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Edited By

P. V. KANE

H. D. VELANKAR

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PART II

THE YAVANAJĀTAKA OF SPHUIJIDHVAJA

BY

P. V. KANE

[*Abbreviations*: *Br. J.* = *Bṛhajjātaka*; *JBBRAS* = *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*; *JASB* = *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.]

In my paper on 'Varāhamihira and Utpala' (*JBBRAS*, New Series, vol. 24-25 for 1948-49, pp. 1-31) I pointed out how the *Bṛhajjātaka* refers several times to the views of Yavanas (in *Br. J.* 7.1, 8.9, 11.1, 21.3, 27.2, 19 and 21). Weber, Jacobi, and others put forward the view that the astrology of Varāhamihira is based on Greek Astrology represented by Ptolemy, Firmicus Maternus and Paulus Alexandrinus, particularly the last two. I demurred to this view and have been suggesting that Yavaneśvara was probably a Greek bilingualist and wrote a Sanskrit work on astrology in the first centuries of the Christian Era (vide my paper on 'the Introduction of *rāśis* in Indian astrology' in the Munshi Diamond Jubilee Commemoration Volume, part I at p. 315) and that Greek words occur in the works of Varāhamihira and others because of the works in Sanskrit written by Greeks or by those who knew Greek and Sanskrit works on astrology. I have been for several years on the look-out for a Sanskrit *Yavana-jātaka*. In my paper on 'Yavaneśvara and Utpala', in a recent issue of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* vol. 30 for 1955 pp. 1-8, I have described some MSS styled *Yavana-jātaka*. I have been able to give an account of an extensive work in Sanskrit called *Vṛddha-Yavana-jātaka* of Mīnarāja, king of Yavanas, of which I could secure four copies. I cited eighteen verses from the beginning of that work and have translated them into English. Twelve of these verses described the appearance of the twelve *rāśis* from Meṣa (Aries) to Mīna (Pisces) together with the objects that were deemed to be under the domination of each of them. These twelve verses were quoted from Yavaneśvara by Utpala in his commentary on *Br. J.* I.5. The remarks of Utpala on other verses of the *Br. J.* created a difficulty. On *Br. J.* VII. 9 Utpala says¹

1. 'Evam Sphujidhvajakṛtam śukakūlasārvag-jñāyate / Anyae-ca Yavanācāryairi pūrvairi kṛtam-itī tad-artham Sphujidhvajopayāha 'Yavanā ūcuy' &c. quoted above.

that Yavaneśvara Sphujidhvaja composed a Śāstra (or astrology), quotes a verse in which Śakakāla is mentioned by him and adds " In this way it follows that the work of Sphujidhvaja is later than the Śakakāla, while another śāstra was composed by Yavanācāryas that preceded Sphujidhvaja and that it is therefore that Sphujidhvaja says ' Yavanā ūcuh / ye saṅgrāhe dig-jana-jāti-bhedāḥ proktāḥ purāṇaiḥ kramaśo gṛahasya', "(the Yavanas state: those differences of directions, peoples and castes that were proclaimed by former writers in order in their collection (or in a work called 'Śaṅgraha')". This made it clear that the twelve verses about rāśis were quoted by Utpala from Sphujidhvaja and not from Minarāja. So far only one MS of the *Yavana-jātaka* of Sphujidhvaja is known from Dr. Haraprasad Sastri's meagre notes on palm-leaf MSS in the Library of the Maharaja of Nepal (vide J. A. S.B. vol. 66 pp. 310-312), from which it appears that in the year 91 of some (unspecified) era, Yavaneśvara translated from his own language into Sanskrit prose Horāśāstra and that in the year 191 king Sphujidhvaja rendered that śāstra into four thousand Indravajrā verses. The original MS is in the Newāri script. I got a Devanāgarī transcript of leaves 2-10 and 98-102 of that Ms through the kind efforts of the Indian Embassy at Khat-māṇḍu. I propose to give here some idea of its contents and of the quotations from it in Utpala's Commentary.

The first verse is corrupt and full of gaps. Then follow the twelve verses about the twelve rāśis quoted by Utpala, which occur also in Minarāja's work. After three more verses two verses viz. 'Idam jagat &c.' and 'tasyādyaṃrkaṃ' occur in Sphujidhvaja's work as well as in Minarāja's work (verses 16-17 in my paper on Minarāja). I shall now show that even in the few pages that I have got transcribed there are about three dozen quotations that Utpala ascribes to Yavaneśvara and that occur in the ms. of Sphujidhvaja's *Yavanajātaka*. Here and there very slight variations occur, which may be due to quoting from memory or copyist's mistakes.

1. On folio 2b, line 2 occurs the verse ' Ye saṅgrāhe' quoted above.
2. On folio 3a lines 2-3 occurs the verse " ādyā tu horū bhavnasya patyur-ekādaśa-kṣetrapater-dvitiyā / svadvādaśaikādaśarāśīpānām drekkāṇasañjñāḥ kramaśas-trayotra". This verse is quoted from Yavaneśvara by Utpala on *Br. J. I.12*, who states that Varāha does not agree with this view. It may be noted that the 2nd half of *Br. J. I.12* (Drekkāṇasañjñām-api varṇayanti svadvādaśaikādaśarāśīpānām' is almost the same as Sphujidhvaja's verse.
3. On folio 3b line 5 again occurs the verse ' Śaṣṭham tṛtīyam daśamam ca rāśim-ekādaśam copacayarkṣam-āhuḥ / horūgrhasthānaśāsūnka-bhebhyaḥ śeṣāṇi cebhyoṣpacayarkṣam-āhuḥ //', which is quoted from Yavaneśvara by Utpala on *Br.J. I.15*.

