्तं कुर्वन्नेति यदेतां होता शंसति ॥ (p. 391). Here कर्षक and राजा, the principal upamānas are dropped but are suggested by the subsidiary upamānas. The two upamās are construed as one. Similarly in यथा—मयूखं वा अन्ततो धारणाय निहन्यात्तादृक्त्तद्यद्धारयन्वारयन्निति शंसति संतत्यं । (p. 599). Here tanner, the principal upamāna is dropped but can be understood from the remaining part of the upamāna-sentence. In this passage, there are really two comparisons. 1st is—यथा पुनराग्रन्थं पुननिग्रन्थमन्तं वध्नीयात् तादृक् धारयन्—इति शंसति संतत्यं । Here पुरुष (उपमान and Priest) उपमेय are dropped. रज्जु) Sub. उपमान and यज्ञ) Sub. are also dropped. The writer continues and for the same sacrificial procedure gives another illustration—मयूखं वाऽन्ततो धारणाय —शंसति संतत्यं । Here the upameya-sentence is the same and as in above, the upamānas are dropped. The word 'वा' indicates that another comparison is being introduced. The two Upamās are employed by the

writer to make his point very clear. This is a case where both the principal upameya and upamāna are dropped but being obvious can be understood.

The following peculiarities in regard to the method of expressing the common property are noted, in the case of the Compound Similes.

(I) In these compound similes, the common property is generally mentioned twice, once in the Upamāna-sentence and also in the upameya-sentence. This is done either (i) by repeating the same words, as at p. 423—यदिह वा अपि बह्व्य इव जायाः पतिर्वाव तासां मियुनं तद्यदासां धातारं पुरस्ताद्यजनि तदासु सर्वासु मियुनं दधाति । cf. also p. 346 or (ii) it is mentioned in different words. cf. यथेह चेह चापथेन चरित्वा पन्थानं पर्यवेयात्तादृक्तद्यत्प्रजाता अनुष्टुभः शंसति । i.e. इह च इह च अपथेन चरित्वा यथा समीचीनं पन्थानं परिगच्छेत् एवं कृत्रिमा अनुष्टुभः शस्त्वा स्वतः सिद्धानां अनुष्टुभां दर्शनम् । (p. 442) (iii) in some cases, the common property which is mentioned twice in the same words is applicable to upameya only metaphorically. cf. यथा सूच्या वासः संघदियादेवमेवैताभिर्यज्ञस्य च्छिद्रं संघदेयेति । p. 332 (iv) The common property is mentioned once only with one of the two sentences—upameya or upamāna—but is meant to be applicable to the other as well. cf. यथा पुनराग्रन्थं—शंसति संतत्यं । quoted on p. 4(6). Also cf. एताभिः इन्द्रं निव्हयन्ते यथा ऋषभं वाशितायै । (p. 745).

(II) In these compound similes, the particle of comparison usually is यथ-एवम्, the former going with the upamāna sentence and the latter with the upameya sentence. But the following unusual cases are noticed (i) In some similes, the particle is introduced with each subordinate comparison as if it is an independent one. cf. यथा वै पुरुष एवं वैश्वदेवं तस्य यथा अवान्तरमृङ्गान्येवं सूक्तानि यथा पर्वाण्येवं (p. 369) or यथा वै प्रजा एवं वैश्वदेवं तद्यथाऽन्तरं जनता एवं सूक्तानि यथा अरण्यान्येवं धाय्याः । (p. 369). (ii) There are a few cases where not यथा-एवं but merely इव is introduced as a particle. cf. यदिह वा बह्व्य इव जायाः—दधाति इति quoted earlier under I (i). on p 5 Also cf. महाकर्म भरतस्य न पूर्वं नापरे जनाः । दिवं मर्त्यं इव हस्ताभ्यां नोदापुः पञ्च मानवा इति । (p. 953).

From the above discussion of the similes in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, it will be noticed that the writer of the Brāhmaṇa employed the simile on a number of occasions, not always as an embellishment but as a medium to illustrate, defend or explain a particular rite. That is perhaps why they do not satisfy all the requirements of a figure of speech.

