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EDITED BY

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PART I

THE WORD *VRATA* IN THE *ṚGVEDA**

By
P. V. KANE

Vrata is one of those Sanskrit words the use and history of which extend over several thousand years. Great controversies have raged about the derivation and semantic development of the word '*vrata*'. This article proposes to discuss these questions at some length.

The great American scholar Whitney wrote a note on this word (*vide* Proceedings of the American Oriental Society published in J.A.O.S. vol. XI, pp. CCXXIX-XXXI). In that note he first sets out the treatment of the word in the St. Petersburg Dictionary, where the word *vrata* is derived from the root *vr̥* (to choose) and which draws out its scheme of values for the word *vrata* as follows : (1) will, command, law, prescribed order ; (2) subservience, obedience, service ; (3) domain ; (4) order, regulated succession, realm ; (5) calling, office, customary activity, action, carrying on, custom ; (6) religious duty, worship, obligation ; (7) any undertaking, religious or ascetic performance or observance, rule, vow, sacred work ; (8) vow in general, fixed purpose ; and the said lexicon also gives certain other specialized senses. Max Müller derived the word *vrata* from '*vr̥*' (to protect) and held that it meant originally what is enclosed, protected, set apart, then what is fenced off, what is settled or determined, law, ordinance, then 'sway or power'. Whitney brushed aside Müller's etymology as unsatisfactory and further attacked it as possessed of little plausibility. While admitting that there is a certain relationship between 'choose' and 'command' he raised the objections that '*vr̥*' does not signify willing or command but only choice or preference and the idea of laying down the law which runs through all the leading definitions of the word *vrata* in that lexicon is not to be found in it. He further holds that even if one were to admit

* This paper is an expansion and elaboration of a part on the topic of *vrata* to be contained in the 5th vol. of the History of Dharmasāstra.

the derivation of 'vrata' from 'vr' the Petersburg lexicon's scheme of definitions as it stands is unacceptable and requires recasting. Whitney's further objection to the derivation of 'vrata' from 'vr' was that the suffix *ta* (except as making past passive participles) was of great rarity and that the only analogous word would be 'marta' from 'mr' (to die). Whitney, therefore, prefers to derive the word *vrata* from 'vrt' and while admitting that the form *vrata* from 'vrt' with suffix 'a' would be exceptional, he thought that this should cause no difficulty, especially as it finds support in the words 'vrāja' and 'trada'.

Recently Prof. V. M. Apte contributed a long article on "All about vrata in the *R̥gveda*" to the third volume of the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute at Poona (pp. 407-488). In this article, which exhibits great industry and is not lacking in scholarship and ingenious interpretations, Prof. Apte, while agreeing with Whitney in deriving the word 'vrata' from the root 'vrt,' goes much further than Whitney who puts forward his views rather modestly and who adds that the assumed shades of meaning of *vrata* will be only slightly modified but the interpretation will not be essentially changed and thinks that the matter involved is not so much the senses themselves but the derivation of the word and the relation of the meanings of the word to one another. As often happens in the case of the founder of a new faith the followers are far more rabid and extreme than the prophet himself, Prof. Apte vehemently asserts that the derivation from either *vr* 'to choose' or *vr* 'to guard or enclose' is impossible (p. 410) and that *not a single 'vrata' passage* in the *R̥gveda* favours the meaning 'will, command, obedience or fixed purpose'; that the word as denoting some kind of physical activity is sharply distinguished from words denoting mental activity such as *dhī* and *citta*, that *vrata* is not something in itself protected, but that (ritual or other) procedure or (religious or social) activity, which in the course of its expansion requires protection. He holds that the root 'vrt' means not only to 'proceed' (as Whitney holds), but also 'to turn, turn oneself, turn round, revolve, roll, move on, pass on' and so *vrata* means not only procedure, line of movement, course of action, conduct or behaviour, but also revolution, circular movement and then 'route or circular path' (pp. 411-412).

Before proceeding to examine the passages in which the word *vrata* occurs by itself or in combination with prepositions (like *anu*) or in compounds (as in *śucivrata* and *dhṛtavrata*) I should like to state clearly my own views about the derivation of *vrata*. I reject Whitney's and Prof. Apte's derivation from 'vrt.' In this connection I may say that the meaning of 'proceed' given to 'vrt' by Whitney is doubtful and I deny that the root 'vrt' when occurring by itself in the *R̥gveda* means 'turn round, revolve, move on' as Prof. Apte holds (p. 411, bottom). To arrive at the original sense of 'vrt' in the *R̥gveda* its occurrence along with *upasargas* (such as *abhi*, *ā*, *ni*, *pari*, *pra* or *vi*) would not be helpful, since *upasargas* modify or change the original meaning of the root. The root 'vrt' by itself (and not used in the

causal or frequentative sense) means simply 'to be, to remain, to abide'. The occurrences of the root 'vrt' without any *upasarga* before it or after¹ it are few and far between. A few may be cited here. Rg. VIII.5.34 'wheel does not affect (jolt) your chariot (O Āsvin!), which is followed by songs one after another and which remains possessed of² food'; X.34.9 '(these dice) lie (remain) downwards (but) they throb (or strike) above (i.e. they shake or terrify the hearts of the gamblers); though they (dice) have no hands, they defeat those endowed with hands'; X.27.10 'I (sage Vasupra) saw (Indra) taking with him from afar (or near) a band (viz. of Maruts); (Indra) has power without a wheel (i.e. a chariot)'; X.107.11 'The horses that are good carriers carry *bhoja* (the donor or sacrificer), the chariot remains well-placed (without jolting) for the Fee (personified)'; V.40.6 'When, O Indra, thou didst strike down the wiles of Svarbhānu (the demon Rāhu) that remained below the sky'. Even with an *upasarga* like *sam* 'vrt' does not in several passages change its meaning.³ Compare VI.41.2⁴ '(O Indra!) drink (our soma) with that tongue which is well-made, very wide and with which you drink the swelling and sweet soma often-times; (our) adhvaryu priest has started (with soma) for thee; may your bolt (weapon) remain (as usual) desirous of battle (with demons)'. Vide X.90.14, X.121.1 and 7, X.129.4 for '*sam-avartata*' meaning 'existed or was produced'. Simply because *vrt* with *abhi* means 'turn towards, meet or attack' in passages like Rg. IV.43.5 or V.31.5, or with *ni* means 'come down, return' in X.19.1, 3, 5, X.95.17, or with *pari* means 'roam over or around' as in I.164.11 and IV.36.1, or with *pra* means 'proceed' as in V.30.8, X.89.12, or with *vi* means 'roll or revolve' as in I.185.1, V.30.8, V.53.7, VI.9.1, X.94.14, it does not at all follow that the original sense of 'vrt' is, as Prof. Apte asserts (p. 411 end), 'to revolve, turn round or roll on.' Besides, ascribing these latter senses to 'vrt' involves some contradiction, since 'revolve' is not the same as 'roll on'.

Prof. Apte after having assigned to *vrata* the meaning 'route or circular path' contends that scholars have not taken sufficient notice of the very important part the sense of 'route or circular path' plays in the *Rigveda* but were satisfied with the meanings 'will, law, statute, command, sacrifice, vow, fixed purpose, duty'.

1. Sometimes *upasargas* are placed after the verb or verbal form, vide Rg. V.30.8 (where *pr* follows वर्तमानं) and X.27.10 (सिषक्त्यर्थः प्र युगा जनानाम्).

2. रथं वामनुगायसं य इषा वर्तते सह । न चक्रमभि वाधते ॥ VIII.5.34; नीचा वर्तन्त उणरि स्फुरन्त्यहस्तासी हस्तवन्तं सहन्ते । X.34.9; अपश्यं ग्रामं बहुमानमारादचक्रया स्वधया वर्तमानम् । X.27.19; भोजमश्वाः सुष्ठुवाहो वहन्ति सुवृद्धो वर्तते दक्षिणायाः । X.107.11; स्वर्भानोरध यदिन्द्र माया अबो दिवो वर्तमाना अवाहन् । V.40.6.

3. In the whole of this article, unless otherwise expressly stated, all quotations in Sanskrit are taken from the *Rigveda* and the pages mentioned refer to the pages of the 3rd volume of the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute.

4. या ते ऋकुत्सुकृता या वरिष्ठा यया शश्वत्पिबसि मध्व ऊमिम् । तथा पाहि प्र ते अध्वयूरस्थान् सं ते वज्रो वर्ततामिन्द्र गव्युः ॥ Rg. VI.41.2.

He is of the opinion that the divine *vratas* often mentioned in the *R̥gveda* are rather the 'heavenly routes', 'the divine rounds', 'the periodical movements round the sky', 'the rules of the heavenly road' closely adhered to by the gods themselves rather than 'holy laws' enunciated or laid down by a particular deity and binding on its devotees. He adopts (p. 458 section 98) the suggestion thrown out by Tilak in his *Orion* (p. 154) when dealing with *R̥v.* I.41.4⁵ that the path of 'ṛta' several times mentioned in the *R̥gveda* refers to the broad belt of the Zodiac which the luminaries never transgress. In his paper on 'R̥ta' in the *R̥gveda* (contributed by Prof. Apte to the Silver Jubilee volume of the *Annals of the B.O.R.I.* pp. 55-56) he tries to prove that 'ṛta' means primarily the 'belt of the Zodiac'. Eminent Vedic scholars have not yet accepted his pet theory. In my humble opinion it cannot be accepted. I have treated of the threefold meaning of 'ṛta' in the *R̥gveda* (on pp. 2 to 5 of the 4th volume of the *History of Dharmasāstra*) viz. 'the course of nature or the regular general order in the cosmos', 'the correct and ordered way of the cult of the Gods' and 'the moral conduct of man'. 'R̥ta' does not mean the path of the luminaries in the belt of the Zodiac; this latter may at the most be regarded as an illustration of the first meaning of 'ṛta'. For example, in *R̥g.* I.164.11 'dvādaśāram na hi taj-jarāya varvarti cakram pari dyām-ṛtasya' the belt in the Zodiac is said to be a wheel of 'ṛta' with twelve spokes (i.e. 12 prominent constellations or twelve months). Prof. Apte is throughout obsessed by this notion of *vrata* meaning the path of the luminaries in the Zodiac and in his examination of individual passages where *vrata* occurs he harps to a tiresome extent on this theme of the tracks of luminaries. In my opinion, whatever may have been the mental equipment of the pre-Indo-European men, the *R̥gvedic* people had reached a stage far beyond simply wondering at the tracks or routes of luminaries. The word 'vrata' does not appear to be even Indo-Iranian, much less Indo-European.

Prof. Apte, before formulating his own scheme of the meanings of *vrata*, gives the caution (which has an obvious purpose behind it) that there are two parallel phases of the semantic evolution of the word *vrata*, one of which he calls the 'divine' phase and the other 'the human' phase. He arranges (pp. 414-145) the divine phase into six groups, viz. I. Turning, turning round, revolution, a round, rolling movement, passage, course, procedure, running or flowing, (physical) activity etc. II. (fixed) passage, way, (circular) path, (settled) route, (beaten) track or bed (of rivers), area or sphere of rolling or expansion etc.; III. the area covered (by the regular paths), the sphere (of movement or influence), the region (of activity), province (particularly when *vrata* is used in the singular); IV. routine, career, law or laws of movement, periodical appearance (in heaven) or visit to the worshipper's home or sacrifice, settled procedure, customary activity, prescribed behaviour (expected) deportment, recurring march or passage, (seasonal) journey etc. (these

5. सुगः पन्था अनृक्षर आदित्यास ऋतं यते । I.41.4.

, O Ādityas ! the path when you (your group) reach (or proceeds by) 'ṛta' is easy and thornless.'

senses more appropriate when the plural of the word *vrata* is used); V. (triumphal) march or movement, (victorious) advance or activity or strength; VI. Ordinance, arrangement, law of behaviour or rule or code of conduct (laid down by a divinity). In the 'human' phase of the semantic evolution of the word, Prof. Apte sets out four groups of senses: (I) physical activity (as distinguished from mental), practice, (expected) behaviour, duty, customary activity, profession, vocation; (II) sum total of those peculiar ethical and religious duties and practices which made up the culture pattern of the Aryans *i.e.* the Aryan cult as such; (III) the specific social and religious duties of each of the three upper classes of Aryan society *viz.* the poets-priests, the patron-kings (military or ruling class), the *viśah* (Aryan masses); (IV) Devotion to duty (in general) on the part of men and women.

The word *vrata* by itself or in combination with *upasargas* or other words occurs about 220 times in the whole of the *Rġveda*.⁶ The very fact that Prof. Apte has to marshall over sixty English equivalents for such a comparatively small number of the occurrences of one word is itself enough to make most people suspicious about the correctness of his long-winded scheme. As regards the first group of the 'divine' phases of meanings not a single passage in which the word *vrata* occurs in that sense can be cited and Prof. Apte had to admit (on p. 415, ll. 3-4) that there are no separate illustrative source texts for the root meaning and he asserts that none need be expected and for this latter assertion he could not cite any Vedic word, but only a classical Sanskrit word 'manasvin'. Further, Dr. Apte admits (on pp. 476-477) that in three passages (II.38.7, X.10.5 and X.33.9) which he lumps together as group VI of the 'divine' phase of the meanings of *vrata*, the meaning of *vrata* as 'ordinances laid down by a divinity for human beings or devotees' would be quite acceptable to him. This admission that '*vrata*' means ordinance laid down by divine beings for being followed by men is in sharp contradiction with his emphatic assertion (p. 410) that there is not a single passage in the *Rġveda* favouring the meaning 'will or command'. Then, as regards groups II to IV of the supposed 'human' phase he is prepared to admit that in about 25 passages *vrata* either means 'ethical or religious code or duties or practices of the Aryans (or the three classes among them)' or means 'beneficent sway or devotion'.

I should now state my own idea of the derivation and meanings of the word *vrata* in the *Rġveda*. I derive the word from the root 'vr̥' (to choose). From this comes 'vara', bridegroom or husband (who is chosen by a maiden or herguardian from among many men) as in *Rġ*. IX.101.14, X.85.8 and 9). Choosing always involves willing on the part of the person choosing, because he has to prefer one course or one person to another or others. Hence 'vr̥' means also 'to will' which English word itself is a derivative from an original Indo-European root

6. Prof. Apte on p. 410 (of the Bulletin, Vol. III, of D.C.R.I.) states that the number of passages in which the word *vrata* occurs is about 300. Unless I have committed some mistake in calculation this total is rather too large.

corresponding to 'vr̥'. Therefore, if *vrata* is derived from *vr̥* with the addition of the suffix *ta*, the meaning will be 'what is willed' or simply 'will'. The will of a person in authority is a command or a law unto others. Whitney himself admits that there is a certain relationship between 'choose' and 'command' (vide p. 408) though he thought that it was not close. Devotees believe that gods have laid down certain commands to be followed by themselves as well as by all beings. Thus comes the sense of 'law or ordinance'. A command or law imposes a corresponding duty and has to be obeyed. When laws are obeyed for long or duties are performed in the same manner, they become the patterns of duty or obligations i.e. practices or customs. When a person feels or believes that he must perform an act as ordained by gods, then it becomes a mode of religious worship or duty. If a man undertakes or imposes upon himself certain restrictions as to his food or dress or activities to win the grace of gods, that is a sacred vow or pious observance. Thus the several meanings of the word '*vrata*' which is derived from the root '*vr̥*' can be conveniently grouped under the following, viz. command or law or ordinance, obedience or duty or obligation, religious or moral practices, religious worship or pious observance, sacred or pious or solemn vow or undertaking, then any vow or undertaking or any pattern of conduct. It is not to be supposed that these several senses of the word '*vrata*' followed one another in a time sequence. Two or more meanings might have been in vogue simultaneously or might have been parallel, such as ordinance, duty or obedience. In translating *Rgveda* verses into English several words may have to be used to convey fine shades of the same idea. For example, when it is said that a worshipper ardently desires to be within the purview of the supposed ordinances of a god, it is possible to translate that idea by saying that the worshipper is or acts within the realm or sphere of that god. The meanings of *vrata* set out above are sufficient for the interpretation of almost all *Rgveda* passages in which that word occurs. When Whitney derived '*vrata*' from the root '*vr̥t*' with affix '*a*' he cited and relied upon only two parallel words viz. '*vraja*' and '*trada*',⁷ (from '*tr̥d*' to cleave or pierce). '*Vraja*' in most cases of its occurrence in the *Rgveda* means 'cow-pen', as in II.38.8, IV.1.15, IV.16.6, V.6.7, V.34.10 and is to be derived from the root '*vr̥j*' (to exclude or withhold). Whitney may have meant to derive it in that way, but even so the derivation is not certain. When *vrata* is derived from '*vr̥*', one can give parallel instances of several words being derived in a similar way. For example, we have '*karta*' (hole, in Rg. I.121.13, II.29.6, IX.73.8 and 9) and '*garta*' (cavity or 'the seat in a war chariot', as in II.33.11, V.62.5 and 8, V.68.5, VI.20.9, VII.64.4) derived from '*gr̥*' or '*gr̥*'.⁸ That the *r* in '*vr̥*' may be changed into '*ra*' may be illustrated by

7. '*Trada*' occurs only once in the *Rgveda* (in VIII.45.28, taruṇim vo janānām tradam vājasya gomataḥ/samānamupa pra śamsiṣam ||). It is an attribute of Indra. If it is derived from '*tr̥d*' (to pierce or cleave) it can hardly apply to Indra (the meaning would be 'who pierces the wealth consisting of cows').

8. The Nirukta (III.5) derives '*garta*' from '*gr̥*' or '*gr̥*'. The form '*garan*' from '*gr̥*' (to swallow, cover) occurs in Rg. I.158.5 'na mā garan nudyo mātṛ-tamāh'. According to Uṇādisūtra III. ten words are derived with the suffix '*ta*' from '*hus*' (hasta, the hand), mṛ (marta, a man), gr̥ (garta) and so on.

such words as 'vrāh' (meaning 'dawn' in IV.1.16 and X.123.2) and 'group of hunters' (in VIII.2.6 mṛgam na vrā mṛgayante,) and 'vavra' (applied to Indra in I.52.3, and to Vṛtra in V.32.8). Prof. Apte harps (p. 421) on the analogy of 'vartani' (way) to vrata, which latter he supposes means 'track' or 'route'. But there are serious difficulties in equating these two words. In 'vartani' from 'vrt' there is *guṇa* (i.e. 'vrt' is changed into 'vart'). Besides, 'vartani' cannot be shown to have more than two senses, if at all, in the Rġveda, viz. 'residence or nest' (in IV.45.3, X.65.6) and 'way' (in I.25.9, V.61.9, VII.8.16, VIII.23.19, VIII.63.8). But 'vrata' (which Prof. Apte derives from 'vrt') is supposed by him to have ten different groups of senses.

Another argument on which Prof. Apte, following Whitney, relies, is that vrata is frequently used in conjunction with verbs of motion as in 'anu-i', 'anu-car', 'anu-gā', 'anu-vrt' (p. 409). But here again the roots 'car', 'i', 'vrt' with *anu* have another meaning (viz. to follow, obey, observe) owing to the upasarga *anu* and in almost all passages where the roots *i*, *gā*, *car* and *vrt* with *anu* occur there is no positive indication whatever of physical motion but only that of following, obeying or observing. Besides, the root 'car' by itself it not used in the sense of physical motion in several passages of the Rġveda e.g. in⁹ I.52.6, III.54.2, VI.9.6, VII.89.5. Moreover, in words like *brahmacārī* (X.109.5), *vratacārīṇaḥ*¹⁰ (in VII.103.1) the meaning of a physical motion, if it was the original one at all, is totally absent and the meaning 'performing' or 'observing' is the only one possible. The same holds good of the verbal forms of the root 'saśc' or 'sac'. Some occurrences of these roots in which the meaning of physical motion is inapplicable but the meaning 'resort to, accept or be united to' appears to be the one intended may be referred to here. Vide Rġ. II.1.13, V.64.3, VII.26.4 for forms of 'saśc' and IV.12.2, VII.88.5, VIII.4.9, IX.95.4 (tam vāvaśānam matayaḥ sacante) for forms of 'sac'.

I shall now examine the contention of Prof. Apte that vrata means the tracks or routes that the various luminaries trace in the heavens. *Vratas* are spoken of not only in relation to Agni (as in Rġ. I.70.10, II.8.3, VI.8.2, VII.5.4), Indra (as in I.101.3, III.32.8, VII.31.11, VIII.32.28), Mitra (as in III.59.3), Soma (as in VIII.48.9, IX.82.5, X.25.3), Uṣas (as in I.92.12, I.124.2, III.61.1), Savitr (as in I.22.6, II.38.7 and 9), Ādityas (as in II.27.8, VII.66.6), but also in relation to Varuṇa (as in I.25.1, III.54.18, V.69.4, VII.83.9), Bṛhaspati (as in II.23.6), Brahmaṇaspati (as in II.24.12), Aditi (I.144.12, VII.87.9), Parjanya (as in V.83.5), Aśvins (as in I.183.3). Conceding for argument that by some twisting of language and stretch of imagination one can speak of the *vratas* of Agni, Ādityas, Mitra, Indra, Uṣas,

9. परीं घृणा चरति तिरिवधे शवोऽपो वृत्वी रजसो बुध्नमाशयत् । ऋ. I.52.6; महि महे.दिवे अर्चा पृथिव्यै कामो म इच्छञ्चरति प्रजानन् । III.54.2; वि मे मनश्चरति दूरआधीः किंस्विद्वक्ष्यामि किमु नू मनिष्ये ॥ VI.9.6; यत्किचेदं वषण देव्ये जनेऽ भिद्रोहं मनुष्याश्चरामसि । VII.89.5.

10. संवत्सरं शशयाना ब्राह्मणा व्रतचारिणः । ऋ. VII.103.1.

Savitṛ as referring to the tracks of the luminaries in the heavens, the mid regions and on the earth, one should like to know whether Aditi, Aśvins, Varuṇa, Bṛhaspati, Brahmaṇaspati and Vāstoṣpati (X.61.7) are luminaries and what tracks they were or are supposed to trace in the heavens or in the mid regions and on the earth. Scholars are not agreed as to the meaning of Aditi or as to what physical or celestial phenomena the Aśvins or Varuṇa should be supposed to represent. Aditi is a riddle. Aditi is in some verses identified with the Heaven and earth, the sky and is said to be both father, mother and child.¹¹ In a few passages Aditi is said to be the daughter of Dakṣa and also to be the mother of Dakṣa. At all events Aditi cannot be connected with any tracks of luminaries. The same applies to Varuṇa and the Aśvins. Just as Agni and Indra are called 'vratapā' (protector or guardian of vratas) so is Vāstoṣpati called 'vratapā' in X.61.7 (though he is said to have been fashioned by the gods). The Nirukta (XII.1) states various views about who the Aśvins were. Aurnvābha explained that they were so called because they had horses. The Nirukta remarks that according to some the two Aśvins are Heaven and Earth, or 'day and night' according to others, 'the Sun and the Moon' according to still others, while the Aitihāsikas said they were two meritorious kings. Some Western scholars hold that they represent Venus as morning and evening star or Castor and Pollux (Macdonell). We must give such a derivation of the word *vrata* and ascribe such meaning or meanings to it in the *R̥gveda* as would be appropriate in all occurrences of the word *vrata*. The main meanings to be ascribed to *vrata* are commands or ordinances, customs or practices (ethical or religious), religious worship or vow. In more than 90 per cent of the passages of the *R̥gveda* in which the word *vrata* occurs the few meanings mentioned in the preceding sentence are quite enough and adequate. Prof. Apte ridicules those who hold that *vrata* has the meaning of law or ordinance with the remark that such a vague, mild or passive meaning could not have been intended (pp. 439, 442). One fails to understand what he means when he says that observing the laws of gods is a soft job and looking after the paths or tracks of the luminaries is a strenuous one. If anything, observing the laws of gods would be a far more strenuous matter than merely observing the paths or tracks of luminaries.

It has to be further remembered that Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, Agni and the Ādityas are addressed as kings or as *saṃrāj* (universal monarch). Vide e.g. II.41.6, III.10.1, III.54.10, V.85.1, VII.38.4, VIII.27.22 (all gods), X.63.5. The word 'saṃrāj' appears to have been applied to a human king in¹² VII.58.4 and we

11. अदितिर्द्यौरदितिरन्तरिक्षमदितिर्माता स पिता स पुत्रः । ऋ. I.89.10 ; in II.27.1 मित्र, अर्यमन्, भग, वरुण, दक्ष and अंश are styled Ādityas; अदितेर्दक्षो अजायत दक्षाद्ददितिः परि ॥ ऋ. X.72.4; अदितित्यंजनिष्ट दक्ष या दुहिता तव । तां देवा अन्वजायन्त भद्रा अमृतबन्धवः ॥ X.72.5. निरुक्त XI.28 tries to explain how Dakṣa is the son of Aditi and how Aditi is the mother of Dakṣa. In R̥g. I.94.15, and II.1.11 Agni appears to be identified with Aditi.

12. युष्मोतः सन्नाढ्युत हन्ति वृत्रं । ऋ. VII.58.4 (the sovereign monarch being helped or protected by you kills his enemy).

have the word *saṁrājñī* (queen) applied to a bride in X.85.46. Though Varuṇa by himself is praised in hardly a dozen hymns while Indra is praised in about two hundred hymns, the epithel *saṁrāj* is applied to Varuṇa about twice as often as it is applied to Indra. Therefore, 'saṁrāj' must be regarded as very specially appropriate to Varuṇa. In Ṛg. VII.82.2. Varuṇa is said to be *saṁrāj* while Indra is said to be¹³ 'svarāj' (self-willed ruler or one who does not allow any one else to rule as a king). What is more natural than to suppose that the gods called kings and universal monarchs were believed to have laid down commands or laws to be obeyed by all. Though the Ṛgveda sages extol at great length several mighty gods, yet they were quite aware that there was only one Supreme Being that was spoken of under different names such as Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa and Agni and that one Supreme Being appears as assuming several forms (e.g. Ṛg. I.164.46, VI.47.18, X.121.1, X.129.1-2). Besides, it should be noted that the vratas are spoken of as *dhruva* (immutably fixed) as in III.56.1, II.5.4, V.69.4, I.36.5 and as *adabdhā* (unharmd, unassailable) as in I.24.10, II.9.1, III.54.18, VII.66.6. In II.9.1 Agni who is the inviter of gods is said to be 'adabdhā-vrata-pramatih' (one whose wisdom is great since his vratas are irresistible or unharmed by any one). The text and the padapāṭha show that it is one word. Prof. Apte. in order to make this word square up with his theory of the meaning of vrata as tracks or movements, explains that this phrase means that Agni unerringly occupies his own peculiar seat (p. 472). In the other passages where the word 'adabdhā' occurs it does not mean 'unerring', but 'unassailable or unharmed'. Compare the word 'daśa-pramati' applied to Agni in I.141.2 (who has ten wisdoms *i.e.* who is very wise) for holding that *adabdhāvratapramatiḥ* is one compound word. Prof. Apte (p. 472) accepts with avidity Oldenberg's suggestion that the word should be separated as 'adabdhā-vrataḥ' and 'pramatiḥ.' But he failed to notice that Oldenberg (Noten, Vol. I, p. 193) discards this suggestion made by himself in S.B.E. Vol. 40. *Vratas* are said to be *daivya* (divine) in I.70, 1, I.92.12, I.124,2, VII.75.3 etc.

In order to ascertain the exact meaning of the word *vrata* in those passages of the *Rigveda* where the word 'vrata' (often in the plural) is closely connected with the prominent gods of that Veda one must carefully remember the above facts. It should be noticed that several gods are said to have laid down *vratas* and it is often stated that *vratas* of one god whom the sage for the moment regards as the highest are

13. सप्तारलन्यः स्वराळन्य उच्यते वां महान्ताविन्द्रावरुणा महावसू । VII.82.2.

not violated by other gods however great they might be. A few examples¹⁴ may be cited here. III.7.7 'the gods observe the vratas of gods'; II.38.9 'I invoke for my welfare with salutations God Savitṛ whose *vrata* is not destroyed (or violated) by Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman or Rudra, nor (god's) enemies; III.56.1 'the primaeval and immutable *vratas* of gods are not destroyed by the wily (asuras) nor by the wise (sages), nor by the well-disposed Heaven and Earth and the firmly fixed mountains are not (there) for being bent down'; III.30.4 'thou (Indra) drivest away the firmly placed enemies, and move about single-handed often and often killing them; Heaven and earth and the mountains stand as if firmly planted in order to accomplish your ordinance'; V. 69.4 'O Mitra and Varuṇa! the immortal gods do not destroy (or violate) your immutable *vratas*'; I.101.3 'whose great exploit (of Indra) is the (creation of) heaven and earth, Varuṇa and Sūrya are within whose *vrata* (*i.e.* observe it or secure its observance); VIII.42.1 'The all-knowing and powerful (Varuṇa) made Heaven firm, he measured (created) the expanse of the earth (the wide earth); the great king sits over (rules) all the worlds; all these are the *vratas* of Varuṇa'.

The above passages will clearly show that the Vedic sages believed that not only did the several gods observe or carry out the immutably fixed laws or ordinances laid down by themselves or by one of them, but that even the wily demons had to do so, that heaven, earth and mountains stand firmly fixed because of them and that waters or rivers¹⁵ also flow as ordained by gods. Further, the *Rgveda* frequently

14. प्राञ्चो मदन्त्युक्षणो अजुर्या देवा देवानामनु हि व्रता गुः । ऋ. III.7.7; न यस्येन्द्रो वरुणो न मित्रो व्रतमयमा न मिनन्ति रुद्रः । नारातयस्तमिमं स्वस्ति हुवे देवं सवितारं नमोभिः ॥ ऋ. II.38.9; न ता मिनन्ति मायिनो न धीरा व्रता देवानां प्रथमा ध्रुवाणि । न रोदसी अद्रुहा वेद्याभिर्न पर्वता निनमे तस्थिवासः ॥ ऋ. III.56.1; त्वं हि ष्मा च्यावयन्नच्युतान्येको वृत्रा चरसि जिघ्नमानः । तव द्यावापृथिवी पर्वतासोऽनु व्रताय निमित्तेव तस्युः ॥ ऋ. III.30.4; न वां देवा अमृता आ मिनन्ति व्रतानि मित्रावरुणा ध्रुवाणि ॥ ऋ. V.69.4; यस्य द्यावापृथिवी पौंस्यं महद्यस्य व्रते वरुणो यस्य सूर्यः । I.101.3; अस्तभ्नाद् द्यामसुरो विश्ववेदा अमिमीत वरिमाणं पृथिव्याः । आसीदद्विश्वा भुवनानि सम्राड् विश्वेत्तानि वरुणस्य व्रतानि ॥ VIII.42.1. The word *vrata* occurs five times in II.38 (verses 2, 3, 6, 7, 9) and should be construed according to the ordinary rules of interpretation in the same sense in all of them. Prof. Apte admits (on p. 476) that the meaning 'ordinances' would be appropriate and accepts the usual explanation of '*vrata*' in II.38.7; but while on II.38.9 (p. 408) his obsession leads him to say that here '*vrata*' means 'Savitṛ's fixed movement in the heavens'. III.30.4. and III.56.1 both imply that it is due to the immutable ordinances of gods that Heaven and Earth and the mountains stand firm or do not swerve or fall down. It is frequently said that Varuṇa by his power or ordinance makes heaven and earth apart (Rg. VI.70.1, VII.86.1, VIII.41.10). The word 'māyinaḥ' is frequently applied to demons (e.g. in II.11.10, VI.61.3, VIII.3.10).

15. विश्वं सत्यं मघवाना युवोरिदापश्चन प्र मिनन्ति व्रतं वाम् । II.24.12 (of Indra and Brahmanaspati); compare II.38.2 'आपश्चिदस्य व्रत आ निमृग्रा अयं चिद्वातो रमते परिज्मन् ॥' (even the waters or rivers remain submissive inside his *vrata* *i.e.* abide by it), even this wind also finds joy in wandering round about (or 'even the wind that wanders round about stops'). For निमृग्रा, compare VII.26.3 'जनीरिव पतिरेकः समानो नि मामृजे पुर इन्द्रः सु सर्वाः ।'.

mentions the fact that human beings break (or violate) the *vratas* of gods and are liable to suffer punishment thereby and the Vedic sages pray to the gods to take pity on them and withhold the punishment. For example, I may cite the following:¹⁶ I.25.1-2 'Whatever *vrata* (law or ordinance) of thine, O god Varuṇa, we may day-to-day break (or violate) as human people do (i.e. break the law of their king), do not reduce us to death' etc. ; VIII.48.9 'O Soma ! thou art the protector of our body ; thou, perceiving (the doings of) men, occupy each of (our) limbs ; when we violate *vratas*, O God, being a good friend, take pity on us' ; X. 25.3 'O Soma ! (if) I transgress your perfect (lit. well-baked) *vratas*, then in thy exhilaration (at our prayers or sacrifices) take pity on us as a father (does) towards his son' etc.

In some of the passages quoted above forms of the root 'mi' or 'mī' occur. For the correct understanding of these passages and of '*vrata*' the exact sense of this root is very important. The Nighaṇṭu (II.19) includes 'mināti' among verbs meaning 'vadha' (killing or harming). Pāṇini (VII.3.81) notices that the root 'mi' presents a short form 'mī' in the Veda and the meaning of the root in the Dhātupāṭha is 'himsā' ('mīñ himsāyām', killing, breaking, annihilating). The forms of 'mī' with or without the upsargas *ā* and *pra* occur more than fifty times in the R̥gveda. Whitney felt that the occurrences of the forms of '*mi*' or '*mī*' presented some difficulty about his theory of the derivation of *vrata* and its meanings, but Prof. Apte brushes aside the misgivings of Whitney and after interpreting R̥g. I.124.3 in his own way boldly asserts that '*mi*' or '*mī*' is a verb of *motion* and has the primary sense of 'miss, deviate, wander or stray from' (p. 411). I propose to show that Prof. Apte has been misled in this case owing to his obsession about the word *vrata* meaning 'tracks of luminaries'. I present the following verses¹⁷ for consideration. I.71.10 'O Agni ! knowing all, may you not wipe off

16. यच्चिद्धि ते विशो यया प्र देव वरुण व्रतम् । मिनीमसि इवि इवि ॥ मा नो वधाय हृत्नवे जिहीळानस्य रीरघः । I.25.1-2 ; त्वं हि नस्तन्वः सोम गोपा गात्रेगात्रे निपसत्था नृचक्षाः । यत्ते वयं प्रमिनाम व्रतानि स नो मृळ सुषखा देव वस्यः ॥ VIII.48.9 ; X.25.3 उत व्रतानि सोम ते प्राहं मिनामि पाक्या । अधा पितेव सूनवे वि वो मदे मृळा नो अभि चिद्ववाद्विवक्षसे ॥ With I.25.1-2 compare VII.89.5 'यत्किंचेदं वरुण देव्ये जनेऽभिद्रोहं मनुष्याश्चरामसि, which conveys the same idea as in the latter half of VIII.48.9 without employing the word *vrata*.

17. मा नो अग्ने सख्या पित्र्याणि प्र मषिष्ठा अभि विदुष्कविः सन् । नभो न रूपं जरिमा मिनाति पुरा तस्या अभिशस्तेरधीहि ॥ ऋ .I.71.10 ; प्रमिनती मनुष्या युगानि योषा जारस्य चक्षसा विभाति ॥ I.92.11 ; मिनन्ता दस्योरशिवस्य माया अनु पूर्वं वृषणा चोदयन्ता ॥ I.117.3. ; अमिनती देव्यानि व्रतानि प्रमिनती मनुष्या युगानि । I.124.2 ; मिनाति श्रियं जरिमा तन्नामप्य नु पत्नीवृषणो जगम्युः ॥ I.179.1 ; इन्द्रस्य कर्म सुकृता पुरुणि व्रतानि देवा न मिनन्ति विश्वे । दाधार यः पृथिवीं द्यामुतेमां जजान सूर्यमुषसं सुदंसाः ॥ III.32.8 ; अस्य हि स्वयशस्तरं सवितुः कच्चन प्रियम् । न मिनन्ति स्वराज्यम् ॥ V.82.2 ; उत नूनं यदिन्द्रियं करिष्या इन्द्र पौंस्यम् । अधा नकिप्त्वा मिनत् ॥ IV.30.23 ; सः स्मा कृणोति केतुमानक्तं चिद्दूर आ सते । पावको यद्वनस्पतीन् प्रस्मा मिनात्यजरः ॥ V.7.4 ; प्र य आदित्यो अनूता मिनात्यमिता शूरो दयते वसूनि ॥ VII.84.4. In III.32.8 the supporting of the earth and heaven and the regular appearance of the Sun and the Dawn are main illustrations of the many *vratas* of Indra. Contrast between 'अमिनती देव्यानि व्रतानि' and 'प्रमिनती मनुष्या युगानि' is striking and indubitably determines the meaning of 'mi' or 'mī' ; compare I.92.10 where the Dawn is said to wear down the length of human life 'मर्तस्य देवी जरयन्त्यायुः'

our ancestral friendship (with you), old age destroys me as the (clouded or dark) sky destroys (distinctness of) forms ' etc. ; I.92.11 (the Dawn) destroying the spans of human life, the youthful woman (or spouse), shines by the eye (or light) of her lover (the Sun) ; I.117.3 (' O powerful Aśvins !) dispelling (or driving away) one by one (or in order) and destroying the wiles of the evil *dasyus* (you freed sage Atri) ; I.124.2 (the Dawn) ' which does not violate divine laws but destroys the spans of human life ' ; I.179.1 (Lopāmudrā says to Agastya) ' old age destroys the beauty of the limbs (body), wives should (or do) approach their strong (husbands) ; III.32.8 ' all the gods do not violate the many well-formed vratas and actions of Indra, who supports the earth and this heaven, (and) who produces the Sun and the Dawn ' ; V.82.2 ' None destroys the independent sovereignty of this Savitr, which is very glorious through his own acts and dear (to all) ' ; IV.30.23 ' O Indra ! no one would destroy (or annihilate) now that vigour and manly valour that you have shown ' ; V.7.4 (when Fire) being himself not decaying destroys wood he makes a signal (a banner) at night even for a man who is afar ' ; VIII.84.4 ' (Varuṇa) who is an Āditya, who destroys the false ones and who, the valiant one, imparts immeasurable wealth'. Prof. Apte (p. 411) relies on Rg. I.124.3¹⁸ as decisively establishing that originally ' mi ' was a verb of motion. One verse cannot demolish what so many verses quoted above clearly establish. There is, however, nothing in that verse that establishes what Dr. Apte says. It says ' this daughter of heaven, wearing a garment of light, is seen in the east (by all) simultaneously ; she (Dawn) originally follows the path of *ṛta* (order in the universe), she like one knowing well does not destroy (or annihilate) the several quarters '. It is unnecessary to adduce more examples of the meaning of ' mi ' or ' mī '. It is not possible to say that old age misses forms or beauty nor can the Aśvins be said to miss or deviate from the wiles of the demon, nor can Varuṇa be said to miss falsehoods (or false men) nor can one say that fire misses or deviates from wood or trees.

In more than half of the *Rgveda* passages in which the word *vrata* occurs, the sense of ' command, law or ordinance ' is quite appropriate. In some other passages the sense of ' religious practices or mode of sacred worship ' is suitable. A few striking examples may be cited here. Rg. X.65.11¹⁹ '(the Viśve devas) that are good donors make the Sun rise in heaven and spread about the Ārya *vratas* (modes

18. एषा दिवो दृहिता प्रत्यदशि ज्योतिर्वसाना समना पुरस्तात् । ऋतस्य पन्थामन्वेति साधु प्रजानतीव न दिशो मिनाति ॥ ऋ. V.80.4. The meaning of the last quarter is that Uṣas always rises in the east and that she does not annihilate the separateness of the four quarters by sometimes rising in a direction other than the east. In this the Dawn simply follows the law laid down for her in the order of nature. The idea about the confusion of directions is well expressed in V.40.5 (when the demon Svarbhānu, O Sūrya ! enveloped you in darkness all worlds appeared like a confused man who does not know the lie of the land), X.32.7 (the man who does not know the field or the way asks one who knows and the former directed by one who knows the way goes forward on his way).

19. सूर्यं दिवि रोह्यन्तो मुदानव आर्या व्रता विसृजन्तो अधि क्षमि ॥ ऋ. X.65.11 ; नाना ह्यग्नेऽवसे स्पर्धन्ते रायो अर्यः । तूर्वन्तो दस्युमायवो व्रतैः सीक्षन्तो अव्रतम् ॥ VI.14.3.

of worship or ethical and religious practices) over the earth'; VI.14.3 'O Agni! the properties of the noble vie in various ways for your favour or protection; (Aryan) men overpowering dasyu by their worship and seeking to conquer him (dasyu) who does not follow that worship'.

There are several passages in which the words 'avrata' (11 times), 'apavrata' (in I.51.9, V.42.9, V.40.6), 'anyavrata' (V.20.2, VIII.70.11, X.22.8) occur and in almost all of which 'vrata' must mean 'mode of worship or ethical and religious practices of the Vedic worshippers.' Prof. Apte (pp. 479 and 483) has to admit this. It will not do to ignore these passages or clap them in a separate group (as Prof. Apte does on p. 413) and distinguish them from other passages supposed to indicate the divine phase. The Vedic sages do not distinguish between divine vratas deemed to have been laid down and followed by gods and vratas laid down by a god or gods and meant to be followed by Heaven, earth, mountains, rivers and human beings.

In this connection it would be proper to consider the seven passages of the *Rigveda* in which the word 'vivrata' occurs. In six passages out of seven the word 'vivrata' qualifies the horses of Indra described as *hari* (tawny) or *nada* (neighing). Vide I.63.2, VIII.12.15, X.23.1, X.49.2, X.105.2. and 4 ('nadayoh' in this last). Prof. Apte believes (p. 419) that the only natural rendering is 'moving or wandering along diverse paths'. Unless one has already made up one's mind that vrata meant 'tracks or paths', these passages cannot be helpful. They can be easily explained even if vrata means 'ordinance, duty, practice', the meaning being that the steeds of Indra perform several duties or actions or obey the various ordinances of Indra. It is possible to hold that 'vivrata' when applied to the two horses of Indra means no more than this that the two horses are yoked on two sides of Indra's chariot and obey the orders conveyed through the pulling of the reins. Prof. Apte draws attention to V.52.10 where the two epithets 'vipathayah' and 'anupathah' are applied to Maruts and compares them respectively with 'vivrata' and 'anuvrata'. But the whole trouble is that nobody disputes the meaning of 'patha' or 'pathi' as 'path', while the meaning of vrata is very much in dispute. One or two verses in which the word 'vivrata' occurs may be set out here.²⁰ ('Indra)

20. हरी यस्य सुयुजा विव्रता वेरर्वन्तानु शेपा । X.105.2. सायण explains 'शेपा शेपवन्ती मत्वर्थो लुप्यते प्रशस्तपुंस्त्वावित्यर्थः'. This may be accepted in the absence of a better explanation. अहं हरी वृषणा विव्रता रघू अहं वज्रं शवसे धृष्वा ददे ॥ X. 49.2; अभि वल्लय ऊतयेऽनूषत प्रशस्तये । न देव विव्रता हरी ऋतस्य यत् ॥ VIII.12.15. It is probable that 'stomach' from the preceding verse has to be understood. Prof. Apte (pp. 419-420) explains that the bay steeds are not vivrata (or deviators) from rta i.e. however diverse their paths they do not deviate from rta. How he gets this sense it is difficult to see. He translates vivrata as 'moving along diverse paths' in the other passages. Here 'na' is added i.e. they (the horses) are not vivrata (have no diverse paths) and where is the word for 'deviate from'? आ रोदसी अपृणादोत मध्यं पञ्च देवाँ ऋतुराः सप्तसप्त । चतुस्त्रिंशता पुरुधा विचष्टे सरूपेण ज्योतिषा विव्रतेन ॥ X.55.3. Various explanations of the numbers contained in this verse have been given. For fear of unduly increasing the bulk I refrain from mentioning them.

whose two horses, well-yoked, obediently carrying out different orders (on two sides of the chariot) and strong are made to run according to his desire' X.105.2; 'I take (yoke) my fleet and powerful horses, that are obedient in different ways (*i.e.* on the two sides of the yoke) and I take (wield) my fierce thunderbolt for doing exploits' X.49.2. In VIII.12.15 it is difficult to construe *vivrata* as applied to Indra's steeds 'the priests have raised their lauds for protection and for thy praise, O God, (but) not for thy two steeds that obey in different ways *rta* (the order in the universe)'; 'He filled all round heaven and earth and also the mid region (by his body or splendour); he supervises the five gods and the seven times seven at different seasons by his splendour in thirty-four different ways, the splendour, though same (or similar), observing different laws' X.55.3.