4. On folio 4a line 1 occur three verses about the degrees of *paramocca* (highest exaltation) of the planets and of the *paramanīca* (lowest depression) of the planets, which are quoted by Utpala on *Br.J.* I. 13 from Yavaneśvara viz. the verses beginning with 'Sūryasya bhūge daśame tṛtiye,' 'Bhaumasya viṃśeṣṭayute paroccam,' and 'Svoceāttu jāmitram-uśanti nīcam.'
5. On folio 4a line 2 occurs the half verse 'sve sve gṛhe tu svagṛhāṃśakā ye vargottamākhyā yavanais-ta uktāh,' which is quoted by Utpala on *Br. J.* I. 14.
6. On folio 4a line 5 two verses about the extent of the rising times of rāśis are mentioned which are quoted by Utpals on *Br.J.* 1.19 as from Yavaneśvara viz. 'ādyantarāśer-udaya-pramāṇam dvau dvau mulūrttau niyatam pradiṣṭau' &c.
7. On folio 5a lines 3-4 we have the verse 'Gurvaindavau² pūrvavilagnasaniṣṭhau nabhastalasthau ca divākarārau' / sauroṣṭagaḥ śukraṇiśākaraṇu tu jale sthītāvagryabalau bhavetām //', which is quoted as Yavaneśvara's by Utpala on *Br.J.* II. 19.
8. On the same folio 4a there is a verse about the power of the Moon at different periods in a month 'māse tu śukle pratipat-pravṛtṭeh pūrve śāśī madhyabalo daśāhe / śreṣṭho dvitīyeṣṭpabalas-tṛtiye saumyaistu dṛṣṭo balavān sadaiva //,' which occurs as Yavaneśvara's in Utpala's Commentary on *Br.J.* II.21.
9. On folio 6a lines 2-3 about the friendship and enmity among planets there are two verses and a half 'Ravir-guror-mitramathārāyoṣnye guroś-ca bhaumam pariḥṛtya sarve / Cāndrer-anarkā bhṛgu-nandanasya tvarkendubarjam suhṛdah pradiṣṭāh // Bhaumasya śukraḥ śāśijaś-ca mitramindor-budham devagurum ca vidyāt / Saurasya mitrāny-akujendu-sūryān śeṣān ripūn viddhī nṛṇām ca tadvat //'. These are quoted from Yavaneśvara by Utpala on *Br.J.* II.15.

These passages are quite sufficient to prove that the work of Sphujidhvaja Yavaneśvara which was before Utpals (about 966 A.D.) is the same as that contained in the Ms. from Nepal, of a small part of which a transcript has been supplied to me. I can give several more examples, but as the space allotted to me is small I have to stop.

The *Yavana-jātaka* of Sphujidhvaja is quite similar to the *Br.J.* of Varāhamihira in contents and arrangement, but the former is far more exhaustive. After describing the twelve rāśis, it proceeds to give several classifications of the rāśis such as *cara*, *sthira* and *dviprakṛtika*, mentions the name of different *bhāvas* and

2. 'Gurvaindavau' is equal to Guru (Jupiter) and Aindava (son of Indra i.e. Mercury).

other astrological matters such as Meṣūraṇa, Catuṣṭaya, naidhana, trikoṇa, duścikya, kendra, paṇaphara, āpoclima, upacaya, vargottama, mūlatrikoṇa; it deals with rāśis of the exaltation (*ucca*) and depression (*nīca*) of planets, with the dṛṣṭis (full, ¾, ½, ¼) of *grahas*, the lords of quarters, the relative *bala* (strength or power) of the bhāvas, planets &c.; it classifies planets into *krūra* (the sun), *pāpa* (evil), *śubha* and describes their appearance, it gives a long description of *horās* and *dreṣkāṇas* and towards the end it deals with the *ninittas* (auspicious or inauspicious indications) when a king marches on an invasion (wherein it resembles the *Bṛhatsamhitā*).

The only individual author mentioned by name in the portion supplied to me is the sage (*muni*) Vasiṣṭha (in the first line of folio 100).

The work is composed by the lord of Yavanas, but in numerous places the views of former writers are referred to as the views of Yavanas and not as the views of our own former writers as one expects. A few examples may be cited.

(1) 'The seventh house from *lagna* has the name *jāmitra* among Yavanas', 'lagnād gṛham saptamam-astagam tu jāmitrasaṅjñā Yavaneśbhidhānam' (folio 3b line 1); (2) the *navamānśa* of a *rāśi* bearing the same name as the *rāśi* itself is called 'vargottama' by the Yavanas (vide No. 5 above); (3) the relative strength of the houses and planets has been declared here in accordance with the teaching of Yavanas 'balābalasyaiṣa vidhir-nirukto gṛha-grahāṇām Yavanopadeśat' (folio 5a line 5); (4) 'the third part of each *rāśi* receives the name of *drekāṇa* in the nomenclature of the Yavanas' (.....dguṇā rāśitṛtiyabhāgā drekāṇasaṅjñā Yavanākhyayā ye' (folio 9b line 3).