(i) In some cases we find that the upamā is not properly expressed. e.g. in अहेरिव सर्पणं शाकलस्य—(p. 408) corresponding to शाकल अहि, the अग्निष्टोम is not mentioned but is to be understood from the earlier sentence. Corresponding to सर्पणम् we should have the क्रिया which also is not mentioned. The upamā really consists only of the statement of the upamāna with the common property mentioned in the next sentence. The idea of the comparison is that just as in the case शाकल अहि who moves about in circles

it is difficult to say where the मुख or पुच्छ is, similarly in अग्निष्टोम, the beginning and the end cannot be distinguished. (ii) In one case, an upamāna, which can never exist, is introduced. But it is so done because it serves the purpose of the writer. cf. यो अनुदिने जुहोति यथा कुमाराय वा वत्साय वा अजाताय स्तनं प्रतिदध्यात् (p. 665). Here performing a sacrifice before the sunrise is said to be as ridiculous as offering breasts to an unborn child for milk. (iii) In the simile इन्द्रमेवंताभि निन्द्यन्ते यथा ऋषभं वाशितायै (p. 745) the point of comparison is mere 'calling and sure arrival'. The suggestion of passion and the hurried arrival of a ऋषभ to meet वाशिता in order to satisfy the same, is not meant here as in later literature. (iv) In one case, two upamās are introduced with one upameya only and are construed as one. In both the cases, the principal upamānas are dropped but are suggested by the subsidiary ones. The common property is probably is दोषस्य परिहरणम् or something similar. It is not mentioned but is suggested by the subsidiary upamānas and upameyas. cf. यथा दुष्कृष्टं दुर्मतीकृतं सुकृष्टं सुमतीकृतं कुर्वन्मियात् एवमेवंतद्यज्ञस्य दुष्कृतं दुःशस्तं सुकृतं सुशस्तं कुर्वन्नेति यदेतां त्वेता शंसति ॥ (p. 391).

In addition to the similes discussed above, we get an instance of what looks like a Mālopamā, with the same common property. This Mālopamā follows a metaphor and is meant to explain it. cf. एतानि—वेदानामन्तःश्लेषणानि यदेता व्याहृतयः । This is a metaphor to explain which, a Mālopamā is introduced.—यथा आत्मना आत्मानं संदध्याद्यथा पर्वणा पर्वं यथा श्लेष्मणा चर्मण्यं वा अन्यद्वा विश्लिष्टं संश्लेषयेदेवमेवंताभिर्यज्ञस्य विश्लिष्टं सदधाति—(p. 670). Also cf. स्यूम-हैतद्यज्ञस्य यद्वाय्यास्तद्यथा सूच्या वासः संदधदियादेवमेवंताभिर्यज्ञस्य छिद्रं संधदेत् । (p. 332).

A similar study of the metaphors found in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa reveals to us that here too the writer was employing Rupaka for his own purpose. We have in this Brāhmaṇa a few instances of Niranga-Rupaka, one of Param-parita and some of Sānga-Rupaka.

In the Brāhmaṇas, many instances of mystical identification based on similarity are found e.g. विष्णु वै यज्ञः (p. 64) अग्नि वै सर्वा देवता (p. 7) उतयः खलु वै ताः ताम्—हवमायन्ति (p. 15) etc. etc. There are a few others which can be styled as 'Normal Rupakas' based on similarity. cf. उच्चं वा एतद्दीक्षितस्य यद्वासः । (p. 20.) Also देववर्मं वा एतद् यत्प्रयाजाचानुयाजाः (p. 110); क्षत्रं वा एतद् वनस्पतीनां यज्ञप्रोधः । (p. 885).

The rest of the metaphors are introduced for any one of the following reasons :—(1) Many of the Sānga Rupakas are introduced to eulogise some ritual or other. cf. शिरो वा एतद्यज्ञस्य यदातिथ्यं ग्रीवा उपसदः समानवर्हिषी भवतः समानं हि शिरोग्रीवम् Here समानं हि शिरोग्रीवम् explains the metaphor (p. 105). In the metaphor quoted below, there is not much similarity, between the various subsidiary upameyas and upamānas but are introduced to make the metaphor a complete one. The point of the metaphor is to praise the Upasad-ceremony which enables the gods to win over the demons like इषु killing the enemies.