There are several passages where we have in the R̥gveda phrases like 'tava vrata' addressed to several gods. Whitney (p. 409), in accordance with the meaning ascribed by him to the root 'vrt', stated that the phrase 'vrata tava' should rather mean 'in thy (established or approved) course, following thy lead or example' than 'under thy control or protection' or 'in thy service' as suggested by some other scholars. Prof. Apte on p. 463 states that the translation of 'tava vrata' as 'abiding in thy ordinance' by Macdonell *misses* the point and avers, in order to square up the phrase with his theory of 'vrata' meaning originally 'tracks or routes', that the proper meaning is 'dominion, authority, region or sphere'. The examples cited by Prof. Apte may be translated²¹ and explained as follows: 'O Pūṣan! may we never be harmed while we are within your vrata (while we abide by your ordinances); we are here (in the house or in the sacrifices) persons who praise thee' VI.54.9. Here the sage means that they offer prayer and worship to the god and hope that therefore they should not suffer. Being singers of god's praise is a main command of god and therefore they should not come to harm. There is no unnecessary repetition here as Prof. Apte supposes, but the last part of the verse only illustrates what is mainly meant by abiding in the vrata of a god. In IX.102.5 the poet says 'All Gods, that are guileless (or that have no enemies) and that work together in the vrata of this god, become lovable when they partake

21. पृषन् तव व्रते वयं न रिष्येम कदाचन । स्तोतारस्त इह स्मसि ॥ VI.54.9; अस्य व्रते सजोषसो विश्वे देवासो अद्रुहः । स्पार्हा भवन्ति रन्तयो जुषन्त यत् ॥ IX.102.5; ये सवितुः सत्यसवस्य विश्वे मित्रस्य व्रते वरुणस्य देवाः । ते सौभगं वीरवद्वोमदन्तो दधातन द्रविणं चित्रमस्मे ॥ X.36.18; वयं सोम व्रते तव मनस्तनूषु विभ्रतः । प्रजावन्तः सचेमहि ॥ X.57.6. The previous verse is पुनर्नः पितरो मनो ददानु दैव्यो जनः । जीवं व्रातं सचेमहि ॥; उदुत्तमं वरुण पाशमस्मदवाधमं वि मध्यमं श्रयाय । अथा वयमादित्य व्रते तवानागसो अदितये स्याम ॥ I.24.15. सत्यसव may mean 'whose orders are true or valid'. जीव appears here to comprehend all human beings in the house (such as dependents and servants) and व्रात 'herds of cattle'. Prof. Apte himself (on p. 474) translates X.57.6 as 'may we move along (*i.e.* abide by) your path'. The same meaning should be accepted wherever we may have phrases like 'tava vrata'. One fails to understand how human beings are to move along with the god's path, if the last means 'the tracks of a luminary'.

(of Soma) and derive pleasure'; 'may all the gods that are within (i.e. abide by) the vrata of Savitr for whom pressing of Soma is fruitful (lit. true or certain), of Mitra and Varuṇa, bestow on us prosperity consisting in valiant sons and cows, property and wonderful wealth' X.36.13. It may be noticed that the first half of this verse is a relative clause without a verb and we have to supply a verbal form of 'as' (to be) or of 'bhū'. In some verses such a form of 'as' does occur with 'tava vrate'. For example, in I.24.15 we have 'O Varuṇa! loosen the topmost fetter (on the head) from me, the lowest (on the feet) and the middle one (on the waist) and then may we, O Āditya, be sinless by abiding in your vrata for Aditi' (an infinite time?). The same procedure should naturally be followed wherever a similar clause with 'vrate' (in the locative) occurs. 'O Soma! may we abiding by your vrata and fixing our mind on your limbs be endowed with offspring and united (with human beings and herds).' Here we have to understand 'jivam' and 'vrātam' from the previous verse. A few parallel constructions of words in the locative with forms of the root 'as' or verbs meaning 'to abide or dwell' may be noted here. 'May we be in (abide in or secure) thy good grace and thy beneficent mind' III.1.21, III.59.4, VI.47.13, X.14.6 (teṣām vayam sumatau), X.131.7 (tasya vyaṁ etc.). In I.83.3²² (latter half) the sage says '(the sacrificer or worshipper) who is unchecked or unopposed abides in thy vrata and prospers; to the sacrificer that extracts Soma (for Indra) comes blissful strength'. 'No one harms (or kills) him from near or afar who is within the lead of the Ādityas' II.27.13.

As supporting his thesis that vrata originally meant tracks or physical activity, Prof. Apte cites IX.112.1 and X.166.4. His is an argument in a circle. He first put forward the theory of vrata as 'tracks, routes' and then 'physical activity'. But on the interpretation of *vrata* (ordinance, religious practices) given by most scholars these verses are quite clear.²³ 'Various indeed are our thoughts and various are the practices of people, the carpenter seeks something that is broken, the physician

22. असंयत्तो व्रते ते क्षेति पुष्यति भद्रा शक्तिर्यज्ञमानाय सुन्वते ॥ I.83.3. It is important to note that the verb क्षेति (निवसति) is used here with व्रते ते (i.e. तव) and supports my translation of 'abiding by thy vrata' in the above passages where no verb occurs. नकिष्टं घनन्यन्तितो न दूराद्य आदित्यानां भवति प्रणीतौ ॥ II.27.13. This means that he who abides by the commands of Ādityas is not harmed by anyone.

23. नानानं वा उ नो धियो वि व्रतानि जनानाम् । तक्षा रिष्टं स्तं भिषग् ब्रह्मा सुन्वन्तमिच्छ-
तीन्द्रायेन्दो परि स्रव ॥ IX.112.1 ; अभिभूरहमागमं विश्वक्रमेण धाम्ना । आ वश्चित्तमा वो व्रतमा-
वोऽहं समितिं ददे ॥ X.166.4 ; कारुहं ततो भिषगुपलप्रक्षिणी नना । नानाधियो बसूयवोऽनु गा इव
तस्थिमेन्द्रायेन्दो परि स्रव ॥ (IX.112.3). कारु must be taken in the sense of 'singer of hymns' as in III.33.10. In X.166.4 three physical and mental activities are separately mentioned in one place; therefore, it is probable that 'dhi' stands both for 'mental and physical activity' in the Rġveda and not merely for 'intellect or mind.'

seeks the wail (of a diseased person), the Brahmā priest (or a brāhmaṇa) seeks (a sacrificer) who presses *soma* etc.' IX.112.1 ; (O enemies !) here do I come overwhelming all with power that is capable of doing anything ; here do I rob you of your mind, of your vrata and of your assembly ' X.166.4. Prof. Apte is wrong in thinking that 'dhi' or 'citta' and vrata are here in sharp contrast. There is nothing of the kind. In the Veda several words that are synonyms are often used for emphasis. Compare X.191.3 (samānam manaḥ saha cittam—eṣām) where *manaḥ* and *citta* are employed and X.191.4 where *ākūti*, *hṛdaya* and *manas* are employed in the same mantra. Rg. IX.112.3 on which Prof. Apte relies in support of his interpretation of IX.112.1 (p. 477) does not help him at all. That verse means 'I am a composer of hymns, my father (or son) is a physician, my mother (or daughter) grinds with mill-stones ; we engaging in various actions (or entertaining various thoughts) desire to obtain wealth' etc.

Certain miscellaneous matters in Prof. Apte's long paper may now be briefly considered. There are eight passages of the *Rgveda* in which the word 'śucivrata' occurs and is always applied to some god or gods. On p. 421 Prof. Apte deals with these. In three passages 'śucivrata' is an attribute of Agni and Prof. Apte says that in these (i.e. VIII.43.16, VIII.44.21, X.118.1) the epithet when applied to Agni means 'Agni with a blazing trail, track or sphere.' In order to prop up his peculiar theory about 'vrata' he starts by saying that 'śuci' is derived from the root 'śuc' (to shine or flame up), that the word 'śuci' can only mean 'brilliant, bright, flaming, resplendent' and that the meaning 'pure' is purely figurative and secondary and is found only in a few passages (about six or seven out of a total of over a hundred or more) in the *Rgveda* when it is an epithet of 'manīṣā, stoma, mati or girah.' As usual Prof. Apte shuts his eyes to patent facts and his obstinacy leads him astray. In the first place, 'śuci' in the sense of 'pure' is not so rare as Prof. Apte tries to make out (i.e. 6 or 7 times out of 100). In one verse alone (addressed²⁴ to the Maruts in VII.56.12) the word 'śuci' occurs six times and should ordinarily be taken only in one sense and that can only be 'pure'. 'O Maruts !

24. शुची वो हव्या मरुतः शुचीनां शुचिं हिनोम्यध्वरं शुचिभ्यः । ऋतेन सत्यमृतसाप आय-
ञ्छुचिञ्जन्मानः शुचयः पावकाः ॥ ऋ. VII.5.12 ; शुचिरपः सूयवसा अदग्ध उपक्षेति वृद्धवयाः सुवीरः ।
II.2.13 ; शुचिर्देवेष्वपिता होत्रा मरुत्सु भारती । इळा सरस्वती मही बहिः सीदन्तु यज्ञियाः ॥ I.142.9 ;
साकं हि शुचिना शुचिः प्रशास्ता ऋतुनाजनि । II.5.4. In I.142.9 there are three goddesses
भारती, इळा and सरस्वती, praised in the Āpri hymns. In several places 'Bhārati' is called
'hotrā'—i.e. offering (as in II.1.11, III.02.3) and is also identified with Agni. अग्निः शुचिन्नततमः
शुचिर्विप्रः शुचिः कविः । शुची रोचत आहुतः ॥ VIII.44.21. Here शुचिं when applied to विप्र and कवि
means only 'pure or holy'. The same meaning should be accepted for शुचिन्नततमः and शुचि
occurring in the same verse. This very verse which contains the word *śuci* four times shows
that the distinction between the primary and secondary meanings of 'śuci', if any, had been lost
or forgotten before this verse was composed.

the offerings offered to you who are pure are pure ; I send the pure sacrifice to you who are pure ; (the Maruts) that accept worship are of pure birth, pure and purifiers ; they reached truth by following rta (the settled order of the universe).’ The word ‘*śuci*’ when applied to ‘*havya*’, ‘*adhvara*’ and ‘*janman*’ can only mean ‘pure’ and ‘not blazing’. The same word applied to the Maruts thrice may mean ‘brilliant’ or ‘pure’. Conceding for argument that the root ‘*śuc*’ meant originally ‘to shine or blaze’, the distinction of two meanings (primary and secondary) in ‘*śuci*’ had disappeared long before the hymns of the Rġveda were composed as Rġ. VII.56.12 and other verses will show. ‘Offer homage to pure Bṛhaspati (O sacrificial priests!) with your hymns ; I seek (from him) unbending strength’ III.62.5 ; ‘the pure (sacrificer), advanced in age and endowed with valiant sons abides near waters (rivers) that abound in good crops free from attack (by enemies)’ II.27.13 ; I.142.9 ‘may the pure Bhārati (identified with) offerings, placed in the midst of the gods and among Maruts, Iḥā and the great (or wide) Sarasvatī, that deserve honour at a sacrifice, sit down on sacred kuśa grass’; II.5.4 ‘the pure ruler (Agni) is produced along with the pure sacrifice ;’ ‘(the god) fire is the highest among those that are *śucivrata*, he is a holy priest and pure singer ; the pure one shines bright when offerings are thrown on to it’ VIII.44.21. In these passages and in Rġ.I.181.2 (ā vām-asvāsaḥ sucayah), II.33.13 (yā vo bheṣajā marutaḥ śucīni) the word ‘*śuci*’ is an attribute of offerings, sacrifice (*adhvara* and *kratu*), *janman* (birth), drugs, horses (of Aśvins), waters or rivers (in VII.49.2 and 3) and the word occurs at least a dozen times clearly in the sense of ‘pure’ and is not restricted to *manīṣā*, *stoma*, *matī* or *giraḥ* as Prof. Apte asserts. Prof. Apte minimises the number of times the word means ‘pure’ and observes a discreet silence about its being an attribute of the objects stated above. Therefore, there is no difficulty in taking ‘*śucivrata*’ applied to gods as meaning ‘whose ordinances are pure’. Besides, in Rġ. I.15.11, I.182.1 the word is an attribute of Aśvins, in III.62.17 and VI.16.24 of Mitra and Varuṇa and in VI.70.2 of Heaven and earth. As shown above it is almost²⁵ impossible to speak of blazing tracks in connection with Aśvins and Varuṇa and also in connection with Heaven and Earth (as deities). How Prof. Apte twists the meanings to suit his theories may be shown by two examples from the above²⁶ verses. I.15.11 ‘O Aśvins ! that receive sacrifices performed at

25. Macdonell in ‘Vedic Mythology’ (1898) p. 40 remarks that the connection of the Aśvins with any phenomena of light is obscure and their original character has been a puzzle to Vedic interpreters from the earliest ages.

26. अश्विना पिबतं मधु दीद्यग्नी श्चिब्रता । ऋतुना यज्ञवाहसा ॥ I.15.11 ; उरुंसा नमोवृधा मन्ना दक्षस्य राजथः । द्राघिष्ठाभिः श्चिब्रता ॥ III.62.17. The word द्राघिष्ठा occurs only here and is an adjective, the superlative of दीर्घ ; no noun which it qualifies is mentioned in this verse. द्राघीयस् the comparative of दीर्घ occurs as an adjective of ‘āyuh’ (life) in I.53.11, VIII.18.18, X.18.2 and 3, X.115.8 and so द्राघिष्ठाभिः should properly be taken as an adverb indicating time. Even if द्राघिष्ठाभिः be taken as indicative of spatial relations, the meaning of ‘*śucivrata*’ (whose ordinances are pure) need not at all be affected. The meaning would be ‘whose pure ordinances are spread over long distances in the Universe’.

the proper seasons, for whom fires are blazing and the laws of whom are pure, drink the sweet (soma)'. Prof. Apte translates 'dīdyagnī' (attribute of Aśvins) as 'bright with flames'. The word is a *bahuvrīhi* compound and means 'for whom fire is blazing' (dīdir-agnir-yayoḥ). '(O Mitra and Varuṇa !), that are praised by many, that are glorified by the salutations of worshippers, whose vratas are pure, you rule to the furthest (limit of time) by the greatness of your power' III.62.17. Prof. Apte renders (drāghīṣṭhābhiḥ śucivratā) as 'sucivrata over long distances.' Besides, Bṛhaspati (as in III.62.5 quoted above) and Varuṇa also are called 'suci' (in VII.89.3). Further, we have the word 'śucikranda'²⁷ which is analogous to 'śucivrata' and is applied to Bṛhaspati in VII.97.5 'May we invoke Bṛhaspati, the loud laud (in whose praise) is pure, who is worshipped in (all) houses, and who is irresistible (not to be obstructed).'

There are five passages in the R̥gveda in which the word 'mahivrata' is applied to the gods Soma (IX.97.7²⁸ and IX.100.9), Agni (I.45.3, X.115.3) and Varuṇa (VI.68.9) and the word 'mahāmahivrata' to Soma (IX.48.2). In all these cases the meaning 'whose commands or ordinances are great or many' would be quite appropriate. Prof. Apte (p. 475) has to suggest (quite unnecessarily in my view) three separate meanings viz. 'of great dominion', 'of great paths or tracks or routes', 'of great exploits or deeds'. In expanding the first meaning he interpolates the word 'mighty or resplendent sway, sphere or jurisdiction'. As to the second he remarks that that meaning is not objectionable as all three deities are associated with vratas which they have either laid out for the luminaries as in the case of Varuṇa or which they themselves follow. The third meaning, he thinks, is vague. The word 'mahi' by itself occurs in over 110 passages of the R̥gveda. In all those passages 'mahi' stands for 'mahat' and qualifies words like 'śravas' (food, fame), 'kṣatra' (prowess as in I.54.8 and 11), 'namaḥ,' 'śarma' (in I.93.8), dātra (gift as in I.116.6), enas (as in II.12.10), karma (as in II.22.1), mahitvana (II.23.4), varūtha, draviṇa (III.1.22), rakṣas (IV.3.14). It hardly ever means 'resplendent' by itself, but Prof. Apte had to bring in that sense to support his theory of vrata meaning tracks of luminaries.

The word 'priyavrata' occurs as an adjective only once, i.e. in X.150.3²⁹ 'O Fire, bring to us the gods to whom the ordinances (laid down by them) are dear for showing favour (or for conferring happiness).' Prof. Apte (p. 472) criticizes people (none named) who explain 'priyavratān' as 'whose laws we love'. The

27. शुचिक्रन्दं यजतं पस्त्यानां बृहस्पतिमनर्वाणं हुवेम ॥ VII.97.5.

28. महिन्नतः शुचिबन्धुः पावकः पदा वराहो अभ्येति रेभन् ॥ IX.97.7 (about सोम); त्वं द्यां च महिन्नत पृथिवीं चाति जभ्रिषे । प्रति द्रापिममुञ्चयाः पवमान महित्वना ॥ IX.100.9 (about पवमानसोम).

29. अग्न देवां आ वह नः प्रियन्नतान्मूळीकाय प्रियन्नतान् ॥ X.150.8.

word is a *bahuvrihi* compound and can be explained as ' (gods) to whom vratas are dear'. Similarly, the word³⁰ ' puruvrata ' (Prof. Apte on p. 475) occurs only once in Rġ. IX.3.10. ' Here is that Soma that lays down many ordinances, that when being produced generates food and when extracted flows in a stream'. It should not be forgotten that Soma is both a highly worshipped deity (the whole of the 9th Maṇḍala of the Rġveda being devoted to the exaltation of Soma) and also the Soma juice extracted at certain sacrifices. Both these characters are often mixed up in the several verses. These two words ' priyavrata ' and ' puruvrata ' do not at all help to solve the difficulties in Prof. Apte's interpretations and are rather against his pet theory.

The word ' dhunivrata ' occurs only twice and is applied to Marut or the group of Maruts. ' (O sage ! bow to) the glowing band (of Maruts), that is powerful, that has ornaments on the arms, that is *dhunivrata*, adept in tricks, that bestows choice gifts ' V.58.2 ;³¹ May (the praises) reach the strong (host of Maruts) eminently deserving to be worshipped, wearing ornaments, powerful, dhunivrata etc.' V.87.1.

Prof. Apte (p. 435 section 47) takes ' dhuni ' as an adjective and as meaning ' roaring, raging, storming ' and translates ' dhunivrata ' as ' whose paths are characterised by roaring or raging '. The word ' dhuni ' occurs about ten times as an adjective and means ' one that shakes his enemies or clouds ' etc. or is a noun meaning ' river '. Yāska (Nirukta V.12) in explaining Rġ. X.89.5 derives ' dhuni ' from the root ' dhū ' to shake. Vide I.70.1, I.174.9 (tvam dhunir Indra ', O Indra ! thou art a shaker of enemies), II.15.5 ' (sa im mahim dhunim—etoraramnāt, Indra stopped this great river from flowing), V.34.5 and 8, VI.20.12 (Indra is called ' dhuni ' in all the three). In some verses ' Dhuni ' is the name of a demon (in VI.18.8, VII.19.4, X.113.9). Therefore, it is proper to take ' dhunivrata ' as an adjective meaning ' whose ordinances are such as make others (breakers) tremble '.

Some verses mentioned by Prof. Apte such as Rġ. X.64.5 (p. 434) and V.66.2 and X.13.3 (on p. 446 sections 74, 75) are rather obscure and should not have been relied upon at all. One has to compare Rġ. X.64.5 with X.72.4 (which says that Dakṣa was born of Aditi and Aditi of Dakṣa) to see how X.64.5 is rather enigmatic. In X.13.3 (catuspadīm-anvemi vratena) it is quite possible and appropriate to take ' vratena ' as meaning ' according to god's laws ', or ' according to religious practices '.

30. एष उ स्य पुरुत्रतो जज्ञानो जनयन्निषः । धारया पवते सुतः ॥ IX.3.10.

31. त्वेषं गणं तवसं खादिहस्तं धुनिव्रतं मायिनं दातिवारम् । V.58.2 ; प्र शर्षाय प्रयज्यवे सुखादये तवसे भन्ददिष्टये धुनिव्रताय शवसे ॥ V.87.1.

It is not necessary to examine separately each of the verses in which vrata occurs and Prof. Apte's interpretations thereof. The preceding discussion is sufficient to show what vrata means in almost all passages. With great respect to Prof. Apte it may be pointed out how he commits mistakes in the construction and translation of some of the verses cited by him. On p. 426 (section 29) he renders VIII.94.2³² as 'she (Pṛṣni) in whose lap all the gods maintain their vratas, the Sun and the Moon also, in order that they may be seen', explains that the sun and the moon are seen only when they keep to their vratas and draws the conclusion that 'vratas' mean the tracks followed by the sun and the moon. Prof. Apte takes 'Sūryāmāsā' as the subject of 'dhārayante' along with 'Viśve devāḥ'; but the word 'Sūryāmāsā' is in the objective case in relation to 'dṛṣe'. The proper translation is 'in the lap of whom (of Pṛṣni, the mother of Maruts) all the gods uphold their laws in order that (people) may see the Sun and the Moon'. What is meant is that the Gods uphold their fixed ordinances with the result that the Sun and the Moon are seen to rise at the proper times. If we compare VIII.94.2 with I.23.21 (=X.9.7) I.50.1, I.52.8, X.57.4, X.60.5 it would be quite clear that the translation I propose is the only correct one and if that be so no question of 'tracks of light' will arise. Some other obscure verses such as III.7.7 (p. 444 para 69) and III.4.7 (p. 458 para 98) are pressed into his service by Prof. Apte. There is no agreement on the significance of those verses and also on the meanings of individual words. For example, in III.4.7, which is the same as III.7.8, Prof. Apte, following Pischel, is inclined to take the seven pṛkṣas as the Aṅgirasas. But in I.141.2 Agni is called 'pṛkṣa' and in IV.45.1 three pṛkṣas are spoken of as placed together on the chariot of the Aśvins. In VII.60.4 the word 'pṛkṣāsah' appears to mean foods.

Prof. Apte is wrong in his interpretation of I.144.1³³ (p. 431 section 39). He translates 'The Hotṛ (Agni himself) goes forward along his vrata by his wonderful power, holding upward the brightly coloured prayer'. It is unnecessary to take the word *hotṛ* as referring to Agni himself here. The proper translation is 'the hotṛ (priest) holding high his brightly adorned prayer (or of pure form) by his wonderful (poetic) power proceeds according to the ordinances of him (of Agni).' In interpreting III.3.9 he takes 'kṣitih' as meaning 'dwellings', but that word

32. यस्या देवा उपस्ये व्रता विश्वे धारयन्ते । सूर्यामासा दृशे कम् ॥ VIII. 94.2. The first verse (VIII.94.1) refers to the Cow, the mother of Maruts, who are designated 'pṛṣnimātaraḥ' in V.57.2 and 3, VIII.7.3 and 17 and other passages. Compare 'आपः पृणीत भेषजं वरुथं तन्वे ३ मम । ज्योक् च सूर्यं दृशे ॥ I.23.21 = X.9.7; उदु त्यं जातवेदसं देवं वहन्ति केतवः । दृशे विश्वाय सूर्यम् ॥ I.50.1; अयच्छथा बाह्वोर्त्रिज्रमायसमधारयो दिव्या सूर्यं दृशे ॥ I.52.8 'you held the sun in the heaven in order to enable people to see him.' इन्द्र क्षत्रासमातिषु रथं प्रोष्ठेषु धारय । दिवीच सूर्यं दृशे ॥ X.60.5. In all these passages the words are सूर्यं दृशे, while in VIII.94.2 they are सूर्यामासा दृशे.

33. एति प्र होता व्रतमस्य माययोध्वी दधानः शुचिपेशसं धियम् । I.144.1.

generally means³⁴ 'common mass of people'; vide III.14.4, VI.65.1, VII.65.2, VII.75.4 (pañca kṣitih), VII.79.1 (pañca kṣitih), VIII. 6.26. On VI. 70.5³⁵ Prof. Apte remarks (p. 420, sec. 17) that to take 'vrata' in 'madhuvrate' applied to the deities Heaven and Earth as meaning 'law, duty or will' is almost absurd. One fails to see why it would be absurd to hold that the Vedic poet thinks that the laws of Heaven and Earth as deities are sweet (and not harsh), specially when they are spoken of as 'dropping madhu' and as 'producing madhu'.

Prof. Apte interprets 'śruṣṭim' in I.69.4 (p. 450) as meaning 'heed', probably deriving it from the root 'śru' (to hear). He refers to only three passages II.14.9, and VII.18.6 and 10. The forms of the word 'śruṣṭi' occur over thirty times in the Rġveda. 'śruṣṭim' occurring eight times and 'śruṣṭi' (for śruṣṭiyā, instrumental singular of śruṣṭi) thirteen times. We must assign such a meaning or such meanings to 'śruṣṭi' as would suit all or most of the passages. The Nirukta (VI.12) states that 'śruṣṭi' means³⁶ 'quick' or 'quickly', cites VII.39.4 as an illustration and in VI.22 paraphrases 'śruṣṭivarīḥ' occurring in X.30.11 as 'sukhavatyah.' The two verses may be translated according to Yāska as follows: 'O fire, worship quickly in this sacrifice the gods Bhaga, the Aśvins and Purandhi (Indra or Varuṇa) who are desirous (of offerings)' VII.39.4; (O priests!) push forward this our sacrifice for the worship of the gods; send forth the prayers for securing wealth; loosen the udder (the hide on which Soma is pressed) on the occasion of this sacrifice, O waters! confer happiness on us' X.30.11. In almost all the passages where 'śruṣṭi' occurs, viz. in II.3.9, II.9.4, II.14.8, III.9.8, IV.36.4, VI.13.1, VI.68.1, VII.39.4, VIII.23.18, VIII.87.6, IX.106.1, X.20.6 the meaning 'quickly' or 'willingly' is appropriate. The meaning 'heed' would be quite inappropriate and inapplicable in these twelve passages. In VIII.23.14 'śruṣṭi' may mean 'having heard', but the meaning 'quickly' is not inappropriate. In those four passages in which 'śruṣṭim' occurs and which Prof. Apte does not consider at all, that word quite appropriately means either 'quickness or quick in action or obedient' or 'quickly' or 'obediently' or 'conferring happiness' and the meaning 'heed' would be inappropriate. Vide I.67.1,³⁷ I.166.13, II.32.3, III.50.2. '(Agni).

34. In the निघण्टु II.3 twenty-five words meaning 'manuṣya' are enumerated (including 'viśah' and 'kṣitih').

35. मधु नो द्वावापृथिवी मिमिक्षतां मधुञ्चुता मधुदुधे मधुव्रते । VI.70.5.

36. श्रुष्टी इति क्षिप्रनाम आशु अष्टि इति । नि. VI.12.; Rg. VII.39.4 तौ अध्वर उशतो यक्ष्यने श्रुष्टी भगं नासत्या पुरन्विम् । हिनोता नो अध्वरं देवयज्या हिनोत ब्रह्म सनये धनानाम् । ऋतस्य योगे वि व्यध्वमूधः श्रुष्टीवरीभूतनास्मभ्यमापः ॥ X.30. 11. निरुक्त VI.22. explains the last quarter as सुखवत्यः भवतास्मभ्यमापः.

37. वनेषु जायर्मतेषु मित्रो वृणीते श्रुष्टि राजेवाजुयम् । I.67.1. न किष्ट एता व्रता मिनन्ति नृभ्यो यदेभ्यः श्रुष्टि चकर्थे । I.69.4; एता (एतानि) refers to the well-known ordinances of Agni mentioned in the same hymn and the preceding ones. अध्वर्यवः कर्तना श्रुष्टिमस्मै वने निपूतं वन उन्नयध्वम् । II.14.9; श्रुष्टि चक्रुर्भृंगत्रो दुह्यवश्च सखा सखायमतरद्विपूचोः ॥ VII.18.6; पृश्निगावः पृश्निनिप्रैषितासः श्रुष्टि चक्रुर्नियुतो रत्तयश्च ॥ VII.18.10.

that is born among forest wood and that is the friend of men, chooses (for his favour) a quick (obedient) man, as a king prefers a strong man ' I.67.1. Prof. Apte, unmindful of the meaning of 'śruṣṭi' in a dozen passages seizes upon four passages where 'śruṣṭim' is connected with the forms of 'kr' (to do) in order to connect somehow the word vrata with some physical movement (p. 450). In the other four passages, 'śruṣṭim' occurs in relation to 'vr', 'āvya', 'ā vaha', 'āvah'. Now let us examine his own example I.69.4. That verse yields a good sense even without taking 'śruṣṭi' to mean 'heed'. 'No one, O Agni, destroys these vratas (ordinances) when you make haste for these sacrificers (to confer favour on them)' I.69.4. Rg. II.14.9 to which Prof. Apte refers does not help him at all. It means 'O adhvaryu priests ! make haste for him (for Indra); take up *soma* in a wooden (ladle) after purifying it'. In VII.18.6 and 10 (by mistake VIII.18.6 and 10 are printed) also 'śruṣṭim' means 'haste'.

We have next to consider the word *dhṛtavrata*, which occurs eighteen times in the R̥gveda. Out of these Varuṇa is indubitably addressed as 'dhṛtavrata' in seven passages viz. I.25.8 and 10, I.44.14, I.141.9, II.1.4 (O Agni, you are the king Varuṇa who is dhṛtavrata), VIII.27.3 and X.66.5. Both Mitra and Varuṇa are styled 'dhṛtavrata' in I.15.6, VIII.25.2 and 8 (and also 'kṣatriyā' in verse 8), Indra and Varuṇa are called 'dhṛtavrata' in VI.68.10, Indra alone in VI.19.5 and VIII.97.11, the Ādityas in II.29.1, Viśve devāḥ in X.66.8 (and also 'kṣatriyāḥ', Agni in VIII.44.25, and Savitr in IV.53.4. In all these passages dhṛtavrata can very well be translated as 'one who upholds or supports his ordinances'. Prof. Apte (p. 430 para 37) avers that Varuṇa is pre-eminently called 'dhṛtavrata', because he maintains intact the paths he has excavated for the luminaries or who sees that the fixed laws of the movements of the luminaries are properly observed. Unless one has already made up one's mind that *vrata* signifies tracks of luminaries, these 'dhṛtavrata' passages are of no help in settling the original meaning of *vrata*. They can be also well construed on the other theory of the evolution of the meaning of *vrata*. Supposing that Prof. Apte is right in thinking that the epithet pre-eminently applies to Varuṇa, it is quite easy to contend that what is mainly aimed at in calling Varuṇa *dhṛtavrata* is the high moral level which Varuṇa maintains according to the R̥gvedic sages by punishing sinners, by looking into the truth and falsehood of men (VII.49.3 satyāṇṛte avapaśyan janānām), by the fact that he is called 'kṣatriya' and king or *samrāj* (who exacts obedience to his laws) as shown above. Therefore, to hold that *vrata* means ordinances in connection with Varuṇa is more appropriate than the other theory about his seeing that luminaries follow their tracks. In this connection the word *dhṛtavrata* in I.25.6 becomes very important. Almost all scholars take that verse to mean '(Mitra and Varuṇa) fond of the donor who observes the laws of religious worship partake of the same offering (made by the donor) and they are not heedless about it (or do not miss it)' and hold that here the word 'dhṛtavrata' applies to a human worshipper and not to a god as in other passages. Prof. Apte (p. 430 para 37) explains that the words

'*dhṛtavratāya dāśuṣe venantā*' mean 'fond of the donor who makes a gift to (Varuṇa) who is '*dhṛtavrata*'. This construction is objectionable on various grounds. There are two deities (Mitra and Varuṇa) referred to in the principal sentence (the verb being 'āśāte'), while '*dhṛtavratāya*' is in the singular and can only be construed with a single deity (viz. Varuṇa). Further, Prof. Apte relies upon VIII. 94.2 (which he interprets as meaning that the Viśve devās and the Sun and the Moon maintain the vratas in order that the latter two may be seen shining) for his explanation of the word '*dhṛtavrata*'. It has been shown above (p.20) how this interpretation of VIII.94.2, given by Prof. Apte is not correct. Therefore, this prop of Prof. Apte's hypothesis should be regarded as having collapsed. Prof. Apte further relies on X.113.5 as making his interpretation of '*dhṛtavratāya*' in I.25.6 almost certain. This verse (X.113.5) may be construed³⁸ to mean '(Indra) being daring brought down his bolt made of *ayas* and happiness to Mitra, Varuṇa and the donor (of offerings).' Besides, in X.113.5 Mitra and Varuṇa are expressly mentioned by name, while in I.25.6 no deity is mentioned by name before the word '*dāśuṣe*'. Prof. Apte also draws attention to I.74.9 for a similar construction. But in the last also the translation may be 'O god Agni! you illumine great, brilliant and excellent strength for the gods and for the worshipper', while it would be begging the question in dispute to hold that *dhṛtavrata* applies to god Varuṇa in I.25.6. Constructions parallel to '*dhṛtavratāya dāśuṣe*' and containing an adjective of *dāśuṣe* are found in other passages of the Rġveda. For example, in I.142.1³⁹ we have the words '(O Agni) spread the ancient thread (i.e. sacrifice) for the worshipper that has extracted soma juice'. Here '*sutasomāya dāśuṣe*' does not mean 'to the worshipper who gives offerings to one who extracts soma or to the extracted soma'. Similarly, in VIII.5.6 the words '*sudevāya dāśuṣe*'⁴⁰ mean 'to the worshipper who worships the good god'. These considerations certainly indicate that '*dhṛtavratāya*' is an attribute of a human being and not necessarily of Varuṇa in I.25.6. If '*dhṛtavrata*' be held to be an attribute of a human worshipper, '*vrata*' therein must mean 'laws or ordinances' and not 'tracks of luminaries'. We have the word '*dhṛtadakṣa*' applied to a priest in X.41.3. It probably means 'who upholds strength' i.e. who is constant or strong. It is worthy of note that the Śatapatha⁴¹ Br. V.4. 4.5 while explaining Rġ. I.25.10 '*niṣasāda dhṛtavrato Varuṇaḥ*' remarks that the king and a brāhmaṇa deeply learned in the Veda are both *dhṛtavrata* (who uphold the laws). The Gautamadharmasūtra (VIII.1) practically repeats the words of the Śatapatha. It is quite possible that even in the times of the Rġveda people had come to assign the same meaning to the word *dhṛtavrata*

38. अवाभरदधृषितो वज्रमायसं शेवं मित्राय वरुणाय दाशुषे ॥ X.113.5. ; उत द्युमत्सुवीर्यं बृहदग्ने विवाससि । देवेभ्यो देव दाशुषे ॥ I.74.9.

39. समिद्धो अग्न आ वह देवां अद्य यतस्सुचे । तन्तुं तनुष्व पूर्व्यं सुतसोमाय दाशुषे ॥ I.142.1.

40. ता सुदेवाय दाशुषे सुमेधामवितारिणीम् । धृतेर्गन्व्यूतिमुक्षतम् ॥ VIII.5.6.

41. निषसाद धृतवृत इति धृतव्रतो वै राजा...एष च श्रोत्रियश्चैती द्वौ मनुष्येषु धृतव्रतो । शतपथ-ब्राह्मण V.4.4.5 ; द्वौ लोके धृतव्रती राजा ब्राह्मणश्च बहुश्रुतः । गौतमधर्मसूत्र VIII.1,

that the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa ascribes to it. Conceding for argument that 'dhyta-vratāya' (in I.25.6) refers to Varuṇa, that does not at all solve the problem of the proper derivation and meaning of *vrata*. The verse X.65.6 has two meanings, one primary referring to the ordinary cow and the other metaphorical, probably referring to Uṣas (or Mādhyamikā Vāk, as Sāyaṇa suggests). The ordinary cow yields milk (payo duhānā) and is therefore styled 'vratani' (the carrier of vrata or of vrata milk) i.e. the cow helps the sacrificer in his worship and his vow. In the Tai. S. VI.2.5.2-3 and other Vedic texts it is stated that milk⁴² is brāhmaṇa's vrata, yavāgū (gruel) of rājanya and āmiksā (mixture of curds and heated milk) of vaiśya. It is this that is foreshadowed in Rg. X.65.6 and we should take *vrata* in 'vrataniḥ' in this sense. The word 'vratani' does not occur anywhere else in the Rgveda. While explaining X.65.6 Prof. Apte (on p. 442) refers to Sūrya as being called 'vratapā' very aptly. The word vratapā occurs nine times in the Rgveda, the Sun being called vratapā only once (in I.83.5), the divine *hotrs* in III.4.7 and III.7.8, Vāstoṣpati once (in X.61.7) and Agni in five passages viz. I.31.10, V.2.8, VI.8.2, VIII.11.1, X.32.6. Therefore, calling the Sun the guardian of vratas once does not help Prof. Apte at all in his peculiar theory about the meaning of *vrata*. In the Tai. S. I.6.6.3, Vāj. S.I.5 and other Vedic texts Agni is the 'vratapati'—lord of vratas) *par excellence* (agne vratapate vratam caṛiṣyāmi). In these latter passages *vrata* means a religious vow such as that of a Vedic student who undertakes after *upaśāyana* the study of the Veda. Veda or Vedic prayer is *brahma* (even in the Rgveda) as in III.53.12 (Viśvāmitrasya rakṣati brahmedam Bhāratam janam). The vows which a student of the Veda undertakes, such as not partaking of honey or flesh and desisting from sexual intercourse, are called *vrata* and identified with *brahma* (i.e. Veda) and a brahmacārin (which word occurs in Rgveda X.109.5) is one who follows or practises the observances enjoined for the study of the Veda.⁴³ There is no reason why the word 'vratapā' (in the Rgveda) should not be regarded as having been used in the sense in which the word 'vratapati' is employed in the Taittiriya and the Vājasaneyā Saṃhitās. Similarly, VII.103.1 is⁴⁴: the frogs

42. शबर on जै. IV.3.8-9 quotes 'ज्योतिष्टोमे समामनन्ति पयो व्रतं ब्राह्मणस्य, यवागू राजन्यस्य, आमिक्षा वैश्यस्य-इति । Vide तै. आ. for पयो...आमिक्षा and History of Dharmaśāstra vol. II p. 1092n for आमिक्षा

43. On पाणिनि VI.3.86 'चरणे ब्रह्मचारिणि' (which explains the word सन्नह्यचारिन्) the महाभाष्य says 'समाने ब्रह्मणि व्रतं चरतीति सन्नह्यचारी' and the सिद्धान्तकौमुदी explains 'चरणः शाखा । ब्रह्म वेदः तदध्ययनार्थं व्रतमपि ब्रह्म तच्चरतीति ब्रह्मचारी'.

44. संवत्सरं शशयाना ब्राह्मणा व्रतचारिणः । वाचं पर्जन्यजिन्वितां प्र मण्डूका अवादिषुः ॥ VII.103.1. The निरुक्त (IX.6) explains this verse as 'संवत्सरं शशयानाः ब्राह्मणाः व्रतचारिणः ब्रूवाणाः । अपि वा उपमार्थं स्यात् । ब्राह्मणाः इव व्रतचारिणः इति ।' Persons engaged in the सांवत्सरिकसत्र of which the Gavāmayana was a model, had to observe certain strict rules among which were these viz. that they were not to speak to a non-Ārya and were to subsist on milk. Vide Āśvalāyanaśrautasūtra XII (or uttarashaṭka VI) 8.1, 3, 7, 29 अथ सत्रिघर्माः । सर्वशश्च वर्जयेद्युग्मचर्याम् 3, अनायाभिभाषणाम् । 7, पयो दीक्षासु । 29, and शतपथब्राह्मण XI. 5.1.1 अथातः पयोव्रततायै । पयोव्रतो दीक्षितः स्यात् ।

lying silent for a year (in holes and crevices), like brāhmaṇas observing a vrata, send forth their croaking inspired by the rains'. Here the word 'vrata' has the same sense that it has in mediæval times in India viz. some sacred vow (or undertaking) observed for securing some object.

There is another word (vṛṣavrata) which would have some bearing on the meaning of vrata, which is analogous to *dhyāvavrata* and which Prof. Apte (p. 485 section 48) tries to fit in his scheme of the meanings of vrata. He refers to the description of Soma as bellowing like a bull and a bull among cows and as brandishing and sharpening his horns. One must not forget the twofold character of Soma as a deity and a beverage produced from the twigs and tendrils of the Soma plant. When Soma juice is extracted sound is produced in the *uparavas*⁴⁵ (vide History of Dharmaśāstra Vol. II. pp. 1154-55 for uparava). This is described as the bellowing of Soma when Soma is spoken of as a vṛṣa (a bull). Most of the eminent Vedic gods (Agni, Indra and others) and their chariots and even weapons and intoxication are spoken of as bulls.⁴⁶ When the juice is to be pressed out, the tendrils or filaments of the Soma plant look like horns. But all this description applies literally to the Soma plant and not to the deity Soma, to which these descriptions are transferred. Prof. Apte explains that the behaviour of Soma is like that of a bull and translates *vṛṣavrata* as 'whose behaviour or deportment is like that of a bull'. On the other theory also we can very easily explain vṛṣavrata as 'whose vratas (ordinances) are powerful like a bull'. This word vṛṣavrata proves nothing as to the original meaning of vrata and when applied to the god Soma its implications are against the origin of vrata as a physical activity. 'Vṛṣavrata' applied to god Soma occurs in IX.62.11 and IX.64. 1 which may be translated as follows:⁴⁷ 'May this powerful Pavamāna (soma), that destroys evil spirits (or curses) and whose ordinances are powerful, bestow wealth on the sacrificer' IX.62.11; 'O God Soma ! thou art powerful, brilliant and thy ordinances are powerful, thou, being strong, upholdest religious rites' IX.64.1. The word vṛṣavrata is a bahuvrīhi compound and an attribute of god Soma and cannot be construed with Soma, if *vrata* primarily means some physical activity.