Such detached or colourless references make one doubt whether the work under discussion was composed by the king Sphujidhvaja himself or whether it was composed by some one who, not being himself a Yavana but being conversant with Yavana works and also Sanskrit works, wrote under the patronage of the Yavana king Sphujidhvaja and attributed the work to his patron. Further study of the whole Ms. and research might shed light on this point. The last verses of the Ms. as transcribed, though there are a few gaps (conjectures have to be made), may be set out here: 'Iti svabhāṣāvarenaḥ-bhiguptā Viṣṇugraha-kṣa (? ābda) mahā ranu-dṛṣṭatattvāt horārtharatnākaravākya-mudrā / Sūryaprasā (dānvi) ta-tattvadṛṣṭir-lokānubhāvāya vacobhirādyaiḥ (? rāryaiḥ; rāḍhyaiḥ, //idam babhāṣe niravadyavākya horārthasāstram Yavaneśvaraḥ prak / Sphujidhvajo nāma babhūva rājā ya Indravajrābhīr-idam cakāra / Nārāyaṇāṅkendu...mayādi dṛṣṭa (varṣe?) kṛtvā caturbhīr matimān sahasraiḥ // iti / Yavana-jātake horā parisamāp-tah / Upendravajrā vṛttam.'

A tentative translation of the above, as far as can be made out at present, is as follows: the seal of the sentences of the ocean of the knowledge of horā was

guarded by the veil of his own language and was seen in the year 91. Formerly, the Lord of Yavanas, being endowed with the vision of truth by the favour of the Sun, declared this śāstra of the knowledge of horā in unblemished sentences for enabling the people to grasp it. There was a talented king named Sphujidhvaja who turned this (śāstra) into Indravajrā verses, four thousand in number, in the year (?) 191.³

Not only does Utpala quote numerous verses of Yavaneśvara Sphujidhvaja in his commentary on the Bṛ. J., but he quotes over 75 verses of Yavaneśvara in his commentary on *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*. This paper has already become long. But I must mention the fact that on folios 98b and 99a of the Nepal Ms occur several verses describing the actions for which the seven week-days are auspicious, which are quoted as Yavaneśvara's by Utpala in his commentary on *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* chap. 103. I shall quote only one example; "On Sunday are commended the following viz. the crowning of a king, weapon, battle, warrior, gold, fire, cow's urine, the remedies by a physician, corn, hunting of deer and all actions that would terrify the enemy' (Nṛpapraṭiṣṭhā-yudhayuddha-yodha-hemāgni-gomītra-bhīṣakpratyuktam / Raver-dine dhānyamṛgārdanādi praśasyate dviḍ-bhayakre-ca karma / folio 98b lines 3-4, *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* 103.61).⁴

3. Viṣṇu stands for one, graha for nine and so the year is 91. Nārāyaṇa stands for one aṅka for 9 and Indu for one and so the year is 191. These years may refer to some non-Indian era or if they refer to an Indian era, it may be Śaka era or Gupta era.

4. This paper was submitted to the International Congress of Orientalists held at Munich in August 1957, but, as the author could not be present, it was not read and there was no discussion. The Secretary of the Indological section, Prof. Dr. Hoffmann, kindly returned it with a request that a summary may be sent, which would be published in the Proceedings of the Congress. A summary has been sent to Prof. Dr. Hoffmann and the original paper is now published in this Journal.

THE MĀHEŚVARA CULT AND ITS OFF SHOOTS

By

P. C. DIVANJI

I. Genesis of the cult and its main features ; II. Its development till the time of Lakuliṣa ; III. Emergence of the Pāśupata cult from it since then ; IV. Contribution of Kauṇḍīnya-Rāṣikara to its development ; V. Its division into sub-sects in the mediæval period ; VI. Modern Śaivism and its sub-sects.

I. Genesis of the cult and its main features.

The cult of the Māheśvaras, the devotees of Maheśvara (The Great God), forming the basis of all the different forms of modern Śaivism, is a very ancient Indian cult, intimately connected with the origin of the Indian doctrine of monism and with the practical means for its realisation during the lifetime of a faithful and assiduous devotee. Its genesis is traceable to the early Vedic age in which men of culture believed themselves to be the equals of the superhuman beings. Its long history as judiciously gathered from the Vedic, epic and philosophical literatures and the epigraphic records of several centuries of the first millennium after Christ and the first four of the second one thereafter, reveals, that it claimed amongst its devotees some of the highly inspired sages whose teachings form the foundation of some of the later philosophical systems as we know them to-day; that the practical side of it had a progressive development at the hands of human devotees who had attained such a high degree of spiritual development and consequent self-effacement that several of them having been acknowledged by their contemporaries and successors as the special incarnations of God Maheśvara have ceased to be looked upon by the devout recorders of their achievements as having had a birth in the ordinary human manner; and that it had caught the imagination of the people during some of the centuries of the first millennium to such an extent that many of the persons of Indian and foreign origin who ruled over parts of Rājasthāna, Gujarāt, Saurāṣṭra and Madhya Bhārat took pride in making munificent endowments in favour of Mathas presided over and temples built by some of the Ācāryas of that cult and in getting themselves described in the commemorative records on stone-slabs and metal-plates as "Parama Māheśvaras." The word "Maheśvara" being of a general import does not give a clue as to the identity of the god who was exalted by the application of the epithet, which we find used in *Bhagavadgītā* XIII. 23 to convey the idea of the "Para Puruṣa" or "Paramātmā" said to be residing in the heart of each individual besides his own limited self. The other epithets of that deity used in the said stanza make it clear that he has a dual aspect of being both, a silent witness and also the enjoyer of the cosmic phenomena. He thus represents a stage in the development of Indian theology in which no distinction was drawn between the Absolute and the Conditioned

Cosmic Consciousness and between the three roles of the Creator, Preserver and Destroyer of the worldly phenomena, which in the Paurāṇic theology were ascribed to three distinct deities, namely Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra. When the latter stage was reached the devotees of the three gods came to be distinguished from one another and received distinct designations. Thereout the one applied to the devotees of Rudra was that of the "Māheśvaras." It will be made clear later on why that god alone was deemed worthy of being so exalted above the others.