The metaphor runs as follows :—इयं वा एतां देवाः समस्कुर्वंत यदुपसदस्तस्या अग्निरनी-
कमासोत्सोमः शल्यो विष्णुस्तेजसं वहगः पर्णानि तामाज्यवन्दानो व्यसृजस्तथा पुरो भिन्दन् आयन् ।
(p. 105). Similarly cf. एषा वै गायत्री—यद् द्वादशाहः । तस्य यावभित्तोऽतिरात्रौ तौ
पक्षौ यावन्तराज्मिष्टोमी ते चक्षुषी योऽष्टौ मध्य उक्थ्याः स आत्मा (p. 507). The principal
metaphor is based on the personification of the Gāyatri metre and the
entire metaphor is meant to eulogise the द्वादशाह् ceremony. (2) Some
metaphors are introduced to justify or defend certain ritual. cf. सौर्या वा एता
देवताः यन्निविदः । (p. 312). This is merely in justification of a sacrificial
procedure on the grounds that this is similar to something wellknown. The
three placings of निविद् during three pressings of Soma resemble the three
stages of the movement of the Sun. (3) A few metaphors are with a view
to explain a ritual. cf. असौ वा अस्थादित्यो यूः पृथिवी वेदिरोषधयो वहिर्वनस्पतय
इत्मा आपः प्रोक्ष्यो दिशः परिषयः (p. 653). This identification is only to
explain how mere भावनाऽ would serve the purpose of the actual performance
of the अग्निहोम होम. When the होम is भावनात्मक the Sun would symbolise
for the sacrificial post, earth the Vedi etc. Similarly in the metaphor ब्रम्ह
वा आहावः क्षत्रं निविद् विद् सूत्रम्—(p. 258) the upameyas and the upamānas
have nothing common. The metaphor is only meant to help the under-
standing of the sacrificial procedure order of the recitation of आहव, निविद्,
सूक्त on the basis of the caste system. Perhaps the introduction of
the figure gives a justification for the particular procedure. (4) There are
a few metaphors, mystic no doubt, but based on some sort of causal relation-
ship. e.g. in रेतो वा आपः (p. 17) the semen is identified with water on the basis
that the cause and the effect are not different. Similarly in तेजो वा एतदशयो-
र्यदाञ्जनम् (p. 18) the upameya is the cause of the upamāna and hence both are
identified. cf. also आत्मा वै स्तोत्रियः p. 351. Here the manner and the order of
the recitation of certain hymns is mentioned and the result to be obtained by
so doing is put in a metaphor. The स्तोत्रियः when recited in the middle
tone make the soul perfect and therefore the स्तोत्रिय is identified with आत्मा
cf. also तेजो वै ब्रम्हवर्चसं गायत्री । (p. 26) आयुर्वा उष्णिह् (p. 26) etc. etc.

It will be seen that many of these Sānga Rupakas are artificial e.g. there
is not much similarity between the various subsidiary limbs but they are in-
troduced only to make the metaphor Sānga. Also in many of these meta-
phors, the point of the metaphor is explained in the sentences following imme-
diately.

On page 59, many upameyas belonging to the same sphere are identified
with one upamāna only, the common property being the same. यज्ञो वै सुतर्मा
नौः कृष्णाजिनं वै सुतर्मा नौर्वाग्वै सुतर्मा—तदाहृह स्वर्गं लोकमभि संतरति । The following
is perhaps a परम्परित रूपक rather than a Sānga because the principal
metaphor of प्रवर्ग्य and देवमियुन is not understandable in itself unless the
subsidiary ones are first understood. cf. तदेतद्देवमियुनं यद् घर्मः स यो घर्मः शिञ्जं
यो शफी तौ शफी योपयमनी ते श्रोणीकपाले यत्पयस्तद्रेतः p. 97.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

PURANIC CHRONOLOGY. By Prof. D. R. Mankad. Published by the author, Vallabhvidyanagar, Via Anand. 1951. Royal, pp. x+369. Price Rs. 20/-.