This article is full of differences of opinion between Prof. Apte and myself and also of criticisms of many of his remarks and translations. But I think that

45. उपरवाः are four and the word means sounding holes dug up under the shaft of the southern cart on which Soma plant is placed. उपरवा नाम कूपकाः । तेषां चोपरि अधिषवणफलेके निधीयेते तयोरुपरि अधिषवणचर्म तत्र सोमोऽभिषूयते । तस्मिन् ग्रावभिर्हन्यमाने वादिश्रोदरवत् सुषिरास्ते कूपा गम्भीरमुपख्वन्तीति उपरवा इत्यभिधीयन्ते । com. on कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्र VIII.4.28.

46. Only one verse need be quoted to illustrate this. II.10.6 is : वृषा ते वज्र उत ते वृषा रथो वृषणा हरी वृषभाण्यायुधा । वृष्णो मदस्य वृषभ त्वमीशिष इन्द्र सोमस्य वृषभस्य तृष्णुहि ॥

47. एष वृषा वृषव्रतः पवमानो अशस्तिहा । करद्वसूनि दाशुषे ॥ IX.62.11; वृषा सोम शुमाँ असि वृषा देव वृषव्रतः । वृषा धर्माणि दधिषे ॥ IX.64.1.

I should not close this article without complimenting Prof. Apte for several reasons. Most Sanskrit scholars have held fast to the view that the word *vrata* is derived from the root 'vr̥'. Whitney gave the first shock to the complacency of Sanskrit scholars on this point; but he did not go into the question of origins at any length. Prof. Apte, though he took his cue from Whitney, has gone elaborately into the question and has endeavoured to support his hypothesis with learning and force. Though I do not accept his conclusions, it cannot be gainsaid that his paper is thought-provoking and should be carefully considered by all scholars interested in the derivation and semantic development of ancient words like *vrata*. It appears to me that Prof. Apte did not consider the possibility that his theory about the meaning of the root 'vr̥' (to turn, revolve, move on) would be seriously challenged and did not therefore put forward adequate materials in support of his theory about the meaning of *vr̥t*. His chief concern seems to have been to establish that the word 'vrata' is to be derived from the root 'vr̥t' and not from 'vr̥.' He could have put forward passages like *Ṛg. V. 36.3* (*cakram na vr̥ttam puruhūta vepate mano bhīyā me* etc, my mind trembles through fear like a round wheel) or *IV.81.4* (*abhi na ā vavr̥tsva cakram na vr̥ttam*, turn yourself towards us like a round wheel). Obvious explanations of such passages can be given even on the accepted derivation of *vrata*. But in the discussion by Prof. Apte and myself we have confined ourselves to verbal forms and have not taken into consideration past passive participles, the meanings of which often depart very much from the apparent root-meaning as in the case of *kr̥ta* in *Ṛg. X.43.5* (*kr̥tam na śvaghnī vi cinoti devane*).

It is necessary at the end of this article to clarify the meanings and mutual relations of *r̥ta*, *vrata* and *dharman*. The meanings of *r̥ta* and *vrata* have been specified above already (pp. 4, 6). The word 'dharman' requires some explanation. In the *R̥gveda*, the word is always *dharman* and not 'dharma'. In some passages *dharman* is in the masculine gender and generally an adjective. For example, *I.187.1*⁴⁸ 'I have praised Food that is the supporter of the wide (world), that is strength (itself), by whose power Trita (a protégé of Indra) crushed Vṛtra so as to break the latter's joints'; *X.92.2* 'both (gods and men) produced this Agni that drinks (partakes) quickly (the offerings), that is a supporter and that accomplishes wisdom or sacrifice (or that arranges a sacrificial assembly)'. In some cases it is difficult to say whether 'dharman' is masculine or neuter as in *X.44.1* 'May⁴⁹ Indra who is his own master (or 'master of wealth') come (to our sacrifice) for becoming intoxicated (with Soma), Indra, who hurries because of the sacrifice and grows in strength'. In other verses 'dharman' is clearly neuter and means 'religious rites' or 'sacrifices' and nearly approaches 'vrata' in one of its senses (noted

48. पितुं नु स्तोषं महो धर्माणं तविषीम् । यस्य त्रितो व्योजसा वृत्रं विपर्वमर्दयत् ॥ I.187.1=वाज. सं. 34.7; इममञ्जस्पामुभये अकृण्वत् धर्माणमग्निं विदथस्य साधनम् । X.92.2. For the exploits of Trita helped by the might of Indra, vide X.8.8 and X.99.6.

49. आ यात्विन्द्रः स्वपतिर्मदाय यो धर्मणा तूतुजानस्तुविष्मान् । X.44.1=अथर्ववेद XX.94.1.

above, p. 6). The following may be cited for this purpose. I.22.18-19 'Viṣṇu, the protector (of all), the one that cannot be deceived (or harmed), took three steps, from thence (i.e. the three worlds), he upholds religious rites; (O priests) look at the actions of Viṣṇu, the friend of Indra and equal in power (to him), by means of which (actions) he observes vratas'; V.26.6 'O Agni, the winner of a thousand, the praiseworthy messenger of the gods, when kindled you foster religious rites'. Frequently we have the phrase 'those were the primeval religious rites' (tāni dharmāṇi prathamānyāsan' as in I.164.43 and 50, X.90.16. In some cases dharman appears in the same sense as 'vrata' e.g. in VII.89.5⁵⁰ the sage says 'when we destroy through infatuation your dharmans, do not harm us, O God (Varuṇa), on account of that sin'. This is just like I.25.1-2 where we have the word 'vratam' for 'dharmāṇi'. In VI.70.1 it is said⁵¹ 'Heaven and Earth, never decaying and endowed with plenty of seed, are held firmly apart by the dharman of Varuṇa'. We saw above (note 14) that making the Heaven firmly fixed is described as one of the vratas of Varuṇa in VIII.42.1.

Though in this way in some passages even of the R̥gveda the sense of the words 'vrata' and 'dharman' appears to have coalesced, there are passages where all the three words, *vra*, *vrata* and *dharman*, occur in the same verse or at least two of them do so. V.63.7 'O wise Mitra and Varuṇa! you naturally (or according to your fixed rule of conduct) guard your ordinances with the wonderful power of an asura, you rule over (or illumine) the whole world according to the principle of cosmic order, you establish the sun, that is (like) a brilliant chariot, in the heaven'. In this one verse all the three words occur. V.72.2. '(O Mitra and Varuṇa) that bestow never-ending happiness according to your laws and that urge people to make efforts according to your nature, sit down on the kuśa grass (spread in the sacrifice) for drinking⁵² soma'. Here it is also possible to take 'dharmanā' (mean-

50. अचित्तो यत्तव धर्मा युयोपिम मा नस्तस्मादेनसो देव रीरिषः ॥ VII.89.5.

51. द्यावापृथिवी वरुणस्य धर्मणा विष्कभिते अजरे भूरिरेतसा ॥ VI.70.1.

52. धर्मणा मित्रावरुणा विपश्चिता व्रता रक्षथे असुरस्य मायया । ऋतेन विश्वं भुवनं वि राजयः सूर्यमा घृत्यो दिवि चित्र्यं रथम् ॥ V.63.7 ; व्रतेन स्यो ध्रुवक्षेमा धर्मणा यातयज्जना । नि वहिषि सदतं सोमपीतये ॥ V.72.2 ; ऋतस्य देवा अनु व्रता गुर्भुवत् परिष्टिर्द्यौर्नभूम । I.65.2 ; तिस्रो भूमीर्धारयन् त्रीरुत द्यून्त्रीणि व्रता विदथे अन्तरेषाम् । ऋतेनादिव्या महि वो महित्वं तदर्यमन् वरुण मित्र चारु ॥ II.27.8 ; यो वामृजवे क्रमणाय रोदसी मर्तो ददाश धिपणे स साधति । प्र प्रजाभिर्जायते धर्मणस्परि युवोः सिक्ता विष्कृपाणि सव्रता ॥ VI.70.3 ; परिक्षिता पितरा पूर्वजावरी ऋतस्य योना क्षयतः समोक्सा । द्यावापृथिवी वरुणाय सव्रते घृतवत् पयो महिषाय पिन्वतः ॥ X.65.8. With II.27.8 compare IV.53.5 for mention of six matters (including vrata) which are all three in number. On p. 440 (section 80) Prof. Apte translates the last quarter of VI.70.3 as 'from you two are poured (favours) diverse in form, but following an identical vrata'. There is no word for 'favour' in that verse ; 'sikta' literally means 'sprinkled' (past pass. p. of सिच्), but the word 'seka' is used in R̥g. III.31.1 ('pitā yatra duhituḥ sekam-r̥ñjan') in the sense of a male that impregnates. Therefore, I take सिक्ता as equal to (impregnated i.e. progeny). Prof. Apte probably translates as he does for showing the connection of Heaven and Earth with physical activity.

ing 'that upholds or supports)' as an adjective of *vratena*. I.65.2 'The gods followed the laws of universal order; there was encompassment by them as heaven encompasses the earth'; II.27.8 'The Ādityas support the three worlds (earth and two regions beneath it) and also the three heavens (heaven and two worlds above it); between these there are three vratas (i.e. morning, midday and evening rites) in a sacrificial assembly; O Ādityas, your greatness is eminent on account of the eternal order in the cosmos; O Aryaman, Varuṇa and Mitra! that greatness is charming'. VI.70.3 'O Heaven and Earth that are the resting-places (or wisdom) of the world! that man who gives offerings to you for a straight career, accomplishes (his desires); he is endowed with offspring in accordance with natural law; your seeds (i.e. children) though of diverse forms follow the same ordinance; X.65.8 'O Heaven and earth! that are the ancient parents (of all), that remain surrounding all, that have a common abode, you dwell in the lap of ṛta (cosmic order); following the same ordinance you fatten the glue-like water (i.e. food) for worshipping the great Varuṇa'. Vide also III.4.7 (for ṛta and vrata in the same verse). These typical passages are enough to indicate how the three words were employed. Rta is the universal cosmic order that has been there from the most ancient times. Vrata means the laws or ordinances supposed to be laid down by individual gods or by all the gods. Dharman meant the religious rites. Gradually the conception of ṛta receded into the background (vide History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. IV. pp. 2-5) and *satya* took its place. Dharman became an all-embracing conception and vrata came to be restricted to religious rites and vows and rules of conduct to be observed by a person as a member of a certain society or body or as an individual. That history cannot be gone into here.

ORMAZD AND AHRIMAN
A HISTORY OF THE DUALISTIC VIEW OF LIFE

BY

J. C. TAVADIA

Ormazd et Ahriman is a familiar title of an excellent work by that Prince of Iranists of his days, James Darmesteter. While quoting some of his fine observations regarding the Iranian view of the resurrection in my *Indo-Iranian Studies II—The First Three Gathas of Zarathustra*, etc. p. 108 f, I expressed the desire that the theme might be treated again in the same grand manner but in the light of new discoveries and researches. So it was not with a little joy and expectation that soon after that I came across the announcement about the preparation of a volume under the same title by the eminent Belgian Iranist, Duchesne-Guillemín. The author is not only a qualified linguist but is also well versed in various allied branches to tackle the great problem. Moreover, he commands over a facile pen too, like his great predecessor. And so the work was expected to rival the former volume in every respect.

The new book has now appeared as volume 31 of the well known French series *Mythes et Religions* (Presses Universitaire de France, Paris 1953). It is quite different in various respects from its former namesake. In size it is considerably smaller with its 153 pages, but in matter it is far more extensive as even a glance at its table of contents shows. It gives not only a short history of the whole Iranian religion but also goes into details about parallel notions among the Jews and the Greeks with a view to examine the question of their relation and eventually indebtedness to Iran. It goes without saying that all this can be done only in a short, summary-like manner without extensive notes and discussions. Even references are reduced to a minimum. But on the whole the summary offered by the book is excellent and also authoritative. Indeed, full agreement on such a wide field beset with all sorts of difficulties is not at all possible. But some views are now commonly recognised, whereas others deserve due consideration. The former I may leave untouched here in the present article; to the latter I may draw attention or offer criticism as the case requires. Also the non-Iranian themes will be passed over, about which the author himself asks the pardon of the specialists of Palestine, Greece, and Gnosticism for his intrusion, but the survey of their territories was necessary for his general orientation. He adds that he has attempted to write a work at forty which he missed at twenty. He means that the whole subject should form part of liberal education.

Iran is the classical land of dualism. As such she appeared to the Greeks—to Aristotle as well as to Plutarch. It is from that dualism that Mani's has proceeded, although this is more radical and also otherwise oriented. I do not know

who has doubted Zarathustra's share or even originality in this doctrine. By this complaint the author seems to mean that the prophet is essentially shown to be a monotheist. Well, if this be an offence, then I too plead guilty to the charge. I emphasise both the traits in the teachings of Zarathustra in spite of their inherent contradiction. For me—and for the author too as I see later on—there is no reason to deny the one or the other. It is only when one strictly holds the view that the two are and remain incompatible that we are to decide for the one or the other. In such a case, of course, one must give preference to Zarathustra's dualism to his monotheism, for that is the more essential and highly characteristic trait. But there is nothing to demand that strict view. Both traits can be conceived to exist together side by side—in spite of certain unavoidable contradictions; and therefore one may uphold both as Zarathustra's contribution to religious thought. The fact is that we are not to expect strictly logical systems in religious or prophetic writings. We are to consider and evaluate these writings more as poetry than as science or even philosophy. This is what a man like Matthew Arnold has made clear to us. Remember what he says in various places while dealing with the interpretation of Biblical sayings. I do not know if he is proved to be wrong in holding such views although he is criticised for his "cocksureness" in these matters. I may also refer to Toynbee's one volume *Study of History* and quote his dictum, "...logical contradiction...is intuitively transcended in the imagery of the poet and prophet, who give glory to an omnipotent God yet take it for granted that He is subject to two crucial limitations." (p. 63). So in the case of Zarathustra—and, as the author points out here below and I myself have said elsewhere, in that of Iran as a whole—seemingly contradictory views do meet together in some sort of harmony. Different moods and feelings and situations may justly call forth different views—sometimes monotheistic, sometimes dualistic. The former as an improvement to polytheistic thinking, the latter as a guide in the practical affairs of life—and, of course, as a philosophical system too.

Reserving for the present what the author has to say in the respective chapters on the subject, let us see what he further remarks on the general orientation in the Introduction. Quoting Henning's novel opinion that the best way to understand the religion of Zarathustra, that is his dualism, is to see therein a protest against monotheism (for which see also my article in *JBBRAS* 28·185f), he asks whether this does not involve an anachronism. Iran is not Greece, he adds, and one cannot expect the logical rigour one is used to through or in the Philosophers. Zarathustra did not know the difficulty experienced by Parmenides, who after having postulated an Absolute and Perfect Being found himself in dilemma to explain that there was also something else beside that Being. Nor can it be said that Zarathustra had first conceived an Absolute and Infinite Being from whom proceeded nothing but good, and then he was forced to invent a second principle to account for the discord in the universe and evils of our life. Iran, as the author will show later on, did not know the notion of the Infinite. She did not even comprehend it when it came to her through Greece. Surely, the dualism of Zarathustra was not invented

to complete, to "deblocade", a monotheism, which did not at all exist. What existed and continued to exist were several "tendencies" and, mark, not distinct religions. Their origin may remain unknown but their regular existence confronts us throughout the centuries with varying fortunes. (This is what I mean when I say that out of several sect-like systems—movements or as here called "tendencies"—sometimes one, sometimes another was dominant).

One of these "tendencies" was monotheism, which existed even before Zarathustra. (It is only when the author carefully adds "at least in the form of tendency" that he may well assert that there is nobody who contests this pre-Zoroastrian existence; otherwise not, *cf.* my "Zoroastrian and Pre-Zoroastrian" in *JBBRAS* 28·175ff). This monotheism was based upon polytheism, polytheism which does not imply anarchy but organised pantheon, hierarchy.

Dualism was also a very ancient tendency. It was clothed in various forms, notably in that of a contest or combat. Again even before Zarathustra, so it seems (but wherefrom?), there appeared dualism of choice, of free choice. This belief which made every man the master of his destiny radically differed from the fatalistic monism represented in Iran through the belief in Time. This, however, does not mean that the two beliefs did not exist together. The life of religions is made up of such incoherences.

It is a common practice, especially under the influence of Darmesteter, to represent Zurvanism as a means adopted by Iran to supercede dualism. Indeed it is an elegant solution since it made Zurvan the Father of Ormazd and Ahriman. But there is little doubt that the system is not a late or Sasanian invention, it goes back to earlier times at least as regards the main roots, since we have a 4th century B.C. Greek evidence that the Iranians held either Time or Space as the origin of all things (see below). Moreover, there is no reason for that facile solution. Iran, as the author pointedly says, was ever far from being ashamed of her dualism and equally so from aspiring at the Hegelian synthesis. He agrees with Nyberg that Zurvanism is even older than Zarathustra but definitely denies (and justly so) that it was a regular religion with its supreme God, its separate cult, and its special theology. There is no proof whatsoever for all this; rather the contrary. It is better therefore to consider the situation as analogous with that of Homeric Greece, where the belief in Destiny subsisted along with the belief in gods. Zurvanism was just a "tendency"—neither a religion nor a "solution." Still another form of dualism is that which teaches the opposition between the soul and the matter; to put it more clearly: the imprisonment of the soul in the matter and its deliverance therefrom. Reitzenstein tried to trace this belief right up to Zarathustra and still earlier; but he was thoroughly mistaken. The home of this mysticism was not Iran. It was from Greece, from Judia, and perhaps a little from India that both Mani and Sufism derived the idea.

For the date of the prophet the author like several other scholars accepts the traditional figure 258 before Alexander, and supports it with the Greek evidence of Pythagoras having gone to Babylon for instruction from Zoroaster. For his place he follows the view of Henning, who has brought forward new facts both historical and linguistic in favour of Chorasmia. The other date based on (rather wrongly concluded or interpreted from) the millennium theory as well as the traditional place in NW Media, Raga, is attributed to the Magi who wanted to claim Zarathustra as one of their own tribe and to push back the origin of the religion they patronised—to give it the hallow of antiquity. This I am afraid is not so easy to admit, at least as regards the date. It was the Greeks and not the Magi who said that Zarathustra existed so many millennia ago before such and such event. What the Magi said and intended was something different. It is therefore proper to uphold the old view expressed by Jackson and others that the Greeks must have mistaken the information. The author's contention that the "spiritual" creation of Zarathustra was actually considered as his veritable birth is not authentic or at least not adequate for the purpose. Anyhow, what the Magi assert is not the antiquity of the prophet but the antiquity of the prophecy or the religion they practised. This they push back and place right at the beginning of the world. It was there, so to say, with God from eternity, just as it is to last up to the end of the world till eternity. Zarathustra they honour inasmuch as they place him in the middle of the whole religious history. *Manušcihr* (Dd. 2, the very first question) expresses this belief in clear, unequivocal words; and the Dk. account of the prophet points to the same. Surely, it cannot be their invention but must have come down from the ancient Magi. Let it also be noted that if the Magi's intention was to push back the date of Zarathustra the traditional figure 258 before Alexander would not have been suffered to survive.

While speaking of the prophet's personality it is perhaps misleading to call his human horizon limited and provincial simply because his preaching includes the care of cattle and provision of pastures. Personally, I take this preaching as a matter of course, as something demanded by the situation. I refuse to see therein any limitation or provincialism just as I refuse to see therein any degradation so much feared by some Parsis. Anyhow, in spite of the limited political horizon of Zarathustra the author admits the universality of his message, which is characterised in brief before taking up individual themes in the following chapters.

Nobody doubts the fact, especially after the lucid demonstration by Widengren, that Ahura Mazdāh was not always and everywhere in Iran the supreme God. It is also true that Miōra was, if not the most famous, one of the two or three most famous supreme Gods there. One may even interpret the old genuine compound *miōra-ahura* to the effect that he was a close partner and therefore a great rival of Ahura Mazdāh. (A welcome parallel to this compound is brought to light by Wikander in *Orientalia Suecana* 1952, p. 66, from the hitherto mysterious Mesora mazdes mentioned by Plutarch). But to say that the silence of Zarathustra about him is a silence that is willed (purposed or designed) hostile and passionate (*voulu*,

hostile, passionné) is indeed to go beyond the given facts. This is rather a facile assumption than a sound judgment. I also doubt whether it is not too much simplification or exaggeration to say, as far as the prophet is concerned, that Ahura Mazdah is nothing but another name of Varuṇa. Is it right and just to ignore distinctive features and facts, and simply assert that Iran dropped the proper name of this Indo-Iranian God, and employed instead a descriptive epithet *mazdāh* "wise"? Indeed, if one assumes all this for a pre-Zoroastrian figure in Iran which might very well resemble or practically be the same as Varuṇa, it is a different matter. That would be a working hypothesis for the unavoidable (!?) dependence of Zarathustra for his conception of Ahura Mazdah. Moreover, if also a late Vedic text calls Varuṇa by a similar synonymous epithet—*asura pracetas*, much is not necessarily gained for the identity. One may as well emphasise the difference in terminology and conclude different development. I do not think anybody will go as far as to suggest that Zarathustra just used a new epithet to give his God a new appearance! (It should be remembered that I consider him to be the first to use *mazdāh* in this application, for its being the name of some former God is far from certain and is at the most hypothetical).

However, the avoidance of the proper name gets additional and interesting light from other sources. Even the above mentioned compound *miθra-ahura* (which occurs with still another epithet, *brzant*) can be said to point to the same phenomenon. Still more clear and otherwise instructive is the OP month name *anāmaka* "one without the name," from the God whose name should not be mentioned out of awe. In the Zoroastrian calendar too one month is called after the descriptive term "creator" and not after the proper name of the divine being as in the case of other months. (In both the calendars the same order seems to be preserved, whereby the month named after the fire (-God) is the last and that after the supreme God is the first. This in its turn corresponds with what Dumézil has established as regards the order of the gods in the ritual—Indian as well as Iranian or Zoroastrian). It should be however noted that such awe, though quite common and well known among the Hebrews, is nowhere met with in the religious history of Persia. Herzfeld emphasises the parallel notion of contempt and disregard for the Evil Spirit by ignoring his name or by using some cabalistic form for it. But this is equally conspicuous by its absence in what we know of Zoroastrianism. Rather the contrary; the prayer enjoined for daily use makes no secret of their proper names while praising and propitiating the one and defaming and denouncing the other.

In the general Iranian account of Ahura Mazdah there is very little particular about Zarathustra's conception thereof. I need not repeat my own views on this head nor those on the religion of the Achaemenids. What is said in my article "Zoroastrian and Pre-Zoroastrian" (JBBRAS 28·183) applies to the new points of divergence emphasised by Duchesne-Guillemin. On the other hand I am happy to see him agreeing with me in various matters. He sees the originality of

Zarathustra at least in raising Ahura Mazdāh to the dignity of the sole, and not only supreme, God. This is evidently the monotheistic trait that is not to be considered slightly. It is as important and essential as the other, his dualism.

It is justly asserted that both monotheism and dualism are preached together, are mixed. One does not negative the other. They accommodate each other as well as they can. But here again emphasis is laid on Zarathustra's indebtedness to his predecessors or to the extant beliefs of his days. He is said to have combined the various forms of previous dualism, including the opposition between the *ahura-s* and *daiva-s*. With another form, that about life and not-life, is connected the prophet's struggle against sacrifice of animals, which seems to me rather strange. Then the ethical dualism between Right and Wrong is also called traditional, that is, pre-Zoroastrian. By way of common heritage it has found its way in the religion of the Achaemenids, where Arta, "Right" is associated with Ahuramazdāh and Drauga "Wrong, Lie" sums up all evil. The association of Arta with Ahuramazdāh is compared with the Iranian judicial system which, according to the usual interpretation of Bartholomae, recognised two heads, one *ahū* "master, lord," who conducted the process and the other *ratu* "judge" proper. It was this worldly practice, this judicial reality, that should be considered the origin of the religious terms of the ethical dualism, and not the speculation of Zarathustra! Such a conclusion is possible only when one makes the religion of the Achaemenids absolutely independent of the influence of the prophet. But since that is not a settled fact, and one can still uphold that these kings follow his message although with divergence and not some other inherited system of religion, the more natural conclusion would be that an original thinker like Zarathustra thought out an ethical dualism, which then took practical forms in the administration of justice and in other affairs of actual life. Anyhow, Zarathustra's originality is recognised in one respect—in his transforming the naturalistic "doubled faced" Vayu into so to say the philosophical *manyu* "twin spirits," and making their opposition the principal one, bringing under it all other forms of dualism. And that is by no means a small or ordinary affair.

Even in this general summary a few words about Y.30, Zarathustra's principal sermon on dualism, should have found place. But not a single word is said about it, nor a single verse is cited from it. I expected this to be done all the more, because when the author informed me that he had quoted my article, ZDMG 100, in the present work, I naturally thought the quotation or reference to be about my interpretation of Y.30.3f, 11 etc. as it was different from the usual ones. (This is, however, really done as regards the first, str. 3, in the next chapter where the subject is dealt with under the Myth of Choice. He also refers to my argument about the arrangement of the first three Gathas and revises his own in the light thereof. This second attempt is much better than the first one in his *Zoroastre*; yet I feel that at least some groups, arranged though they are according to metre, may be kept distinct, especially because they deal with the same theme as Y.30 and 45. Zara-

thustra may well speak on the same subject on two widely different occasions). The new interpretation is repeated in my treatment of the whole piece in *Indo-Iranian Studies II—The First Three Gathas of Zarathustra* etc. (Santiniketan 1952).

The chapter on rites and myths contains many a novel observation. Zarathustra's opposition to animal sacrifice has a social aspect, which has, however, little to do with the cattle raids of nomadic freebooters and the deliverance of peaceful villagers from them. The freebooter steals the cattle for his nourishment, not necessarily for sacrifice. Therefore Zarathustra's fight had another object or other people in view. The grand sacrifices of so many hundreds and thousands of animals referred to in the *Yašt-s* come from royal or aristocratic circles. And even the Gathas connect animal sacrifice with the ancient royal heroes like Yima and the local Princes or aristocrats—*kavi-s*—of his days. Sacrifices on a grand scale were celebrated for winning the favour of gods and they were followed by banquets on equally grand scale for winning the respect and love of men—for their joy and merriment. "For (not with) the cry of joy, hurray" in Y.23.12 is thus itself explained as well as it explains the situation. Indeed, there is a religious aspect to the question as is generally gathered from Y.32.8; and the prophet must have been deeply concerned with it. But it is quite possible and even probable that his staunch opposition to a favourite practice and pastime of the aristocratic lords made them his enemies. The description of the ideal or preferred sacrifice offered by his patron Vištāspa (Yt. 17.61) is quite different. There is no trace of any animal sacrifice here—evidently as a result of the new teaching.

With animal sacrifice was intimately connected the sacrifice of *hauma*. It is not a mere chance that Zarathustra's solitary reference to this occurs in the same hymn. It proves that connection, which can be observed in practical life also,—intoxicating drinks go together with meat diet. Lommel has established the close relation of both these sacrifices with Miōra, especially from Indian sources (*Pai-deuma* 3.207 ff.) besides what is otherwise known from Mithraism. Duchesne-Guillemin even goes so far as to interpret the obscure allusion to *hauma* in the light of *soma's* identification with the moon. When Y.32.14. says "the ox must be killed to make 'the averter of death' shine for our benefit," it means that the blood (or semen) of the sacrificed ox mixed with *hauma* goes to the moon and causes it to shine—to shed its beneficent rays below on earth for its fertilisation. Zarathustra's condemnation of *hauma* was not only because of its social evil, intoxication, but also because of its religious aspect. The drink was believed to be a sacred act giving one immortality and making one thus participating in divinity. This is a highly instructive observation, which can be upheld in the light of the usual interpretation of Y.32, 14, and which shows that Zarathustra had nothing to do with ecstatic practices of any type.

The third form of the ancient sacrifice, namely the fire-sacrifice, is the only rite admitted by Zarathustra. (That there was a special fire-rite on the New Year's

Day among various Indo-European peoples can be gathered from the data given and explained by me in my article : " Ein alter (indo-germanischer) Feuer-Ritus bei den Zoroastriern in Persien " in *Arch. Rel. Wissen* 36.256 ff.). The connection of fire with *řta* is well known in all the three spheres, ritual, ethical and cosmic. (Besides Indian texts Iranian ones can also be quoted). Remembering all this Zarathustra too worships Ahura Mazda under the symbol of fire. The whole Y.34 is one such prayer.

So far, on the question of rites, one is fully satisfied, but the section of myths is full of surprises. One must feel so already at the beginning when Zarathustra is said to have introduced many new myths modifying or abolishing the old ones ; and more so when the *Plaint of the Ox* and the *Myth of Choice* are said to be the substitutes of the *Myth of the Primordial Man* and the first animal sacrifice, the *Myth of the Primordial Ox*. These latter are myths pure and simple ; and Zarathustra has simply ignored them. One may call the other their substitutes, but how one can give them the same name of myths is difficult to understand. The first piece, *The Plaint of the Ox*, is not to be placed at the beginning of the world, but just before the advent of Zarathustra. This I have conclusively shown from the clear wording of the *Gatha* (Y.29) itself. Then it is not a myth or legend, it is an allegory—and that too so transparent that even during the course of its dramatic development the real, historical background becomes quite apparent. The *Soul of the Ox* represents men, (who appear themselves during the later part of the story) that is, humanity at large or just the community within the sight of the prophet (which practically means the same thing). To call the second piece, the *Sermon on Choice* (Y.30), a myth is still worse. It is not simply a sermon on Choice or on Good and Evil but it represents, as I have shown, the whole *World-Drama*—how the world begins and proceeds and will end—in simple, almost matter of fact terms. Can one call such a presentation a myth or the like when it is bereft of all elements of such a thing or even of poetry ? It is Zarathustra's vision or view of life and life work as any writer or philosopher would put in a few straightforward words without any attempt at even allegory.

Indeed Duchesne-Guillemin means no harm when he dubs these pieces as myths. At the most he tries to remain in his (but influenced by some others) usual attitude and effort to retain the prophet within the narrow and primitive circle of ordinary priests and ordinary wise men. This, to my mind, is not fair. It is at least misleading in the present case where Zarathustra's words are too clear to leave any doubt about his method or means as well as his message and teachings. If comparison is to be made, let it be so. But contrast and even minor differences are not to be ignored. And above all distinct things should not be mixed up by giving them a common name.

Eschatology, which naturally forms part of this chapter on myths and rites, could have been examined in greater detail ; cf. the few remarks I offer in my

Indo-Iranian Studies II, 101 ff., 107 ff. But what is given by Duchesne-Guillemin has its own interest. (The references to the number of the Gathic strophes and verses quoted here should not have been omitted, since he bases important notions thereon). Also about Fravarti-s (the correct form of the usual Fravaši-s) some remarks are to be found here and others in the next chapter, "Après Zarathustra." Originally these figures were ancestor-souls, who being invoked came to help in various spheres of life, whether in right cause or wrong. Hence their meaning "heroes" (np. *gurd*) or "defenders."—Zarathustra with his ethical standpoint, with his stern sense of Justice, could not admit them in his system; but after him the so-called Later Avesta did so with a compromise—by limiting their notion by an attribute "righteous or of the righteous." Elsewhere, in OP for instance, this term "righteous, just" designated the pious dead. (For this view see below at the end).

The evolution after Zarathustra is dealt with briefly. The essential point is that it misses the specific Zoroastrian shade of meaning in the doctrine of dualism. The Gathas preserved the supreme position of the Wise Lord above or beside the twin and antagonistic spirits. But a wrong accent was placed about him in the later Avesta. Already in the Yasna of the Seven Chapters Ahura Mazdāh, and not his Beneficent Spirit, becomes the creator of the world. But since he definitely took his place he himself became the rival and so to say the twin of the Evil Spirit. And reciprocally this became an opponent of God, a sort of Anti God. The process finds its completion in the Vidēvdāt and remains throughout the rest of the Iranian religious history. This curious code of purification and allied matters is attributed to the Magi who are taken to be decidedly foreign by Moulton. But since its first chapter does not mention any Median place except Raga, Duchesne-Guillemin thinks that attribution erroneous. This omission, however, can be accounted for otherwise, and one is therefore still tempted to accept Moulton's theory about the specific Magian traits in the history of Zoroastrianism.

As to the *dainā* which appears as a maiden before the departed soul, she should not be called a celestial double or archetype of a faithful (nor, let it be added, as Nyberg has done—*Religionen*, p. 119). It is, as we are told in so many words, the sum and substance of the thoughts, words, and deeds of the party concerned—beautiful if the thoughts etc. are good, ugly if otherwise. In the Gathas too this meaning can be ascertained—it occurs with the same triad as summing up them all, as I have already said in my article: "Zur Interpretation der Gatha des Zarathustra" (ZDMG 100,242); so also in Y.51.21. The author is also mistaken in considering the Last Judgment through general fire ordeal as superfluous. For besides the individual judgment after death it is necessary for the salvation of all souls, whereby the pious get so to say the rest of pleasure and the sinful the rest of pain—call it punishment or purification.

The next three chapters on Iranian Resemblances in Judaism, Greek Thought and Iran, and Hermetism, Gnosticism and the Myth of Man lie beyond the sphere of

my studies ; therefore I leave them out from my survey. It may be mentioned however, that the author takes into account the most recent studies, and gives us an up-to-date and revised view of various problems. Already in earlier pages he points out that Reitzenstein was erroneous about the Iranian origin of the Salvation Mystery and Götze about the Greek indebtedness as regards the cosmic giant or the comparison of the physical world with the human body (macro-cosmos and micro-cosmos). Now here it is shown that in the evolution of the post-exilic Judaism Iranian influence is little, even less than that of Hellenism. In Greece the pre-Socratic philosophers reflect so to say some of the common Indo-European religious traits ; whereas Plato and in any case the Academy know Iranian doctrines. But Duchesne-Guillemin does not go so far as others do in deriving the Greek ideas from Iran—whether early or late.

The next chapter deals with the so-called Zurvanism which has been one of the most favourite and attractive themes for our scholars for a while. All sorts of facts as well as interpretations, conjectures and conclusions are available. And now we await a big volume from Zuehner. In the meantime, however, what is here offered seems to me the most sensible view, especially as regards the Zoroastrian texts. Even the clear Greek evidence about Iranian name of the Intelligible and the infinite All, Space according to some and Time according to others, is not admitted as purely genuine Iranian—on weak grounds, to my mind ; the Greek form or colour in “ the Intelligible and the infinite All ” does not negative the value of the notice. But the mention of Space beside and even before Time should have warned one against the exaggerated conclusion about the God Time and about the religion called after him,—Zurvanism. Even in the Av. formula (Vid. 19.13) they occur together and in the same order, which formula is justly interpreted as polytheistic survival under Mazdian monotheism, and wherein Space and Time are to be considered as abstract principles rather than living Gods. This general sense is clear in the statement “ the Beneficent Spirit created in infinite time ” (Vid. 19.9).

The earlier attempt to see the two epithets, “ without limit ” and “ of a long domination, ” of Time in the famous Greek inscription of Antiochus of Commagene at Nimrud-dagh are erroneous, for here the substantives are distinguished (*aion* and *chronos*) whereas the epithet is one and the same (*apeiros*), which distinction is purely Greek, more exactly Platonic. It is therefore now suggested that the influence is rather the other way about—from Greece to Iran. The position occupied by Time in the Mysteries of Mithra and Manicheism can be explained only by the vogue of astrology. And Astrology is a Greek science ; it is not purely Babylonian ; it owes a great deal to Greece. In short, the idea to make Time the absolute master of destiny is Greco-Babylonian, whereas only the name is Iranian.

It is then shown that there is no such figure or idol of Zurvan in Mithraism as is generally supposed. Quite different is the case with Manicheism, which uses the term as synonym of the Father of Greatness, which is common in non-Iranian

texts for the supreme, transcendent God. How are we to explain this? We are already in the third cent. Iran is already for half a millennium under the influence of Greece. Greco-Babylonian astrology has spread itself over there and astral fatalism cannot be but favourable to a Zurvan. The hour of Time is struck. Mani when he preached to Iranians did not choose the name of Ormazd for designating God. Ormazd for him is only the Primordial Man, an emanation of the transcendent God, sent by Him against the powers of the Dark. It is always Zurvan who appears to Mani as the most adequate name for the God who is beyond the world. Zurvan must have occupied an eminent position in the religion of Iran at that time. And so it is in a way.

The Manichean and Christian polemics denounce fire-worshippers and Magians for the belief of Ormazd and Ahriman being brothers (twins) born of Zurvan. (Let it be noted that the meaning of this term in Eznik is not "destiny or glory" but "destiny or fate," that is, only one expected sense of Fatalism or the like as Bailey has shown, *Zor. Prob.* 38 f.). But Schaefer takes that myth in a different sense—as a malevolent invention; and Duchesne-Guillemin follows him. I think it is not a pure invention but a gross exaggeration of a view held by some Iranians or even Zoroastrians; for the Dk. knows of it but denounces it as heresy. Anyhow there is little doubt that belief in Zurvan was nothing more than belief in Fatalism—so common and so "harmless" that anybody of any religion may hold it without losing "caste." (This and various other matters will be found in my long ago written and often-mentioned article on the "Quarterternity of Ormazd," if it ever appears. One may also compare an earlier one in *ZII* 8.119ff., "Pahlavi Passages on Fate and Free Will). Firdosi, for instance, is never tired of speaking of the working of *zamān* or Time in his immortal epic whenever any untoward event occurs; but it has occurred to nobody to draw the fine conclusion that the poet was a Zurvanite and not a Muslim. The few traces of fatalistic tendency in extant Zoroastrian literature are to be explained in this manner; and it is totally wrong to talk of the deliberate destruction of the rest by the new Zoroastrian orthodoxy, as I have recently said in my article "Iran in the First Centuries of Islam" (*Indo-Iranica*). I am happy to see that Duchesne-Guillemin holds the same view. As to the exaggerated accounts, their origin may be quite simple; a fatalist can say with full justice that even Ormazd and Ahriman are powerless before Fate; well, it is Fate (*Zurvān*) who has made them and uses them as its instruments. Others can weave a fullfledged myth (!) out of such harmless statements.

The last chapter sums up the last phase of the history of the Zoroastrian religion: National Mazdaism, its rise under the first Sasanids, its decay and its survival. Recent attempts to minimise the traditional view about the services of the first Sasanids to the national religion and to magnify the relation of Šāpūr I to Mani are also to my mind a little exaggerated. The question requires a further examination. Then the general tendency or teaching of Pahlavi texts is correctly estimated and formulated but I am not sure about the remarks concern-

ing the denial of the Infinite—a notion taught by the Greeks and forming so powerful a ferment for European thought. As to Mysticism, which is certainly foreign to Mazdaism, sporadic attempts are referred to, but some traces in earlier writings may also be found. The volume closes with the reference to the modern Parsis' protest against the Christian charge of dualism and their attempt to explain it away (!?), wherein the author sees the prophesied triumph of Ormazd over Ahri-man! Elsewhere too he has taken a very optimistic view of the achievements of these modern followers of the ancient faith. But I think they will have to exert more and better if they claim to be true to their faith. At least in the sphere of Iranian scholarship their attitude is unpardonable,—as I have sufficiently shown on several occasions. Let them see it again from the present work.

I have still to add a few words more on a couple of points mentioned above.

As to the importance of Miθra, there are several facts which require better attention. Vid.3.1 describes, as the first of the happiest places, the place where worship is performed with all the paraphernalia or implements of prayer—with firewood, Barsman, milk or flesh, and mortar (to pound the Hauma), but characteristically enough it is said to be in honour of Miθra (and his co-worker Rāman)—not in that of Ahura Mazdāh as one expects. Similarly one of the common designations of the fire-temples where higher ceremonies are performed is *dar i mihr* “door (that is, palace) of Miθra.” Thus it seems as if the name of the former supreme God is continued even under new circumstances.

Then as to the sacrifice of the primal ox by Miθra, which is specially denounced by Zarathustra along with animal sacrifices in general, it is not without interest to learn that the old usage must have been reintroduced, for it can be traced right up to our own days among the Zoroastrians in Persia. The following account from Jackson's *Persia Past and Present*, 371 f. speaks for itself. About Jašn i Mihrgān, which falls on the day of Mihr, in the month of Mihr, and is prolonged by the Persian Zoroastrians for five days, they “used to believe, and some of them still believe, that at this festival Faridun sacrificed sheep and bade his subjects to follow his example in this respect, and to eat, drink, and be merry because of the overthrow of their arch-enemy. It was accounted meritorious, therefore, to celebrate the occasion joyfully and to sacrifice a sheep or a goat in every house, or, if the family were poor, to kill a chicken. The priest themselves at first used to kill the animals, but the people afterwards did this at home, sprinkling some of the blood on the door posts and over the lintel, and cooking the rest of the blood with suet and onions, as a dish to be eaten with unleavened bread. Since it was regarded not merely as a sacrifice but as a burnt-offering unto *Mihr-i Irān-dāvar*, “Mithra, Judge of Iran,” the flesh of the sheep and goats, when roasted, was carried to the fire-temple, prayers were said over it by the priests, to whom a share of the flesh was given, a portion was set aside for distribution among the poor, and the remainder was taken home to be eaten by the family and their friends.”

Such is the account that Jackson received from his informant (Khodabakhsh Bahram Rais), who added, "this custom is now dying out, the people are becoming wiser and saner, and outgrowing this cruel practice and bloody rite, which the Parsis of India do not recognize and like which they have nothing." As to the people, the Persian Zoroastrians, becoming wiser and saner I may not say anything, but as to the Parsis of India, who do not recognize the custom nor have anything like it, I must say that that is no argument to attribute the custom to Mohammadan influence of the sacrifices at the feast ' *id-i kurbān* ' as done by that informant and in a way approved of by Jackson (n. 3. p. 371), who even prefaced the account by guardedly saying that "a possible survival of the ancient custom of animal sacrifice may survive at Yezd...although the views on the subject may differ." In fact it must be the actual survival of the pre-Zoroastrian sacrifice of the ox by Miθra in particular. If the Parsis in India know nothing of the sort, the reason can be different. Either they belong to a group who actually did not admit this custom again (which is very unlikely), or they may have given it up for one reason or another—ignorance and neglect being not out of question; *cf.* what I say in "Ein alter (indogermanischer) Feuer Ritus bei den Zoroastriern in Persian" ARW 36, 259 ff. (I remember that they also used to sacrifice goats and chicken or hens at the altar of fire in the fire-temples, but I do not know whether they did this on such festivals as of old or simply in fulfilment of vows taken by them on some private troubles—a practice certainly borrowed from the lower classes of Hindus, which was then given up at the instance of the reformers). That the Indian Parsis have simplified and even abolished many a ritual act in the Yasna ceremony too is a known thing.

Lastly, as to the divergent religious notions met with in the OP inscriptions the use of *ṛtāvan* for the dead (and not the living) faithful is especially emphasised. But this usage is not so unknown among the Zoroastrians as it is assumed. Even today the Parsis announce the death of a person by saying in Gujarati "his soul has become *aśo*" that is, it has joined the "celestial light," which term I consider to be a suitable translation of *ṛta* in naturalistic (as opposed to ethical) texts. It is no less instructive to learn that they use also another idiom for the event: "he has become *haqq*," which term generally means "truth" but is thus applied in a specific religious sense of *ṛta*.