2. Rudra was already recognised as a god even in the early part of the Vedic period but was believed to have a minor and a sinister role in the cosmic process. That was a period in which there prevailed a belief in the existence of several gods, each having his own individual function which he performed independently of the others. The role of Rudra then was that of letting loose the destructive forces of nature in the ever-changing worldly phenomena. Keith has noticed that the *Samhitā of the Rgveda* contains only three hymns containing an invocation of that god for extending his protection to the devotees and their cattle against the natural calamities.¹ In the later *Samhitās of the Yajurveda* he however figures as one of the two great deities then recognised, the other one being Viṣṇu. The *Taittirīya Samhitā* has one whole section devoted to his panegyric while the *Vājasaneyī Samhitā* contains one whole chapter devoted to his praises.² Such greater and progressive importance attached to him in the subsequent period seems to be the result of the realisation by stages by the sages concerned with the composition of those portions of the *Samhitās*, of the existence of One God only as the Supreme Ruler, of his identity with Rudra and of his being the primeval cause of the creation as well as the destruction of the universe or its parts at certain intervals, the work of preservation thereof alone having another god for doing it. Prior to it Brahmā or the Prajāpati was believed to be the god responsible for creation. The *Hiraṇyagarbha* hymn in the *Rgveda*³ was therefore dedicated to him. The story of the destruction of the sacrifice of Dakṣa Prajāpati contained in the Nārāyaṇiya Section of the *Sāntiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*,⁴ which sacrifice seems to have been undertaken for the purpose of making it possible to create different species of beings on the earth, points to a stage at which the claim of Rudra to be as well the creator as the destroyer of the universe was recognised by the ancient sages who had been officiating at the sacrifice. According to it, it was a sage named Dadhīci who finding that no share of the oblations had been set apart for Rudra asked Dakṣa why he had ignored that god. His reply was that while he knew of Rudra having created 11 Rudras representing destructive forces only, he was not aware of the said god having been recognised anywhere as the "Mahādeva." Dadhīci thereupon invoked that god and apprised him of the insult shown to him. After some conversation between the god and his spouse Pārvatī, he produced a

1. *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda* (Harvard Oriental Series No. 31) p. 142 ff.

2. *Tai. Sām.* IV.5. ; *Vā. Sam.* XVI.

3. *RV. Sam.* X. 121.

4. *Mbh.* XII. 3.108-12.

male warrior named Vīrabhadra and she produced a female one named Bhadrakālī. Both of them were directed to go to the sacrificial ground and avenge the insult, and they having gone there created such a havoc that Dakṣa was brought to his knees and began to propitiate the deity Śankara by addressing to him a panegyric containing 1,000 names of the god extolling his might and exploits. That story also contains an account of the determination of the constituent elements of the Pāśupata Vrata.⁵ As to that, Śiva says to Dakṣa that it was a kind of "Tapas" which he had hit upon as a sure means on making a study of the Veda together with its 6 Aṅgas and the Sāṅkhya and Yoga methods, that it could be observed by the members of all the Varṇas and Āśramas, that ignorant people denounced it as it was partly opposed to the Varṇāśrama Dharma but it had been decided upon by the use of "Jñāna" (intuitive knowledge) and the "Siddhānta" (established doctrine), probably of the Śaive Āgamas in their original form. The repetition of the 1,000 names seems to have formed part of it because it has been stated at the end of the story that whoever repeats them after making offerings in the best manner possible to Mahādeva, Pārvatī, Kārtikeya and Nandiśvara, while keeping his "Indriyas (senses) under his control and observing the Niyamas gets the desired Artha, Bhoga and Kāma in this life and Svarga after death and is not reborn in the sub-human species of the created beings. It is obvious from this that the pre-history legend of the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice has been mixed up therein with the later formulation of the Pāśupata Vrata. An intermediate stage in the development of the Māheśvara Cult is discernible in the great importance given to Rudra-Māheśvara in the *Atharvaveda Samhitā* and some of the *Brāhmaṇas of the Kṛṣṇa and Śukla Yajurvedas*.⁶ The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*,⁷ on the other hand represents a stage later than that, because therein Rudra has been completely identified with the Paramātmā and the Virāṭ Puruṣa on the one hand and with the individual self on the other. Even the Pāśupata Vrata seems on a comparison of the account thereof given in the *Śāntiparvan* with the description thereof given in the *Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad*⁸ to have undergone modification with the lapse of time and the advent of a succession of Sādhakas in the field, because the latter includes in the Vrata a specific direction to besmear the body with Bhasma while repeating the Mantras "Agniriti Bhasma" etc., given therein.

3. The other great epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, contains in its *Bālakāṇḍa*⁹ references to the act of propitiation of God Mahādeva in the stories as to the "Descent of the Gaṅgā", the "Dispute between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra over the possession of the Kāmadhenu" and the "Breaking of the bow of Śiva by Rāma." According to the first, King Bhagīratha was able to get into contact with the deity,

5. *Op. cit.* 3. 112.

6. *Av. Smṛ.* IV. 23-29 and XV; *Aita. Brā.* III. 33; *Śata. Brā.* I. 7.4.1, II.1.2—8, VI. 3.8 (Winternitz, III, I. 106, 222).

7. *Śve. Upan.* I. 9-11, III, IV. 9-22, V. VI. 5-18.