Combining in himself a sound and critical knowledge of Sanskrit and an adequate grounding in ancient Indian history and culture, Prof. D. R. Mankad is well qualified to write on Puranic Chronology. The book is divided into four parts, each containing four chapters. The first part comprises of introduction and the theory of the Manvantara-Caturyuga-Method and its application both to pre-Kali and Kali Chronology. "Kashmir Chronology", "Nepalese Chronology" and "Naraka Episode and Assamese Chronology" are considered in part two, which also deals with "Various Chronological Computations", and has an appendix entitled "Who was Alexander's contemporary?—Chandragupta Maurya or Chandragupta I of the Gupta Dynasty?" In the third part are discussed problems connected with the contemporaneity of Sandrocottus and Alexander such as "Chandragupta Maurya and the Greek Evidence", "The Greek Evidence and the Guptas", "The Piyadasi Inscriptions", and "The Gupta Era". The concluding part is devoted to "The Yugas", "The Saptarṣi Era", "Harṣa Vikramāditya", and "Pre-Mahābhārata Ayodhyā Dynasty". There are several genealogical tables in the book.

Prof. Mankad's main thesis is that the Puranic genealogies have been constructed on an arbitrary and artificial method, designated as Manvantara-Caturyuga-Method by him, according to which, one king-name in the genealogies represents a time-unit of 40 years or 20 years. On the basis of Puranic and Greek evidence, he has arrived at the following important dates :—5976 B. C. =Date of Manu Vaivasvata; 3201 B. C. =Date of the Bhārata War; 2976 B. C. =Date of the Kali Era; 2066 B.C. =Date of Buddha's death; 2051 B. C. =Date of Mahāvīra's death; 1986 B. C. =Accession of Mahāpadma; 1550 B. C. =Accession of Chandragupta Maurya; 1498 B. C. =Coronation of Aśoka; 1113 B. C. =Accession of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga; 329 B. C. =Accession of Chandragupta I; c. 312-10 B. C. =Start of the Gupta Era; 307-5 B. C. =Accession of Samudragupta. Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty has been taken as the contemporary of Alexander. It is also stated that the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga) came to be studied in Kashmir in the eleventh century B. C.

Considerations of time and space preclude a detailed and comprehensive review. Even after a careful reading of the book the reviewer finds that it is

not possible for him to agree with the conclusions of Prof. Mankad. It is not clear why some of the Purāṇas completely ignore the so-called republican or kingless periods, and why others, as stated by Prof. Mankad, either distribute these periods in the total dynastic period of the preceding or the following dynasty or add to the total of single dynasties. These kingless periods as also the period of 653 (or 753) years from the Kashmir Chronology have come in handy to Prof. Mankad for proving his dates by adding these periods singly or in combination, as necessary.

It is interesting to note the difference in interpretation of the same passage on pp. 268 and 274. While applying the relevant passages about Xandrames and Sandrocottus from the Greek accounts to Chandragupta Maurya, Prof. Mankad insists on strictest accord and magnifies the slightest discrepancy or difference. In the case of Chandragupta I or Samudragupta, however, very liberal and lenient interpretations would be offered and the evidence of the *Kaumudīmahotsava* pressed into service. The identification of Viśvaspharṇi and Samudragupta has nothing to commend it. Further, in equating Xandrames with Chandragupta and Sandrocottus with Samudragupta, how is it that *mes* and *cottus* both represent *gupta* ?

Prof. Mankad divides the Aśoka inscriptions into two groups, one comprising "the fourteen principal rock edicts, two separate Kaliṅga edicts, the seven principal pillar inscriptions and the Queen's edict," and the other comprising "the minor rock edicts, minor pillar inscriptions and the Barbara [Barabar] cave inscription". He ascribes the first group to Samudragupta (c. 305 B. C. according to him) and the second to Aśoka Maurya (c. 1498 B.C. according to him). The reviewer feels that Prof. Mankad should have given his views as to the palaeography of the inscriptions when the two groups represent the same script, which is quite distinct from, and chronologically anterior to, the script of the Gupta inscriptions.