Then as to the original connotation of *asa* (*ṛta*) it is not without interest to refer to Firdosi's prayer for his departed son:

ravān i tu Dārandā rōśān kunād! 'May the Preserver make thy soul light (bright)'—which can only mean that 'may God save or bless it'. Consequently the term *rōśān ravān*, though often used for the living, can have the sense of 'blessed' if applied to the dead. It is quite probable if *rōśān* is thus used in the religious sense of *aśo* (*aśavan*, *ṛtāvan*) mentioned just above. If so, here is an additional proof (and no mere argument in circle) for the naturalistic as opposed to the ethical sense of the term in question discussed in my forthcoming article "The Meaning of *Ṛta*" in Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

A UNIQUE MANUSCRIPT OF THE *VIDĒVDĀT*

BY

J. M. UNVALA.

1. This unique manuscript of the *Vidēvdāt* belongs to Dr. Maneckji Bamanji Davar, M.A., Ph.D. (Berlin).¹ Up to very recently, it was preserved in his library in loose forms. It is now bound in Green half cloth. It is 22·5 cm. long, 18·5 cm. broad and 4·5 cm. thick. It has 442 folios, four folios, Nos. 300-303, are, however, missing.

2. The papers on which this manuscript is written are of foreign manufacture, mostly English, as can be easily seen from their watermarks or filigranes. They are of three different thicknesses and colours, cream, whitish and white. The cream-coloured paper, bearing in watermark the letter GR below an *écusson* and widely spaced vertical lines, is extensively used. Its thickness approaches that of the Indian hand-made paper of Zoroastrian manuscripts. The letters L V G in watermark are found on a rather thin and light coloured paper, whereas J. WHATMAN / 1820 / BALSTON & CO. in three lines in watermark is found on white coloured paper, thinner than that bearing the letters L V G. Three other watermarks, JOHN K. found on fol. 1, ...DON on fol. 2 and DOMMAGNANIEF with the letters CO over the second A, and L over EF, the whole in a decorative rectangle, on fol. 434 are very rare. The interpretation of the letters GR and L V G remains doubtful. They are probably the initials of the names of the paper-manufacturers. The paper with the watermark DOMMAGNANIEF and CO and L is probably not English. It is interesting to note that some manuscripts in the library of the late Ervad Maneckji Rustamji Unvala are written on English, French, Italian and Russian papers, as is proved by their watermarks. It should be remarked that the date 1820 found in the watermark, mentioned above, gives a clear indication of the date of the manuscript which is probably 1820 at the earliest and 1850 at the latest, as it will be discussed below. It will not be here out of place to remark that in the descriptive catalogues of Zoroastrian manuscripts, there are very few references to watermarks on their papers. The dates of several manuscripts of the last two hundred years, which have been merely guessed in the absence of colophons from the style of writing Avesta, Pahlavi and Modern Persian characters, and also more or less from the thickness and colour of the papers, can be ascertained with the help of these watermarks.

3. The manuscript contains the text of the Avesta *Vidēvdāt*, ch. (*Pargarads*, Pahlavi *Frakarts*) I-IX, its Pahlavi version with occasional interlinear Modern Persian rendering and its Gujarati translation, written in quite a novel script, about which the scribe has remarked in the margin of fol. 60 r. : این خط دیگر طور است : i.e. "this script is of a different kind." This Gujarati translation is, however, only of Vd. I-V.

r., 11th line—fol. 217 v., 2nd line; ch. VI, fol. 217 v., 3rd line—fol. 253 v., 2nd line; ch. VII, fol. 253 v., 3rd line—fol. 317 r., 1st line; ch. VIII, fol. 317 r., 2nd line—fol. 393 v., 11th line; ch. IX, fol. 393 v. 12th line—fol. 442 v. Ch. IX begins with the following short benediction in Pahlavi (fol. 393 v., 13th line—fol. 394 r., line 3):

farroxx bavāt mazdēsn hakar nasuš apar davārēt haē ān mart sag adāp martomān apar ō živandak pērōčkar u vēh bavāt dēn i vēh i mazdēsnaēn i apēčak, i.e. “May the *Mazda*-worshipper be fortunate! If the *nasuš* (demon of putrefaction) rushes on to a living (man) from that dead dog or men...May the good and pure religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers be victorious and excellent. (*literally good*)!”

5. The manuscript is written in fast black non-metallic ink of local manufacture, as is also the red ink used in the Modern Persian version. Reed pen was employed in writing it, which is responsible for the unevenness of the flow of ink, especially in the final flourishes of letters which remain, in consequence, often rather faint.

6. The style of writing Avesta and Pahlavi is Iranian. The scribe has taken much liberty in giving to Avesta letters fanciful shapes by means of curves and flourishes to their final traits. It should, however, be remarked that in this he is consistent throughout the manuscript. Thus it provides ample materials for writing a chapter on the Avesta *graphique* or grammatology, but to do this would be here out of place. Unusual forms of a few Avesta letters are given in the plate

No. VII. Further, the scribe has given to the letters , , and

lengthened forms like the Hebrew *letterae dilatae* on fol. 201 v. Even ligatures and words written by joining two or more letters together, contrary to the Avesta style, are not rare.

7. The plan followed by the scribe in writing the manuscript is the following: There are thirteen lines to a page. The Avesta text is divided into short paragraphs, corresponding exactly to those found in *The Vandidād Sādē of the Pārsis etc.* by the late FRĀMĀJĪ ASPANDIĀRJĪ and other Dasturs, Vols. I and II, lithographed for the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay 1842. Every Avesta paragraph ends with three dots (∴). It is immediately followed by its Pahlavi

version. The Modern Persian rendering of this version, in which the Persian equivalent of every Pahlavi word is placed below it, is written in red ink in small characters. It is thus interlinear and its lines are, therefore, to be counted extra. Then follows the Gujarati translation, which is separated from the Pahlavi version by two

short, slantic strokes (//), placed a little above the line. Similar strokes are also used in order to separate one Gujarati word from the other. Now, as the Gujarati translation is found only up to fol. 159 v.,—it is missing, however, on fol. 156 v., on fol. 157 r. and v. and on fol. 158 r. and v.,—and as one or more lines are sometimes left blank between the last word of the Gujarati translation of a paragraph and the first word of the following Avesta paragraph, and further, as the Gujarati translation is wholly missing from fol. 160 r. to fol. 442 v., i.e. to the end of the manuscript, blank spaces being left instead of it, it is evident that the scribe had first left off blank spaces, calculated approximately to be sufficient enough for the Gujarati translation of the Pahlavi version, which he wrote either after the completion of the Avesta and Pahlavi texts of a whole chapter (*Paragrad*) or perhaps of the whole manuscript. This is further evident from the fact that sometimes the scribe has miscalculated the length of the Gujarati translation of several paragraphs, which he had to complete in the absence of space on the page by writing it in its margin.

The transcription of a few short passages of the Pahlavi version is found written in that peculiar script, described in § 3, immediately after the Gujarati translation on folios 58 r., 59 v. and 62 v., and after the Pahlavi version on folios 260 v. and 261 r. Altogether, there are only ten lines of this transcription (*see* plate No. V). The scribble on fol. 162 r. and v. and on fol. 163 r., about ten lines in all, mentioned in § 3, follows immediately after the Pahlavi version. Therein also, the words are separated by two slantic strokes (//), as in the Gujarati translation. As regards the Sanskrit version, it takes the place of the Gujarati translation and follows, therefore, immediately after the Pahlavi version. As the Sanskrit script runs from left to right, the Sanskrit version is written after turning the manuscript upside down. It should be remarked, however, that there are no blank spaces on the folios on which the Sanskrit version occurs. As in the case of the Gujarati translation, the scribe has miscalculated the length of the Sanskrit version of several passages, which he had to complete in the margin of some pages. The Gujarati equivalents of a few Sanskrit words and short explanatory glosses on them in Gujarati are written in the Devanāgarī script sometimes below these words, but more often in the margin. They occur on folios 394 r. and v., 395 v., 396v., 397 v., 398 r. and 399 v.

8. The script employed in the Gujarati translation remains, to the best of my knowledge, unique. It shows great ingenuity of its inventor, who must have been, of course, conversant with the Avesta, Pahlavi and Modern Persian scripts, in which the bulk of the Zoroastrian religious literature is written. It is very probable that

the scribe of the manuscript in question was himself the inventor of the script, as can be proved by the Avesta letters Δ , 𐬀 , 𐬁 and 𐬂 which show identical shapes in the Avesta text and in this novel Gujarati script as well. That the scribe had a very good practice in writing this script is evident from the nearly uniform shape given to every letter, though sometimes cursive forms are noticeable (*cf.* the plates Nos. I-VIII), and from the ease with which elegant flourishes are given to them, affecting the Iranian style of writing Avesta and Pahlavi. It should be regarded merely as a strange coincidence that the letters 𐬃 *ma*, 𐬄 *ē* and 𐬅 *lā* resemble the letters ܐ *Uau*, ܐ *Iōδ* and, ܐ *Lāmaδ* of the Sertō Syriac of the Jacobites, and the sign for separating the words // is similar to the signs marking the long *a* ܐ and *e* ܐ in the Nestorian Syriac script.

9. What concerns the novel Gujarati script itself, the letters of its alphabet are borrowed from the Avesta, Pahlavi and Modern Persian scripts. It is, therefore, written from right to left. The following letters are borrowed from the Avesta script :

𐬀 and 𐬁 *a*, 𐬂 *i* and *e*, 𐬃 *o*, 𐬄 *ka*, 𐬅 *ja*, 𐬆 *tha*,

𐬇 *ma*, 𐬈 *ra*, 𐬉 *va*, 𐬊 *la* and 𐬋 *ha*; from the Pahlavi script :

𐬌 *ka* and 𐬍 *kha*; from the Persian script :


گ *ē* and *ga* (very rarely غ), غ *gha*, ح *ca* and *cha*, چ *cha*, ط *ta*, د *da*,


























ذ *dha*, ن *na*, پ *pa*, ف *pha*, ب *ba*, ڤ *bha*, ی *ya*,

و *va* and ش *śa*. Like the Gujarati script which is syllabic, *i.e.* in which

every consonant is always considered to be accompanied by the inherent short *a*-vowel, and when it is followed by one of the remaining vowels or by one of the diphthongs, the latter are indicated by special signs, placed either on its left or right side, above it or below it, in this novel Gujarati script also the vowels are similarly shown, although no vowel sign is placed on the right side of the consonant. These vowel signs are borrowed from the Modern Persian and

Gujarati scripts, as under : , a from the Persian *Ālif*; , , and
 = ī from the Persian (or is the final written in
 the Indian style, whereas is the initial or the medial in Persian);
 ū is expressed by two signs, viz., by which is perhaps u and by
 which is probably ū, both placed below a consonant in Gujarati, the
 latter sign is written from right to left, i.e. in the direction of the script itself; ē is
 also expressed by two signs, viz. by which is nothing else but the *mātrā* in
 Gujarati, written above a consonant from right to left, and by whose origin
 remains obscure, it is joined to the consonant and placed below it; similarly, o is
 expressed by two signs, viz. by which is the same as u in Gujarati,
 and by , i.e. by the Persian *Ālif* and the Gujarati *mātrā* written from right to
 left; the Gujarati ² *anusvāra*, expressing the nasalized vowels (*aṅ*, *āṅ* and *ūṅ* only
 are met with) is placed above the preceding consonant, and in case of *āṅ* sometimes
 above the *Ālif*. The independent u-vowel, i.e. when it is not preceded by a con-
 sonant is expressed by the ū-sign, usually placed below a consonant; the
 independent o-vowel is expressed by , i.e. the Avesta written in
 the mirror-script; the nasalized vowels *aṅ*, *āṅ* and *ūṅ*, when they are not preced-
 ed by a consonant are expressed respectively by *Ālif* and the final *Nūn*, with the
 dot attached in the Indian cursive style (), by *Ālif* and the final *Nūn*, written
 in the Persian cursive style () and by ū with the *anusvāra* () or by
Ālif and ū with the *anusvāra* (), wherein the *Ālif* is joined with the following
Nūn or ū contrary to the rule of the Persian script.

Now, as the Gujarati of the Gujarati translation shows the Parsi dialect of Gujarati of the first half of the nineteenth century, no distinction is found therein between the signs for the short and long *i* and *u* vowels following a consonant, and the diphthongs $\ddot{a}i$ and $\ddot{a}u$ are wholly missing. Again, for the same reason, the cerebrals *t*, *th*, *d*, *dh* and *n* are totally lacking; the *t*, *th* and *n* are replaced by the dental *t*, *th* and *n*, whereas the *d* and *dh* are nearly always expressed by the *r*, the Pahlavi ζ () in the proper name *Zartušt* is replaced by *j*, the letters for *jh*, \ddot{a} , and the conjunct consonants *khš* and *jñ* are not met with. The sibilants *s* and *š* are invariably expressed by the palatal ξ . Further, as no conjunct consonants are employed in the Gujarati translation, the ligatures for them are wholly absent in it. Finally, it should be remarked that, in general, every syllable (consonant with the vowel-sign) is separately written, although exceptionally a syllable is found joined to the following one or more syllables, particularly when such joining is permitted, as in the case of two or more Persian letters coming together in a word.

10. It has been said above that for the letters of the alphabet of this novel Gujarati script borrowings have been made from the Avesta, Pahlavi and Modern Persian scripts. This rather general remark requires a detailed explanation. The letters  *a* or *ha*,  *ja*,  *tha*,  *ma*, and  *va*, which are borrowed from the Avesta script, are evidently mutilated forms of the Avesta letters  ,  ,  or  ,  and  . The letter ζ *o* is the Avesta ζ written in the mirror-script; whereas the letters  ,  ,  and  show the initial forms of ϵ , η , θ and ϕ . The ψ *h* which is the cursive form of the Persian ψ is used only after  *ca*,  *da* and  *ba* in order to express the Gujarati *cha*, *dha* and *bha*; but *gh* is written  , i.e. the Persian η and the Avesta  *ha*. The *la* is written in two different ways, viz.  (compare the Pazand  or ) and  (compare the Pazand  in Suppl. pers. 27 of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, cf. J. M. UNVALA, *Collection of Colophons of*

Manuscripts bearing on Zoroastrianism in some Libraries of Europe, Bombay 1940, p. 4, note); the rather cursive form \times *rā* is borrowed from the cursive Arabic form \times *lā*, occurring in the *kalima* of the Muhammadaus.

11. Just as it has been said above in § 2, fol. 436 has in the watermark in three lines : J. WHATMAN / 1820 / BALSTON & CO. The year 1820 A.D. is, therefore, to be considered as the earliest possible date of the manuscript. Now, as the Avesta text is divided into short paragraphs, corresponding exactly to those found in the *Vandidād Sādē* etc. by the late FRÁMJÍ ASPANDIÁRJÍ and other Dasturs, vols. I and II, Bombay 1842 (*cf.* § 6), and as the Gujarati translation of the Pahlavi version given in the manuscript is nearly the same as that of Frámjī Aspandiárjī, published in the *Vandidād Sādē*, except in some minor details, in the big commentaries, however, the wording of these two translations is surprisingly similar, the manuscript might be considered to have been written in 1842, or a few years after this date at the latest. But we learn from Frámjī Aspandiárjī's introduction to the *Vandidād Sādē*, vol. I, p. 12, that in Sāmvat 1879, when he left Surat on a visit to Bombay, he was requested by Seth Framji Cawasji Banaji to translate the *Ijishnī*, *Visparad* and *Vandidād* into Gujarati for a better understanding of the contents of these religious scriptures of the Parsis. He writes among others that after great hesitation and settling of the inner doubts as to the advisability of translating these sacred ritual scriptures and thereby of divulging their contents to the Zoroastrian laity, he began the work of their translation in Sāmvat 1879, i.e. in 1823 A.D. and finished it in Sāmvat 1881, i.e. in 1825 A.D. Now, if we take into consideration the hesitation of Frámjī Aspandiárjī, whether to translate these sacred scriptures into the Gujarati language and script or not, it is highly probable that he might have at first thought of writing the Gujarati translation in a sort of a secret script like the one used in this manuscript, and after translating the first four *Parguads* and a part of the fifth, he might have decided to transcribe the Avesta and Pahlavi texts into Gujarati characters and to write the Gujarati translation in the ordinary Gujarati script, thinking that in so doing he was serving the sacred cause of the Zoroastrian religion. This might have happened in 1823 A.D. There is no doubt that the scribe of this manuscript must have been also the inventor of this novel Gujarati script, as it has been said above in § 8. In the absence of a colophon in the manuscript and in the absence of other manuscript materials permitting a comparative study of the Avesta *graphique*, it is difficult to say whether the scribe of the

manuscript in question was Frámjī Aspandīárjī himself.² If he was not the scribe, the manuscript must have been written by another scribe after 1842 A.D., i.e. after the publication of the *Vandidád Sádé*. In this case, it can be said that the scribe has copied the Gujarati translation of Frámjī Aspandīárjī very negligently. The manuscript must have been written in Surat, from where in all probability the fragment of the Sanskrit version of the *Vidēvdāt* of Codd. iran. XXX originates.

12. In the absence of other documents written in this novel Gujarati script earlier than in 1820 A.D.,³ it is not possible to say whether this script was employed as a secret script before this date by the Dasturs and Mobads for religious and secular purposes.

NOTES

1. Dr. M. B. Davar had, about two decades ago, deciphered this novel script and even read several passages occurring in the beginning of the manuscript, as being the Gujarati translation of the Pahlavi version of the *Vidēvdāt*. He was not able, however, to identify the script exactly, although he supposed it to be some form of the Syriac script. Moreover, he had noticed the striking correspondence of this Gujarati translation with that of Frámjī Aspandīárjī as published in *Vandidád Sádé*.

2. There is in the Mulla Firoze Library of Bombay the original manuscript of the *Vandidád Sádé* in two volumes (D.69 and D.70). The second volume has got at the end a Persian colophon in prose and verse, giving the name of the scribe as Farāmurtz bin Aspandiyār bin Navrōz, surnamed Rabādī, and the date of its completion as Rōz Dēbamīhr, Māh Ābān, year 1104 A.Y. In this

colophon, the forms of the initial ح , medial ف , initial م , final و , medial

ة , and final ي , viz. ه , ف , ه , و , ى

and ے are exactly similar to the forms of *ca*, *fa*, *ma*, *na*, (only in final ن and نā) and *ya*,

met with in the Gujarati translation. This fact goes a long way to support the view that the manuscript in question was written by Frámjī Aspandīárjī himself.

3. According to J. C. Katrak, *Oriental Treasures*, Bombay, 1941, manuscripts of Oriental books in the Library of Frámjī Aspandīárjī came into possession of his sons. My attempts to see the manuscript-collection of the late Mr. Jamshedji Rabadi at Surat in 1948 proved unsuccessful.

PLATE I

૧૨૩૪૫૬૭૮૯૧૦૧૧૧૨૧૩૧૪૧૫૧૬૧૭૧૮૧૯૨૦
 < ૨૧ > < ૨૨ > < ૨૩ > < ૨૪ > < ૨૫ > < ૨૬ > < ૨૭ > < ૨૮ > < ૨૯ > < ૩૦ >
 ૩૧ ૩૨ ૩૩ ૩૪ ૩૫ ૩૬ ૩૭ ૩૮ ૩૯ ૪૦
 < ૪૧ > < ૪૨ > < ૪૩ > < ૪૪ > < ૪૫ > < ૪૬ > < ૪૭ > < ૪૮ > < ૪૯ > < ૫૦ >
 ૫૧ ૫૨ ૫૩ ૫૪ ૫૫ ૫૬ ૫૭ ૫૮ ૫૯ ૬૦
 < ૬૧ > < ૬૨ > < ૬૩ > < ૬૪ > < ૬૫ > < ૬૬ > < ૬૭ > < ૬૮ > < ૬૯ > < ૭૦ >
 ૭૧ ૭૨ ૭૩ ૭૪ ૭૫ ૭૬ ૭૭ ૭૮ ૭૯ ૮૦
 < ૮૧ > < ૮૨ > < ૮૩ > < ૮૪ > < ૮૫ > < ૮૬ > < ૮૭ > < ૮૮ > < ૮૯ > < ૯૦ >
 ૯૧ ૯૨ ૯૩ ૯૪ ૯૫ ૯૬ ૯૭ ૯૮ ૯૯ ૧૦૦

Novel Gujarati Script :—અ—કી.

PLATE V

fol. 58r. ll. 3-5
 و انظر كذا و انظر كذا و انظر كذا
 و انظر كذا و انظر كذا و انظر كذا

fol. 58r. ll. 7-8

و انظر كذا و انظر كذا و انظر كذا :

fol. 59r. l. 4

fol. 260v. ll. 8-9 - 261r. l. 10

و انظر كذا و انظر كذا و انظر كذا
 و انظر كذا و انظر كذا و انظر كذا
 و انظر كذا و انظر كذا و انظر كذا :

fol. 261r. ll. 4-5

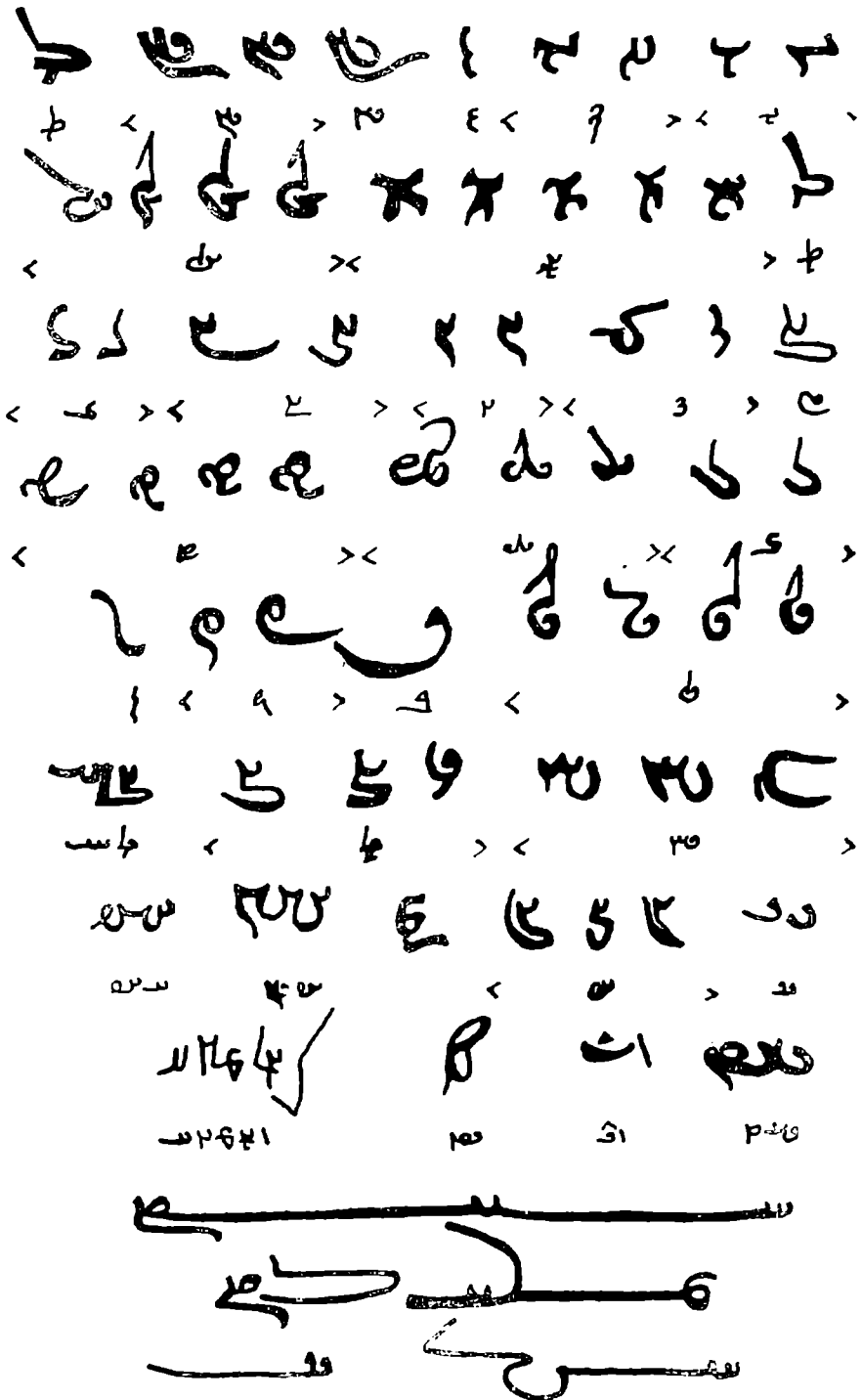
و انظر كذا و انظر كذا و انظر كذا

fol. 261r. ll. 7-8

و انظر كذا و انظر كذا و انظر كذا :

Pahlavi Transcription in a peculiar Script.

PLATE VII



Peculiar forms given to some Avesta characters. and lengthened forms of Avesta words *āta mraōt ars.*

DECORATIVE STYLE OF ĀLAMKĀRAS IN THE BRHADĀRANYAKA UPANIṢAD

BY

S. N. GAJENDRAGADKAR

PART I

In this article, an examination is made of the style and the Ālamkāras in the Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad. This is done on the lines of a similar study of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Mahābhārata.* It is hoped that such an examination of the compositional art of the writer will be a useful method for the interpretation of the text. Moreover we can trace, by such a study, the development of the Ālamkāras from the Vedic to the classical times.

It has been accepted now that in the vedic Samhitās, particularly in R̥gveda, the poets have made a conscious effort in matter of versification and that they paid due attention to metrical accuracy, figures of speech etc. Upamā Utprekṣā, Rupaka and even Atiśayokti were employed by these poets. We find that Brāhmaṇa writers also were frequently resorting to Upamā and Rupaka in order to explain, illustrate and even defend many a sacrificial procedure, though the contents of the Brāhmaṇa literature obviously did not allow much scope for development in matter of style and ornamentation. The more developed and highly poetic Ālamkāras had no scope in such literature. Moreover it must be admitted that even in the Ālamkāras employed by the Brāhmaṇa writers, the primary aim was not poetic embellishment but easier understanding and defence of the sacrificial ritual.

When we turn to the Upaniṣads from the Brāhmanas, the picture does not much change. Upaniṣads are the treatises, written both in prose and verse, with a view to give a new philosophic orientation to the sacrificial ritual and also to explain and illustrate many a philosophical doctrine. The need for illustrations was all the more great because many of the Upaniṣadic teachings constituted a fresh and bold departure from the ritualism which was the main-stay of the Brāhmaṇa literature. When we study the Brhadāraṇyaka upaniṣad from this point of view, we notice that out of about 35 cases of the use of Upamā, majority of them are meant to illustrate and explain some teaching or other, though of course some of them are expressed in a manner to indicate that the writer was making a conscious effort to introduce an Ālamkāra (Cf. 7, 9, 17).** On the contrary we have a few cases where it appears

* Cf. S. N. Gajendragadkar 'Similes from the Mahabharata,' J.V.B. Vol. XIX, Part 2, and (Supplement) Vol. XXI, Part 2 1952, 'Decorative style and Ālamkāras in Aitareya Brahmana,' J.B.B.R.A. Vol. V.XXVI.

** These numbers refer to the Ālamkāras discussed individually in Part II.

that the writer did not intend to have an Upamā at all but we consider it as such because of the use of the particle of comparison like यथा-तथा. The few illustrations of Rupaka and one of Atiśayokti, found in this Upaniṣad also bear this out. As in Brāhmanas, here also Alamkāras like Utpreksā did not find scope as the writer did not have much fascinaion for such highly poetic Alamkāras, his main purpose being to illustrate and explain new doctrines.

Simile in this Upaniṣad is both simple and compound. Usually the four elements of an Upama i.e. Upameya, Upamāna, particle of comparison and the common property are expressed by the writer. We have, however, a good many cases where one of them is dropped, thus making it a Luptopamā.

Taking the simple similes first, the following points as regards syntax deserve our notice.

(i) In the case of a few similes, the concord between the upameya and the Upamāna is not maintained. But this does not affect the simile because the common property is dropped, *cf.* 22 ;

(ii) In many simple similes, the common-property is dropped but the understanding of the simile is not affected, either because (a) it is obvious and can, easily be understood *cf.* 3 ; or (b) it is suggested by some other word in the sentence say an upamāna, *cf.* 2 ;

(iii) We have a couple of cases where the Upamāna is dropped but is suggested by the common property, *cf.* 17 ;

(iv) There is a case where both the common property as well as the particle of comparison are dropped, *cf.* 26 ;

(v) Generally simple similes are introduced with इव as the particle of comparison but in many cases, either (a) यथा used in the sense of इव *cf.* 2, 9 or (b) यथा-तथा *cf.* 14 or (c) यथा-एवम् *cf.* 3 are employed.

In addition to simple simile, there are many instances of a compound simile in this Upaniṣad. Some of these can be called as 'Ekadeśavivartini Sānga' because here one of the upameyas or upamānas is dropped. The subordinate upamāna which is dropped is either (i) obvious as at 8 or (b) is suggested by some word like the principal upamāna, *cf.* 19. We however do get a few cases where it appears that the subordinate upamāna is dropped not because it is obvious but because the writer was not very much interested in completing the simile, his purpose being served as the point is made out. Similarly there are instances where two or more upamānas are used for one upameya, either (a) to convey different suggestions as at 5, 10 or (b) to make the meaning more clear. In a few cases it is difficult to see the purpose of the writer in introducing more than one upamāna for the same upameya, *cf.* 12, 24, 27a etc.

In these compound similes, the particle conveying the comparison is यथा-एवम् in addition to the normal यथा-तथा cf. 11, 20 etc. Sometimes only यथा is introduced as the particle. cf. 5, 32 etc.

As in simple simile, here also there are many cases where the concord between the upameya and upamāna sentences is not properly maintained. There are instances of the disagreement of gender and/or number between the upameya and the upamāna. But the simile is not effected as the common property is mentioned, generally in different words, in the two sentences. No. 16 is an instance of the disagreement of voice also.

From the above discussion of the simile, it will be seen that in this Upaniṣad the writer employed the medium of Upamā only to illustrate and explain some principle or other. That is why they do not satisfy all requirements of a figure of speech.

In addition to Upamā we notice a few cases of Rupaka also. There is an instance of an involved metaphor (cf. R1) where the principal metaphor is dropped but about 24 subsidiary ones are mentioned. This can either be a case of परम्परित रूपक

where the principal metaphor is the result of the subsidiary ones or an instance of एक देश विवर्ति साङ्ग. We also get one instance of Atiśayokti (?) and one case of संकर of Upamā and Rupaka.

As a stylistic peculiarity of the writer of the upaniṣad, mention may be made of the use of particles like उ, वै; ह is applied to different cases of pronouns e.g. हास्य, हृतस्य etc. उ is used as a second word in a sentence cf. ए ष उ etc. ह also is used a second word cf. स होवाच आत्मन्वी ह भवति etc.

PART II

UPAMĀ

- 1(82)* Just as a lump of earth, hitting a stone, will perish, so too they (Asuras) perish, scattered in all directions.
- 2(98) He was like a man and woman closely embracing.

* The pages references are to the Ānandaśrama edition, Poona.

1. This is a good illustrative simile. The choice of the Upamānas, principal and subordinate suggest the sure and the inevitable death of the Asuras. The disagreement of gender between लोष्ट and the असुराः does not affect the simile because the common property is mentioned twice.

2. Here स्त्रीपुमांसी संपरिष्वक्तौ is compared with पुरुष परिमाण is the common property. It appears that the choice of the Upamāna स्त्रीपुमांसी is influenced by the fact that the context refers to the creation of पति-पत्नी. In that case, it is hardly an Upamā though यथा (and not तथा) is used. It is merely an illustration.

- 3(166) He is like a beast for the gods.
- 4(167) Just as many beasts nourish a man, so also each individual nourishes the gods.
- 5(119) He (Ātmā) or Brahma has entered here (this body) to the very tips of the finger nails, like a razor in a razor-case or like a Fire in a fire-place.
- 6(135) Just as one can find by foot-marks (the animal which is lost) so too he who knows this obtains glory and praise.
- 7(177) (That) self, not known (by a man) does not nourish the man like the Vedas not studied or and other (good) work not done.
- 8(183) Just as one wishes for safety of one's world, so too all beings wish safety for him who knows this.
- 9(173) Even a weaker man rules the stronger by law as a king.

3. सः पशुः The common property, being obvious, is not mentioned. यथा-एवम्-उपमावाचक शब्दं देवानाम् is explanatory.

4. Disagreement in number. यथा-एवम् as the उपमावाचक शब्दः.

5. सः (आत्मा) = क्षुरः and विश्वंभरः
इह (शरीरे) = क्षुरधाने and विश्वंभरकुलाये } अवहितः Only यथा and not तथा ; साङ्ग उपमा. We have here two Upamānas for the same Upameya. According to Śankara, the difference between the two Upamānas is that the former indicates एकदेशे अवस्थितम् while the latter सर्वतः व्यापनम्. It is likely that the first Upamāna suggests proper accommodation while the second suggests a complete one.

6. साङ्ग उपमा; (नरः) = नरः; श्लोक + कीर्ति = (पशु) } विन्दते-विन्दते
य एवं वेद (आत्मज्ञान) = (पद)
पशुम्, the subsidiary Upamāna is dropped but can be understood by पदेन. पदेन and य एवं वेद do not correspond properly.

7. साङ्ग उपमा properly expressed illustrative simile.

अविदितः आत्मा = अननूततः वेदः Here too there is a disagreement of gender between
,, ,, of अकृतं कर्म कर्म and आत्मा.

8. साङ्ग उपमा; सर्वाणि भूतानि (नरः) } अरिष्टि-ईच्छा
एवंविद् = स्व-लोक

नर is the obvious upamāna and hence dropped. यथा-एवम्-उपमावाचक शब्दः.

9. Proper illustrative simple simile. यथा used in the sense of इव.

- 10(266) Moving through them (Nādis), he rests in the body. Just as a young boy, a king or a great brahmin might rest, having reached the summit of happiness, so does he (Ātmā) rests there.
- 11(269) Just as a spider comes out by the thread or just as small sparks come forth from fire, so too all senses, all worlds, all gods, all beings come out from the self.
- 12(814) The appearance of a person is like a saffron-coloured dress, like white wool, like cochineal, like a flame of fire, like white lotus, like sudden lightening.
- 13(815) Glory of him who knows this is like sudden lightening.
- 14(823) Your life will be like the life of those who have means.
- 15(855) Just as all spokes are contained in the axle and felly of the chariot (wheel) similarly all beings, all gods, all senses and all those selfs are contained in this self.

10. Three Upamānas are used for the same Upameya. It is a description of the Puruṣa in the sleeping condition. The common property is "Resting peaceful." Is it likely that the three Upamānas suggest three different states of happiness—the innocent one of a child, well deserved one of a king arising out of confidence in oneself and the serenity brought about by learning.

11. Illustrative compound simile. आत्मा = तन्तु and अग्नि
 |
 सर्वे प्राणाः etc. = उर्णनाभिः and विस्फुल्लिङ्गाः } व्युच्चरन्ति.

उर्णनाभिः is singular while the other Upamāna विस्फुल्लिङ्गाः and Upameyas like प्राणाः etc. are in plural. Similarly आत्मा (Upameya), अग्नि (Upamāna) are in genitive case while. तन्तुना is instrumental. As Śankara says the point of the comparison is कारकभेदाभावेऽपि प्रवृत्तिः ।.

12. This is to describe the appearance of the Puruṣa. According to Śankara the colours suggested by the different upamānas like saffron white etc. are introduced to suggest the Puruṣa under the influence of the different Vāsanās, e.g. स्यादिविषयसंयोगे तांशं वासनारूपम् । येनासौ पुरुषः रक्तः इत्युच्यते । etc.

It is difficult to say whether the different upamānas were thus introduced intentionally or whether the writer meant only to suggest the different colours and the Ācharya is trying to rationalise this use.

13. Simple simile with Brightness as the common property, which is dropped.

14. Illustrative simple simile with यथा-तथा as उपमावाचक शब्दः.

असौ = (याज्ञवल्क्य) and गौःअद्वः = एवम् (i.e. प्राणेन प्राणिति) etc. with teaching (सा.धा.)

- 21(514) Their covering is like the net-work in the heart.
- 22(514) It's veins, called Hitā, placed in the heart, are like a hair divided into thousand parts.
- 23(571) Just as a big fish moves along the two banks of the river, right and the left, so too this person moves along in the two states of sleeping and waking.
- 24(571) Just as a hawk or (any other) swift bird, having moved in the sky and tired folds his wings and goes to the nest, so also this person hastens to this state where when asleep he has no desire nor sees a dream.
- 25(580) Just as a person when embraced by his beloved wife knows nothing both without and within, so too this person embraced by the Prādnya self knows nothing, without or within.
- 25(599) The seer is one without a second, like a ocean.

21. This is with reference to Puruṣa in the right eye and Virāt (the wife). प्रावरणम् = जालकम् the common property being छिद्रबहुलत्वम् which is dropped but can easily be understood because of the Upamāna.

22. The qualifying attribute which restricts the Upamāna is necessary for the simile. The Common property is अत्यन्तसूक्ष्मत्वम् which is dropped. There is a disagreement of gender and number between the Upamāna and Upameya. यथा-एवम्-उपमावाचकशब्द though simple simile.

23. The point of the comparison according to Śankara, seems to be that just as a big fish moving along the two banks is not affected by the force of the stream similarly Ātmā moving in the two conditions is not affected by it.

24. पुरुषः = श्येनः or सुपर्णः
 | |
 अन्त संलय } ध्रियतेश्चावति:

Corresponding to—श्रान्तः in the case of सुपर्ण or श्येन, we can understand जाग्रदवस्था-चेष्टया श्रान्तः in the case of Puruṣa. There does not seem to be any propriety in the choice of the Upamāna or the use of the alternative Upamāna. Hawk is a prominent bird and hence chosen as an Upamāna.

25. पुरुषः = पुरुषः
 | |
 प्राज्ञ आत्मा प्रिया स्त्री } ब्राह्मं आनन्तं न वेद ; यथा-एवम् उपमावाचक शब्द

This is not a very good simile, though from the point of the common property it easily comes to the mind. प्रिया स्त्री is different from Puruṣa while प्राज्ञ आत्मा is the स्वरूप of the देही. There is a disagreement of gender between the sub-Upamameya and Upamāna.

26. लुप्तोपमा with the common property and the वाचक शब्द dropped. The Upameya and the Upamāna are however expressed in a compound. That this is intended to be a simile is gathered from the sense.

- 27(607) Just as a carriage heavily laden, moves along groaning, similarly this corporeal self-superintended by a Prādn̄ya Ātmā goes out groaning (about to expire).
- 27a(608) When the body becomes weak, the person separates himself from his limbs just as a mango, fig or pippla (fruit) separates itself from the stem and then he hastens to the place from which he came.
- 28(610) Just as policemen given to their duties (उग्राः), sutas and leaders wait upon the approaching king with food drink and places, saying here he comes, so also all elements wait on him saying here comes Brahmā.
- 29(622) Just as a caterpillar, having gone to the end of the blade of grass, draws itself towards it having made an approach to it, similarly this Ātmā having given up this body and having caused to dispel ignorance draws himself to another (body) having made an approach to it.
- 30(623) Just as a goldsmith, taking a piece of gold gives it a newer and lovelier shape, so too this Ātmā leaving his body and having caused to dispel ignorance takes a newer and more beautiful shape.

27. शारीर आत्मा = अनः । This is a compound simile with sub. upameya dropped. Corresponding to सुसमाहितम an adjective of अनः can be taken शारीर, indicated by शारीर आत्मा. Similarly corresponding to प्राज्ञेन आत्मना अन्वारूढः, we can understand सारार्थना अन्वारूढः

27a. अयम पुरुषः = आम्रं ओदुम्बरं पिप्पलं } प्रमोचन. यथा-एवम the
 | | }
 बन्धन अङ्ग उपमावाचक शब्दs

There is a disagreement of gender between the principal upameya and upamāna but it does not affect the simile as the common property is mentioned twice. It is difficult to see why three different upamānas are used. The writer apparently wanted to make his illustration very clear.

शंकर remarks विषमानेकदृष्टान्तोपादानं मरणस्य अनियतनिमित्तत्वस्थापनार्थम् ।

28. Illustrative compound simile. Disagreement of gender between the principal upameya and upamānas as well as the sub-upameya and upamāna,. The choice of the upamānas perhaps suggests the complete dependence of the elements on Brahma. Cf. also P. 612.

20. आत्मा = तृणजलायुका } उपसंहरति Disagreement of gender between
 | | }
 शरीर तृण तृणजलायुका & आत्मा.

30. The simile is introduced to explain the type of new body Ātma gets.

- 31(639) Just as a slough of a serpent lies on an ant-hill, dead and cast away, so does this body of his.
- 32(721) The person under the form of mind (मनोमय) being (truly of the nature of) light is within this heart (minute) like a grain of rice.
- 33(725) When the Puruṣa leaves this world, he goes to the wind). Then the wind gives him a space ilke the space of the chariot-wheel....The Sun gives him space like the space of a Lambara (musical) instrument—Moon gives him space like the hole of a drum.
- 34(752) Now the breath about to depart, pulled up indeed all these senses like the big fine steed of the Sindhu country pulling up the pegs of (his) foot-tether).
- 35 Then the gods feed on them there like (sacrificers) on Soma.

METAPHOR

- R1(13) Dawn, verily, is the head of the horse, worthy of sacrifice. Sun is the eye, wind the breath, open (mouth) the Vaiṣvānara fire, year is the body of the sacrificial animal, Heaven is the back, sky is the belly, earth is the hoof quarters the two sides, intermediate quarters are the ribs, seasons are the limbs, months and fortnights are the joints, days and nights are the feet, stars the bones, sand is the half-digested food, rivers are the bowels, mountains are the liver and the lungs, herbs and the trees are the hair. As the (Sun) rises, it is the forepart, as (he) sets, the hinder part. As the horse shakes (his limbs) it lightens, when he kicks it thunders and when he eases himself, it rains. Voice is the voice.

31. आह्निर्त्विष्यनी. = शरीर (from which all desires have gone). Corresponding to वल्मीक there is nothing. The point of comparison is only to show that शरीर devoid of desires is not harmful like serpent freed of the slough.

32. Simple simile but only यथा is used as a उपमावाचक शब्द.

33. यथा only is used as a उपमावाचकशब्द. Corresponding to रथचक्रस्य रवं, दुदुम्भेः खम् तुम्बरस्य रवं, the Upameya is not directly mentioned. In fact these are merely illustrations for indicating the space Puruṣa had in वायु, आदित्य and चन्द्र respectively.

34. Compound simile. The suggestion of the simile is that just as at the departure of a fine horse, the pegs of the foot-tether are pulled up, so too at the departure of Prāṇa, senses are pulled up. The choice of the Upamānas suggest that the leaving of the body by the Prāṇa is both sudden and unnatural.

1. Here the principal metaphor is the 'Horse' in the अश्वमेध sacrifice with कालात्मा. There are about 24 subordinate metaphors. In the principal metaphor it is difficult to find out the common property. In the case of the majority of the subordinate metaphors, the common-property can be found. Can we look upon it as an instance of परम्परित रूपक where the principal and a few subordinate metaphors are the result of the other subordinate ones mentioned earlier. Śankara in his commentary has given the सत्.-घ. for most of these metaphors. The whole metaphor is probably to suggest the universality and purity of the sacrifice.

- 2(345) The earth is the honey of all beings. All beings are the honey for the earth.
- 3(492) Man truly is like a mighty tree. Leaves are his hair and bark the outer skin. From his skin flows out blood : Sap (comes out) from the skin (of the tree). Therefore from a wounded man comes out blood as from a tree which is struck. Layers of wood are the flesh and fibres are the tendons. The wood inside is the bone and marrow (of the man) is like the marrow of the tree.