8. *Athv. Śi. Upan.*

9. *Vā. Rā.* I. 36-43, 52-65, 66.

the husband of Umā, after he had practised, "Tapas" for one year, "pressing the earth with the tip of his toe", and to persuade him to give a promise to hold "the daughter of the King of the Mountains" on his head.¹⁰ There is no mention therein of the observance by him of any specific vows during that year. But he must have observed some because he is said to have done "Pañcāgnisādhana" (sitting with blazing alters on 4 sides, and the sun overhead, in summer), taken food at the intervals of a month each time, held the senses under control and kept his hands raised upwards, even while trying previously to propitiate Brahmā, at whose suggestion he had commenced to propitiate Mahādeva.¹¹ In the account of the Vasiṣṭha-Viśvāmitra dispute the latter is said to have gone to the side of the Himalaya inhabited by the Kinnaras and Uragas and to have practised austerities there in order to secure the grace of Mahādeva. After he had done so for some time the "Deveśa" (Ruler of the Gods) appeared before him and asked him to state what his desire was. He replied that if he was pleased he may confer on him the knowledge of the "Dhanurveda" (military science) together with its Aṅgas, Upāṅgas, Upaniṣads and Rahaṣya" and so ordain that "whatever Astras the Devas, Dānavas, Maharṣis, Gandharvas, Yakṣas and Rākṣasas possess may be only the reflections of what he may have."¹² Here too there is no mention of the specific nature of the "Tapas" practised by the sage nor of the vows which he may have observed while doing so. In the story of the breaking of the bow of Śiva King Janaka tells Viśvāmitra that the reason why the bow was with him was that the God of gods having destroyed the sacrifice of Dakṣa had strung this bow and threatened to chop off the heads of the gods assembled there, for not having set apart a share for him at the sacrifice, that the gods thereupon pacified him by extolling his prowess, that he thereafter desisted from attacking them and handed over possession of the bow to Devarāta Janaka, the eldest son of Nimi, king of Mithilā, as a "Nyāsa" (trust) and that since then it was being handed down as such in his family from generation to generation. Here too the means employed by the gods seems to be a simple panegyric.

4. There being thus a mere panegyric in the last case, "Tapas" of no specific kind without any settled vows and the object being to obtain the right weapons for overpowering an adversary in the second, and "Tapas" practised for one year while standing on the tip of a toe and observance of such vows only as the royal Sādhaka considered to be adequate for achieving the desired object in the first it is

10. *Op. cit.* 43—1-3.

11. *Op. cit.* 42. 13.

12. *Op. cit.* 55. 8-17. Even the Āraṇyakapurvaṇ of the Mahābhārata contains in Chs. 40-41 a somewhat similar instance of Arjuna having obtained as a boon from Mahādeva, the Lord of Umā, the "Pāśupatiāstra," the terrible weapon from which would issue on the repetition of proper Mantras "thousands of spears, clubs, terrible in appearance and arrows having the shape of poisonous snakes" in order that he may vanquish Dānavas and others in battle. There is a different version of the same weapon having been acquired by Arjuna in the Droṇapurvaṇ (Chs. 80-81). Whereas the God is said in the former to have been pleased by the heroism and fortitude of Arjuna, he is in the latter said to have been pleased by a panegyric. Moreover in the former he first appears as a Kirāta, in the latter he appears in a vision.

reasonable to infer that the *Bālakāṇḍa*, irrespective of the time when it was composed, had been speaking in the above cases of events which had occurred during the transition period between the recognition of Rudra as a mighty god next to Brahmā and his recognition as a god combining in himself the powers of the creation and the destruction of the universe. There is no mention in any of them of the created beings being "Paśus" (dumb creatures) liable to be goaded by Rudra, the "Paśupati, who holds them under his control by "Pāśas" (noose strings) and the possibility of their being able to secure "Vimokṣaṇa" (release) from them by propitiating the god and winning his grace, which is the pivotal doctrine of the Pāsupatas since the age of the Purāṇas. Nor is there any of the "Pāsupata Vrata" as the means towards that end. Thus regardless of the facts of the *Rāmāyaṇa* being the "Ādikāvya" (first classical poem) and the *Bālakāṇḍa* being a subsequent addition therein, the said work must be deemed to present a pen-picture of an earlier phase of the Māheśvara cult than the *Śāntiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Vāyu and other Purāṇas*. The distinguishing features of that phase are :--(1) a belief that if Brahmā is incapable of granting relief from a calamity or rendering assistance in the attainment of a desired object Rudra-Śiva could be approached; (2) that god was capable of being propitiated more easily than Brahmā and (3) the only means for his propitiation till then known was "Tapas" (austerities) as the sure sign of one's determination to achieve one's object even at the risk of one's life, if need be.

5. This is not however all that the epic of Vālmīki discloses to us as to the history of the origin and development of the Māheśvara cult. The *Uttarakāṇḍa* thereof, though even a later addition therein than the *Bālakāṇḍa* contains 6 stories containing a mention of the bestowal of grace by or of the acquisition of a boon from god Rudra, singly or in co-operation with his consort Umā or Pārvatī.¹⁵ In the first, Śiva and Pārvatī having taken pity on a new-born male child of a Rākṣasi named Sālakaṭaṅkaṭā, whom she had abandoned in a forest, confer spontaneously on it boons, by virtue of which the infant grows up at once and becomes as old as its mother. In the second, Kubera, the elder half-brother of Rāvaṇa, conveys a message to the latter, who was preparing to molest him, to the effect that he should not underrate his power of resistance because he had, by observing the "Raudra Vrata" for several years acquired the position of "Māheśvara-sakhā" (a friend of god Māheśvara) and the title "Ekākṣapīṅgala" (one who has a yellow mark in place of one eye) from that god. In the third, Rāvaṇa is said to have shaken the mountain on which there was the "Śaravana" (a thicket of reeds) in which Skāṇḍa alias Kārtikeya was born and thereupon Mahādeva is said to have, at the request of Pārvatī, pressed the mountain so forcibly that Rāvaṇa lost his grip thereof. But since then it began to shake so violently as if there had been an earthquake that every one on it including Rāvaṇa became frightened and thereupon his ministers advised him to propitiate the god.