There are several printing mistakes as the result of indifferent proof-reading, which detract from the value of a book of such academic importance. Prof. Mankad deserves thanks for presenting his view-point in a connected form. We commend the book to all lovers of Puranic subjects.

A. D. P.

Da'ā'imū'l-Islām, by Qāḍī Nu'mān b. Muḥammad at-Tamīmī (d. 363 A.H. 974 A.D.), Vol. I. Edited in the original Arabic by A.A.A. Fyzee. Cairo, Dāru'l-ma'ārif, 1951. pp. 28+520+24. Royal 8°. Price 1½ Egyptian pound.

Ismailism as the most developed and politically active form of the Shi'ite ideology in Islam often served as a model doctrine which in the religious outlook of mediaeval life could unite and organise wide masses in their protest

movements against the tyranny and horrible misrule of the Abbasids and various other dynasties. The ruling circles were surely apprehensive of its immense potentialities and therefore never spared effort in carrying the most rabid anti-Ismaili propaganda. No filth was considered too filthy to be pelted at the Fatimids and their doctrine which was described as monstrous heresy. Only the great catastrophe of the Mongol invasion which swept away both the Abbasids and the Ismaili centres, together with the whole of the earlier order in Islam, brought about the termination of the controversy. In the process of the latter almost the whole Fatimid and generally Ismaili literature had perished, and only a portion of it was preserved in the back-water of S. W. Arabia whence it later on was brought to India. It, however, always remained jealously guarded from the world outside the community, and all knowledge about Ismailism which was accessible was entirely derived from the writings of the bitter enemies of the movement. No wonder that the ideas of the historian and the student of Islamic culture on the subject entirely consisted of wild fictions.

Centuries have passed, and the world, in its new worries and preoccupations, had entirely forgotten about Ismailism and its alleged heretical ideas to which it had become entirely indifferent. To every sane Ismaili the conditions would appear as the most favourable for bringing to an end such unfortunate state of affairs by laying before the students the hitherto concealed books and permitting them to see for themselves that the doctrine which they contained had nothing to do with the ridiculous lies and inventions spread by the anti-Ismaili propaganda. Some branches of the Ismaili community have really done this. But the priests of other branches obstinately refused to alter their attitude. Even worse, while their religious books were formerly guarded against the outsiders, now they are chiefly guarded against the adepts themselves. Advanced circles of their own community appeared to them more dangerous than traditional enemies by their questioning various pretended rights and prerogatives of the priests in the management of the public funds, imposition of religious taxes, and various forms of "squeeze".

It is for this reason that the publication of every genuine and original early Ismaili work becomes an event for the student. This particularly applies to the work under review owing to its outstanding position in the religious life of the community. Its case is unique in many respects in Islamic literature. Many aspects of it are veiled in mystery which will not be solved perhaps for a long time to come. To begin with, although written more than a thousand years ago, it still remains in use in certain branches of the Ismaili community,—quite an unparalleled instance of longevity of a legal code. To an extent it may be explained by the fact that the Ismailis ever since the Fatimid period formed a small minority in the states in which they lived, and had to apply the majority's legal system, reserving their own system only for matters in family life.

Another extraordinary feature is the fact that the work is claimed by the Ithna-'ashari Shi'ites as belonging to their school, in which it is regarded as one of the fourteen "classics". Yet another strange fact is that despite the air of great veneration with which it is surrounded, no earlier copies have been preserved than those dating from the tenth/sixteenth c., while much older transcripts are available in the case of the works of far lesser importance. There are many other questions which may be raised, but I do not like to refer to them here in order not to prejudice the editor who may take them up in his subsequent instalments of the text.