2. The mutual dependence of पृथिवी and सर्वाणि भूतानि is conveyed by this metaphor. Can we take it as एकदेशविवर्ति साङ्ग were पृथिवी = मधु (disagreement of gender)

* भूतानि = मधुकरs (Dropped ,, ,,)

* and in next, सर्वाणि भूतानि = मधु (Disagreement of gender and to)
पृथिवी = मधुकर

It appears that the writer was only interested in illustrating his point and hence paid scant regard to the disagreement of gender and number resulting from the choice of the Upamānas.

3. Here याज्ञवल्क्य introduces a संकर of Upamā and Rupaka to bring out the similarity between a tree and a mortal and then asks how does a mortal grow when dead just as a tree grows up again when cut.

- (i) यथा वृक्षः वनस्पतिः तथा एक पुरुषः This is a simile (simple) with
यथा-तथा as the उपमावाचक शब्द.

Apparently there is nothing common between the two. Still the writer continues to identify in the next line the parts of one with the other.

- (ii) तस्य लोमानि पर्णानि त्वगस्य उत्पाटिका बहिः । रूपक
Here लोम and पर्णs and त्वक् and उत्पाटिका are identified.

In the next verse, on the basis of श्लेष on the words (वच and रस), the thing which is common between the principal Upameya and Upamāna in (i) is mentioned. From a skin which is opened, comes out रस (blood) as from a tree which is cut comes out रस (sap).

- (iii) Having indicated the similarity between the पुरुष and the वृक्ष the writer continues with the metaphor from (ii) and adds—

मांसानि = शकराणि
|
किनाटम् = स्त्राव
अस्थीर्न = दारुणि

} and then suddenly without any apparent reason changes

into a simile.—मज्जा मज्जोपमा कृता ।

There does not seem to be any particular propriety in this संकर. The writer was not much particular about the Alamkāra he was introducing. He was enough satisfied when his attempt of showing the similarity between the वृक्ष and पुरुष was successful. As an alternative, can we take it the whole passage as an instance of Upamā with the उपमावाचक शब्द dropped. But you get a definite feeling that the writer was intending to use a Rupaka.

4(447) Do you know, oh Kāpya, that thread by which this world and the other world are strung together ?

4. Can we take this as an illustration of अतिशयोक्ति where Brahma the upameya is dropped and only the upamāna सूत्र is mentioned ? Or a Rupaka

(ब्रह्म) = सूत्र
 |
 अथ लोकः = परञ्च = (flowers) }

In that case, the sub-upamāna is dropped probably because it was not needed for the writer's purpose. He was not much interested in the Alamkāra as such. The principal upameya (Brahma) is dropped because the question based on it is asked.

**DECIPHERMENT OF A PRE-ASOKAN BRAHMI
WRITING FOUND ENGRAVED ON A BABYLONIAN TABLET**

By

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There has been a long controversy¹ on Brahmi and its antiquity. The existence of a line in Brahmi inscribed on a Cuneiform Babylonian Tablet throws much light on this clouded issue. That the Tablet is a dated one and is, now, perhaps the oldest existing dated Brahmi document, is a very noteworthy matter. This Tablet has been dated 5th Century B.C. and is kept at the British Museum (81.11.3).

A translation of the abovementioned Tablet (its Cuneiform part) was published by Theo. G. Pincher in PSBA (1882-1883) pp. 103-107, and a suggestion was made by Bobrinsky that the unknown writing is possibly Brahmi. A clear photograph of the Tablet has been published in the Journal of the American Oriental Society Vol. 56, (1936) pp. 86-88. The note says :—

“The contract tablet from Babylon records the sale of a slave (girl ?), signed by the scribe, at Babylon on 11th day of the month of Adar in 23rd year of Artaxerxes. The buyer of the slave is URMANU, son of LISAR.....” “23rd year of Artaxerxes II comes in 381 B.C., while that of Artaxerxes I comes in 441 B.C. The earlier date seems to be more probable as documents from Babylon dating from the period of Artaxerxes II's reign are exceedingly rare.”

G. V. Bobrinsky, of the University of Chicago, was the first to indicate that the non-cuneiform writing has similarities with ‘Aksharas’ of Asokan Brahmi and could successfully read only 3 letters out of the whole. He says :—

“I am convinced that we have here some kind of a Brahmi Script, even though differing considerably from the type found in Asokan inscriptions. These differences can be accounted for by the early date of our tablet.....We may, of course, have some specimens of Brahmi writing, which should be considered as prior to Asoka.” Except for these letters he found the rest to be confusing, and has said “I trust however that scholars with greater knowledge of Indian Paleography than my own will be more successful.”

The tablet confirms my contention that Pre-Asokan Brahmi² used to be written from left to right and that Pre-Asokan forms were corrupted by the time of Asoka's

1. “On the origin of the Indian Alphabet.” (J.R.A.S., XVI, 1884, N.S. pp. 325-359.), “Pre-Asokan Brahmi” pp. 1-5 and “The Alphabet by Dr. David Diringer, D. Litt., pp. 328-337.

2. Pre-Asokan Brahmi by A. B. Walawalkar, p. 18.



Fig. 1.

edicts. The writing appears to have been scribed by an accomplished writer, the whole of the line being written unambiguously and masterfully, indeed as any good Brahmi ought to be written ; and the scribe appears to be a gentleman of rank having an important social or political status in the City of Babylon, perhaps an ambassador or a respectable merchant. There are no doubtful strokes in the text.

Accompanying diagram (Fig. 1) is a photo copy of the Babylonian Tablet as published in the Journal of American Oriental Society, and diagram (Fig. 2) consists of :—

- I. Line drawing according to original tablet.
- II. Rendered line as per my reconstruction of Pre-Asokan (Paninian) Brahmi-*vide* (Fig. 3).
- III. Line rendered into Asokan Brahmi.
- IV. Line rendered into early Nagari of 10th Century.
- V. Transliteration of the line.

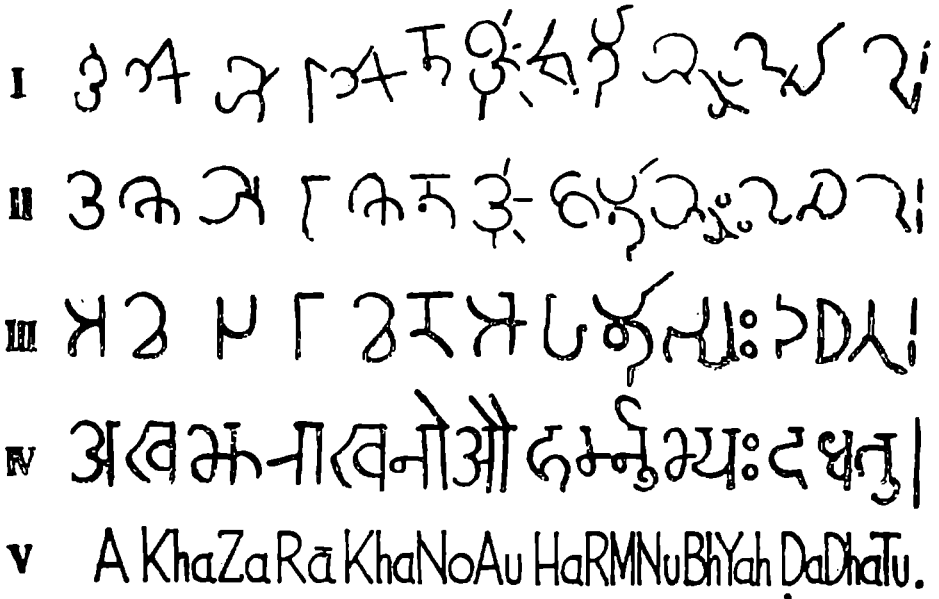


Fig. 2.

Every letter is discussed below in detail :

- Character 1 : A—This was read by Bobrinskoy as 'M,' but he is himself doubtful about it because of its upper part. I read it 'A'.
- Character 2 : Kha—This was correctly read by Bobrinskoy.
- Character 3 : Z—This was considered by Bobrinskoy as a combination but he could not decipher it. He has no suggestion to offer except that the latter part looks like H. I read it 'Za'.
- Character 4 : Rā—This is correctly read by Bobrinskoy as Rā.
- Character 5 : Kha—This is correctly read by Bobrinskoy as Kha.
- Character 6 : No—This was read by Bobrinskoy as D or Do, but it should be 'No' according to the present writer. Compare Pre-Asokan 'N'.
- Character 7 : Au—Bobrinskoy thought this is akin to letter M. He says that the strokes are probably vowels, but his reading of the very first letter was mistaken and it does not belong to the M group as thought by him. It is 'Au' as per my Pre-Asokan reconstruction—*vide* (Fig. 3).
- Character 8 : Ha—Bobrinskoy considered this 'puzzling' and thought it might be 'Ja.'
- Character 9 : Rmnu—Bobrinskoy thought this to be 'Mu,' but it is more; it ought to be read 'Rmnu' that is '𑀢𑀸'. As for the rest of the letters, Bobrinskoy says, "I am unable to give any definite suggestion." According to my reading the rest of the letters are :—
- Character 10 : Bhyah—There are two small crescents of Visarga and the Y stroke is also clear. This stroke is still used in the Indian Alphabet today. The two small visarga-crescents have been changed to dots later on.
- Character 11 : Da—The letter is clear.
- Character 12 : Dha—the letter has to be read "Dha."
- Character 13 : Tu—It is Pre-Asokan 'T' with a vowel sign at the bottom.
- Last sign : This indicates a full stop. One vertical line in the 5th Century B.C. meant 'R,' hence for the end, FINIS, two lines were drawn, one below the other vertically.

MAHESHAWARI TECHNIQUE OF THE INDIAN ALPHABET

NAGARI AKSHARA	NO. OF CRESCENT	NOTATION	INDIAN ALPHABET	NAGARI AKSHARA	NO. OF CRESCENT	NOTATION	INDIAN ALPHABET
अ	2	५	अ	त	1	८	त
इ	3	३३	इ	थ	2	८८	थ
उ	1	८	उ	द	2	८८	द
ऋ	4	३३	ऋ	ध	3	८८८	ध
ॠ	5	३३३	ॠ	न	1+०	८८८८	न
ए	3	०	ए	प	1	८	प
ओ	3	३३	ओ	फ	2	८८	फ
क	1	८	क	ब	2	८८	ब
ख	2	८८	ख	भ	3	८८८	भ
ग	2	८८	ग	म	1+०	८८८८	म
घ	3	८८८	घ	य	2	८८	य
ङ	1+०	३	ङ	र	2	८८	र
च	1	८	च	ल	2	८८	ल
छ	2	८८	छ	व	2	८८	व
ज	2	८८	ज	श	2	८८	श
झ	3	८८८	झ	ष	2	८८	ष
ञ	1+०	३	ञ	स	2	८८	स
ट	1	८	ट	ह	2	८८	ह
ठ	2	८८	ठ	४	2	८८	४
ड	2	८८	ड	झ	3	८८८	झ
ढ	3	८८८	ढ	ञ	3+०	३	ञ
ण	1+०	३	ण				

Abhwalawalkar

Fig. 3.

The tablet is epigraphically very valuable as it is the oldest dated Indian writing known to research. The subject-matter in Cuneiform corroborates the reading of the parallel Brahmi Text, *i.e.*, "Be given to Auhamnu of Akhazarākh (Artaxerxes!)" The other old finds bearing Brahmi Script are an Eran Coin, a Mahāsthān Inscription and the Sohgaoura plate³. The Sohgaoura plate has more archaic letters and might perhaps be older than this tablet here discussed but it is not dated.

8. Select Inscriptions from 6th century B.C. to 6th century A.D. by Dinesh Chandra Sarkar. Miscellaneous Inscriptions No. 45 and No. 47.

THE PROBLEM OF THE YAJNAPHALAM

By
G. C. JHALA

PART I

I

The publication¹ of the *Yajñaphala* in 1941 has only served to thicken the dust of the controversy raging round the question of the authenticity of the thirteen Trivandrum plays (Triv. plays). The editor, Rajvaidya Jivaram Kalidas Shastri (now Swami Charaṇatīrtha), expressed his firm conviction that this play is a composition of the ancient dramatist Bhāsa.² Dr. A. D. PUSALKAR³ supported this opinion of the editor unreservedly on the usual grounds of structural similarity with the other 'Bhāsa' plays, similarity of expressions, thought, stage-technique, presence of humour, "simplicity and purity" of "matter and manner" etc.; he even went further to believe that "the *Yajñaphalam* can be placed to the third or the mature period of the poet's career, it being written sometime between the composition of the *Prat* and the *Pratijñā*". He, moreover, noted with understandable satisfaction the fact that both the MSS of this play are in *Devanāgarī* characters and belong to the North—circumstances which should once for all give the quietus to the theory regarding the Triv. plays being mere adaptations or stage-versions prepared by *Chakyars* of Kerala in the South.⁴ The same conclusion was endorsed by Dr. G. K. Bhat⁵ without adducing any new argument. He, however, differed from Pusalkar in holding that the play is not a 'mature work of Bhāsa' but 'belongs to the earliest period of Bhāsa's dramatic career.'⁶ Bhat's article was, however, prefaced with a Note by the Editor (Prof. H. D. Velankar) which revealed that a publisher from Jaipur had addressed a letter dated 27th October 1942 to Pusalkar warning him that the *Yajñaphala* was actually composed by one Gopal Dutta Shastri mentioned by its editor in the Introduction and

1. *Yajñaphala* of Mahākavi Bhāsa, with a short Introduction by Rajvaidya Jivaram Kalidas Shastri, published by Rusashala Aushadhashram, Gondal, Kathiawar, 1941.

2. भाषाया अतिप्राचीनसंस्कृतत्वाद्वस्तुकल्पनायाः श्रेष्ठत्वादसभावालङ्कारनाट्याङ्गानां मनोहर-
तमत्वाद् बाणादिवर्णितानेकसामान्यभासनाटकसंवादित्वाच्च भासकृतत्वमस्माभिर्हिदं मन्यते ।
Intro. p. 2.

3. *Yajñaphalam* : A newly discovered Drama by Bhāsa in *JBBRAS* (New Series), Vol. 18, 1942, pp. 23-29 ; also cf. his *Bhāsa*, 1943, pp. 135 ff.

4. *Op. cit.* 23 f.

5. *Yajñaphala* : A critical study in *JUB* Vol. XX (New Series), 1951 pp. 64-75.

6. *Op. cit.* p. 75.

pointing out the following three 'keys' (out of many more) incorporated by Gopal Dutta Shastri as evidence in this behalf :

(1) The eighth letters of the first nineteen sentences of the Introduction to the *Yajñaphala*, if read together, would spell the following Hindi sentence :

बलात् ग्रन्थ लेकर उपोद्घात भी मेरेसे ही लिखाया.

(2) If the fifth letters in the third and fourth *pādas* and the fifth letters from the end of the fourth and third *pādas* of Vs. 28 Act I (p. 21) are put together, they make the word गोपालस्य.

(3) The eighth letters of the first *pādas* of the first five verses in Act II, when read together, make out the word भासानुकारि.

Startling disclosures these ! And yet no further effective action was taken in the matter, as Velankar complains with undisguised disappointment, ' by any one concerned.'

Dr. R. N. Dandekar, however, has recently revived the interest of scholars in the question of the authorship of this play by an article⁷ in which he states that his examination of the MS. on which the edition is based has convinced him that the MS. is genuine and must have been written in V.S. 1727 as stated in the colophon, that Gopal Dutta Shastri is definitely not the author of the play, that the reading of Act I *vs.* 28 *cd.* " is purposefully so modified as to 'manufacture a "key"' " and that, possibly, some earlier writer who imitated Bhāsa is the author of this play.

II

Now, let us first deal with the 'keys' mentioned above. The Sanskrit Introduction which stands in the name of Rajvaidya Jivaram Shastri does confirm the correctness of the first 'key'. Therefore, either Gopal Dutta Shastri himself wrote out the Introduction for the Rajvaidya and managed to insert the 'key' or he had enough opportunity to revise and finalise the draft prepared by the Rajvaidya in which to do so.⁸

The second 'key' : the third and fourth *pādas* of I.28 read as follows :

घृणीनां पूगोज्यं बत दिनकरस्य क्षयमगात्
प्रकाशो दीपानां रजनिवदनालङ्कतिरिव ॥

7. *The Authorship of the Yajñaphala* in *ABORI* Vol. XXXI (1950) pp. 307-314.

8. Rajvaidya informs me in his letter dated 29-4-54 that the latter is the case.

In a reprint,⁹ the same lines read as follows :

घृणीनां पुञ्जोऽयं बत दिनकरस्यास्तमगमत्
प्रदीपानां भासो रजनिवदनालङ्कृतिरिव ॥

Velankar's remark, "Actually, however, the 5th letter in line 1 is not *go* but *ṅjo*,"¹⁰ is more categorical than is warranted by the evidence at our disposal. For, the amended reading घृणीनां पुञ्जोऽयं etc. in the reprint is not based on the only MS. at present in the possession of the Rajvaidya, on which the printed text has been based, as stated in the Introd. p. 4. The photograph of the relevant page of the MS. which Dandekar has published along with his article shows the reading of these two *pādas* as under :

घृणीनां संदोहो बत दिनमणेः संक्षयमगात्
प्रकाशो दीपानां रजनिवदनाभूषणमिव ॥

The question how this apparently unauthorized reading came into existence and was accepted, as it must have been in this particular case, with extraordinary circumspection by the editor as the correct reading is fraught with serious implications, especially because of the significant word *Bhāso* figuring in it. It would be amusing, were it not so serious, to indulge our fancy whether Gopal Dutta Shastri with unerring but puckish mischievousness tampered with this stanza containing an indirect reference to its author Bhāsa in order to claim its paternity for his own self or whether some one has turned the tables on Gopal Dutta Shastri by inventing this reading with the word *Bhāso* in order to clinch the issue in favour of Bhāsa. This puzzle could be solved at present only by the Rajvaidya who, on a general enquiry by me, gave the following explanation regarding the reading घृणीनां पुञ्जोऽयं in a letter dated 5-6-53: "The *Yajñaphala* has been printed in 1941 only—no second edition has been published thereafter. However, the title pages of about a thousand copies had to be prepared afresh as they were damaged by white ants ; and stanza 28—the last verse of Act I—which Pandit Gopal Dutta Shastri had printed after tampering with it has had to be corrected and printed again *in accordance with the Ms.*" In another letter dated 29-4-1954, the Rajvaidya is more definite : "As Gopal Dutta Shastri discussed the tampering which he had indulged

9. The existence of two readings of the same verse in the same—first-edition has been really intriguing. The position, as explained by the Rajvaidya in his letter dated 29-4-1954, is as follows : the title page of a large number of copies had been damaged by white ants or soiled by rain-water. It had therefore to be reprinted. This opportunity was also availed of for cancelling the reading घृणीनां पूजोऽयं etc. and restoring the reading घृणीनां पुञ्जोऽयं etc. Pp. 17-24 only were thus reprinted. The question of a second edition, says the Rajvaidya, does not, therefore, arise. The anachronistic imprint on the re-printed title page, 'सने १९४१ मार्च', although the Introduction bears the date 19-7-41, was due to the printer's mistake and has now been corrected to November, we are assured by the editor.

10. *Editor's Note* : prefixed to Dr. G. K. Bhat's article referred to above.

in in stanza 28 with learned friends outside, my attention was drawn to it ; and it then occurred to me to see how it was like in the original in the MS. On a reference to the MS. in my possession, it was revealed that (the key) गोपालकृति was inserted in the half verse by reading घृणीनां पूगोऽयं in the place of घृणीनां पुञ्जोऽयं. The (other) Ms. which Gopal Dutta Shastri had taken away was not returned to me until he died and even until today ; but that Ms. also must contain this very reading पुञ्जोऽयं". This is clear enough. However, the Rajvaidyā does not seem to have been aware of his false position until I asked him in so many words how he came by such a substantially different reading घृणीनां पुञ्जोऽयं etc., when the only Ms. at present in his possession contained the reading घृणीनां संदोहो etc. For, his reply—very prompt and helpful as usual—dated 5-5-54 took me by surprise. He states in his reply : " 1. There was a variance of readings in this verse in both the MSS. My memory tells me—it is a matter now fourteen years old—that I reprinted (the stanza in question) on the basis of a rough copy of the MS. which was taken away by the Pandit. The reading घृणीनां संदोहो etc. of the 28th verse printed by Dr. Dandekar is the reading of the Ms. sent to Bombay.¹¹ Thus it is proved that Pandit Gopal Dutta had inserted his name in the stanza घृणीनां etc. in both the MSS. In fact, neither of the two MSS. has the reading घृणीनां पूगोऽयं.

2. Now, the MS. with the reading which I have given (*i.e.*, घृणीनां पुञ्जोऽयं etc.) is not available ;¹² therefore, the MS. which is at present in our hands should be considered authoritative and the reading of the extant MS. sent to Bombay should alone be considered authoritative.

3. It appears that I did not consult the extant MS. or a copy of it at the time of re-printing the form containing the 28th stanza ; and thinking that the MS. must have had the variant which was found in the copy prepared from the MS., I must not have taken the trouble to check up with the extant MS. Rough copies prepared for carrying on research fourteen years ago have been disposed of along with waste paper."

The mystery of the readings and the MSS. is only deepened by these explanations. I leave it to scholars to draw their own conclusions from this rather lengthy statement of facts concerning the second "key." (However, see Part II of this article).

11. Swami Shri Caranātīrtha, as I would like to refer to the Rajvaidyā here in the footnote respectfully in view of his intimate acquaintance with our family, has been very co-operative and unsparing in his efforts to help me in this matter. He voluntarily sent the Ms. and its photocopies etc. to Bombay for my use. I acknowledge my debt of gratitude to him.

12. This would clearly contradict Dandekar's presumption that the reading of these *pādas* in the other Ms. was the same as in the Ms. now in the Rajvaidyā's possession. *cf. op. cit.* p. 313.

The third "key": No tampering is suspected in regard to the existence of this 'key' which is supported by the extant MS. The fact that the 'key' exists should raise grave doubts about the genuineness of the play as a whole. The explanation that this is a mere coincidence shrewdly observed by Gopal Dutta Shastri is too facile to be accepted. For, no amount of mere industry will be able to discover such significant clues in a work unless a person has fore-knowledge about them. The existence of this 'key' cannot be lightly brushed aside or its importance minimized.

Lastly, the impression of antiquity which the MS. creates is, after all, of negative value as evidence. For, if it is found that independent grounds exist throwing doubts on the genuineness of the play, the logical conclusion could scarcely be invalidated by the old look of its MS.

III

Although so much has been heard about the question of the authorship of the *Yajñaphala*, yet it appears to have been dealt with—and decided in favour of Bhāsa—on what may be called mere formal considerations. At any rate, the case against its genuineness has not been squarely presented, leaving room for forming almost *ex parte* judgment in the matter. I should state here that among others¹² Prof. D. R. Mankad had expressed his doubts about the genuineness of this play as early as February, 1942, in a couple of articles in the then well-known weekly "*Gujarati*" (dated 8th and 15th February, 1942). He said that this play bears the marks of the influence of modern times and its language, idiom etc. appear to betray the influence of modern Indian languages like Gujarati. My own view is that there is enough evidence available in the drama as it is published which cumulatively would warrant the conclusion that it is a fabrication of modern times.

Let us then start our investigation with the 'list of corrections' (शुद्धिपत्रकम्) (pp. 7-11) which in certain cases has its own tale to tell. One wonders how the press-copy was first prepared; for, even after the whole work had been printed, substantial changes which could hardly pass under the innocuous name of *corrigenda* have become necessary, as the correction list shows; and this could have been possible only by checking up with the original MS. काला, गापय, करोदि etc. are normal and understandable misprints for कालो गोपय, करेदि etc. and require to be corrected. But (1) how can the stage-direction राजानं प्रति (p. 59)¹³ possibly be a misprint for प्रकाशम्? (2) How could उद्धर्तमानेऽब्दे (p. 178) be a misprint for गाढोद्भूतेऽब्दे? (3) संतोषमल्प (p. 166) is mentioned as a misprint for संतोषोऽल्प. A

12(a) Cf. the review of the *Yajñaphalam* in the Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society, N.S. Vol. 32 (1941-42) pp. 441-443.

13. For the sake of convenience and uniformity, only page references to the text of the *Yajñaphala* are given throughout this article.

suspicion arises here if the wrong grammatical gender of संतोष is not sought to be corrected as an after-thought.¹⁴ For, supposing 'Bhāsa' did use the wrong gender, it would require to be left well alone. (4) This suspicion is strengthened by the similar case of पुत्रान् (p. 200) which is to be corrected to पुत्रेभ्यः. This is a flagrant case of someone realizing too late that the rt. दा governs the Dative and not the Accusative of the recipient. If Bhāsa wrote पुत्रान्, it needed no correction at all, because it would amount to tampering with the text. If the press-copy mis-read the original पुत्रेभ्यः as पुत्रान्, the less said about it the better. (5) Again, सदा (p. 202) is corrected to सरन् in order apparently to provide a syntactical basis for the Accusative case of वपूषि which otherwise would be hanging in the air. (6) But the most intriguing case in the correction-list is that of करा (p. 161) to be read as पादा in the verse :

करा महीभृतो मूर्ध्न अस्तमप्येष्यतो रवेः ।
मन्दतेजा अपि महान्महत्त्वं स्वं जहाति न ॥ Act V·47

This is a clear case of amendment of the text and no mere correction of a misprint. The substitution of पादा in the place of करा heightens the suggestiveness of the sentence owing to the paronomastic meaning of पाद which means 'a ray' as well as 'a foot'.

All these are abnormal as cases of misprint and make us doubt if such amendments could be effected by any one in an ancient text. In addition to the cases of grammatical faults mentioned above, there are quite a few others whose grammatical correctness is extremely doubtful. For instance (1) in the *pāda* तेषामेव सरन् वपूषि परशुम शोणितं पीयते । (p. 202), the passive पीयते makes little sense.¹⁵ Did 'Bhāsa' suffer a grammatical nod here? (2) Another similar case is provided by चतुरः in the verse :

कुमाराः सर्वेऽपि प्रचुरगुणमान्याः कृतधियो
मनश्चैकं मन्ये दधति च शरीराणि चतुरः । (p. 56)

Here चतुरः should either qualify शरीराणि in which case the form should be चत्वारि or it should qualify the subject of दधति which would require चत्वारः. If a few grammatical faults are corrected in the correction list, why are these totally unsuitable forms not included for correction? (3) एकैकेषां गुणैः स्वैः etc. (p. 54)—here एषाम् (masc.) is wrongly used for आसाम् (fem.), because the pronoun stands for the queens. (4) अनुभाष्य (causal) is wrongly used for अनभूय on p. 169. (5) भुनक्ति

14. A similar case is to be found in the Sanskrit commentary of the Rajvaidya on the *Kṛṣṇacarita* published by him in 1943. आहतः is to be corrected to आहतम् on p. 17 of the edition. For the sake of comparison, I have quoted references in many places in this article to Rajvaidya's commentary on *Kṛṣṇacarita* (Abbr. RKC.).

15. पास्यति should be the form required by the syntax.

(p. 199) is wrongly used in the *Parasmaipada* in the sense of enjoyment.¹⁶ (6) आदात् (p. 201)—rt. दा with आ must be used in the *Ātmanepada*.

All these and other solecisms cannot be dismissed as archaic. Their occurrence in such a large number in the body of a single drama argues a carelessness and oversight hardly seen in any early Sanskrit drama—not even in the Triv. plays.

The Triv. plays will not be accused of the slipshodness which characterizes the *Yajñaphala* even by those who do not consider them to be authentic Bhāsa-works. The *Yajñaphala* betrays surprising slovenliness in its stage-directions. The necessary stage-direction निष्क्रान्तः or निष्क्रान्ती has been duly given at the end of the *Viṣkambhaka* before the second and third Acts; the same, however, is not done at the end of the *Praveśaka* before the fourth Act nor also of the *Śuddhaviṣkambhaka* before the fifth Act. On the other hand, the introductory scene of the sixth Act in which three भट्स figure is nothing but a *Praveśaka*; and therefore, after the stage-direction निष्क्रान्तः (p. 172), the word प्रवेशकः should have been used in accordance with common practice; but it is not done. More unusual, however, is ताः in the stage-direction ता उपविशन्ति on p. 181. सर्वा उपविशन्ति may be found in Sanskrit dramas, but ता उपविशन्ति never.

The height of this slovenliness is reached in the following *pādas* :

कन्यां विनीय परिपोष्य च तां न यावत्
योग्याय नैव ददते न पिता कृती स्यात् । VI·33 *cd* (p. 193).

The author has not realized that one negative particle (न) is just too many here and negatives the meaning which he wishes the sentence to convey. This is, however, not the only case of its kind. The same fault of the use of one न too many can be found also in

बद्धो न चेदस्ति नरो यदद्य
न बद्धमोक्षो न भवेदिदानीम् । I·17 (p. 13).

The normal rules of euphony are violated in a number of places, *e.g.*, बाणो त्वां (p. 93), यावत् योग्याय (p. 193) etc. One can therefore only wonder when, in the face of these solecisms, breaches of *Samdhi* rules and cases of slipshodness in such large numbers, one is asked to admire “the simplicity and purity” of “manner” in this play !

Let us next turn to a few footnotes. In the compound word कीर्तियशसी (p. 29), the apparently tautologous words कीर्ति and यशस् are used together. The

16. RKC has used the root मुञ् *Parasm* in the sense of enjoyment twice—राज्यमभुनक्, p. 41 and p. 52,

foot-note on this expression distinguishes between the dictionary meanings of the words in an effort to justify the simultaneous use of both the words. Now, while the two words are individually used in the Triv. plays a score of times,¹⁷ the two are not used even once together as they are here. *Pratimā*, indeed, uses the two words apparently as synonyms.¹⁸ Thus, the simultaneous use of कीर्ति and यशस् in a compound being very unusual, the foot-note only provides a case of 'milady protesteth too much'.

The fourth *pāda* of II.7 (p. 32) reads चिन्तेयं त्यज्यतां लघु।*¹⁹ The foot-note runs: लघु शीघ्रम्। लघुः-न गर्वी। उभयमपि पुस्तकयोरस्ति। What has one to make out of the last remark? लघु (adv.) must be the reading of the क MS. because the printed text is professedly based upon it. Consequently, लघुः (adj.) can possibly be the reading only of the other -ख- MS. Why, then, is such an ambiguous remark that both readings are found in the two MSS. made?

The reference in the foot-note (p. 70) to *Bhaṭṭikāvya* 2.21 in support of the mention of जया and विजया would be historically unhelpful: the *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions बला and अतिबला *vidyās* only; so does Kālidāsa in *Raghu*. XI.9. The *Yajñaphala* adds all of them up! Probably, it has no other authority for the reference to the imparting of जया and विजया than *Bhaṭṭi* itself!

These foot-notes and a few minor ones like those on p. 86, 128, 135 etc. make one doubt if they do not represent an attempt at justifying what has been written in the sure knowledge of such possible justification.

IV

The advocates of the view that the *Yajñaphala* is a work of Bhāsa are naturally impressed by and point at various features which it has in common with the Triv. plays.²⁰ Like the Triv. plays, the *Yajña*. begins with the stage-direction नान्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः।. contains the *Mudrāṅkārā* in its opening verse, makes no mention whatever of its author in the Introduction; the Introduction is called *Sthāpanā*; and the *Bharata-vākyā* makes the characteristic reference to *Rājasimha* and the earth bounded by the seas, and so forth. Now, one thing that is self-evident and requires no elaboration is that an imitator, who has once made up his

17. e.g. (*Pratijñāyugaṅgarāyana*) p. 60, 104; *MV* p. 427, 438; *DF*. pp. 443, 445, 450; *DG*. p. 404; *Kbh*. p. 481 etc. *Pañc* uses ह्याति once, p. 380. For facility of reference, all references to Trivandrum plays are given to pp. of *Bhāsanātaka-śāstra* edited by C. R. Devdhar, 1937.

18. Cf. *Vss*. 20 and 27 on p. 202. *RCK* uses this compound, यशःकीर्तिपूर्णा (p. 41).

19. Textual references which have been noticed by Mankad in his articles referred to above are marked with an asterisk.

20. Cf. Pusalkar's article in *JUB* referred to above, p. 24 f.; also his *Bhāsa*, p. 140 f.

mind to fabricate a work and pass it off in the name of a well-known master, shall be certain to incorporate as many features—structural or otherwise—of the accepted works of the master as lies within his power to do in order to make the counterfeit resemble the original as closely as possible. Only very recently, a reputed Marathi author and critic exposed the gullibility even of knowledgeable and critical students by successfully imitating the thought and expression of the well-known mystic philosopher, Khalil Gibran. All works need to be judged and assessed as much by their differences as by similarities—more by differences when they are under a cloud of suspicion regarding their authenticity. For, as a general rule, even the utmost watchfulness will not save an imitator of later times from betraying himself in one way or another. These differences, however small in number, should carry more weight while assessing a work of doubtful authorship than mechanical or formal similarities. In the case of the *Yajña*, these latter have so blinded some scholars—especially because of the thrice-blessed phenomenon that the MSS. of the play are paper MSS. in *Devanāgarī* characters and hail from the North—that they have simply ignored the differences. As a matter of fact, the *Yajñaphala* contains words and phrases and ideas and sentiments which are not only foreign to the Trivandrum plays but strike one as belonging to our contemporary times. Before we begin to deal with these differences, it should be pointed out that other similarities referred to by Pusalkar have nothing in them which is characteristic even of the Triv. plays; e.g., the stage-directions निष्क्रम्य प्रविश्य and (कर्णे) एवमिव are only technical devices employed by other dramatists as well. Kālidāsa has used निष्क्रम्यः । पुनः प्रविश्य in *Śāk* VI after Vs. 23 in regard to the *Pratīhārī*; he has used (कर्णे) एवमिव।—a device for holding a secret for the time being—twice in *Mālavik* (in Act I and Act IV). The conception of a kingdom being a burden is much better known to us from *Śāk*. Act. V.6. Similes about *Dvīpa*, *kesarī* and the Vedic lore as well as the idea that age has nothing to do with ability are common-places of Sanskrit literature, dramatic or otherwise. Apart from a couple of features cited by Pusalkar which we shall presently consider in detail, there is none which is peculiar in Bhāsa; on the contrary, a feature like split-up verses is to be met with in large numbers in later dramatic literature.

V

(1) A close scrutiny reveals that the *Sthāpanā* in the *Yajña*. is not on all fours with the standard pattern of the Triv. plays. The *Naṭī* figures in the prologue of only four Triv. plays, viz., *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*, *Cārudutta*, *Avimāraka*, and *Pratimā*. In each one of them the expression used by the *Sūtradhōra* to call her is: आयँ इतस्तावत् । Here in *Yajña*, however, the expression is आयँ इतस्तावदागच्छतु भवती । Again in each of these four plays, the *Naṭī* replies with अय्य इअमिह् । while in *Yajña*. she says अज्जउत्त इअमिह् को णिओओ अज्जस्स । The *Sūtradhōra*'s words अस्माकं प्रयोगदर्शनाय संगतेयं परिषद् are not shared by any one of the Triv.

dramas. Lastly, the *Sūtradhāra's* expression of relief 'आर्ये साधु तोषिता एते सर्वे त्वया ।' is also confined to *Yajña.* only.

(2) The king's order to the door-keeper *विजये, त्वं बहिर्गत्वा तिष्ठ । (p. 55) is obviously modern and resembles modern expressions like तुं बहार जईने ऊभ (Gujarati). The ancient practice in such cases was to use स्वनियोगमयून्यं कुरु or some similar expression. Similar is विजये, त्वं स्वस्थाने तिष्ठ (p. 30) which, however, is lucky enough to have a classical variant in the ख MS.

(3) The advice of the king that the maid-servants of the three queens should now rest in their palaces is received by the latter with the strange-sounding salutation जेदु महाराजा (p. 38) instead of the usual यदाज्ञापयति देवः । or even तह । (p. 31) and that too is done with a smile (स्मित्वा) !

(4) The consistent use of the word राज्ञी²¹ in place of the usual देवी which is used in *Pratimā* p. 265, 267 etc. with reference to the queens of Daśarathia both in stage-directions and speeches signifies a material divergence. This word which is the Sk. equivalent of the Guj. राणी would lend support to the suspicion that the play is modern.

(5) Equally unclassical is Sumitrā's reference to Kauśalyā by name in परित्ताअद्दु परित्ताअद्दु महाराओ । कोसल्ला मुम्मइ । (p. 45), though in her next speech she returns to the correct form of address : समस्ससिदु महादेवी ।

VI

We shall now list words which are not used in the Triv. plays or are not used in the same sense in which they are in the *Yajña.* :

1. प्रेमपाश (p. 15)—is a thoroughly modern expression.
2. महाराजकृपया (p. 16) : कृपा is commonly used in Guj. in such context. The classical word is अनुग्रह. The Prakrit original would require महाराजस्य.
3. *रण्डा (p. 17)—is a modern word of disapprobation of a woman. Not to be found in any early *Nāṭaka.*
4. नयविनयपूर्णं (p. 33)²² — पूर्णं in the sense of 'endowed with' is not classical. —So also रसपूर्णं चित्ते (p. 156) is a modern phrase. Another shade of meaning of the word is noteworthy : पूर्णं सुखम् (p. 47), पूर्णं हर्षम् (p. 259), पूर्णं ब्राह्मं तेजः (p. 69); in

21. Cf. pp. 18, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 29, 35, etc.

22. Cf. RCK : यशःकीर्तिपूर्णा प्रसिद्धिः (p. 41); वीररसपूर्णम् (p. 53); पूर्णा रामायणकथाम् (p. 28). *Kṛṣṇacarita* itself uses पूर्णं once : पूर्णं न अन्वयात् (p. 2).

all these cases पूर्ण is used, as in Guj. पूर्णसुख, in the sense of completeness. More revealing is the sentence कर्म परिपूरयन्ति which is a Sk. rendering of the Guj. काम पूर्ण करे छे, meaning 'they complete or finish the task.' Similarly, ऋतुः पूर्णं जातः । (p.138).

(5) पालयामि — instead of प्रतिपालयामि *cf.* आगमनं पालयामि (p. 110), नृपं पालयन् (p. 109), आगमनं पालयन्तु (p. 18). However, प्रतिपालयतां मदागमनम् occurs once (p. 195).

(6) देहं चालयन्ती—देहं वहन्ती or धारयन्ती would be classical.

(7) स + माना—यदि मम वाक् समाना (p. 48) is awkward, meaning 'If my words deserve respect.' Similarly, समानानुनय (p. 18)—'Respectful conciliation'; समान is generally not found used thus.

(8) प्रतापी (p. 50)—meaning 'powerful' is not a classical Sk. term. Borrowed straight from Guj. wherein it is very commonly used in this sense.

(9) शिक्षण (p. 57)—is a modern term meaning 'teaching' or 'educating' in Guj.

(10) ज्ञापय — दशरथाय ज्ञापयिष्यामः (p. 67), दशरथोऽपि ज्ञापितो भवेत् (p. 197), न असुराणां कृत्यं ज्ञापयन्ति (p. 122), पार्श्वानुचरा ज्ञापिता भवेयुः (p. 74)—In all these cases the causal of ज्ञा is used in the sense of 'informing'. Classical Sanskrit, as a rule, uses the verb निवेद्य् or a phrase-like गृहीतार्थं कृ. Contrast, for instance, निवेद्यतां महाराजाय in *Kbh.* p. 477; श्वो राज्ञो निवेदयिष्यामि in *Avi.* p. 137; अस्माभिर्न निवेद्यते । in *Prat.* p. 275. ज्ञापय् is obviously a Sk. rendering of the Guj. जणाववुं. Another unusual—because modern—meaning of ज्ञापय् is 'to teach', *cf.* दिव्याह्वाणि ज्ञापयेत् (p. 125), ज्ञापितो ब्रह्मचर्यम् (p. 176)²³ This colourless use of the rt. ज्ञा caus. is like its Guj. counterpart.

(11) भवदुक्तम् — उक्त is colourless. Daśaratha should have shown better respect for Vaśiṣṭha by using a word like आदिष्ट. भवदुक्त is exactly like Guj. आपे कहेलुं.

(12) मुक्त्वा — रथं मुक्त्वा is undoubtedly a Sk. rendering of the Guj. रथ मूकीने. The Triv. plays use the classical root in such cases. *cf.* तस्मात्स्थाप्यतां रथः । *Pratimā* p. 275, also p. 285; etc.

(13) कर्म (p. 88)—यथा वयमान्यासां देवीनां कर्म कुर्मस्तथा त्वमपि कैकेय्याः कर्म करोषि । कर्म stands here for सेवा. It is literally a Sk. rendering of Guj. काम करवुं where काम (कर्म) has this typical sense of 'chores' or service.

(14) भयकारि (p. 92)—The Triv. plays consistently use प्रतिभय in the sense of 'producing or full of danger' *cf.* *Abhi.* p. 352; *Ūru.* p. 491, 493; etc.

23. Compare the idiomatic use of ज्ञापित in प्रज्ञापिता भयरसं समदा नरेन्द्राः ।—*Avi.* p. 110. RCK uses ज्ञापितम् (p. 10), ज्ञापयन्ति (p. 20), ज्ञापयति (p. 30) and ज्ञापितम् (p. 53).

(15) अघर्मपोषकृत् (p. 96)—is a patently modern concoction.

(16) हेपय्—This verb is systematically used in *Yajña*. (p. 29, 40, 47, 125, 194 etc.), though the Triv. plays have used the root लज्ज् generally. cf. लज्जा-मुत्पादयिष्यति *Pratimā* p. 258 ; लज्जायमानेन *Pañc.* p. 400.

(17) प्रसृति - This क्तिन् formation is used nearly half a dozen times in *Yajña*. (cf. pp. 27, 146, 153, 197 etc.) although it is not found in the Triv. plays.

(18) अनुभवज्ञेय (p. 114)—is a modern phrase.

(19) *उपयोगि — अन्यानि उपयोगीनि शास्त्राणि (p. 117) (other 'useful' sciences.) This use of the word is un-Sanskrit. It is typically modern and Guj. too. Also cf. लक्ष्मणस्तान्युपायुनक् (p. 148) which is equivalent to Guj. लक्ष्मणे तेनो उपयोग कर्यो.²⁴

(20) रोत्स्यामहे (p. 127)—meaning 'we shall press you to stay' is reminiscent of Guj. रोकशुं.

(21) जात — जातकार्यं मनो मे (p. 137), meaning 'my mind whose purpose is served or accomplished.' This sense of जात is modern. The Triv. plays use the word in its usual sense, 'arisen or produced'.

22. भिक्खं मग्गामो (p. 143)—is identical with Guj. भीख मागीए छोए, though याचामहे is used in the Sk. *Chāyā*. It is interesting to note that in *Kbh.* (p. 482) Indra disguised as a Brahmin uses the Prakrit expression भिक्खं याचेमि.

23. *मानप्रद (p. 148)—used in the sense of "Does (me) honour" is modern.

24. वास्तविकम् (p. 155)—as an antonym of कृत्रिम is unusual.

25. कर्मश्रम (p. 166)—'Trouble or fatigue of work.' Also न मया विचारश्रमः कर्तव्यः। (p. 177). These expressions are modern.