15. Vā. Rū. VII. 4. 23-32, 13. 12-32, 16. 1-48, 31. 39-44, 63. 25-31 and 87. 3-20.

which he did by singing "numerous Sāma Stotras." The god was thereupon pleased, conferred upon Rāvaṇa the title "Lokarāvaṇa" and at his special request bestowed upon him a sword named "Candrahāsu."¹⁴ In the fourth, Rāvaṇa is said to have bathed in the river Narmadā at the place where it passed through the territory of Arjuna Kārtavīrya and to have installed on the sandy bank of the river a "Golden Liṅga of Śiva," which had emerged from the river when he came out of it and had been following him wherever he went. In the fifth Rāma having anointed Śatrughna King of Madhuvana in place of the cannibal Lavaṇa, who had been a terror to the anchorites living in the forest, and advised him to challenge Lavaṇa to fight out a duel with himself only when he may be outside his dwelling-place. The reason given by him for giving such an advice was that the latter had a big "Śūla" (a spear-shaped weapon having one or three sharp points) obtained as a boon from Śankara and that whenever any one challenged him to fight out a duel with him he used to worship the "Śūla" and applied Bhasma to it, which made him invincible to his foes. The last instance speaks of King Ila, son of Prajāpati Kardama, having been transformed into a person of the female sex along with his retinue, when, while out hunting, he strayed into the said "Śaravana," of his having once vainly requested Mahādeva to restore his original sex-form and of his having subsequently succeeded in getting granted by Pārvatī with the approval of Śankara a modified request to have the male and female forms in each alternate month.

6. When we compare these 6 instances with the 3 cited from the *Bālakanda* it strikes us that whereas the persons who receive the favours from Śankara in the latter are those of the Kṣatriya (princely) class, those in the former are either Rākṣasas or Yakṣas with the one exception of Ila. The points of similarity between them are:—(1) that there is no mention in any of them of the higher ideal of the attainment of "Sāyujya Mukti" and (2) of the practice of the Pāśupata Yoga and the observance of the Pāśupata Vrata by any of the persons concerned. The "Raudra Vrata" mentioned in the message of Kubera, King of the Yakṣas, cannot be identical with the Pāśupata Vrata because it has been said in that story that Śankara was pleased because Kubera had observed that Vrata which Śankara himself alone had previously observed while according to *Pāśupatasūtra* IV. 10, the Pāśupata Vrata had been observed even by Indra during his war with the the Asuras. On the other hand, the messenger in the story speaks of Kubera having gone to a side of the Himavat "to attain Dharma" and had there been keeping his mind and senses under restraint while observing the Vrata. I therefore believe that it must have consisted of the practice of Tapas of a severe nature. Similarly the mention of Bhasma in the advice of Rāma to Śatrughna does not justify the inference that the use of Bhasma for bathing, sleeping in &c, as in the Pāśupata Vrata, was known to Lavaṇa because the story speaks of its application only to the

14. Cf. the similar story of Aśvatthāman in the Sauptikaparvan having killed the sons of Draupadī while asleep and Dhr̥ṣṭadyūmna with a sword which he had obtained as a boon from Śaṅkara.

“ Śūla, ” not to the person of Lavaṇa, and because the object in applying it was to protect its bearer against an attack by an adversary, not self-purification for the attainment of a spiritual advantage. The instances cited from the *Uttara-kāṇḍa* constitute therefore, in my view, evidence of the earliest stage in the development of the worship of Rudra-Maheśvara in which the worshippers were the members of the Himalayan mountain tribes of the Yakṣas and Rākṣasas, and those cited from the *Bālakāṇḍa* constitute that of the next stage in which the Kṣatriyas, a warrior class, adopted the practice of propitiating the deity. The object in both the classes of cases was the acquisition of a superior weapon for getting an advantage over one's adversary in a battle and the means employed was such severe austerities as involved the possibility of death, which would compel the deity to grant the desired boon if he wished the worshipper to continue to live. It is significant that in none of the stories is there a mention of the existence of a relationship between the “ Sādhuḥ ” and “ Sādhyā Deva ” as that of, a Paśu and a Pati. In fact it is quite evident from most of the instances that they relate to the age of the earlier Vedic hymns of the Ṛgveda in which the denizens of the earth looked upon those of the middle and upper regions as their equals who were bound to reciprocate when approached through the sacrifices of material objects and animals backed up by self-denial even to the extent of risk to one's life and performed in accordance with their knowledge of the appropriateness of the means of approach. There are however amongst the above some exceptional cases such as the destruction of the sacrifice of Dakṣa, the propitiation by Rāvaṇa of the deity by singing Sāma hymns for the protection of himself and the members of the mountain tribes and his own followers and the propitiation of the deity by King Bhugīratha in order to get a promise from him to bear on his head the current of the celestial river when it descends to the earth at his request, in order that the denizens of the earth may not be subjected to any misery on that occasion. Similar to this to a certain extent is the case of Śrī Kṛṣṇa propitiating the same deity on the advice of the sage Upamanyu in order that his wife Jāmbavatī may bear a son of heroic virtues, told in Chapter 14 of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* of the *Māhābhārata*. Such a change of attitude on the part of the worshippers of Rudra-Maheśvara seems to be the result of the realisation by some of the Brahman sages like Dadhici in the Dakṣa episode and Upamanyu in that of Śrī Kṛṣṇa that the god had as well a quiescent and beneficent aspect as a terrible and malevolent one. The “ workmen, potters, cart-makers, carpenters and Niśīdas or men of the forest-tribes ” of the later age of the *Yajurveda Samhitās* mentioned at p. 147 of Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism And Other Minor Sects* as the then followers of the Rudra-Maheśvara cult seem to me to be the Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Kinnaras and other mountain forest tribes, who having been civilised and turned to occupations subsidiary to the sacrificial cult had come to be known by their craft-names as the associate groups of the Cāturvarṇya society of that age. It seems that in that age, which also seems to be the age of the composition of the later Maṇḍalas, I, IX (etc.), and some of the earliest of the *Brāhmaṇas*, some extraordinary event must have happened so as to turn the minds of the leading Brahman priests to the thoughts of there being only