The great value of the *Da'á'imu'l-Islâm* for the historian lies in the fact that it offers the indisputable and authentic data as to the nature of the plain doctrine of Ismailism as it came into practice in the Fatimid state. The author, Qâdî Nu'mân, according to the scanty biographical materials available about him, joined the government service when still very young. Therefore we may treat him as a genuine product of the Fatimid policy, and official speaker for them in religious matters. It therefore can sweep away all the nonsense which the supposed mediaeval "authorities" have written about the Ismaili doctrine.

As so many Ithna-'ashari treatises of a similar kind, the work is divided into two parts, or volumes, the first devoted to matters of belief and worship, and the second forming a legal code. In the first volume, with which we are here concerned, the most valuable to the historian is the first chapter, on *walâyat*, summing up what may be regarded as theology proper of the system. The other chapters deal with the technicalities of ablutions, prayer, fasting, etc.

To those brought up in the belief in monstrous impieties of the Fatimid doctrine the contents of the book may appear surprising. But it seems that mediaeval champions of orthodoxy apparently never based their hysterical accusations on authentic Ismaili literature, writing on hearsay, or exaggerated reports concerning the beliefs of ignorant sectarian extremists against whom the Fatimids themselves carried on incessant struggle from within.

The edition of the text is based on eight manuscripts of varying age, the oldest dated 961/1554 and 975/1567. Introduction in English and in Arabic is provided, together with six indices. The volume is well printed.

Bombay, September 1952.

W. I.

VEDABHĀṢYASĀRA of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita-Edited by Pandit R. N. Patankar with an Introduction by Prof. P. K. Gode, Bhāratiya Vidyā Series No. 12, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1947. Pp. 25; Re. 1/-.

It should not seem surprising if Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita who condensed the science of grammar mainly from a practical point of view should also oblige

beginners in the study of the *R̥gveda* by composing a *Sāra* of Sāyana's comprehensive commentary on that *Samhitā*. True to his pledge, Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita follows Sāyana's commentary on the first twelve *Vargas* (= *R̥V.* I. 1-6) closely-almost *verbatim*, eschewing, however, the elaboration and polemics of the latter. Naturally enough, Bhaṭṭojī explains the grammatical formation of words and occasionally their accent as well. In all this there is nothing original or new on the part of Bhaṭṭojī except on the very rare occasions when he chooses to offer an independent interpretation or explanation on his own : cf. यशसम् (Varga I vs. 3) ; अरिः.... कृष्यः (varga 8 vs. 1) where he is more natural than Sāyana ; गोदुहे (varga 7 vs. 1) whose explanation by Bhaṭṭojī is certainly better than Sāyana ; मर्याः (varga 11 vs. 3) where Bhaṭṭojī is pedantic and unconvincing. Sāyana fully explains the enigmatic expression एहिमायासः (varga 6 vs. 3) : Bhaṭṭojī partly differs from him but does not explain the word माया at all. In discussing the accent of the vocatives in the body of a *pāda* (under varga 4 vs. 3) Dikṣita follows but abridges Sāyana though he cites one different illustration.

In the Introduction, Prof. Gode has touched on the question whether this *Sāra* is complete as it is or whether it is only a fragment of a larger work. From the third introductory stanza-

एतस्मिन्प्रथमोऽध्यायः श्रोतव्यः सम्प्रदायतः ।
व्युत्पन्नस्तावता सर्वं बोद्धुं शक्नोति शुद्धधीः ॥

it appears that Bhaṭṭojī must have composed the *Sāra* upto the end of the first *Adhyāya* (*R̥V.* I. 1-19) whose study in the traditional manner was according to him indispensable for being able to understand the rest of the Veda. In the *Sāra* as it exists here, however, we have only twelve *vargas* out of the thirty-seven which comprise the first *Adhyāya*. We can, therefore, reasonably hope to recover the remaining twenty-five *vargas*.

Finally, attention may be drawn to one or two cases which appear to involve misprints : गुहायां स्थापितवान् (varga 11 vs. 5) is obviously a misprint for गुहायां स्थापिताः. Similarly the latter part of मह उत्सवः तमपयते इति महाः विच् । (varga 12. vs. 1) is not intelligible without correction.

G. C. J.

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