26. शुद्धकर्मा (p. 201)—The use of शुद्ध in such expressions is modern.²⁵

The vocabulary of the *Yajñaphala* is thus substantially different from that of the Trivandrum plays. What is more, the words, listed above, have not been used as such or with such meaning in classical Sanskrit. They are modern and can be demonstrated to be such by pointing out, as has been done above, their identity or parallellism with Gujarati words.

24. RCK has used उपायुङ्कत (p. 28) instead of प्रायुङ्कत

25. Cf. शुद्धकर्मगुणैः *Kṛṣṇacarita*, p. 7.

VII

The same holds good in the case of phrases or idioms which may be listed as follows:

1. यावदस्ति स्थितिर्मम । (p. 15)—A very far cry from धरन्ते etc. of the Triv. plays; cf. *Svapna* p. 43; *Pañc.* p. 378 etc.

2. सन्ध्याकालो भूतः (p. 21)—undoubtedly a modern expression especially the use of the word भूतः : (Hindi हुआ) cf. Guj. सन्ध्याकाल थयो.

3. कृत्रिमत्वं भजन्ते (p. 38)—an unclassical mode of expression. चित्रापित or चित्रन्यस्त or आलखित are classical phrases. cf. चित्रापिताङ्गा इव in *Kbh.* p. 482;

4. युद्धेषु नैव रिपवः स्थितिमाप्नुवन्मे (p. 29)—An un-Sanskrit exp.; probably based on the English expression 'My enemies could not stand in battles.'

5. अन्यदा गर्जतो मेघादद्यामृतवृष्टिरभवत् (p. 51) गर्जतः has a peculiar meaning here. The sentence means, "A cloud which at other times, i.e., generally, thunders is now pouring down nectar (water)." The idea is that Kaikeyi is always threatening and harsh in her words but today she is so sweet and soft! गर्ज् here is equivalent to Guj. गज्जवुं which has the same sense of threatening or bawling. The rt. गर्ज् is used in classical Sanskrit in the sense of mere thunder without reference to threatening.

6.* तावान् कालो लगति (p. 66)—is literally equivalent to Guj. एटलो काळ लागे. कालो लग् is not a classical phrase and is not found in the Triv. plays.

7. विद्या हृदयस्थाः कृताः (p. 72)—meaning 'committed to heart', is modern and literally equivalent to Guj. विद्या हैये करी.

8. नियतः कोऽपि क्रियेत (p. 57)—'Some one should be appointed!' नियत is used in modern Indian languages for the classical नियुक्त.

9. अभवन्नैव किञ्चित् (p. 95)—In the sense of 'nothing happened to him' is literally equivalent to Guj. कई थयुं नहि i.e., he remained unaffected.

10. अभ्यस्तं कर्तुम् (p. 74) is a Sanskritism for अभ्यसितुम्, Indeed, the use of the past pass. part. with the root कृ or भू instead of the conjugational form of a root is a typical mannerism of *Yājñā.* which is totally absent in the Triv. plays. लब्धो भवेत् (p. 89), ज्ञातं भवेत् (p. 21), हेपि ऽ भवेयुः (p. 97), पराजितं करिष्यन्ति (p. 151) etc. Quite artificial is अनुभूतं कुर्मः²⁶ (p. 120).

11. आगत्य गतः (p. 101)—a colourless expression literally equivalent to Guj. आवीने गयो.

26. Cf. निर्दिशितं चकार *Kṛṣṇacarita* p. 2.

12. इति तु नैव प्रष्ट यम् (p. 113)—undoubtedly a modern phrase based on Guj. ए तो पूछवुं न होय.
13. सर्वतः पूर्वम् (p. 115)—Literal Sk. rendering of Guj. सौथी व्हेलुं meaning 'first of all'.
14. यस्मिन्ने युवां स्यातम् (p. 182)—a Sanskrit equivalent of the modern Guj. जे रणमां तमे (बे) हो.
15. कलाप्रधानानि (p. 154)—Meaning 'artificial pleasures' is modern.
16. लब्धेन तुष्टाः (p. 159)—equivalent to Guj. मळ्ळुं तेथी राजी. 'satisfied with what is got!'
- 17.* अहमिच्छामि नगरंतेषां बहून् नयेयम्। (p. 160)—is similar to the English sentence 'I wish I will take etc.'
18. मम पुत्राणां पिता (p. 164)—Is an unclassical mode of expression. The phrase is used by a woman in reference to her husband and is customary in many communities in Gujarat and Saurashtra today. It is a corollary to the Dharmasāstra rule forbidding the utterance of the husband's name.
19. घरकम्मे लग्ना (p. 164)—Literally equivalent to Guj. घरकामे लाग्या.
- 20.* कोऽप्युपायः क्रियताम् (p. 185)—The usual Sk. expression is उपायः चिन्त्यताम्. This is like Guj. कोई उपाय करो (कराय).
- 21.* किमत्र नवं करणीयम् (p. 191)—cf. Guj. शुं नवुं करवानुं छे? The usual Sk. expression is किमन्यत्करणीयम्.
22. दूतं प्रक्षिपामि (p. 197)—The use of the verb क्षिप् is not found in the Triv. plays, which use प्रेषय् or संपातय्. cf. दूतसंपातं करोमि। *Svap.* p. 5; दूतसंप्रेषणा *Pry.* p. 78; दूतः प्रेषितः (twice)—*Avi.* p. 116 etc.
23. स्वामिनः अभावयम् (p. 200)—A very artificial and crude construction which is similar to Guj. स्वामी बनव्या. The expression means, 'I made them husbands etc.'²⁷

VIII

Apart from words and phrases, other indications of the *Yajñaphala* bearing the influence of modern times are provided by views or ideas like the following :—

(1) योऽस्यत्वं प्रतिपुरुषं भिन्नम्। एकस्य मते कोऽपि योग्योऽन्यस्य मते न स योग्यः (p. 48)

Although 'Tastes differ' is a view widely known in ancient times, yet the way in which the idea is conveyed here (note specially एकस्य मते—अन्यस्य मते) is typically modern.

27. Cf. स्वं पुत्रं राजानं भावयामास RCK p. 45.

(2) युवेव कुर्वन्निजकर्म (p. 10)—The simile 'working like a young man' is modern.

(3) नृपत्वेप्सा चेषां प्रणयमकृतं किं विघटये—

ज्जले छिद्रं कर्तुं प्रभवति न सूची हि निशिता । (p. 57)

The illustration in the second line is unusual. The idea is : 'the four princes are so attached to one another that ambition for Kingship will not be able to destroy their natural affection. A sharp needle is not able to pierce a hole in water.' Now, this illustration and the context are revealing. In Gujarati there is a saying, डांगे मार्या पाणी छूटां न पडे (water, even if struck with a club, will not fly apart) and it is particularly used with reference to dissensions or quarrels being ineffective to extinguish family relationship or affection.

प्रणयं विघटय्, in any case, is not a normal Sk. expression but, understood in the light of the Guj. छूटा पाडवु, it assumes particular significance. In Sanskrit, the standard reference of piercing with a needle-point is to तमस् and not जल. Here, under the inspiration of the popular Gujarati saying, the Sk. reference has been modified in order to relate it to water.

(4) On p. 45, when Kauśalyā has fainted, the stage-direction says सुमित्रा हस्तपादतलमर्दनं करोति. This form of first-aid administered to a person who has fainted is not found in any early Sk. drama. It is a definitely modern idea and practice.

(5) ज्ञाने समाना वयमत्र सर्वे (p. 72) : Vaśiṣṭha delivers himself of this 'democratic' sentiment that the princes who have been taught by him are his equals in knowledge ! Comment is superfluous.

(6) वनसंचारमिच्छन् (p. 96)—Vaśiṣṭha wanted to *take a walk* in the forest !

(7) राजा—अयाचितसाहाय्येन मया कथं तेषां तपोवैरिणो हताः स्युरज्ञातत्वात् । (p. 123). The plea of the king that, unless he is informed and his assistance called for, he could not take any action against the obstructors of sacrifices and penances is totally foreign to the conception of a king's duty known to ancient India. The language of this sentence, too, is artificial.

(8) *ताम्यायन's speech (किमत्र स्तोतव्यम् । स राज्ञः पुत्रः etc. p. 142 f) reveals him to be a modern 'Socialist', if not a fire-brand egalitarian. The burden of his complaint that sons of the rich have more leisure and better opportunities for study while those of the poor have to struggle against heavy odds is totally foreign to Sanskrit literature. It is definitely a twentieth century attitude.

(9) त्वं तु प्रियप्रेम्णास्मानचिरेणैव विस्मरिष्यसि. (p. 195)—The stark crudity of Janaka's words addressed to his daughter will be realized by comparing this

speech with the graceful paternal expression of Kaṇva in a similar situation, अभिजनवतो भर्तुः etc. (*Śāk.* IV. 19). प्रियप्रेम is not a word that an old-world father would throw at his daughter.

IX

The address of Janaka in the last Act (p. 198ff) informing the assembly about the betrothal of Sitā and the other girls of the family to Rāma and his brothers and asking the assembly to shout *Svasti*!* thrice if they approved of this union of the two royal families sounds much too modern, especially the call for 'three cheers' which is naturally responded to by all. It is impossible to believe that a drama in which such a practice is resorted to could be anything but modern. (Let none confuse the reference to three *svastis* here with the ceremonial utterance of *svasti*! thrice which was done only by Brahmins.)

In the sixth Act, Rāma, whom Viśvāmitra had left to carry on the wooing of Sitā in the garden at least once (if not more) before, is introduced confessing to a feeling of love but conscious of his unworthy behaviour in sneaking into the garden without the permission of Viśvāmitra or the knowledge of Lakṣmaṇa. He says he would like to stick to the path of the good and should not see a woman because of the *guru's* instruction. Just then, he sights Sitā under a tree and indulges in expression of love; but suddenly he is assailed by the doubt if the girl was the daughter of a *Brahmaṛṣi* or betrothed to some one else. His heart, however, tells him that she is neither unacceptable nor difficult to get. Sitā, in the meantime, makes a confession of her love before her two friends and, feeling despondent about the fate of her love, faints. Now, Rāma rushes in but, instead of taking care of the unconscious Sitā, he and Sitā's two companions indulge in a longish conversation. Rāma wants to know who the girl was and he is told everything—even in regard to Janaka's pledge about the stringing of Śiva's bow. When this divulging of information is over, Sitā revives! This unnatural, callous and selfish behaviour of Rāma in particular while Sitā is lying unconscious on the ground is something the like of which will be difficult to find in any classical drama. The author wants to make things easy for himself by this device but has sacrificed everything natural or artistic in the process.

It must have been evident from the rather detailed description of Rāma's mental condition given above that the scene is a mixture of similar scenes in the first and third Acts of the *Śākuntala*. However, the doubt that worries Rāma whether the object of his love was a daughter of a *Brahmaṛṣi* is thoroughly unwarranted because, unlike Duṣyanta who felt similar misgivings about Śākuntalā in the pious hermitage of the sage Kaṇva, he is in the palace garden of King Janaka. The delineation of this love-scene in Act VI is ill-motivated and absurd and appears to be a clumsy imitation—even in a good many ideas and expressions—of Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala*. This impression is only strengthened by the in-

adequate justification for some other parallellisms with Kālidāsa. In Act III Rāma is mortified to see his arrows set at naught somehow ; he decides to discharge an arrow at some 'invisible being' responsible for the mischief. He says at this stage : भवतु भावगामि मेऽस्त्रं यददृश्यमपि विध्यति । तेन दर्शयामि स्वास्त्रकौशलम् । न च हन्मि तमदृश्यम् । भो अदृश्य

अदृश्यप्रणयी बाणो त्वां नान्यं विध्यति क्षणात् ।

रक्तपा स्तनलग्ना हि पिबत्यस्त्रं पयस्तु न ॥ (p. 93)

i.e., his missile would *pierce* the 'invisible' but he would not like to *kill* it. (This is the only way in which the intended contrast can be brought out). Now, the stanza that follows must underline this idea of hitting, but not killing, one and the same object. Yet, the stanza says, 'The arrow seeking the invisible one will pierce thee and none else. A leech sticking to a breast sucks blood but not milk.' There is no question here of anybody else being struck at all. In the *Mātali* episode in the sixth Act of *Śāk.*, on the other hand, the Vidūṣaka and Mātali were wrestling with each other, so to say; hence the supreme need for caution and absolute justification for the king's warning :

यो हनिष्यति वध्यं त्वां रक्ष्यं रक्षिष्यति द्विजम् ।

हंसो हि क्षीरमादत्ते तन्मिश्रा वर्जयत्यपः ॥ Śāk. VI 28

Here, the shift of focus in the stanza is patent enough. The idea it expresses is irrelevant and gratuitous—intended, for aught we know, to imitate the verse in the *Mātali* episode. No less suspect is the context of the *Vs.* न खलु न खलु वध्याः etc. (p. 85) which echoes the well-known *vs.* न खलु न खलु बाणः etc. Śāk. I. 10.

The episode of the jealous rivalry among the three queens of Daśaratha in Act I is unrealistic in conception and childish in execution. What a far cry it is from the dignified and matronly Kauśalyā of the *Pratimā* to her narrow-minded and selfish counterpart in the *Yajñaphala* ! Perhaps, no other literary work has stooped so low in blaspheming this dignified and noble mother of Rāma.

More strange, however, is the rôle of the Vidūṣaka in this play. In the first place, it should be noted that the Vidūṣaka's character is omitted in the *Pratimā*, although the scene in the second Act is domestic enough to have permitted him to be a sympathetic witness of the tragedy that has overwhelmed Daśaratha. The only business of the Vidūṣaka in the *Yajña*, appears to be to indulge in 'humorous' remarks or provoke quarrels. Even after making allowance for the verbal inanities about sweet-balls²⁸ as being in line with his character as a glutton and a buffoon, it is difficult to understand his behaviour in the latter half of the second Act.

28. The similar scene of Vidūṣaka harping on the theme of मोदकमल्लकस in the second Act of *Pry.* is sufficiently motivated as it serves to cover up the meeting of the disguised spies of Udayana. The idle chatter of the Vidūṣaka in the *Pry.* is therefore not purposeless.

His 'hearsay' description of Viśvāmitra and particularly his remark that the sage hurls abuses with one of his mouths (अपरेण गालीं ददाति—p. 107) are too artificial to tickle anybody. His remarks about Paraśurāma just about the end of the last Act come with shocking suddenness and impropriety in an otherwise tense and serious situation. This appears to be conceded even by the author of this drama because he has placed the stage-direction स्वगतम् before both of them.²⁰ These remarks of the Vidūṣaka enable us to understand why dramatic theory made the Vidūṣaka only a *Narma-Suhṛd*, a private, personal friend, of the king in an erotic drama. Dramatic practice has consistently abided by this dictum and furnishes examples to show that the Vidūṣaka was never present when affairs of the state or the public were being attended to by the King. He is shown some times to be waiting outside for his friend, the king, to rise from his judgment-seat, etc. Kālidāsa, too, has only artistically abided by this wise dictum when he sent away the Vidūṣaka before the king received the pupils of Kaṇva bringing Śakuntalā with them in the fifth Act. The *Yajñaphala* violates this rule in so far as the Vidūṣaka is allowed to be present when Daśaratha receives Viśvāmitra in Act IV and again in the full assembly in the last and is allowed to pass remarks naturally in keeping with his character but at total variance with the spirit of the situation. Fortunately, the Triv. plays, in spite of their violation of a few dramatic rules laid down by Bharata, have retained the sanity which is embodied in the limitations imposed on the movements of the Vidūṣaka in Sanskrit drama.

X

An unmistakably modern approach to certain social and human aspects of life is found in the *Yajñaphala*. Look at the manner, for instance, in which the interview between Viśvāmitra and king Daśaratha is brought about in Act IV. Viśvāmitra has already arrived at the palace and is waiting for an interview with the King who later arrives in company with Vaśiṣṭha, princes, Vidūṣaka and servants (p. 110). This is in utter contradiction of the ancient practice of the guest being brought to the host who has already prepared himself to receive him. Again, Vaśiṣṭha, the family-priest, should have escorted the distinguished guest into the presence of the king rather than leave him alone like a visitor waiting in the ante-chamber or drawing-room of a modern bungalow! And Viśvāmitra actually rises from his seat in order to greet the host! The scene of Viśvāmitra cross-examining Vaśiṣṭha and the princes regarding the education of the latter reminds one of a school teacher in charge of the education of children in a rich family having to be on the defensive when interrogated by a casual guest belonging to his own professional fraternity!

20. (स्वगतम्)—शिग्धं कुदो ण णिवकमदि एसो बुड्ढो रिच्छो । and (स्वगतम्) गदो बुड्ढो रिच्छो तह्वि तस्स गुणाणि गाअदि एदे । p. 206.

However, what must make it difficult for the *Yajñaphala* to escape the suspicion of being a modern work is the introduction and treatment of the problem of village *versus* city in Act V. Viśvāmitra strikes the key-note of the discussion when he states* : नगरादिषु रम्यत्वं कृत्रिमं न च सर्वभोग्यं ततो न यथार्थम् (p. 153) etc. That is, the beauty in cities is artificial and, not being accessible to all, illegitimate ; on the other hand, birds and even human beings are free to use leaves and fruits of trees in the forest as they like. This comparison in favour of nature and countryside is carried on over two pages. Now, this question of city vs. village or the country-side as it is posed here is a problem of modern times. 'Back to Nature', 'Back to the village' are cries which have filled the air in India during the last thirty years under the inspiration of different political, economic or social philosophies. When Viśvāmitra sings paens of the innocent farmers " who do not drive out the deer trying to graze in the field, who living at a distance from the city do not sell corn (or is it food ?) as they are satisfied with what little they get " etc. (p. 154 vs. 31), one recognizes in them the idealistic slogans of our days in favour of the village and villagers which had little relation with realities. Classical Sanskrit often deals with the sophisticated pleasures and diversions of cities as well as the natural and simple glories of forests and penance-groves. The Triv. plays, too, deal with forest-scenes and life in shepherd settlements with its unadulterated joys. That persons living in the solitude of penance-groves or villages may find themselves ill-at-ease and suffocated in the crowded hubbub of city-life is understandable enough and this reaction has been referred to by poets like Kālidāsa. But the view that villagers do not chase away animals destroying their crops in the fields, that they do not sell corn on account of their contentment etc. is not met with in classical Sanskrit literature in which, on the contrary, reference to girls tending corn in fields, शालिगोप्यः for instance, is often found. Next, Viśvāmitra draws an idyllic picture of villagers unaffected by the commercialization and vices of urban life. Rāma is so impressed that he says he would like to take a good few of these villagers to the city so that the cities might become prosperous and holy (p. 160) ! Viśvāmitra warns him that city life would corrupt them. All these sentiments represent our characteristically modern—and idealistic—approach to villages.

Again, Viśvāmitra is not satisfied with a mere theoretical enunciation of the simplicity and nobility of villagers ; he would fain seize this rare opportunity to show to the princes the life of real, live villagers ! (नगरवासिभ्यां etc. p. 162) Luckily, he sights an aged shepherdess coming towards them. On a query from Viśvāmitra, she replies, " सर्वं मम गृहे क्षेमम् । मम पुत्राणां पिता पुत्रवधूमानेतुमन्यं ग्रामं गतः । पुत्रः क्षेत्रे समाहृतानां सस्यानां रक्षां करोति । पौत्रा गृहकर्मणि लग्नाः । आगच्छन्तु भवानद्य मम गृहं पवित्रं क्रियताम् । etc. (Sk. *chāyā*) p. 164. It should be noted here that the peculiar social custom, *viz.*, that the father-in-law or some other elder member of the family goes to fetch the daughter-in-law from her father's house, especially if she is to be brought to her husband's home for the first time after marriage, is largely prevalent in various communities in Saurashtra even now. In the

context of peculiar expressions like मम पुत्राणां पिता, गृहकर्मणि लग्नाः etc. which, as shown earlier, are Gujarati expressions, this reference to a social custom in vogue in parts of Gujarat would substantially strengthen the view that the *Yajñaphala* is a modern dramatic composition influenced by Gujarati in its thought and expression.

The modern 'democratic' attitude is reflected in the two princes bowing to the aged village matron (p. 164)* —an act of courtesy not possible in ancient times or classical Sanskrit literature. Moreover, the aged woman advises Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa not to kill deer because they have "become our relatives (or friends) on account of living together" and, what is more, "they look so charming while running!"³⁰ This starkly unrealistic observation could be put into the mouth of the village woman only by a person who has made up his mind to idealize—why, even idolize, cf. *Deva-tulya-manasaḥ* (p. 165)—the villager.

Lastly, strictly *a la* a teacher who has finished an object-lesson before his pupils, Viśvāmitra, too, asks Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa as to what moral each one of them has drawn from what they had seen of the village and villagers. Mankad emphatically asserts that this entire essay glorifying the vilage cannot but be modern.

XI

To sum up, there is enough circumstantial and internal evidence in the *Yajñaphala* which cumulatively would justify the conclusion that it is a drama composed after the pattern of the Trivandrum plays in modern times and influenced by modern thought and expression. This conclusion is based on evidence provided by the play itself, quite independently of the claims of any particular individual regarding its authorship. One thing, however, is certain : whoever the author of this modern concoction in imitation of the 'Bhāsa' plays might be, he is thoroughly acquainted with the intricacies and subtleties of the Bhāsa-problem and has an unambitious manner of expression in Sanskrit.

PART II

An Examination of the क Ms.

Owing to adventitious circumstances, the MS. of the *Yajñaphala*-original as well as photostat copy—sent by the Rajvaidya (I am using the name for the sake of uniformity) voluntarily for my use reached my hands only after I completed the foregoing article. I had proceeded with the article with the natural expectation that the printed text would for all practical purposes be identical with the MS. text

30. मिआ सहवासेण अम्हाणं बन्धुआ जादा धावंदा सोहेदि । p. 165.

on which, as stated by the editor in the Introduction, it was based and that minor details deserving notice, if any, would be conveniently incorporated in the body of the article later on. This expectation, however, received a rude shock from a detailed examination of the MS. The results of this examination are presented here in detail to enable the problem of the *Yajñaphala* to be viewed objectively.

XII

In the first place, this MS. which is designated 'क' by the editor and which forms the basis of the printed text contains fifteen folios and not fourteen as stated in the Introduction on p. 4. Secondly, the Introduction has not reproduced the colophon of this MS. quite faithfully; it actually reads : यज्ञनाटकं समाप्तं । श्रीविक्रमार्क-संबत् १७२७ आश्विन कृष्णपक्षे द्वितीयायां भौमे च लि. स्वामी शुद्धानंदतीर्थणेदं । श्रीः.

The printed text has been quite indifferent in respect of the use of *a* or *ya* in Prakrit speeches. Very often the *ya* of the MS. has been printed as *a* :

Ms.	Printed Text	Ms.	Printed Text
वयणपाडवं	वअणपाडवं (p. 21)	संभाबयिदुं	संभाविदुं (p. 53)
भयवं	भअवं (p. 21)	घियं	घिअं (p. 119)
गुणायरो	गुणाअरो (p. 40)	वयणं	वअणं (p. 145)
दीयदु	दीअदु (p. 44)	धरियंदि	धारिअंदि (p. 164)
पियं मे पियं	पिअं मे पिअं (p. 48)	वयणं	वअणं (p. 198)

The printed text has indulged in displacement or replacement of syllables or words :

MS.	P.T.	MS.	P.T.
(अपूर्णा) तिष्ठन्तु	तिष्ठतु (p. 4)	प्रकाशं	प्रकाशं कंकेयीं प्रति (p. 44)
होहिदि	होहिंति (p. 6)	मुम्मइ	मुम्मइ (p. 45)
खिवाणि	खिवाणि (p. 9)	तदो भरतो राजा भवेत्	तदो भरतो राजा भवे (p. 46)
सुमित्ताए	सुमित्ताह (p. 10)	गुणवत्तरेषु	गुणवत्तरे तु (p. 51)
रण्णीओ	राण्णीओ (p. 19)	नीतिण्णा च	नीतिण्णा अ (p. 51)
पुमत्था	पुमरिधा (p. 20)	तं जेव करिस्साम्ह	तं ज्जेव करिस्सम्म (p. 53)
भवेन्मनुष्यः	भवेन्नरेशः (p. 32)	सामण्णे (सायण्णे ?)	साअण्णे (p. 53)
चिन्तितेन	चिन्तनेन (p. 34)	तओ	ताओ (p. 53)
व्रतनयन ०	व्रतनियम ० (p. 86)	तेन तु गच्छन्तु	तेन हि गच्छन्तु (p. 54)
तया सह	तया सहैव (p. 86)	आज्ञापयति	विज्ञापयति (p. 57)
यथा च	या हि (p. 86)	भवदुक्तं करिष्ये	० करिष्य इति (p. 59)
० त्तमनिन्दित कुर्यात्	० मनिन्द्यमथापि कुर्यात् (p. 40)	निदाघः	निदाघकालः (p. 65)

MS.	P.T.	MS.	P.T.
यस्यास्ति तेनास्ति	० तेनास्तु (p. 68)	नयति मनुजं	नयतु मनुजं (p. 160)
भवता	भगवता (p. 73)	स जहाति न	स्वं जहाति न (p. 161)
समीरेण	समीरणेन (p. 75)	भगवान्	भवान् (p. 162)
तेन तरुन्मूल्य क्षिपामि	तेन तरुं तमेवोन्मूल्य दूरं क्षिपामि (p. 82)	आजच्छदु भवं मह घरं	० भवं अज्ज मह घरं (p. 164)
शस्त्रसज्जे	सज्जशस्त्रे (p. 83)	पतिर्भविष्यति तस्य	० भविष्यतीति तस्य महा-
भूमावालोक्य	भूमाववलोक्य (p. 91)	निश्चयः	राजस्य निश्चयः (p. 167)
रावणमागमत्	रावण आगमत् (p. 96)	वैदेहो सांवत्सरिकं	वैदेहो जनकः सांवत्सरिकं (p. 167)
ब्राह्मणकारणम्	ब्राह्मणकारणम् (p. 98)	सत्रान्तेऽभिनन्दितुम्	० न्तमभिनन्दितुम् (p. 167)
सकअण्णा तुमे	० तुम्हे (p. 104)	फलं ब्रूते वत्सः	फलमिति वदति वत्सः (p. 168)
अकुशलो	अकुशलम् (p. 112)	फलरूपं फलं	फलस्वरूपं फलं (p. 168)
(विद्यास्तीर्णा) एते	० एतैः (p. 114)	अस्त्रविद्या साधु न्यस्ता	अस्त्रविद्या तु रामे etc. (p. 169)
मननेन च	० तत् (p. 115)	मया रामे	
शकुनशास्त्रं	शकुनज्ञानम् (p. 116)	अहो बत बलवान्	अहो बलवान् (p. 174)
शस्त्रशास्त्र ०	शास्त्रशास्त्र ० (p. 119)	अहो न गन्तुं शक्यते	अहो न शक्यते गन्तुम् (p. 175)
निकषाप्तुरेषां (?)	निकषा पुरं स्वाम् (p. 120)	ब्रह्म चर्यं च	ब्रह्मचर्यं तु । (p. 176)
स्वतपोरक्षणे	स्वतपोरक्षायै (p. 123)	संजीवयत्	संजीवयितुम् (p. 178)
राज्ञां वेश्मसु	राज्ञां वासवेश्मसु (127)	इत एति	इत एत्रैति (p. 178)
व्रतपरंपराश्रिताः	० परासिताः (p. 127)	व्यर्थम्	व्यर्थमेव (p. 180)
वक्तुं नोचितम्	न वक्तुमुचितम् (p. 131)	सुखाप्तिविभवाः	० त्तविभवाः (p. 186)
रामस्यानिष्टम्	रामस्य किमप्यनिष्टम् (p. 134)	भवतु समुदाचारः	भवतु । तिष्ठतु समुदाचारः (p. 195)
सगद्गदं रामं प्रति	रामं प्रति सगद्गदम् (p. 134)	स्वाथं	स्वास्थ्यं (p. 196)
मन्त्रपूर्वाश्च	मन्त्रपूर्वच (p. 134)	दुहिता प्रदत्ता	दुहिता सीता प्रदत्ता (p. 199)
नाशं म स्वं	नाशं न तं स्वं (p. 148)		
तेन पाणिरेखा	तेन तस्याः पाणिरेखा (p. 149)		
यदि तुमुलं तद्युद्धं भवेत्	यदि तद्युद्धं भवेत् (p. 151)		

Although inherently unscientific, most of these divergences are of minor importance and might have been ordinarily left unnoticed. But in this particular case they are symptomatic of a more serious malady, viz., a flagrant indifference to the need to remain faithful to the MS. Words or phrases not found in the MS. are met with in the printed text: e.g., अत्र हि (p. 36), सुमित्रा च (p. 36), ततः कंकैयी (p. 37), किन्तु (p. 37), घन्येयम् (p. 47), अन्यच्च (p. 77), यतः (before vs. 46 on p. 95), यत उक्तम् (before vs. 49 on p. 98), महाराजदशरथस्य (p. 113), अज्ञातत्वात् (p. 123), ऋषयस्ते (p. 125),

भवान् (p. 125), अथ च (p. 159), यतः (p. 174), ततश्च (p. 176), कितहि (p. 177), कथम् (p. 197), यतः (p. 197), ततश्च p. 197).

Moreover, the printed text contains additional sentences or entire speeches of characters which are not extant in the Ms.:

1. उक्तमासीन्मया अद्यास्मिन्ग्रीष्मोद्याने सर्वाभिर्भवतीभिरागन्तव्यमिति (p. 35).
2. इह मणिस्रचितशिलातल उपविशन्तु भवत्यः । (p. 38).
3. किमेत्य वासिष्ठमाह । (p. 42).
4. स्मरति भवती भवत्या विवाह काले (p. 44).
5. The entire prose speech of Kaikeyi : अवरं अ.....वि भोदि । (p. 50).
6. The prose speech of राजा on p. 52 beginning with स्वगतम् and ending with प्रकाशम्.
7. The whole passage beginning with प्रतीहारी-जं आणवेदि महाराजो on p. 55 upto न यान्ति किम् (st. 39) on p. 57.
8. Vidūṣaka's speech: (प्रकाशम्) तुम्हे किं मए.....सव्वाणं उप्पादेमि (p. 60).
9. King's speech: (प्रकाशम्) सखे सुन्दरक.....मन्यस्व । (p. 61).
10. यदि नाम रावणो.....बली रावणः किन्तु (before vs. 3) on p. 67.
11. अविज्ञापितास्मद्गमना.....अन्वायान्त्येव । लक्ष्मणः (p. 74) i.e. the speech of Śatrughna according to the Ms. is put into the mouth of Lakṣmaṇa in the P.T.
12. अत्रैवारभ्यतां धानुष्कता (p. 75).
13. अहो पश्यत... लाघवदर्शनीयाः । (p. 77).
14. भरतलक्ष्मणशत्रुघ्नाः-अस्माकं धनुर्वेद... इच्छामः । (p. 78).
15. नियोजितोऽस्मि युष्माभिः । (स्वगतम्) (p. 79).
16. भरतः-(अग्रतोऽवलोक्य) आर्य .. रामः-कथमिव । (p. 86).
17. (संस्कृतमाश्रित्य) न जनन्यामुभे... सवकजं भणामि । (p. 89).
18. वशिष्ठः-रावणो वत्सानां... क्षममकरोत् (p. 97).
19. The first five speeches (विदूषकः-एककेण... दोषिण हत्याजो) on p. 107.
20. The first two speeches (गोपिलः-जं... सवकं) on p. 108.
21. Vidūṣaka's Speech: जाणामि तं etc. and the following stanza (आसन्..... पालयन्) on p. 109.
22. विश्वामित्रः- (वशिष्ठं प्रति) महर्षे नमस्ते । (p. 112).
23. (सगर्वम्) इन्द्रादयो राज्यं.....(प्रकाशम्) on p. 113.
24. विश्वामित्रः- बहूनि... ज्ञातानि स्युः । (p. 114-5).
25. लक्ष्मणोऽपि यातु । (p. 185).
26. रामः-आवयोर्युद्धं... जेष्यति । (p. 151).

27. नयविनयज्ञे भवति न लघु कारणमुत्पत्स्यते । (p. 152).
28. केत्तिअं सो चिद्धिस्सदि । (p. 170).
29. पुव्वं लक्खणो छाहा विअ तं अणुगदो आसि । (p. 171).
30. चलिदुं वि ण सक्कुणोमि । (p. 181).
31. सख्यो-पिअसहि वरं विअ तादस्स आसिसं अहिण्देहि । (p. 194).
32. जनकः-अहो अमितवल... शयिष्यन्ते । (p. 206).

Similarly, more than a score of verses which the printed text contains are not found in the Ms., viz., stanzas 28 (p. 48); 35 (p. 54); 37-39 (p. 56f); 7(p. 69); 9(p. 70); 20(p. 76); 21cd(p. 77); 22(p. 77); 28-29 (p. 80); 33(p. 82f); 40(p. 86); 41(p. 89); 44(p. 94); 46(p. 95); 1(p. 109); 3-4(p. 111); 8(p. 113); 13(p. 116f); 15(p. 118); 33(p. 129); 36(p. 130); 22(p. 150); 45(p. 159); 11(176).

Lastly, stage-directions by the dozen are found in the printed text, although there is nothing corresponding to them in the Ms.; अग्रतोऽवलोक्य (p. 35); निष्क्रान्तः (p. 35); निरूप्य (p. 35); स्मित्वा (p. 38); मूर्च्छति (p. 45); राजा प्रावारकेण वीजयति कंकेयी पुष्करिण्या जलमानीय मुखे सिञ्चति सुमित्रा हस्तपादतलमर्दनं करोति । (p. 45); क्रौशल्या संज्ञां लभते । (p. 46); स्वगतम् (King's) on p. 46; संस्कृतमाश्रित्य on pp. 47, 48, 49 (twice), 52; सर्वा राजानं प्रणम्य गच्छन्ति (p. 54); स्वगतम् (p. 63); अग्रतोऽवलोक्य (p. 71); ततः प्रविशति वशिष्ठश्चतुर्भिः कुमारैः सह (p. 72); धनुरारोपयन् (p. 76); स्वगतम् (विश्वामित्ररावणौ-) on p. 79; तथैवास्तु । निष्क्रान्तौ (p. 82); दूरे प्रविश्य (p. 83); स्वगतम् (Rāvaṇa's) on p. 83; सलज्जमिव (p. 86); उपसृत्य पादयोः पतित्वा (p. 94); निष्क्रान्तौ (p. 102); ततः प्रविशत्यासनस्थो विद्वामित्रः (p. 110); सर्वं उपविशन्ति (p. 112); सास्रम् and चक्षुषी उन्मील्य (p. 135); ततः प्रविशन्ति त्रयः शिष्याः (p. 138); सर्वे परिक्रामन्ति (p. 162); अग्रतोऽवलोक्य (p. 163); विचिन्त्य on pp. 167 and 177; जनान्ति क्रमं and जनान्तिकमेव in Madhurikā's Speeches on p. 182; जनान्तिकम् (Candrakalā's) and जनान्तिकमेव (Madhurikā's) on p. 183; विचिन्त्य (p. 184); जनान्तिकमेव (p. 185); मूर्च्छति (p. 188); इत्यर्धोक्ते मौनं भजति (p. 188); स्वगतम् (Candrakalā's) on p. 190; संस्कृतमाश्रित्य twice (p. 190); स्वगतम् (p. 191); स्मित्वा (p. 192); सास्रम् (first) on p. 194; संस्कृतमाश्रित्य (p. 195); विचिन्त्य (p. 196); पुनर्विचिन्त्य (p. 197).

Most of these stage-directions are of course of a formal kind; and any editor would be justified in filling up obvious gaps and thereby facilitating the work of the reader. However, there are a few stage-directions in the above list which are peculiar or substantial in content.

All these add up to a formidable number of modifications and additions to the text of the क Ms. The Introduction is categorical in stating that the क Ms. is

published as it is—and places no qualifications upon the statement. The important question, therefore, arises: Where did all these deviations—the more important of them being additions—come from? The only charitable answer that could possibly be given is that the printed text has heavily drawn upon the Ms. which unfortunately is now lost beyond redemption. The utter silence of the Introduction on this matter is difficult to understand and dangerous because it results in misleading serious readers. That verses by the dozen and sentences and words by the score should have been inserted in the body of the text from an external source without the slightest mention of the fact in the Introduction is nothing but an act of literary vandalism the seriousness of which does not appear to have been realized by persons responsible for the preparation and publication of the edition.

XIII

On the other hand, the Ms. itself embodies a text which is in places mutilated and cannot be properly understood without the additions accepted by the printed text. For instance, (1) the speeches of Kauśalyā and the king on p. 42 f will be pointless without Kaikeyi's question किं एत्य वासिष्ठुमाह । which is omitted in the Ms. (2) Similarly, Kaikeyi's reply सुमिरेमि सव्वं etc. on p. 45 presupposes Daśaratha's question स्मरति भवती भवत्या विवाहकाले etc. which part of the sentence is dropped in the Ms. (3) The long passage from प्रतीहारी-जं आणवेदि महाराजो on p. 55 upto न यान्ति किम् in vs. 39 on p. 57 which is omitted in the Ms. is indispensable to the justification of the king's remark अत एव विचिन्तोऽहमद्य । and the following dialogue. (4) Caturikā's remark तव संस्कृतेऽपि etc. on p. 89 is unintelligible without the preceding speeches of Mantharā and Madhurikā which are, however, omitted in the Ms. (5) The omission of the sentence पुव्वं लक्खणो छाहा विअ तं अणुगदो असि । (p. 171) leaves the following sentence in the air. (6) Again, no Sanskrit author, perhaps even of our day, would think of composing a stanza of two lines only in the *Sragdharā* metre and leaving even the sense incomplete; this, however, is the case with stanza 23 on p. 38 whose third and fourth *pādas* do not exist in the Ms. That the scribe has been very careless is underlined by the colophon इति द्वितीयोऽध्यायः at the end of Act II and the introductory अथ तृतीयोऽध्यायः immediately thereafter; and every one knows that the seventh Act has the colophon निर्वहणांकः षष्ठः !

The क Ms. thus bears the marks of incompleteness and shows that it has suffered heavily through the carelessness of the copyist.

XIV

There still remains one important matter to discuss—a matter as intriguing as it is important. The Ms. of the *Yajñaphala* received by me contained sixteen folios, fifteen of which as stated in section XII comprise the entire text of the

p. 21 वयणपाडवं	वयणपाडवं
„ भयवं (printed भअवं)	Omitted
„ संदोहो	Not legible
„ वत दिनमणेः संक्षयमगात्	...त दिनकरस्य क्षयमगात्
„ प्रकाशो दीपानां	प्रका only can be read.
„ रजनिवदनाभूषणमिव	निवदनालङ्कृतिरिव can be fairly made out.
p. 23 गत्वा	कृत्वा
p. 26 निभूतमन्त्रणे	°मन्त्रणेन
p. 27 बोद्धुं क्वचित्पार्यते	Rubbed out.
„ सर्वत्रैव सदैव शकितधियस्ते	Rubbed out.
„ संशेरते	<u>नषतं च ते</u>
„ चतसिओ	<u>चत्तारो</u>
„ एका चेटी	एका
„ अण्णसि	अण्णे
„ एतारिसाई	<u>एतादिसाई</u>
p. 28 तद्गत्वा	ततो गत्वा
„ परिजनेनोपास्यमानो	°जनोपेतो
p. 29 दृष्टं प्रजासुखं	दृष्टं सुखं
„ राज्ञीरव्यलीकाः	राज्ञी व्यलीकाः
p. 30 (प्रविश्य) प्रतीहारी	प्रतिहारी (प्रविश्य)
„ सुमन्त्रः (उपसृत्य) जयतु	Rubbed out.
महाराजः । राजा-	
„ राजा सुमन्त्रश्चोपविशतः	Omitted.
„ विजये, त्वं स्वस्थाने तिष्ठ	<u>त्वं स्वनियोगं कुरु</u> (apparently अशून्यं is missing)
p. 31 राज्ञो यशोभूरि	राज्ञोऽयशोऽभूरि
„ यतो भयम्	ततो भयम्
„ धर्मदृढाः	धर्मो दृढाः
„ अथ च	Omitted.
p. 32 त्यजतां लघु	त्यज्यतां <u>लघुः</u>
„ अथवा	Omitted.
„ भवेन्मनुष्यः	भवेन्नरेशः
p. 38 नयविनयपूर्णं	<u>मनुजगुणपूर्णं</u>
„ चिन्तयेदिदानीं	चिन्तयेदानीं
„ तस्य भवेन्न कष्टं	तत्र०
„ Stanza 18 (प्राक् etc.)	<u>Stanza omitted</u>

The extra folio, therefore, represents a different text which is not identical with the क Ms. Could this folio then be a part of the other—ख—Ms. which has been described in the Introduction but which, we are informed, is now irretrievably lost? This conjecture hardens into a positive conclusion when we take note of the fact that the readings of this extra folio are identical with the readings of the ख Ms. in seven out of eight cases reported in the footnotes on the relevant pages of the printed text. (All these cases are underlined in the above list). Stanza 13 of Act II reported as non-extant in the ख Ms. is absent in this extra folio also. Still more significant is the reading नरेशः in vs. 8 on p. 32 of the printed text which is also the reading of the extra folio against मनुष्यः of the क Ms. Parallel is the case of पुमरिचा on p. 20. There should be little hesitation, therefore, in concluding that the extra folio belongs to the ख Ms. and happens to be the only folio of that Ms. preserved for us. It is rather curious, however, that this folio of the ख Ms. should be identical in size and shape with the folios of the क Ms. which, it should be noted, are not of the standard pattern. All folios have the unusual appearance of the pages of an old paper note-book and bear no pagination.

But what a remarkable accident that the one folio of the irretrievable ख Ms. preserved for us should be the one containing the highly controversial stanza I. 28, the question of whose reading has been discussed in detail in the first part of this article! I have printed alongside photostat copies of both the sides of this extra folio to enable scholars to see the evidence at first hand. The latter half of the stanza as far as can be made out would read :

घृणी त दिनकरस्य क्षयमगात्
प्रका निवदनालंकृतिरिव ॥ २८ ॥

One thing is certain. The last *pāda* of this stanza in the ख Ms. began with प्रका (शो) and not प्रदीपानां as restored by the editor in the reprint of this part of the text mentioned earlier in this article. The reading of the क Ms., too, is not identical with the restored reading; which raises the question—Where did the reprinted reading :

घृणीनां पुञ्जोऽयं बत दिनकरस्यास्तमगमत्
प्रदीपानां भासो रजनिवदनालंकृतिरिव ॥

originate ?

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

II

THE DECIMAL NOTATION

By

A. S. BHANDARKAR

I was much interested in reading the learned¹ Dr. P. V. Kāṇe's note on the Decimal Notation in Vol. 28, Pt. I (1953) . It should better be called Digitary Notation so as not to confuse it with Decimal fractions as is sometimes done by laymen ; the primary meaning of the word 'digit' is a finger, and fingers of the hands are ten.

Arithmetical calculation becomes easy or possible when the units are related to any higher group and such groups again to still higher groups in due order by some fixed ratio or proportion. In the Decimal Notation the fixed ratio is 10 and each successive higher group is placed to the left of the immediately preceding lower one with the symbol for zero placed where any group is wanting. Thus, for instance, the number 3025 means—

$3 \times 10^3 + 0 \times 10^2 + 2 \times 10^1 + 5$. The principle involved here is known as that of 'local value' of the digits including zero.