one "Sat" (Reality) though invoked by different "Kavis" of the earlier age by different names and of that "Sat" being Rudra and therefore deserving to be designated as the "Maheśvara" (Great God) or "Mahādeva" (also meaning the Great God). What it must be, it is not easy to assert without fear of doubts being raised against any assertion on one ground or another. However, my own view is that it most probably was the manifestation of the said god as incarnated in the person of Śvetācārya, the first of the 27 incarnations of Maheśvara preceding that of Lakulīśa, the founder of the specific sect of the Pāśupatas, mentioned in the *Vāyu and Other Purāṇas*.¹⁵ He is there said to be the first incarnation of Maheśvara who had initiated 4 persons into the technique of the Pāśupata Yoga proclaimed by him as the means for the elevation of the human soul, while living in an embodied state, to the position of the Great God and being a denizen of Rudraloka on death.

II. Its development till the time of Lakulīśa.

7. The next stage in the development of this cult is most probably connected with the manifestation of Maheśvara in the person of one Kaṅka, who had as his disciples four persons named Sanaka, Sanātana, Sanandana and Sanatkumāra. The last of them can be believed to be identical with "Bhagavān Sanatkumāra" whom the sage Nārada had, according to Ch. VII of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, approached for knowing the means for crossing the ocean of sorrow. The report of the knowledge, which he had imparted, given therein goes to show that in his view misery is eradicated and perpetual happiness secured only on the attainment of "Bhūmā", (The Highest Essence), and that is attained by the practice of "Dhyāna-yoga" (the method of approach by meditation). The third stage therein seems to have been reached during the time of the 8th incarnation named Dadhivāhana, who had, as his principal disciple Kapila, the celebrated promulgator of the Śeśvara Sāṅkhya doctrine, which explained the process of evolution by a co-operative effort of the "Prakṛti" (primordial matter having the characteristics Sattva, Rajas and Tamas) and the Puruṣa (intelligent soul), made under the superintendence of the deity who permeates everything and rules over them by his powers according to the *Svetāśvatāra Upaniṣad*. The fourth stage was probably reached in the time of the 17th incarnation named Guhavāsīn, for he had as his principal disciple the sage Vāmadeva, who is stated in the *Aitareya Upaniṣad* II. 1-6 to have acquired, while still in his mother's womb, the knowledge of the course of development of the different organs of the human body before birth. The fifth stage seems to have been reached in the time of the 18th incarnation named Śikhaṅḍin. I believe he is identical with Śrī Kaṅṭha, who, according to the Nārāyaṇīya Section of the *Śāntiparvan*,¹⁰ was the promulgator of the "Pāśupata Mata," which was one of the five doctrines known to the author of that Parvan as offering a rational

15. Vā. Pu. I. 23; Śi. Pu. V. 4-5; Kū. Pu. I. 53; Līn. Pu. XXIV. The Vāyu and Kūruṇa represent one version of the tradition and Śiva and Līnga another.

16. Mbh. XII. 337. 58-62.

explanation of the nature of the phenomenal world, the cause of its appearance and the relation of the soul of man to them. He himself is there said to be identical with Śiva, the Lord of Umā and also the Lord of the Paśus. It was probably he who had developed the Pāśupata-yoga to the extent it is found developed in the *Vāyu Purāna*.¹⁷ At its inception it was probably in the dynamic form in which it appears in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* and to have latterly acquired the systematic one of the “*Ṣaḍaṅga Yoga*” expounded in the *Amṛtanāda Upaniṣad*.¹⁸ This Yoga is of such a general character that the purely sectarian Pāśupata Vrata could not have formed part of it. The ceremony of besmearing the body with ashes while repeating the Mantras mentioned in the *Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad* and referred to in para. 2 above must have been introduced at a later stage reached within the times of any of the 9 further incarnations of Maheśvara that intervened between Śikhaṇḍin and Lakulīśa.