Among Tamils there were seven units in a group beginning with Vakaṭ and ending with Zaku.² The Tamils, no doubt, used this group in cyclic counting but there is no evidence they made use of it as a ratio for succeeding higher groups and they have adopted northern Indo-Aryan Decimal Notation for arithmetical calculation or processes.

The Babylonians are said to have used a sexagesimal or sixty-fold group-system for counting integral and fractional numbers as well as in mathematical calculation.

Can we find an earlier limit than Dr. Kāṇe's, viz. 700 A.D., for the Indian use of the Decimal Notation in arithmetic? Cajori³ quoting other authorities, writes thus—"The earliest known mention of Hindu numerals *outside of India* was made in 662 A.D. by the Syran writer, Severus Sebokht. He speaks of Hindu computa-

1. I had the pleasure and privilege of listening to his clear exposition of Sāhitya-darpana, as a pupil in Bombay long ago.

2. I am open to correction of my spelling from any of my Tamil brethren. I learned them when I played Viti-Dāndū in my boyhood. The game must have originated in Tamil-Nād and spread thence throughout India. It is called Gulli-Dānda in N. India but it is here now much easier to play.

3. A History of Mathematics (1931) p. 89.

tions 'which excel the spoken word and...are done with nine (*i.e.* ten including zero) symbols'." But there is still earlier indirect evidence for the same. Ārya-Bhaṭa was born at Pāṭaliputra, (modern Patna), in 476 A.D. In 'Ārya-Bhaṭīya' he gives the general or algebraic solution of a quadratic equation and the solution in integers of certain indeterminate equations of the first degree. Doesn't this presuppose a knowledge of arithmetical numbers of more than one digit and a fixed ratio-group-system, in our case, the decimal notation already in long use? Doesn't this probability become a certainty when he gives directions for extracting the square and cube roots of arithmetical numbers or quantities? I leave this for mathematicians to judge. However, the direct proof for the then use of the notation would be, no doubt, to cite actual instances of numbers greater than nine written in the decimal notation, as at present, in Devanāgarī or other Indian numerals. At the time of invasions of savages, like that of Hūns in the 6th century, there seems to have been a large exodus of Brāhmaṇs and other devotees of learning, like the Jains, from the North to South India and they must have taken with them mathematical and other manuscripts pre-dating Ārya-Bhaṭa. Many of them settled in or founded the city of Vidyānagar, corrupted later into Vijayānagar. The Europeans borrowed the Decimal Notation through the Arabs and hence they called it 'Arabic Notation'; but it is admitted now that they did not use it in arithmetical computation previous to their commercial contact with India. They may have used the ten-group system simply in counting, but that is quite another matter. Thus Cajori⁴—"The grandest achievement of the Hindus and the one which, of all mathematical inventions, has contributed most to the progress of intelligence, is perfecting of the so-called 'Arabic Notation'. That this notation did not originate with the Arabs is now admitted by every one." Cajori, however, seems to believe that the Indians borrowed the sexagesimal 'principle of local value' from the Babylonians and turned it into a decimal one. But this is just a pure guess. Moreover, that the Babylonians used their notation for mathematical computation is itself a plausible inference, there being no direct proof whatever.

I suspect that the mathematicians who have given us our Decimal Notation for integers must have also given us decimal fractions, the credit for whose first systematic treatment, if not invention, is given to Simon Stevin⁵ (1548-1620) of Bruges in Belgium. It is for our mathematically-minded Sanskrit scholars to find out manuscripts dealing with them prior to 1498 A.D., the year of the first permanent contact of Europe with India.

Note—After I sent the above article for publication, I came to know that the Śaka Satraps of Western India, using the Śaka era, 78 A.D., dated their coins in Digitary Notation and in Brahmi numeral signs after the year 100 of that era. This clearly shows that the Notation was in use in the last quarter of the 2nd century A.D., if not earlier.

4. *Supra* p. 88.

5. *Cajori supra* pp. 147-48.

YOGA YĀJÑAVALKYA

By

P. C. DIVANJI

INTRODUCTION

I. CRITICAL APPARATUS

The number of manuscripts made use of for the purpose of ascertaining the readings adopted in the text and their variants in the footnotes thereunder was 16. Besides them 5 previously printed editions were also referred to for the same purpose in the case of those units with reference to whose original wording no satisfactory inference could be drawn from the manuscript-evidence alone owing to a very wide and confounding divergence of the readings of the same syllables forming parts of a unit adopted by the scribes of the MSS. All these sources having been designated in the footnotes by abbreviations it is necessary to explain them. It is also necessary to furnish a short description of each of them for the purpose of the identification thereof by the learned scholars who read the book critically and assess its value.

2. The said 16 MSS. fall into 4 classes determined by the scripts in which they have been transcribed, namely (Deva-) Nāgarī, Grantha, Telugu and Kannaḍa. There are 8 MSS. of the first class, 6 of the second and one each of the third and the fourth. The abbreviation ण has been used with the figures १ to ८ for those of the first class, ग with the figures, १ to ६ for those of the second, त for that of the third and क for that of the fourth.

3. Their detailed description so far as could be known is as follows :—

(A) *Nāgarī Class*

1. ण१—MS. No. 91 of 1899/1915 at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, renumbered 22 ; Title, “Yogī Yāgñavalkya Smṛti” ; No. of Folios, 17 ; No. of Lines on each side thereof, 14 ; Average No. of Words in each line, 39 ; Materials used, handmade paper and ink ; Size, 21” × 16½” ; Date, not mentioned but old in appearance ; Present Condition, folios damaged at the ends but writing unaffected ; Complete.

2. ण२—MS. No. 388 of 1899/1915 at the same Institute, also renumbered 22 ; Title, “Yogī Yājñavalkya Smṛti” ; No. of Folios, 13 ; No. of Lines on each side thereof, 17 ; Average No. of Words in each line, 44 ; Materials used, handmad

paper and ink ; Size, 12¼" × 6¼" ; Date, not mentioned but old in appearance ; Present condition similar to that of No. 1 ; Complete.

3. ऋ३—MS. No.5414 at the Oriental Institute, Baroda ; Title, " Yoga Yājñavalkyagītopaniṣadaḥ " ; No. of Folios, 25 ; No. of Lines on each side thereof, 10 ; Average No. of Words in each line, 40 ; Materials used, handmade paper and ink ; Size, 8" × 3½" ; Date, Fālgun Vadya 1st of Saṃvat 1684 (March 1628 A.D.) ; Name of the Scribe, " Nāthaka ;" Name of the person for whose use transcribed, Bhārathī Śrī Rājendra ; Present Condition, old but well-preserved ; Complete except that stanzas VIII. 22/3-4 to IX. 5/1-2 are missing.

4. ऋ४—MS. No. 4503 at the same Institute ; Title, " Yoga Yājñavalkyagītopaniṣadaḥ " ; No. of Folios, 35 ; No. of lines on each side thereof, 9 ; Average No. of Words in each line, 25 ; Materials used, handmade paper and ink ; Size, 8" × 4" ; Date, Bhādrapad Kṛṣṇapakṣa 3rd of Saṃvat 1792 (September 1736 A.D.), Saturday ; Name of the Scribe, Ātmārām, son of Upādhyāyadeva, an inhabitant of Vāṭoda-Saras (Surat district) ; Present Condition, slightly damaged at the edges but writing unaffected ; Complete.

5. ऋ५—MS. No. 1736 at the same Institute ; Title, " Yājñavalkyagītopaniṣadaḥ " ; No. of Folios, 29 ; No. of Lines on each side thereof, 8 ; Average No. of Words in each line, 45 ; Materials used, handmade paper and ink ; Size, 9½" × 4" ; Present Condition, good and recent in appearance ; Complete.

6. ऋ६—MS. bearing Burnell No. 6391 at the Sarfoji Saraswati Mahal Palace Library, Tanjore ; Title on the label, " Yoga Yājñavalkyopaniṣadaḥ " but in the chapter-colophones " Yoga Yājñavalkyagītā " ; Other particulars not supplied.

7. ऋ७—MS. No. Veda 71 at the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta (No. 96 in Section X headed " Philosophy " in Rishikesh Sastri's Catalogue) Title, " Yājñavalkyagītopaniṣadaḥ " ; No. of Folios 27 ; No. of Lines on each side thereof, 7 ; Average No. of Words in each line, 15 ; Materials used, machine-made paper and ink ; Size, 12" × 4" ; Date, Saṃvat 1942 (1885/86 A.D.) ; Complete.

8. ऋ८—MS. No. B 522 at the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore ; Title, " Yoga Yājñavalkya " ; No. of Folios, 76 ; No. of Lines on each side thereof, 14 ; Average No. of Words in each line, 18 ; Materials used, handmade paper and ink ; Size, 8" × 6½" ; Date, unknown ; Present Condition, good ; Complete.

(B) *Grantha Class*

9. ऋ९—One of a group of MSS. strung together and held in position by two pieces of wooden planks cut to size and polished, at the Oriental Manuscripts

Library, Adyar, Madras ; Title, "Yoga Yājñavalkyagītā"; No. of Folios, 17 bearing Nos. 27 to 43 in the group ; No. of Lines on each side thereof, 8 to 10 ; Average No. of Words in each line, 40 ; Materials used, palm-leaves and stencil ; Size, 17" × 1" × 3" ; Date not mentioned ; Present Condition, very old in appearance but well-preserved ; Stanzas 1 to 18 of Ch. I missing and No. of marked chapters, XI but the contents of Ch. XII included in the last.

10. ग२—MS. No. 4362 at the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras ; Title, "Yoga Yājñavalkyagītā"; Materials used, palm-leaves and stencil ; Complete ; Other particulars not supplied.

11. ग३—MS. bearing No. 9716 at the Sarafoji Saraswati Mahal Palace Library, Tanjore ; Title on the label, "Yājñavalkyopaniṣat" but in the chapter-colophons, "Yoga Yājñavalkyagītopaniṣadaḥ" ; Other particulars not supplied.

12. ग४—MS. No. 3892 at the Vyankateśvara Research Institute, Tirupati, renumbered "T₂"; Title, "Yoga Yājñavalkya Smṛti"; No. of Folios, 56 ; No. of Lines on each side thereof, 7 ; Average No. of Words in each line 44 ; Materials used, palm-leaves and stencil ; Size, 13½" × 1¼" ; Appearance, old ; Present Condition, good and well-preserved ; Complete.

13. ग५—MS. No. 3857, renumbered "T₁" at the same Institute ; Title, "Yoga Yājñavalkya Smṛti"; No. of Folios, 46 ; No. of Lines on each side thereof, 34 ; Average No. of Words in each line, 23 ; Materials used, handmade paper and ink and folios bound together in book-form ; Size, 12¼" × 7½" ; Date not mentioned ; Present Condition, good ; Complete.

14. ग६—MS. No. 6676(A) at the Oriental Institute, Baroda ; Title, "Yoga Yājñavalkyaṁ"; No. of Folios, 28 ; No. of Lines on each side thereof, 9 ; Average No. of Words in each line, 39 ; Materials used, palm-leaves and stencil ; Size, 13" × 1½" ; Chronogram, रक्ताक्षी नाम संवत्सरे वैयाशी शु. १० सोमवारं (!), दिवि २८ नाडिकायां लिखित्वा पूर्तिमगात्, which is not found capable of leading to any definite conclusion as to the date, month and year of completion of the transcript ; Name of the Scribe, Venkaṭa Nārāyaṇan ; Appearance, very old and damaged at places and writing grown faint at places owing to lapse of considerable time, though well-preserved in the Institute ; Complete.

(C) *Telugu Class*

15 त—MS. No. 4364 at the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras ; Title, "Yoga Yājñavalkyagītā"; Materials used, palm-leaves and stencil ; Complete ; Other particulars not supplied.

(D) *Kannada Class*

16. क—MS. No. A 604 at the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore ; Title, “Yoga Yājñavalkya”; No. of Folios, 42 ; No. of Lines on each side thereof, 16 ; Average No. of Words in each line, 16 ; Materials used, paper and ink ; but apparently a transcript from a very old palm-leaf MS. from which the leaves containing stanzas I.1-15, IV. 19-41, V.15/3-22/1-2, VI.1-40, 57-81, IX.15-44, X.1-16/1-2 and the whole of Ch. XII were missing. Date, not mentioned ; Present Condition, good.

Note :—There are 2 other MSS. at the G. O. M. Library, Madras, one in the Grantha and the other in the Telugu character, 2 others in the Nāgari character at the Institute at Baroda, 1 in the same character at the Raghunath Temple Library at Jammu and 1 in the Grantha character at the Institute at Mysore. A transcript of that at Jammu was not ordered out because the charges therefor were likely to be nearly 5 times those for similar ones called for from the libraries in the South of India and the rest were not called for because the scripts in which they had been written and the recensions of the work to which they were related had been sufficiently represented by those already secured.

The printed editions, the contents whereof have been occasionally utilised for ascertaining the readings of doubtful units, are 5 in number. The abbreviated signs by which they are cited in the footnotes and their short description are as under :—

(1) ऋ.गु.—Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. CXXXIV entitled “Yoga Yājñavalkya” edited by Sri Sambha Siva Sastri, Curator of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Library, in 1938, a copy whereof was obtained from the Library of the B.B.R.A. Society. This edition based on a single MS. obtained as a loan most probably represents the recension of the work in the Malayalam character. It contains gaps in the text left at several places, which, as explained in the Preface of the editor in English and Sanskrit, are due to the MS. written on palm-leaves on which it was based being very old and damaged in parts. He believed that the said MS. must be not less than 500 years old. The text, from which an important passage occurring in Ch. VIII is missing, is not accompanied by either a commentary, translation or notes in any language.

(2) ऋ.गु.—A small book entitled “Yājñavalkya Saṁhitā.” in the Nāgari character printed by the Manager of the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay in Śaṁvat 1959 (1902/03 A.D.). This too has no commentary, translation or notes. But there are in it headings of chapters and sub-headings of the topics inside them apparently inserted by the editor. This too was most probably based on a single MS. Copies thereof are not available in the market or public libraries but I could take comparative notes from one of them in the possession of Sri Yogendra then residing at Navsari, on going there personally and while sitting at his house.

(3) न.पु.—A well-bound book entitled “Śrī Yājñavalkyasamhitopanīṣat” based on a single MS. in the Nāgarī character found in the collection of the Sanskrit scholar Prof. Manilal N. Dvivedi of Nadiad and published by his younger brother (“Anuja”) named Madhavlal with an Introduction and a translation in Gujarati in the year 1901 A.D. The Introduction is not based on a comparative study of this and the other works on the Yoga technique but on a study of the text as printed and the text and translation are at places faulty. Copies of this edition too are not available in the market but I could get one from the library of the Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay.

(4) म. पु.—A printed copy of the same work but bearing the title “Yogī Yājñavalkya” printed and published at the Sanatan Dharma Press, Muradabad with a Hindi translation made by Pandit Ramachandra Sharma in the year 1938 A.D. The text and translation therein are liable to the same remarks as above. This is the only edition of which copies were available for money.

(5) A copy of a reprint made in the Bengali Samvat 1304 (A.D. 1897) of the earliest edition of the work named “Yogi Yājñavalkyaṁ” with a translation in Bengali made by Venimadhav Nyayaratna published in the Bengali character in the Bengali Samvat 1300 (A.D. 1893). I came to know of this edition and its reprint, as well as that of the Nadiad edition, from the *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Theodore Aufrecht and after having made some vain attempts to get any of them got one of the reprint through the courtesy of the Hon. Secretary of the Bangiya Sahitya Parisad, Calcutta on being introduced to him by Dr. Kalyani Devi Mallik, a Bengali scholar interested in the study and the practice of Yoga as followed by the Nātha Yogis. The text as printed in this edition was found to agree very closely with that printed in the Muradabad edition at so many places that I was led to infer either that the MSS. on which they may have been based must have been copies of a common codex or that the latter must have been based upon the former earlier edition. The publisher of the latter being requested to let me know the materials on which that edition had been based did not comply with the request.

II. THE NEW METHOD DEvised FOR THE COLLATION OF THOSE MATERIALS

4. It had become a problem with me how to collate and ascertain the correct readings of the portions of the text which read differently in the different groups of and even the individual MSS. and printed editions. The only known method, namely that adopted by Dr. Sukhtankar for collating the MSS. of the *Mahābhārata*, whose critical edition is being prepared and published by the B.O.R. Institute, Poona, was not found suitable, primarily because it required a fairly large staff of Śāstris employed for doing the mechanical work of noting down at the top of sheets of full-size foolscap paper each stanza as found printed in any edition of a work selected as a model and below it the same as found in the other sources selected for comparison, in squares formed by perpendicular lines crossed by hori-

zontal ones at such distances as to make the squares just so big as to enable the copyist to write in bold letters each syllable separately in each of them. If, further, the number of MSS. to be copied out was more than 10 to 12, as was the case with the Ādi and some other Parvans, one sheet could not have sufficed to bring together all the variant readings to be considered by the editor in connection with a single stanza. Lastly, the first task of the editor, of selecting the right readings and noting the variants thereof found in the different recensions and sub-recensions and in some unclassifiable MSS., could not have been performed satisfactorily without placing all the relevant sheets in a semi-circle before himself and reading over all of them carefully, and for performing his second task of finding out the family-relationships of the MSS. as a whole for mentioning in his Introductory Note how he believed the text to have been transmitted from the probable date of the archetype to those of the extant MSS. which could be ascertained, he must have been required to study his own critical apparatus together with the remarks columns of the collation sheets. I looked up Dr. Katre's *Introduction to Textual Criticism* and found that there too the above was the only method that had been recommended. I also searched for some other method in some of the works of English and American authors on the same subject but found that they had not discussed any method of doing such spade-work and had proceeded with the subjects of settling a text and tracing family-relationships between MSS., on assuming that collation-notes would be prepared as required on bearing in mind the general nature of the materials they have to deal with and the advice given by the authors in the introductory chapters of their works. I was therefore put to thinking as to how I could make such notes unaided by anybody with the least possible exertion and at the minimum possible cost. The following method, which I was able to hit upon, was found to satisfy that test.

5. Instead of one full stanza I have adopted one-quarter of it as a unit from the Trivandrum edition, which was the first source that had come into my hands, noted down first the numbers of the chapter, stanza and quarter as appearing therefrom and having assigned the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet, 'ka' to 'ha' except "aṅga" and "yaṅ" to the 21 sources went on noting against the units copied out from the first source, the said letters only wherever the said unit was found in exactly the same words and such letters with only the variations in brackets beside them. Wherever the same units were found in different words I copied out all of them in a parallel line and marked the *sigla* of the MSS. or editions containing them and against them again such slight variations thereof as were found in some other sources. The result of this has been that the units which had absolutely no variants and those which had such as could be explained away on one ground or another and can therefore be reasonably be believed to have been transmitted for centuries in their original forms in the archetype can be spotted at a glance and the major and minor variations in the others are automatically marked out together with the groups of their sources constituting recensions and sub-recensions. The latter feature gives this advantage that at the time of ascertaining the groupings one can at a

glance find out from the notes as they are what must be the number of the original recensions, to which of them, if any, an extant MS. belongs and whether it had come to us in its original form or through any sub-group falling under it and which of the extant ones are derived from mixed codices based upon two or more of them. For a more detailed description of this method and comparative tables illustrating it and a pedigree made out from the notes the inquisitive reader may refer to my article on the subject published in 1952 at pp. 31-40 of Vol. II of the Journal of the Oriental Institute. Baroda.

III. PRINCIPLES FOLLOWED IN THE CASE OF DOUBTFUL READINGS

6. The readings of all the units whose total number comes to approximately 1960 cannot be expected to be either uniform or capable of being rendered so by such a simple formula as the above. Nay, there was found to be a fairly large number of units of which 5 to 13 variations were found to exist in the extant MSS. For the purpose of ascertaining the true variations thereout I had studied the principles of the method by which that could be done scientifically from the following works, namely : - (1) *Prolegomena* to the Ādi-Parvan by V. S. Sukhtankar ; (2) *Introduction to Textual Criticism* by S. M. Katre ; (3) *Article on Textual Criticism* by J. P. Postgate in the *Ency. Brit.* Vol. 22 ; (4) *A History of Classical Scholarship* by J. J. Sandys ; (5) *A Companion to Greek Studies* by L. Whibley containing a chapter on Textual Criticism by Sir R. C. Jebb and (6) *Pancatantra Re-constructed* by Prof. Franklin Edgerton. Reflecting over them in the light of the peculiarities of the materials before me I had adopted some for my guidance and discussed them in an article on "Textual Criticism As a Branch of Indology" published in the issues of September and December 1951 of the aforesaid Journal at pp. 60-64 and 138-50. The following is their short summary :--

(1) Wherever the sources seemed to agree uniformly the common reading of the unit has been adopted in the text as the reading in the archetype and no foot-note has been made below it ;

(2) Where the majority of them seemed to agree the reading common to them was incorporated in the text and a foot-note giving the variants found in the remaining sources has been added below the line, the agreeing ones not being mentioned at all.

(3) The above majority rule has however been departed from in cases in which the sense of the unit as determined by the context in which it occurred or the general trend of the work as a whole or of the particular chapter in which the unit occurred was likely to be sacrificed. In such cases the reading preferred has been incorporated in the text and the other reading or readings have been mentioned in a foot-note.

(4) There are however cases in which even a full quarter-stanza could not be re-constructed from any single group of sources. In such cases the reading adopted

in the text has been taken from one or two sources not necessarily forming part of a single group for the purpose of the chapter concerned and the variant readings from all the sources without exception have been given in the relative foot-note and the propriety of the selected reading and the other readings has been discussed therein. Such cases belong to the class of doubtful readings marked by wavy lines below them as in the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*.

Explanation.—The word “source” in the first three principles means the MSS. only, which have been cited by reference to the scripts in which they had been written, not the original *sigla*, the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet. The said scripts are 4 in number, namely (Deva-nāgarī) indicated by the letter “Na,” Grantha indicated by the letter “Ga,” Telugu indicated by the letter “Ta,” and Kannaḍa indicated by the letter “Ka.” MSS. falling in the same group have been distinguished by marking the figures 1, 2 etc., as mentioned in the description of the Critical Apparatus herein-above. The same word in the 4th principle means either the said MSS. or the printed editions. The latter called “Pustakas” have been designated by reference to their places of publication, both being indicated by their initial letters e.g. “Ka. Pu,” “Na. Pu” meaning Calcutta edition, Nadiad edition, and so on.

IV. THE WORK AND ITS DATE

7. There is complete uniformity between the MSS. and the printed editions as to (1) the work being in the form of dialogue between the sage Yājñavalkya and his wife Gārgī, whose other name was Maitreyī, (2) the subject-matter being Yoga as made up of its 8 constituents as known from the second Pāda of the *Pātanjala Yogadarśana*, (3) the exposition thereof by the former made at the request of the latter being of the nature of a summary of what he had learnt about the subject from Brahmā and its relation with the prescribed religious observances, which is of the nature of a “Samuccaya” (combination) of “Jñāna”, explained here as being of the nature of “Yoga”, and “Vaidhaṁ Karma,” whose nature has not been explained anywhere in the work, (4) the work having been divided into 12 chapters and the exposition in the first 11 having been made in the presence of several other sages and that in the last, the Rūhasya-chapter, on their being asked to leave the hermitage of Yājñavalkya and (5) as to the general treatment of the subject-matter of each chapter. The differences that exist relate to the numbers of stanzas, some MSS. having more than the others and some containing omissions of some of them found in all the rest.

8. Out of the 16 MSS. that have been utilised for this critical edition of the work, the earliest dated one is No. 3 in the list of the Devanāgarī MSS., obtained as a loan from the Oriental Institute, Baroda. The facsimile of the last page thereof reproduced herein shows clearly that it had been copied out from an older MS. in the Śaṁvat year 1684 (AD. 1627/28). But some of the Grantha MSS. on palm-

leaves may well be nearly 500 years old and the one on which the Trivandrum edition has been based has been stated by its editor to be so old according to his judgment. Moreover the *Jābāladarśana*, *Trīśikhi-brāhmana*, *Yogakuṇḍalī* and *Yogatattva Upaniṣads* contain too many stanzas which are almost the same as those occurring in this work and the *Śāṇḍilya Upaniṣad* contains prose sentences incorporating the very words occurring in the corresponding stanzas of this work. The *Vāsudevopaniṣad* too contains at two or three places similar identifiable passages. There is enough evidence in them for the inference that the authors of those late Smārta Upaniṣads were indebted to this work for the common passages. Further the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* of Svātmārāma also contains evidence of the said author having drawn upon this work for the contents of some of its stanzas and it also refers in II.7 to the opinion of a class of Haṭhayogīs who did not approve of the Ṣaṭkarma, Neti, Dhauti etc., and achieved the objects aimed at by the practice of different species of Prāṇāyāmas, which is a special feature of *Yoga Yājñavalkya*. Then again, there are in the *Śāṅkarabhāṣya* on the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣat* numerous quotations from a work of Yājñavalkya under II.7 and 9, which are traceable to Chapters IV to VII of this work. *Muṇimaḍidēva* too quotes from this work in his comments on the smaller *Yogavāsiṣṭha* VI.9.65 and 71. It has also been specifically mentioned amongst the authorities on the Samuccayavāda in the commentary of *Ānandavardhana* on the *Bhagavadgītā*. Lastly, the author of the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* recommends in III.110 a study "of the *Yogaśāstra* promulgated by me" to one who has a desire to achieve Yoga (union with the Divine). That the said *Yogaśāstra* must be this and not the *Yogi Yājñavalkya*, a work on Saṅdhyāvandana without the use of material objects but by the use of Mantras only on knowing their esoteric meanings, of which the *Brhad-Yogi-Yājñavalkya-Smṛti* published in 1951 by the Kaivalyadhama, Lonavla, is an enlarged edition, as shown by me in my article on "Brhad-Yogi Yājñavalkya and Yoga Yājñavalkya" published in 1954 at pp. 1-29 of Vol. XXXIV of the Annals of the B.O.R. Institute, Poona, is amply borne out by the citations of the views of writers of Works on Āyurveda, like Agastya and the Aśvins in VII.7, 30; VIII.33, 39, which carry back this work to the age of Caraka, whose *Samhitā* in I.1.4-5 and 8-32 relates that the science of Āyurveda owed its origin to the necessity of finding out the origins of and eradicating diseases from the physical bodies because they caused obstruction in the pursuit of the highest object of man's pursuit, namely Mokṣa, and gives the line of teachers and pupils in which the tradition relating thereto had been transmitted up to the time of Agniveśa whose first work on Āyurveda called a *Tantra* (scientific treatise) formed the basis of the said *Samhitā* made up of the contributions of the sages Caraka and Dṛḍhabala, in which line there occur the names of the Aśvins in its earlier part and that of Agastya in its later one. *Āyurveda-dīpikā*, the commentary thereon by Cakrapani Dutta also contains a quotation from the *Kāya-cikitsā-tantra*, which is to the effect that even the "kālamṛtyu" is conquered by the Mahātmās who have attained perfection in "Rasāyana," "Tapas" and "Jāpyayoga." Chapters VI to VIII of this work contains numerous special courses of the practice of Prāṇāyāma for the eradication of specific

diseases and acquiring control over the vital airs especially the Apāna, which is said to be "Āyurvighātakṛt" (the destroyer of the duration of life). The time of Caraka, a contemporary of Kanīṣka, (A.D. 78 or 83 onwards) falls within the limits determined for the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* by the oriental scholars, like Drs. Bühler and Kane, namely between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. or 100 B.C. and 300 A.D. The existence of this work of the same author as that of the said Smṛti or at least the Yoga of the nature expounded therein is thus traceable to a period falling between the second century B.C. and the fourth century A.D. This is quite consistent with the pre-existence of the *Yogadarśana*, from which the 8 constituents of Yoga were most probably borrowed.

V. YAJNAVALKYA AND HIS YOGA

9. Such being the conclusion as to the date of the work on hand the objection as to its genuineness based on the assumption of the identity of the teacher therein with that of Maitreyī and Janaka in the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* does not deserve to be considered because the latter must have lived several centuries prior to the said date. Obviously therefore the former must be deemed to be another sage of the same name. In fact, I have, in my article in the Annals of the B.O.R.I., Poona, given sufficient details about another Yājñavalkya who, as appearing from his life-story as given in the Nāgarakhaṇḍa of the *Skānda Purāṇa*, was living first at Puṣkar near Ajmer and had latterly migrated to Hāṭakeśvarakṣetra in the Ānartadeśa and in another paper entitled "Sena Kings of Ānarta in Their Historic Setting" published in the Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, Bombay in its issue of April 1952 proved that he must have been living in the 2nd century A.D. Whether that plea is acceptable or not, what is material for our purpose is the nature of the Yoga expounded in the work. If that is in consonance with the views of Yājñavalkya as expounded in *Upaniṣads of the Śukla Yajurveda* there can be no reasonable objection to looking upon this work as one embodying the method of the realisation of the identity of the individual soul with the Supreme Soul, which had been first asserted with confidence by the Yājñavalkya of the Upaniṣad fame in the court of Janaka Videhī, and insisting upon the continuance of the performance of the prescribed acts up to the time of such realisation according to the view of the same sage embodied in the *Iṣopaniṣad*, which forms the 40th chapter of the *Saṁhitā of the Śukla Yajurveda* compiled by him. The limited amount of space at my disposal precludes me from entering into a discussion of the parallel passages in the two well-known *Upaniṣads of that school* and the *Yoga Yājñavalkya*. I therefore rest content with only referring the scholars interested in this subject to the following parallel passages, namely:—*Br. A. U.* II.4-5, IV.2.-4, *Isa.U.*4-8, and *Y.Y.I.*43. VI. 77-80, IX.2, 9, 17-18, 23-24, 29, 30-32, 34, 39, XII.23-35 for the realisation of the identity and *Isa.U.*1-3, 9-18, and *Y.Y.I.* 26, 38-39, 41, X. 20-22, XI. 2-9 for the 'Jñāna-karma-samuccaya' in which expression the word "jñāna" stands for or is said to have for its essence "Yoga" as explained clearly in I.43.

10. As for the nature of the Yoga expounded in this work, although it is treated as made up of the 8 constituents, Yama etc., as in the Sādhanā-pāda of the *Yogadarśana*, the two works differ considerably in the description of each of them. Similarly, although the recommendation of several varieties of "Prāṇāyāma" and "Vāyuvijaya" mark it out as a work on Haṭhayoga it differs considerably from the several *Yoga Upaniṣads* and the special treatises thereon composed by the Nātha Yogins of later dates by the absence therein of any reference to the Saṭcakras, by its description of the heart as an 8-petalled lotus etc. I cannot enter here into the details of the differences for the reason stated above. All that I can say here is that the work has been based upon the doctrine that the realisation of the complete identity of the individual soul with the Supreme Soul established in the Vedāntas cannot take place except by going through the simple course of Yoga expounded therein, that so long as it is not realised it is harmful to give up the performance of the prescribed acts, that the said realisation can take place when one is able to rouse the Kuṇḍalinī, which obstructs the passage of the vital breath, accompanied by the inherent heat having its seat in the triangular space between the two lower organs, into the Suṣumnā Nāḍī extending from the Kaṇḍa (bulb) below the navel through the spinal cord to the opening at the root of the palate and the mind ceases to think of any physical or metaphysical object and becomes completely steady, for achieving which object there are various devices, and that once that realisation takes place it is optional for one whether to retain the connection of the vital breath with one's physical body or to sever it by a special process. There is no restriction in this Yoga as to caste, sex, station in life etc. It is in my view capable of being practised by any person who can make up his or her mind to do so and gets himself or herself acquainted with its technique. In other words, this is *the earliest available book on Haṭhayoga for the common man*.

VI. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

11. I take this opportunity to thank the authorities of the Oriental MSS. Libraries at several places, the other learned associations and individual scholars above-named for enabling me to collect together the valuable materials on which the Text and the Notes as to the variant readings are based and particularly Sri P. K. Gode, Curator of the Library at the B.O.R. Institute, Poona, through whom the authorities of most of the Oriental MSS. Libraries were required to be approached for co-operation in this my labour of love extending over a period of nearly 5 years and Sastri T. A. V. Dikshitar of the Sanskrit Pathashala, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, who was kind enough to prepare comparative notes for me from the Adyar MS. in the Grantha character for the mere love of learning.

ANALYTICAL STUDY OF THE TEXT

Chapter I

(1) Request of Gārgī, wife of Yājñavalkya, sitting in an assembly of sages, to communicate to her that knowledge by which she would attain Nirvāṇa and the latter's expression of willingness to do so on the basis of that which he had, on a former occasion, gathered from Brahmū as to the nature of the relation subsisting between the prescribed rites and the knowledge leading to final beatitude.—*Stanzas 1-19/1*; (2) Description of the two paths, prescribed by the Vedas, namely the Pravṛtti Mārga and the Nivṛtti Mārga, for being followed by the members of the four Varnas and the four Āśramas and by women, and advice to perform all the acts without an aim to enjoy the fruits accruing therefrom.—*Stanzas 19/2-40*; (3) Definition of "Jñāna" as having Yoga as its essence, that of "Yoga" as the union of the individual and Supreme Souls and general idea of each of its eight "Aṅgas."—*Stanzas 41-50/1*; (4) Description of the ten Yamas.—*Stanzas 50/2-70*.

Chapter II

Description of the ten Niyamas.—*Stanzas 1-19*.

Chapter III

(1) Description of the eight Āsanas and the benefits derived from their practice.—*Stanzas 1-17/1*; (2) Relation between the Yamas, Niyamas and Āsanas on the one hand and the Nāḍīśuddhi and Prāṇāyāma on the other.—*Stanzas 17/2-18*.

Chapter IV

(1) Introductory remarks as to the necessity to know the anatomy and physiology of the human organism for one wishing to purify his arteries and acquire control over one's vital airs, and the benefits derived therefrom.—*Stanzas 1-11/1*; (2) Situation and description of the seat of the internal fire in the bodies of human beings, quadrupeds, amphibious animals and birds.—*Stanzas 11/2-13*; (3) Situation and description of the centre of the bodies of all the said creatures.—*Stanzas 14-15*; (4) Situation, shape and size of the Kaṇḍa (bulbous root of the arteries) and location of the navel and the principal vital air.—*Stanzas 16-20*; (5) Situation, shape, function etc., of the Kuṇḍalīni (coiled serpent-like artery).—*Stanzas 21-24*; (6) Names, situations etc., of the principal arteries.—*Stanzas 25-46*; (7) Names, situations and functions of the ten vital airs.—*Stanzas 47-72*.

Chapter V

(1) Principal mode of purifying the arteries.—*Stanzas 1-9* ; (2) Alternative mode for doing the same.—*Stanzas 10-20* ; (3) Tangible signs of their having been purified.—*Stanzas 21-22*.

Chapter VI

(1) Definition of “ Prāṇāyāma ” and the modes of doing it, for the members of the different castes and the female sex, and the general and special results flowing from them.—*Stanzas 1-23* ; (2) Explanation of the three constituent parts, “ Pūraka ”, “ Kuṁbhaka ” and “ Recaka ”, of a “ Prāṇāyāma ” and the different modes of doing it with a view to achieve particular results.—*Stanzas 24-29* ; (3) Two varieties of “ Kuṁbhaka ” and the utility of the “ Kevala ” there-out in making further progress for the attainment of “ Yoga.”—*Stanzas 30-35* ; (4) Several special methods for acquiring control over the vital air and the particular results achieved by the attainment of perfection in each of them.—*Stanzas 36-66* ; (5) Special method of holding the vital breath in the navel during “ Kuṁbhaka ” and its effect on the mind (surface consciousness) and the “ Kuṁḍalini ” and on the motion of the breath upwards.—*Stanzas 67-71* ; (6) Tangible sign of the vital breath having entered the principal and middle artery called the “ Suṣuṁṇā ” and further mode of exercise for the Objective Realisation of the Self like the sun in the sky.—*Stanzas 72-75/1* ; (7) Final effort to be made for mixing the said breath with the cosmic air and its effects on the consciousness and the liability to metempsychosis.—*Stanzas 75/2-82* ; (8) Appendix to this chapter.—*Stanzas 1-10*.

Chapter VII

(1) Point of distinction between the group of 4 Aṅgas of Yoga so far expounded and the one of the remaining 4 whose exposition is commenced from this chapter.—*Stanza 1* ; (2) Definitions of 3 different varieties of “ Prāṭyāhāra.”—*Stanzas 2-5* ; (3) Definition of a fourth variety thereof and an incidental enumeration of the 18 vital parts as determined by the Aśvins, the physicians of the gods, their relative positions and the effect of withdrawing vitality from each of them.—*Stanzas 6-21* ; (4) Definition of a fifth variety thereof according to the opinion of some experts in the practice of Yoga and citation of the authority of the sage Agastya as to the results achieved by such a “ Pratyāhāra.”—*Stanzas 22-32/1* ; (5) Description of some supernumerary varieties recommended as having special efficacies.—*Stanzas 32/2-37*.

Chapter VIII

(1) Exhortation to listen attentively to the exposition of the five traditional “ Dhāraṇās ”, definition of the term and the names of the five varieties.—*Stanzas 1-5* ; (2) Mention of the parts of the human body in which the 5 subtle elements, on which attention is to be concentrated, are localised.—*Stanzas 6-8* ; (3) Difference

of views with a rival school stated and refuted.—*Stanzas 9-13* ; (4) Traditional modes of concentration on the 5 subtle elements and the results flowing from each stated individually.—*Stanzas 14-25* ; (5) Special mode recommended for effecting the union of the individual with the Supreme Soul.—*Stanzas 26-27* ; (6) Further details as to that mode and its spiritual effects according to the view of some Yogins who are the best of those who know Brahman.—*Stanzas 28-31* ; (7) View of those of the same category, who were also experts in the science of medicine, as to the effect of concentration on the different kinds of physical constitutions of the Sādhakas.—*Stanzas 32-39/1* ; (8) Advice of Yājñavalkya to observe the Yamas etc., while practising concentration.—*Stanzas 39/2-40*.

Chapter IX

(1) Introductory remark as to the benefit derived from the practice of "Dhyāna."—*Stanza 1* ; (2) Definition of the term, its varieties and the principal ones from amongst them ; —*Stanzas 2-3* ; (3) Necessity to know beforehand the vital points in the arteries, and their specific situations and those of the vital airs and the functions performed by each of them in the life of the body.—*Stanza 4* ; (4) Mode of meditation on the Nirguṇa Brahman.—*Stanzas 5-9* ; (5) Modes of meditation on the Saḡuṇa Brahman :—(a) In the form of Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva.—*Stanzas 10-18/1* ; (b) In that of Vaiśvānara, the internal fire, recommended as very effective.—*Stanzas 18/2-24* ; (c) In that of the Golden Puruṣa in the solar disc, extolled as the royal road to salvation.—*Stanzas 25-29* ; (d) In that of the Inner Soul becoming manifest as a resplendent pillar of light when meditated upon or as the Supreme Being on identifying oneself with Lord Śiva while sitting in the Vira posture and concentrating one's attention on the space between the eye-brows.—*Stanzas 30-34* ; and (e) In that of the self seated on the full-blown heart-lotus in the form of a child, bathed all over by the rays of the moon showering nectarine juice in a thousand streams issuing from the lotus in the head having 16 petals, whose mouth is turned downwards, and endowed with the consciousness "I myself am the imperishable Paraṁ Brahman, the Supreme Self.—*Stanzas 35-39* ; (6) Fruits accruing from meditation, if continued for 6 months and for 12 months.—*Stanzas 40-41* ; (7) Advice of the sage to practice meditation always in one of the forms described, which are the principal ones, although there are several other minor ones, and as to the attainment of "Samādhi" being the aim to be kept in view while practising it after self-realisation.—*Stanzas 42-44*.

Chapter X

(1) Declaration of an intention to speak in this chapter about "Samādhi," which is the remedy for breaking the noose of "Bhava" (world-mindedness), definition of the term, the method of attaining it and the effect it is likely to have on one's consciousness when attained.—*Stanzas 1-5* ; (2) Essential conditions to be

fulfilled before one can forge a union between the individual soul and the Supreme Soul.—*Stanzas 6-9/1* ; (3) Possible further step thereafter, voluntary severance of the connection between the soul and the body, the method of doing it, the result accruing from it and the advice of the sage to Gārgī to follow the same course —*Stanzas 9/2-21/1* ; (4) Final advice of the sage as to how to put into practice the teaching which was on the line of combining knowledge with action as taught by Brahmā on a former occasion, to attain thereby the state of “Nirvāṇa ” and to give up worldly life.—*Stanzas 21/2-24*.

Chapter XI

(1) Gārgī puts the question as to how one can do the prescribed acts while practising Yoga and what would atone for its neglect, should it occur.—*Stanzas 1-3* ; (2) Reply of Yājñavalkya to the effect that there is no harm if they are not done during a state of union with the Supreme Soul, for in that case the Yoga itself does what is supposed to be done thereby but during the state of disunion even by a Brahmavit they must be done because it is impossible for an embodied being to give up all acts without exception in that state and consequently if a Yogī neglects them, believing that it is a calamity to do them, his fate is consignment to hell and that therefore the best advice is to continue to do such acts during a state of disunion even after self-realisation and feeling satisfied with the embodied state so long enjoyed, quit the body voluntarily while worshipping the Supreme Being by the practice of Yoga.—*Stanzas 4-10/1* ; (3) At that stage Yājñavalkya reminds the other sages that it is time for them to perform their evening Saṅdhyā and advises them to repair to their respective Āśramas and they do so.—*Stanzas 10/2-16/1* ; (4) Thereafter Gārgī prostrating herself before the sage implores him to recapitulate the teaching saying that she had forgotten it and the latter asks her to rise up, promising to accede to her request.—*Stanzas 16/2-22*.

Chapter XII

(1) While purporting to do so Yājñavalkya initiates her into a special course of Yoga by which Samādhi can be attained within a short period and which consists of seven stages, each of which has been graphically described in the manner following :—

First Stage.—To concentrate one's attention on the seat of the internal fire while sitting in a prescribed posture in which the organ of excretion and the perineum are pressed hard by the ankles of the left and the right foot respectively and the right palm is placed on the left one. This checks the downward flow of the Apāna Vāyu, makes it flow towards the seat of fire, fan it slowly and slowly and vitalise it so as to make it burn brightly in the form of a flame which is visualised by 10 days' practice and which makes other spiritual visions possible. The material effects of the rise of the flame are a shortening of the stature, an acceleration of the

heat in the stomach, a possibility of the hearing of sounds internally, a reduction of the quantities of urine and fæces discharged and a freedom from fear of falling from a horse-back, if the practice is continued for certain periods.—*Stanzas 1-7.*

Second Stage.—To concentrate one's attention on the Kuṇḍalinī lying so coiled in the Nābhicakra as to cover up the mouth of the Suṣumnā Nāḍī with its own mouth in which its tail has been inserted and similarly those of the other Nāḍīs by its hood and thereby to obstruct the passage of the vital airs into the said and other Nāḍīs, with a view to wake up that sleeping serpent and clear up that passage. This happens when it is confounded by the flames constantly fanned by the concentrated air. When it is roused its coils become straightened and when that happens all the vital airs become collected together and begin to circulate throughout the body.—*Stanzas 8-13.*

Third Stage.—While thus circulating together with the fire, the vital airs, becoming thinner, are able to enter the mouth of the Suṣumnā and a bright flame such as that of a lamp becomes visible in the heart. Thereby the vital airs, together with the fire, become confined in the heart, the serpent having entered the heart-lotus turns its face upwards and the vital air (henceforth treated as combined into one entity) shines resplendent there like the disc of the rising sun and the fire entering the Suṣumnā shines like a range of clouds filled with water. When the fire has entered the heart-lotus and the vital air is deposited inside it, various external as well as internal signs begin to become manifest.—*Stanzas 14-20.*

Fourth Stage.—After the appearance of such signs one must actively raise up the vital air together with the fire repeating the "Pranava" (Omkāra) together with the Bindu. This will enable one to visualise a small disc of the moon in the forehead.—*Stanza 21.*

Fifth Stage.—Thereafter one must deposit the vital air together with the fire in the space between the eye-brows and then meditate on the inner self. This will enable one to visualise mentally an imperceptible but nevertheless real Līṅga blazing like a pillar in the middle part of the body, the heart and the forehead, which is beautiful to look at. The knower of Brahman who sees the light of knowledge, the power of the self, ever shining resplendent as a lamp in the forehead and the heart-lotus, gazes at it unintermittently. When, while doing so, the mind of the Yogi sinks in the space between the eye-brows, nectar begins to flow from the root of the tongue and he visualises his self in the said space, his head shakes and he becomes mentally conscious of having visualised the self. Moreover beautiful celestial gardens, constellations, the moon, and figures of sages and of Siddha-Gandharvas become objectively visible to him.—*Stanzas 22-26.*

Sixth Stage.—After the mind becomes absorbed in the space between the eye-brows, the seat of Viṣṇu, one should meditate on Him in the sky at that place,

ever recollecting the bliss of the nature of perfection. When in that stage, one can be said to be in a state of near-release. There is truly the most wonderful joy in that state and one must realise this with the help of one's purified intellect.—*Stanzas 27-29.*

Seventh Stage.—It is after practising meditation thus for a long time while observing the restraints etc., and subsisting on moderate diet, that one reaches the self located in the cave called the “Brahmapura.” It is smaller than the smallest and larger than the largest and is, according to all men of experience and the Vedas, identical with the Brahman which the Vedas speak of.—*Stanzas 30-33.*

(2) The only stage next after the above is that of the conscious abandonment of the vital air in the cosmic air on raising it up to and breaking open the hole in crown of the head under the advice of one's Guru, recollecting the sound “OM.”—*Stanzas 34-36.*

(3) The usual Phalastuti and the sage's final advice to Gārgī.—*Stanzas 37-41.*

(4) Concluding remarks of the author to the effect that thereafter Yāñavalkya retired to a secluded place and took “Samādhi” and that Gārgī too, after having worshipped the sage joyfully, took up her abode in a secluded place and partook of the highest joy resulting from the realisation of that Vāsudeva who is spoken of by the Vedas and is the one immortal, imperishable, immutable, limitless, unmanifest Essence and the unprovable Cause of the Worldly Phenomena.—*Stanzas 42-46.*

**QUOTATIONS FROM AND REFERENCES TO THIS WORK
IN OTHER WORKS**

1. Śankara's Bhāṣya on the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad II-8 contains quotations which are identifiable with Y.Y.IV.48-49; V.12-15, 17-22; VI.2,-3, 5-8; VII.24/1-2. (Ānandaśram Sanskrit Series No. 17, pp. 28-29, 42-44).
2. Commentary of Mummaḍideva on Gauḍa Abhinanda's Abridgement of the Yogavāsiṣṭha VI.9.65, 71 corresponding with Y.Y.XII.1, IV.20-21, VII.10.
3. Sarvadarśanasamgraha of Sāyana-Mādhava, Pātañjaladarśana, contains quotations at 4 places from a work of Yājñavalkya out of which the definition of Yoga is traceable to Y.Y.I., that of Samādhi to Y.Y.I., that of Tapas to Y.Y.II. and that of Padmāsana to Y.Y.III.
4. Haṭhayogapradīpikā II contains the definitions of Āsanas which agree with those in Y.Y. III.
5. Commentary by Ānandavardhana on the Bhagavadgītā known as Jñānakarmasamuccaya contains in its introductory remarks the names of the earlier authorities on the Jñānakarmasamuccaya-vāda, one of which is the Yoga Yājñavalkya.
6. Jābala Darśana Upaniṣad Chapters I-X contain numerous passages which are in many cases almost word to word the same as those in the corresponding portions of the Y.Y. I-X. They are too numerous to be cited in details. The Upaniṣad contains much additional matter also which reveals it to be a later composition.
7. Śāṅḍilya Upaniṣad (in prose only with occasional quotations in verse several of which can be traced to the Y.Y.III-VI) contains almost a paraphrase of the contents of Y.Y.I-IX. It has also such new matter which reveals it to be a later work. There are also 3-4 other Upaniṣads in which verses resembling those in the Y. Y. are found. (See Introduction para 8).
8. Above all the author of the Yājñavalkya Smṛti has in III.110 referred to a "Yogaśāstra promulgated by me", which can be none other than this (See Introduction para 8).

श्लोक सूचिः ॥

संज्ञाविवृतिः- अ = अधिकः प्रलोकः ॥

पा. टि. = पादटिप्पणी ॥

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अक्लेशजननं प्रोक्तं (१.५२)-११.
 अज्ञानान्मलिनो भाति (५.२२ अ)-४१, पा. टि.
 अणोरणीयान्महतो महीयान् (१२.३३)-११२.
 अण्डाकृतिवदाकारं (४.१७)-२६.
 अत्र केचिद्वदन्त्यन्ये (८.९)-७३.
 अथ ध्यानं प्रवक्ष्यामि (९.१)-८०.
 अथवा परमात्मानं (९.१०)८२.
 अथवा मण्डले पश्येत् (९.२५)-८५.
 अथवाष्टदलोपेते (९.३५)-८७.
 अथवैतत्परित्यज्य (५.२२अ)-४१ पा.टि.
 अथेदानीं प्रवक्ष्यामि (८.१)७२.
 अदृश्यं दृश्यमन्तस्थं (९.८)-८१.
 अधश्चोर्ध्वं च कुण्डल्याः (४.५१)-३२.
 अधीत्य वेदं सूत्रं वा (२.१३)-१७.
 अनुतिष्ठन्ति ये नित्यं (१२.४०)-११३.
 अनुलोमविलोमाभ्यां (६.८अ)-४३ पा.टि.
 अनुष्ठितौ ती विद्विद्धिः (१.२१)-६.
 अन्नं व्यञ्जनसंयुक्तं (४.६३)-३५.
 अन्यानपि बहून्याहुः (९.४३)-८९.
 अपाननिलयं केचित् (४.५२)-३२.
 अम्बोमा सहितं शृभ्रं (६.३अ)-४२ पा.टि., ६१.
 अलम्बुपा च गान्धारी (४.२८)-२८.
 अलम्बुपा महाभागे (४.४५)-३१.
 अल्पमूत्रपुरीषः स्यात् (१२.७)-१०४.
 अवष्टभ्य घरां सम्यक् (३.१५)-२१.
 अव्यक्ता चैव त्रिज्ञेया (४.३१)-२८.
 अश्विनी च तथा ब्रूतां (७.७)-६४.
 अष्टादशसु यद्वायोः (७.६)६४.

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 अस्मिन्नर्थे वदन्त्यन्ये (८.२८,३२)-७७-७८.
 अस्मिन्नह्नापुरे गार्गी (८.३)-७२.
 अहमेव परं ब्रह्म (९.३९)-८८.

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 आकाशे वायुमारोप्य (८.२२)-७६.
 आजानोः पायुपर्यन्तं (८.७)-७३.
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 आत्मन्यात्मानमारोप्य (६.४३)-५०.
 आत्मन्यात्मानमिडया (६.४५)-५१.
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 आत्मस्थं मातरिश्वानं (४.११)-२४.
 आत्मारिणहोत्रवह्नी तु (११.५)-९७.
 आदौ मत्तालिमालां (१२.२२अ_१)-१०८.
 आनन्दमजरं नित्यं (९.७)-८१.
 आनन्दममृतं नित्यं (१.१३)-५.
 आनुलोम्यप्रसूतानां (१.३७)-९.
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 आलोक्य कृपया दीनां (११.२१)-१०१.
 आसनान्यचुना वक्ष्ये (३.१)-१९.
 आसनान्युत्तमान्यष्टौ (१.४८)-१०.
 आसने नान्यघोरास्ते (६.६२, ६३)-५५;
 (१०.१४)-९३.
 आसनं विजितं येन (३.१७अ)-२२ पा.टि.
 आस्यनासिकयोर्मध्ये (४.५०)-३२.
 आह्मन्ध्याद्भ्रुवोर्मध्यं (८.८)-७३.

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इडया वायुमाकृष्य (६·३८अ)-५० पा.टि.
 इडया वायुमारोष्य (५·१७)-४०; (६·४)-४२.
 इडा तस्याः स्थिता सव्ये (४·३२)-२८.
 इडायां चन्द्रमा ज्ञेयः (४·३३)-२९.
 इति मे कर्मसर्वस्वं (१·४०)-९.
 इत्युक्तो ब्रह्मवादिन्या (५·२)-३७; (११·३)-९६.
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 इत्येवमुक्त्वा भगवान्ग्रहस्थे (१२·४२)-११४.
 इन्द्रियाणां विचरतां (७·२)-६३.

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ईप्सया यदि शरीरविसर्गं (१२·३५)-११२.

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GLOSSARY OF UNUSUAL WORDS

अध्यात्मविद्या—The science relating to the self of man.

अपान—The second of the five principal vital airs in a physical organism.

अभिचारादि कर्म—A religious rite such as a magical spell employed for a malevolent purpose.

अष्ठीला—A disease of the bladder appearing in any of its two forms.

आत्मन्—The self designated by the subjective consciousness in the form "I";—निकाय—One's own body.

आयाम—The horizontal measure ; width.

आसन—A posture, one of the eight constituents of Yoga, which has several varieties, eight whereof have been described in Chapter III of this work.

इडा—The name of the artery in the left nostril through which the outer air is inhaled and the inner one exhaled.

उत्सेध—The perpendicular measure ; height.

उपांशु—The middle one of the three ways in which the repetition of a Mantra is done without making a sound, though the organs of speech are made use of.

कन्द—The bulbous root below the navel from which the principal Nāḍīs (arteries) issue and extend to the different limbs in which they function.

कप्यास—The anus of a monkey.

कणिकान्केसरान्वित—That whose pericarp is invested with filaments.

कुण्डली—The serpent-like artery which, according to this work, has curled round eight times and is required to be roused by Prāṇāyāma and straightened in order that the vital airs can pass into the mouth of the Suṣumnā and through it into the head for the purpose of self-realisation.

कुम्भक—The process of holding the breath after it is inhaled. It has two varieties "सहित" and "केवल" q.v.

केवल—The higher variety of Kuṁbhaka in which the inner breath is controlled without doing Re-caka and Pūraka. (See VI.30).

कोष्ठ—The stomach.

क्षेत्रिन्—A soul in an embodied state ; also a (nominal) husband.

गुल्म—A disease of the spleen appearing in five different forms.

गुहा—A cave ; here a cave-like cavity in the heart.

चक्र—A wheel, here a wheel-like entanglement of the arteries technically called a plexus. According to this work there is only this one wheel in the body, though according to the Hathāyogapradīpikā there are 6.

चक्रिन्—The one having a wheel i.e. the Jiva (individual soul), who is confined in the state of ignorance in the wheel at the navel and is tossed about hither and thither. (See IV.19).

चित्त्योर्मूल—The root of the Citis, the vital nerves connecting the thighs with the middle part of the trunk.

ज्ञान—Knowledge here defined as having Yoga as its essence ; -कर्मणि—The acts constituting Yoga ; -नाल—the stalk (as of a lotus) consisting of knowledge.

तन्तुपञ्जर—A cobweb.

तन्त्र—Generally a science or doctrine also prescribing a practical method for realising the truth conveyed thereby and particularly the science relating to the theory and practice of the development of the divine powers inherent in man.

तारक—That which carries one across a stream ; here used metaphorically to denote a key-mantra for the attainment of salvation.

त्रिदशाहार—Lit. the food of the gods *i.e.* nectar.

त्रिदोष—A disease arising from the affection of all the three humours ; consumption.

द्रुहिण—The god Brahmā.

धारणा—Concentration ; the designation of the sixth of the eight constituents of Yoga dealt with in Chapter VIII of this work.

धूमध्वज—Lit. that which has smoke as its banner, hence fire.

ध्यान—Meditation, the seventh of the eight constituents of Yoga dealt with in Chapter IX of this work.

नाडी—Any tabular organ of the body such as an artery or a vein ; -शुद्धि—The purification of the 14 principal arteries issuing from the bulbous root below the navel. This subject has been dealt with in Chapter V of this work.

नाद—An internal sound. Several such sounds begin to be heard when a slight control is established over the inner breath.

नाल—The stalk of a lotus plant, used here metaphorically for the perpendicular artery on which is perched the eight-petalled heart-lotus.

नियम—A vow or a religious observance. 10 such are required to be observed in order to prepare the vital airs and the mind for the practice of Prāṇāyāma etc. Chapter II of this work is devoted to a detailed exposition thereof.

निर्भासमय—Full of light or lustre, or shining forth with its own light.

निर्वाण—A state of perfect peace of mind which can be attained while living.

निष्कृति—Atonement or expiation for any sinful act.

नीवारशूक—The sprout of a wild rice-plant.

नेष्टिक—An epithet applied to a celibate who observes celibacy till his death.

प्रणवाक्षर—The sacred syllable Om which is uttered at the beginning of each Vedic Mantra.

प्रत्यय—Spiritual experience or vision.

प्रत्याहार—Withdrawal of the senses, from their respective objects. It is the name of the fifth Aṅga of Yoga which has been dealt with in Chapter VII of this work.

परमानन्द—The highest joy ; -विग्रह—That which has a body consisting of or becomes manifest as the highest joy.

पिङ्गला—The name of the artery in the right nostril through which the outer air is inhaled and the inner one exhaled.

पूरक—That which fills up. In the science of Yoga it is the name of the process by which the outer air is inhaled in a certain proportion, and which is the first of the three parts of the method of doing Prāṇāyāma.

प्राण—The general name of all the vital airs in the body mentioned and explained in Chapter IV of this work. It is also the specific name of the principal vital air ;
-आयाम—The control of the vital airs, the various possible methods for acquiring which have been explained at length in Chapter VI of this work.

प्लीहा—Enlargement of the spleen.

बद्धपर्यङ्क—One who has taken up the posture in which one sits on the hams, technically called Virāsana, for whose definition see III-8.

बिन्दु—Generally a point but here the Anusvāra placed over the crescent forming part of the Omkāra. It is also used to designate the human seed. Which is the sense in which the word is used in a line, is determined by a reference to context.

ब्रह्मण्य—Learned in the Vedas ; pious.

ब्रह्मपुर—Lit. the city of Brahman or that which is filled up by Brahman ; used as a designation of the heart-cave.

ब्रह्मरन्ध्र—Usually the hole in the crown of the head through which the light of Brahman enters the body

at the birth-time of each individual, and leaves it at death-time in the case of a perfect Yogi only, but here used to designate the Suṣumṇā Nāḍī (Sec. IV-30).

ब्राह्मकाल—The last Muhūrta (a period of 3 hours) of a night or the one just preceding the sunrise on the next date.

मन्त्र—An incantation or a mystical formula for invoking by the repetition thereof with faith any deity of the Vaidic or Paurāṇic pantheon.

मर्मस्थान—A vital part in which a group of arteries have clustered together. There are 18 such according to the opinion of the divine physicians Aśvins, concentration on and the extraction of energy from which constitutes a special kind of "Pratyāhāra" as explained in Chapter VII of this work.

महाप्राण—The cosmic air.

मात्रा—A unit of measure for keeping up a balance between the times to be devoted to the processes of "Pūraka," "Kumbhaka" and "Recaka", which make up a "Prāṇāyāma," according to Chapter VI of this work. Each Mātrā is equal to the time required to utter one syllable.

मुक्तिमार्ग—Ordinarily the path leading to final beatitude but here the designation of the Suṣumṇā nāḍī, (Sec IV.29) which carries the vital air with fire to the top of the head.

यम—Restraint. Ten kinds of restraints are required to be observ-

ed in order to prepare the senses and the mind for the practice of "Prāṇāyāma" as explained in stanzas 42-70 of Chapter I of this work.

योग—Union generally but here a union of the individual soul with the Supreme Soul. This term is also used secondarily in compounds to designate a means for effecting that union such as "Jñāna-yoga," "Karma-yoga," "Bhakti-yoga," or a means for attaining any substantial result ultimately leading to the said union, such as "Haṭha-yoga," "Laya-yoga," "Mantra-yoga," "Rāja-yoga." In this work it is used in the middle sense only as defined in Ch. I. 44/2.

रहस्य—A secret doctrine or formula; **अवसय**—A secret or secluded place of residence.

रेच or **रेचक**—The process in "Prāṇāyāma" consisting of the exhalation of the inner air through a nostril or the mouth.

रेफ—A grating sound made by the pronunciation of the letter "र".

लूतिका—A spider.

वायु—Ordinarily the atmospheric air but in this work it has also been used to designate any of the vital airs individually with its specific name prefixed to it as Apāna Vāyu or Samāna Vāyu. When not so prefixed it means either the Prāṇa or Apāna or all the ten Vāyus combined together after the Kuṇḍalinī is aroused, as determined by the context; **सखा**—Fire.

वासुदेव—The deity who resides in the body *i.e.* the Supreme Deity, who residing in the heart is its inner ruler. This was the name of the only deity of the Bhāgavatas of the old school, prior to the rise of the Pāñcharātra sect. Its synonym was "Bhagavat" because it was "Saguṇa" as well as "Nirguṇa."

वियोग—Disunion or separation; **काल**—The time of disunion or separation (of the individual soul from the Supreme Being) *i.e.* any time other than those of "Samādhi" and "Susupti."

वैधं कर्म—The religious acts or rites prescribed (by the Scripture).

वंक्षण—The thigh joint or groin.

व्याहृति—Ordinarily an utterance but in religious works the utterance of a word expressive of any of the seven worlds from the earth upwards such as "Bhūh," "Bhuvah," preceded by the syllable "Om."

व्योमरन्ध्र—The apertures in the human body through which one has communion with the cosmic space (IV.66); also particularly the one in the crown of the head (VI.56-57).

शिखिस्थान—The seat of fire (in the bodies of human beings, quadrupeds and birds) as described in Chapter IV-11-15. The same is spoken of by its synonyms अग्न्यागार (IV.53). बह्मचालय (VII.27) etc., at other places.

शिरःपद्म—The lotus in the head said to have 16 petals (See IX.37).

शोफ—A morbid swelling; a tumour.

श्रीवत्सवक्षस्—One on whose chest there is a special auspicious mark called Śrī Vatsa, made by a curl of hair, i.e. Viṣṇu.

षोडशच्छदसंयुक्त—(A lotus) endowed with 16 petals. (See IX-37).

सन्धि—A joint ; an articulation (of the body) used in XII.1 in the sense of the perineum or frenum of the prepuce. सीवनी is its synonym.

सप्तमवर्ग—The seventh class of consonants in the Sanskrit alphabet.

समाधि—Complete self-integration and concentration on one object to such an extent as to make one forget one's individual existence for the time being ; the name of the 8th constituent of Yoga dealt with in Chapter X. of this work. Unlike Patañjali, this author says that this constituent has no variety (See I. 49/2).

सहित-कुम्भक—That kind of Kumbhaka which is accompanied by Recaka and Pūraka as distinguished from the Kevala Kumbhaka which is not accompanied by them (See VI. 30-31).

सिद्धि—The achievement of an object aimed at ; hence also the attainment of some miraculous powers. This work does not speak of it in the latter sense.

सीवनी—The perineum. सन्धि is its synonym.

सुषुम्णा—The name of the principal one of the 14 Nāḍis specifically described in Chapter IV of this work, as it is deemed necessary to know their positions and functions. ब्रह्मरन्ध्र and मुक्तिमार्ग are the two other names by which it is designated in this work. (See IV. 29-31/1, 35/1).

स्फिच्—The buttocks or hips ; -देश—The region of the buttocks or hips.

CORRIGENDA

Page	Line	Misprint	Correction
संज्ञा विवृतिः	६	मु. पु=मुम्बापुर्यां	मुं. पु=मुंबापुर्यां
१	४	एम.ए., एलएल.एम.	एम.ए., एल्एल्.एम.
९	१२	सहयोगीन्द्र	सह योगीन्द्र
११ टि.	१	टिप्पणी	टिप्पणीः
" "	९	अहिंसात्वेव	अहिंसा त्वेव
१२ "	१३	ग _३ -राज्ञश्चैवं	ग _३ -राज्ञश्चैवं
१४ "	५	मित भोजनम्	मितभोजनम्
" "	१८	इंद्रशः	ईंद्रशः
१७ "	१६	वाचको तीवा (-तीव)	वाचको तीवा (ऽतीव)
१८ "	१५	कृतम्	कृतम्
१९ "	७	ऋजुकार्यः	ऋजुकायः
२० "	१७	क्षति पाठान्तराणिःच	क्षतिः पाठान्तराणि च
२५ "	१५	देह मध्ये	देहमध्ये
" "	१९	मेढ्रात्तु	मेढ्रात्तु
२८ "	३	तिसृष्वेकोत्तम	तिसृष्वेकोत्तमा
३२ —	७	गुदमेढोरुजानुषु	गुदमेढोरुजानुषु
३३ —	१०	साङ्गोपाङ्गकलेबरे	साङ्गोपाङ्गकलेबरे
" टि.	१५	प्राणो (? घाणे)	प्राणो (? घ्राणे)
३४ "	२२	ग _३ -वह्निना	ग _३ -वह्निना
३५ "	९	जनस्यांतर(?)	जनस्यांतर (?)
३७ —	८	सर्वसाङ्गविवर्जितः	सर्वसाङ्गविवर्जितः
" टि.	४	नाड घः	नाडघः
" "	१२	(शुश्रूषणरतः)	शुश्रूषणरतः
३८ "	१५	न८-शास्त्रेषु	न८-शास्त्रेषु
३८ टि.	१७	धर्मसंयुक्तः	धर्मसंयुक्तः
३९ "	१८	तत्ततादृशं तादृश	तत्तत्तादृशं तादृशं
४० "	२	—×××××—त	—××××—त
४१ "	७	षट्कृत्वाचरेभित्यं	षट्कृत्वाचरेभित्यं
४२ "	२४	अत्राधिकाः श्लोकाः	न८-अत्राधिकाः श्लोकाः
४५ "	१७	चिन्तनीयाहौ	चिन्तनीयाहौ
५१ "	३	ग्रन्थसन्दभ	ग्रन्थसन्दर्भ
५२ "	१२	"ष्ट" स्थाने "ष्ठ"	"ष्ट" स्थाने "ष्ठ"

Page	Line	Misprint	Correction	
५२	टि.	१६	ग्रणार्हो	ग्रहणार्हो
"	"	२०	{ दीर्घवर्तुलयाषाणविशेष इत्येके	{ दीर्घवर्तुलपाषाणविशेष इत्येके
"	"	२६	समीचीनो भवेन्	समीचीनो भवेत्
५६	"	१५	पाठभेदाः—(?) न२,५,७, त	पाठभेदाः—न२,५,७, त
५७	"	४	ग्रन्थसन्दर्भं	ग्रन्थसन्दर्भे
६१	—	१२	मकारमूर्तिरेतेषां	मकारमूर्तिरेतेषां
६८	टि.	१६	कर्णमूले	कर्णमूले
७४	—	९	सदाशिव	सदाशिवं
८१	—	१	ज्योतिर्मय	ज्योतिर्मयं
८४	—	६	जगद्योनि	जगद्योनि
११६	टि.	१४	६ लेखेषु	६ लेखेषु

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Glamour about the Guptas. By Prof. K. M. Shembavnekar. Published by the Bombay Historical Society. Bombay, 1953. Crown, pp. viii+72.

The Glamour about the Guptas contains three papers by Prof. Shembavnekar already published, which appear in a revised form as Chs. II-IV, with the first chapter "A new review of the Gupta epoch" newly written. The second chapter on "Saṃghas in Pāṇini and Kauṭilya" seeks to disprove the view of Dr. Jayaswal and others that Saṃgha denoted republic. In the next chapter entitled "A Puzzle in Indian Epigraphy", Prof. Shembavnekar explains *gaṇa* in *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti* as meaning *gaṇanā*, and concludes that there never existed a republic in Malava either in the first century B.C. or before or after it; that king Vikramāditya of Ujjayini founded the Saṃvat era; and that the hypothesis connecting the era with Candragupta II is groundless. The final chapter on the "Date of Kālidāsa" seeks to place the poet in the first century B.C., as the court-poet of Vikramaditya of Ujjayini, the founder of the Saṃvat era.

The opening chapter, which is before the scholars for the first time, seeks to dispel the glamour of the Guptas. Prof. Shembavnekar's main evidence in support of his theory consists of (i) Alberuni's observation that "the Guptas were a wicked people"; and (ii) the silence of all classical literature about the Gupta rulers. Despite Prof. Shembavnekar's conviction in his conclusion, the reviewer feels that the grounds adduced are not solid and sufficient to dislodge the theory of the Golden Age of the Guptas otherwise called the Classical Age, based on the primary evidence of the inscriptions of the Guptas and their contemporaries, and on the testimony of the Chinese pilgrim I'a-hien. Though one may not thus agree with the conclusions of Prof. Shembavnekar, one cannot but admire the industry, scholarship and enthusiasm displayed in the book.

There are some printing mistakes besides those noticed on p. 72, of which "5th century" (p. 5, l. 24) requires correction. An Index would have enhanced the value of the work for reference.

A. D. P.

Sacrifice in the R̥gveda.—By K. R. POTDAR, M.A., Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 7, 1953. Pp. 298. Rs. 15/-.

There are two stages in which the labour of scholars serves the cause of research: first, collection and reporting of all available data on a particular topic or topics which in turn would serve as source material for the second stage, *viz.*, interpretation, evaluation and judgment of the meaning and inter-relation of these data. Prof. Potdar's book would mainly fall in the first of these stages, because it presents

practically all significant data to be found in the *RV.* regarding the institution of sacrifice. The chapters dealing with Gods and the sacrifice (III), scene of the sacrifice (IV), offerings in the sacrifice (V), types of sacrifice (VI), rôle of priests and contribution of patrons to the growth of sacrifice (VII-VIII) are exhaustive in content and treatment. In the remaining chapters, Prof. Potdar notices the views of other scholars on the different topics dealt with by him and presents his own view after pointing out their inadequacy or unjustifiability. His criticism of the view that regards the *Ṛgvedic* hymns as magical in character, though not quite original, is yet on sound lines. However, in the other chapters where he essays upon critical and historical interpretation, Prof. Potdar appears to be treading on dubious ground. His thesis that the ritual in the *RV.* cannot have "any large measure of similarity" with the ritual of the *Brāhmaṇas*, perhaps, results in the assertion of a distinction without a difference. For, while it may be readily conceded that the sacrificial ritual had not attained during the *RV.* period to that institutionalized complexity which is vividly recorded in the *Brāhmaṇa* literature, the end of the *RV.* times must certainly have witnessed the formulation and development of most of its technical details as the evidence collected and reported by Prof. Potdar himself would show. Besides, the separate formation of the *Sāma* and *Yajus Saṃhitās* is an indication of the sacrificial ritual having become complex and complicated before the *Brāhmaṇa* times. The *Brāhmaṇas* are professedly handbooks of sacrificial ritual; the *RV.* hymns are not. This would explain the comparative paucity of detailed information regarding the sacrificial ritual in the *RV.* hymns. The analogy of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (p. 3) with the *Brāhmaṇas* is apt and requires to be properly applied and understood without any preconception. Prof. Potdar states: "Even granting some scope for a broad tradition, it will have to be admitted that the *Brāhmaṇas* are chronologically so much separated from the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, that the sacrifice cannot be believed to have remained at a stand-still during the long period that elapsed between the earliest compositions of the hymns and the earliest *Brāhmaṇa* literature describing the sacrifice." (p. 3). Now, let us be clear about the point at issue. If it is a question of the evolution of the sacrificial ritual during the period of the composition of the *Ṛgvedic* hymns, practically all scholars are agreed in affirming it. If, however, it means that the sacrificial ritual continued to evolve during the *Saṃhitā* period and even between the end of the *Saṃhitā* period and the beginning of the *Brāhmaṇa* period, it remains still to be proved; and apparently, this question does not fall within the purview of Prof. Potdar's book under review.

Another point stressed by Prof. Potdar is that the institution of the sacrifice was responsible for the division of the classes—patrons and singers (p. 270). In an attempt to show the importance of the sacrifice as a social institution, Prof. Potdar appears to hint that the priests and the non-priests crystallized into the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Kṣatriyas* of later times. The effort to set up this hypothesis, however, is unavailing. Because a historical appreciation of the *Ṛgvedic* literature

definitely shows the existence of warriors among the Aryans who had to fight their way against the Dasyus and other hostile elements and who therefore might have declined to shoulder any heavy responsibility in the sacrificial ritual. The origin of the fighting class of the Aryans cannot be explained on the basis of the sacrifice, though its character as patron of the sacrifice can be. Besides, Prof. Potdar's hypothesis would not account for the origin of the other two classes in Aryan society, viz., the Vaiśya and the Śūdra.

Prof. Potdar's speculations regarding the origin of 'Savana' hardly appear to be acceptable. *cf.* p. 105 f. In conformity with his explanation of the origin of 'Savana', Prof. Potdar proceeds to describe the morning libation (*prātaḥsāva*) and states, "At III. 28.1 Agni is asked to enjoy a 'puroḍāśa' in the morning libation. In the course of the hymn (V.4 and V.5) it is said to be a special offering to Agni, though the Soma was pressed (and reserved for some other divinity or divinities.)" (p. 107). The last clause in this statement is unwarranted, because in stanzas 3 and 6 of the same hymn Agni is definitely asked to enjoy the Soma pressed the day before (*Juṣasva tiro-ahnyam*). While dealing with '*Tiro-Ahnya*' (p. 105), Prof. Potdar notices these two references but is constrained by his own theory regarding 'Savana' to minimise without warrant the directness of Agni's connection with Soma.

One more point. The note on *Madhu* (p. 114f) says that the word may mean 'honey' in relation to Aśvins and, after citing certain well-known references, concludes: "It appears that the region, where the Aśvinā worship originated, abounded in honey and as such it had come to be offered to them and it was comparatively later that they came to be admitted to the regular Ṛgvedic pantheon and offered Soma" (p. 115). Now, RV. I.116-12 states that Dadhyañe revealed the

Madhu through a horse's mouth to Aśvins; (दध्यङ् ह यन्मध्वाथर्वणो वामश्वस्य शीष्णा
प्र यदीमुवाच ।) The later tradition as preserved in the Cyavana story in the

Jaiminiya and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas interprets and amplifies this Ṛgveda reference to Aśvinā in terms of their admission to the Soma drink through the help of Dadhyañe. This citation would justify the equation: *Madhu* = Soma; and all epithets of Aśvins, their chariot and horses based on *Madhu* can be explained as an enthusiastic affirmation of their newly acquired Soma-status.

Prof. Potdar has seriously applied himself to the study of the *Ṛgveda* and the book under review is the first fruit of his labours. Let us hope his continued studies will produce richer fruits.

G. C. J.

A Descriptive catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Itchharam Suryaram Desai collecton in the Library of the University of Bombay—compiled by H. D. Velankar, M.A., published by the University of Bombay, Bombay, 1958. Pp. 340.

Any publication by Prof. H. D. Velankar carries with it an implied assurance of close study, methodical presentation and thoroughness. This catalogue, containing 1756 entries, is in line with the previous similar compilation of the MSS. of the B.B.R.A.S. carried out by Prof. Velankar. A useful publication neatly printed.

G. C. J.

Nawa-e-Wakt: (Urdu). BY MR. NIZAM-UD-DIN S. GOREKAR, M.A., Professor of Urdu and Persian, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. 1954. Pp. 104. Thick Card Board Cover. Price Rs. 2/-.

Nawa-e-Wakt consists of a series of addresses, delivered by Prof. Nizamuddin to the students of Urdu, on culture, poetry and allied subjects and were open to the public. Chief Justice Chagla presided at one of them, and made useful suggestions. Father Balaguer, S.J. the Principal of the College, has been most sympathetic towards this branch of learning in his institution and has been rightly paid handsome compliments. The book is dedicated to him. The several addresses given on the All-India famous poet, Iqbal, show the Professor's deep study of his works, and brings out his ability as a poet, a patriot and a writer completely. Similarly Ghalib forms the subject-matter of another notable address. Poetry and poets, and other equally important topics have been ably treated by the author. It will form a good handbook.

K. M. JHAVERI

The Perennial Fount. BY BALCHANDRA PARIKH, with a Portrait of Kavi Nanalal, Thick Card Board Cover. 1953. Pp. 82. Price Rs. 3/8

Kavi Nanalal (1877-1946) was a poet of the front rank in Modern Gujarati literature. His lyrics are of remarkable poetic value. Their texture is of an unusual quality. The translator has selected Nanalal's Lyrics of adoration and love, which have found a perpetual place in Gujarati Literature. Balachandra Parikh is no stranger to Nanalal's work. Those who have read his "Nanalal, the Poet Laureate of Gujarati," will readily recognize his ability to handle Nanalal's work. It has already been reviewed in this *Journal*. The Foreword of Shri. Humayun Kabir, duly appreciates what Nanalal has done for the literature of his own province.

K. M. JHAVERI

Mahirajkrit Nala Davayanti Ras, BY DR. BHUGILAL J. SANDESARA, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Gujarati Section, M.S. Baroda University, pp. 174+6. Thick Card Board Cover. 1954. Price, Rs. 4/4.

Kavi Premanand's *Nala Davayanti* is a classic in Gujarati literature. Other poets have also tried their hand at this episode, and one of them is Mahiraj whose composition is published in the series of old Gurjar Granthamala. The publication is unique, as Dr. Sandesara, who is a noted Research Scholar of Gujarat, has been

able to light upon a Manuscript in the poet's own handwriting (Vikrama Samvat year 1641). MSS. written during this period are so difficult to get at that this find of Dr. Sandesara, is considered to be a most fortunate one. The Ras was composed in V.S. year 1612, at the request of a village Sangh. It is important from another point of view, *i.e.* philological, as it is written in the language prevalent four hundred years ago. Damayanti was called Davadanti then. Dr. Sandesara's edition leaves nothing to be desired. His Introduction, publication of the text in Devanagari characters with specimens of the author's handwriting, Appendices, Vocabulary and comments etc. make the publication useful to research scholars all over India.

K. M. JHAVERI

The Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara : A Translation of the Gotrapravaramañjarī of Puruṣottama Paṇḍita, with an Introduction by J. Brough, M.A., D.Litt. ; Cambridge, 1953.

Gotrapravaramañjarī is one of the oldest and most important treatises on the Gotra and Pravara system, and particularly so, since it contains full Pravara Lists quoted by its author from five different sources. In the work under review, Professor Brough has given us a translation in English of the *Gotrapravaramañjarī*, 'condensing much of the repetitive material, and omitting entirely a large number of verses, which add nothing of value to our knowledge of the system of Gotra and Pravara.' The main object of the author of this translation is to bring together all material for a study of the Brahmanical Gotra and Pravara system in the early times; so the Pravara Lists quoted by Puruṣottama are wholly reproduced here and critically edited with the help of various works on the same subject, whether printed or existing only in manuscripts.

In the Introduction the author discusses the origin of the Gotras and the Pravaras. He defines Gotra as 'an exogamous patrilineal sibship, whose members trace their descent back to a common ancestor, and Pravara as a stereotyped list of names of ancient seers who are believed to be the remote founders of the family'. The restriction about the Pravara in marriage, in addition to that about the Gotra, serves, according to him, as an infallible test of the exogamous group to which a man belonged and this additional test was necessary, as in course of time and linguistic development the word Gotra lost its original sense of an exogamous group and came to have a very wide application. In this connection, Professor Brough controverts Shri Karandikar's theory about the origin and meaning of Pravara and rightly points out that the word Pravara did not signify 'a free choice', but only 'a formal choice' of what was already fixed.

The origin of the idea of Pravara is surely to be traced in the Śrauta Ritual, where first, Agni as associated with certain eponymous Ṛṣis is elected as the Divine Hotṛ and then the human priest is similarly formally elected as the Hotṛ for a particular sacrifice, in view of his respectability as a descendant of those same Ṛṣis. Thus the word *ārṣeyam* in *ārṣeyam(pra) vṛñīte* has a double appeal namely,

first to Agni who is reminded of his cordial relations with Ṛṣis whose names are mentioned immediately afterwards, and secondly to the human priest, who is reminded of his great responsibilities as the descendant of those same Ṛṣis who had acted as human representatives of the Divine priest Agni on earlier occasions. This appeal is indeed the essential point about the Pravara in its origin and one can agree with the author if he means this by 'the magic power of the names recited' (p. 17). Accordingly the words *ārṣeya* and *pravara* must have originally signified 'one who is formally elected in association with certain Ṛṣis' and then each of the two words, which later come to be treated as synonyms, signified the Ṛṣis themselves who were involved in the formal election. It is however, not to be doubted that the ideas of both the Gotra and the Pravara had their origin in the sacrificial ritual and their connection with marriage is only of a subsequent date.

H. D. VELANKAR

The Ancient Jaina Hymns: Critically edited with Introduction etc., by DR. C. KRAUSE. Published in the Scindia Oriental Series, No. 2, by the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, 1952.

The work under review contains the text in Devanagari characters of seven hymns composed in Sanskrit and one composed in the Apabhraṃśa language, in praise of the Jaina Tirthaṅkaras. In the Introduction, the authoress gives a brief summary of events and ideas connected with the lives and times of the Tirthaṅkaras which are alluded to in the hymns and without the knowledge of which the hymns cannot be properly understood or appreciated. In her Remarks on the Texts, she has briefly described the contents of these hymns and examined in details the historicity or otherwise of some of the incidents mentioned or alluded to in them. The date and literary activities of the authors of these hymns are also briefly discussed.

The pages of the Preamble, Contents and Preface are separately numbered in small Roman figures; those of the Introduction are numbered in Arabic ones. On the other hand, the pages of the Remarks and of the Texts in the Devanagari characters are marked in Arabic figures in continuation.

H. D. VELANKAR

History of Dharmasāstra (Ancient and mediæval religious and Civil Law in India). By MM. DR. P. V. KANE, M.A., LL.M., D.Litt. Vol. IV. Published by the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona, 1953.

This is the Fourth Volume of the monumental History of Dharmasastra compiled by Mm. Dr. P. V. Kane from the original sources of ancient Hindu Law. This Volume contains four Sections, which respectively treat of Pātaka (with Prāyaścitta and Karmavipāka), Antyeṣṭi (with Aśauca and Śuddhi), Śrāddha and Tīrthayātrā. The learned author has fully discussed all the relevant passages on

each topic from the Vedic literature, the Smṛtis, the Epics, the Purāṇas, as also the vast Nibandha literature of the middle ages. In each case he has expressed definite views after properly appraising the often contradictory statements and opinions of the ancient law-givers and Nibandhakāras.

The work is a veritable mine of valuable information methodically collected, arranged and evaluated with the keen insight of an experienced lawyer and a scholar's fondness for analytical detail. In the first section, the origin of the dead of sin in the Ṛgveda is traced and its connection with the doctrine of Karman explained. The meaning of the word Prāyaścitta is discussed and the different kinds of Prāyaścittas prescribed for grave or minor sins, are explained. In the second section the funeral rites, impurity consequent upon death and birth, the rules of purification and kindred matters are treated with an incidental discussion of the modes of the disposal of the dead bodies and the custom of Satī. The Śrāddha in all its aspects is then described in the third section, while the fourth section is devoted to the importance and origin of Tirthayātrā. Ancient history of important places of pilgrimage like Kāśī, Gayā, Kurukṣetra etc., is carefully traced and a very comprehensive list of the Tirthas or the places of pilgrimage is also given, with important information and references to the original texts under each head. In his concluding Remarks on the Tirthas, the learned author greatly stresses the importance of pilgrimage to holy places even today and recommends that 'every Indian must devote some part of his time to frequenting holy mountains, rivers and other places of pilgrimage' for the purpose of 'creating the deep feeling that amidst diversities of physical features, food, dress and habits, all of us are one people'. Like the other volumes this volume also contains a General Index of proper names and subjects dealt with in it, added at the end.

The aim of the author of this great History is 'to discover, collect, classify and interpret the facts of the various departments of Dharmasāstra and to present the truth with detachment and intellectual integrity and without bias to show the continuity, the developments and transformations in Indian beliefs, rites and usages throughout the ages and, while bringing the past in its causal relations with the present, to indicate and suggest future trends and changes in these matters'. We have no hesitation in saying that this aim of the author is eminently fulfilled; we now eagerly look forward to the fifth volume which the author has promised in the Preface, and pray to the Almighty that he may give him long, healthy and peaceful life which is needed for the successful execution of this ambitious undertaking of great national importance.

H. D. VELANKAR

The Vidūṣaka : Theory and Practice. By Prof. J. T. PARIKH. Published by Shri Chunilal Gandhi Vidyabhavan, Surat, 1953. Demi. pp. viii, 50. Re. 1/-.

The present essay comprises the second instalment of Prof. Parikh's close and critical study of the Vidūṣaka in Sanskrit dramas. In *Sanskrit Comic Characters*

published in 1952, he gave an appreciation of humour produced by each Vidūṣaka in the dramas of Aśvaghōṣa to Rājasekhara. Encouraged by the warm reception by Sanskritists of that essay he has presented here a general study of the character of Vidūṣaka, who is a stock character in most of the romantic dramas in Sanskrit, and is mainly responsible for providing humour in them. In fourteen sections Prof. Parikh notes the details of his name, appearance, dress, age, caste, and language first from the dramaturgic texts such as the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and *Daśarūpaka* and then shows how they were closely observed in the practice of Sanskrit dramatists. Prof. Parikh endeavours to show that according to theory and practice, the Vidūṣaka was "not an old man but a young man, almost a boy." He identifies, against the opinion of Shri M. M. Ghosh, the learned translator of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the *kuṭilaka* with the *daṇḍakāṣṭha* or the crooked staff of the Vidūṣaka. But the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the dramatists uniformly use *daṇḍakāṣṭha* for the crooked stick, and *kuṭilaka* is used only as an adjective to describe this crookedness of the stick. Had *kuṭilaka* been the technical name of the Vidūṣaka's stick some poet at least would have based a pun on the name or used an expression like *yathārthanāman* with reference to it. This is a point which merits closer study. All the same Prof. Parikh deserves congratulations for this comprehensive study of a comparatively minor character in the Sanskrit drama.

N. A. GORE.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS :

1. Indian History Congress, Proceedings of the Fourteenth Session, Jaipur. 1951, Calcutta. Published by Indian History Congress Association. 392 pages. Rs. 15/-.
 2. Mukteśvar—*Mahābhārata: Adīparva* (in Marathi), Part 2, critically ed. by Shri A. K. Priyolkar, Marathi Sanshodhan Mandal, Bombay 2. 1953. 546 pages. Rs. 5/.
 3. Varadachari, K. C. : *Idea of God*. Sir Venkatesvara Oriental Institute. Tirupati, 1950. 155 pages. Rs. 3/-
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