III. *Emergence of the Pāśupata Cult from it since then.*

8. Although it cannot be determined, for want of sufficient data, during the lifetime of which of the 9 incarnations that ceremony must have been incorporated in the Yogavidhi of the Māheśvaras, this much can be positively affirmed that it must have formed part of the Vidhi before the time when the *Pāśupatasūtra* was composed by or in accordance with the instructions of Lakulīśa to his disciples Kuśika and 3 others in the Mahākālavana near Ujjain, where he had repaired from Kāyāvarohaṇa, the place of his first appearance as a Brahmaecin 8 years old.¹⁹ It appears, from the wording of the question of Kuśika and the answer of his master, that although the fact of the said Vrata forming part of the technique of the Pāśupata-yoga was beyond question, it must have consisted of the mere besmearing of the body with Bhasma while repeating the Mantras above-referred to and that Lakulīśa had by precept and practice added thereto the injunctions to sleep therein, to bathe with it thrice a day and also after each act involving impurity of one's person such as answering the calls of nature, touching a Śūdra or a woman etc., and to carry with oneself the symbol of one being a Pāśupata Yogī, which consisted of a “*Nirmālya*” (a Bel leaf or wild flower taken devoutly from over a Śivaliṅga).²⁰ That these injunctions formed part of the Pāśupata Yogavidhi so far as his followers were concerned appears clearly from the wording of the first Sūtra which embodies a solemn declaration of the author to expound the “*Pāśupata Yogavidhi*.” The reason for his doing so was that, according to the Bhāṣyakāra, Kuśika had put to him the question whether it was or was not possible to secure a complete and final eradication of the three kinds of miseries technically designated as “*Duḥkhānta*” in

17. Vā. Pu. I. 11-23.

18. Śve. Upa. I. 3-16 ; Amṛ. Upa. 6 ff.

19. *Pañcārthabhāṣya* on the Pā. Sū. (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 143) pp. 3-4. Cf. also Skanda Purāna V. 82. 48-51.

20. Pā. Sū. I. 2-5, 14-15.

the terminology of the Māheśvaras, it being the last of the 5 categories (Pañcapadārtha) whose knowledge was essential according to their doctrine. The categories, though old, were interpreted somewhat differently by the Pāśūpatas at least since the time of the Bhāṣyakāra Kauṇḍinya, whose opinion had been based on the contents of the *Pāśūpatasūtra*. Particularly the said fifth category was so interpreted as to insist upon the necessity of continuing the Sādhanā even after the cessation of the miseries with a view to acquire by the grace of the deity the special superhuman powers possessed by him, it being the only sure sign of the eradication of the miseries together with the cause from which they arise, namely the limitedness of the powers of knowledge, willing and action. The said superhuman powers are those enumerated at the end of Chapter I of the *Sūtra*.²¹ The third point specially emphasised by the Pāśūpatas since the time of the said Bhāṣyākāra was the necessity of the observance of different rules of conduct by the Sādhanakas as to dress, mode of begging food, place of residence etc., in the five graded stages of the practice of Yoga gathered by him from the *Sūtra*, wherein they lie scattered in its five chapters.²² The fourth point of difference between him and his predecessors was that as to the belief whether Maheśvara was only the instrumental cause of the creation of the universe or the material cause also. The first was the belief of the Māheśvaras of the old school, the latter of Lakuliśa, the Maheśvara, being *ipso facto* according to his view capable of evolving everything out of himself by his mere will and therefore there being no necessity to postulate the existence of the Prakṛti, the primordial matter.²³ The *Sūtra* itself does not mention the votaries of the old school by name. But the Bhāṣyakāra has, by his express denunciation of the "Sāṃkhyayogeshvarāḥ" at one place and by pointing out the distinction between the view of the author and theirs at two other places made it clear that they were the followers of Kapila and Patañjali,²⁴ who were also the worshippers of Śiva. As for the time when Lakuliśa could have come into the arena to teach such a modified doctrine the *Purāṇas* say²⁵ that he would be the contemporary of Vedavyāsa and Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva but from the epigraphical evidence afforded by the Mathura Pillar Inscription it has been determined by D.R. Bhandarkar²⁶ to be the first quarter of the second century A.D., i.e. to say, somewhere between 101 and 125 A.D.

IV. Contribution of Kauṇḍinya-Rāśikara to its development.

9. The name of the author of the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* as given in the colophons to the chapters thereof in the printed edition of Trivandrum is "Bhagavat

21. P.S. I. 21-38.

22. *Op. cit.* I. 2-19, 39-44; II. 7-27; III. 1-26, IV. 2-8, 14-24; V. 9-22, 24-25, 30-32, 34, 40-47.

23. *Op. cit.* II. 2-11 and P.B. (T.S.S. No. 143) pp. 50-64, 147-48.

24. P. B. pp. 5, 115, 147-48.

25. Vā. Pu. I. 23.206-14; Kū. Pu. I. 53.1-0; Śi. Pu. III. 5. The date of Lakuliśa according to these data would come to about 1500 B.C.

26. Epigraphica Indica Vol. XXI. pp. 1-9.

Kauṇḍīnya".²⁷ The same *Bhāṣya* is found on investigation to have been drawn upon by Sāyaṇa-Mādhava in the course of his exposition of the Nakuliśa Pāśupata Darśana constituting Section 6 of his *Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha* and by the author of the *Ratnaṭīkā on the Gaṇakārikā* (G.O.S.No.15). The name of the Bhāṣyakāra given in both of them is "Rāśikara." Aufrecht has, in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, made no entry of the author's name "Kauṇḍīnya" or "Rāśikara" but has made therein one of the book-name as "Rāśikaraṇa Bhāṣya" and noted against it that it has been quoted from in the *Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha*. It is easy to infer from these data that the author of the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* was popularly known to the mediæval scholars by his "Rāśikaraṇa" of the categories of the Māheśvaras and that Aufrecht, being doubtful as to whether "Rāśikara" could be the personal name of a man at all, preferred to notice only the work in which his contribution had been embodied. The publication by the Travancore University of the said work itself as T. S. S. No. 143 in 1940 has revealed that in his lifetime he must have been known as "Kauṇḍīnya." This too does not appear to be the name of an individual but a Gotra-name, from its occurrence once by itself and at another time as preceded by the word "Vaidarbhī" in the "Vaiśās" (succession lists of teachers and pupils) given at the ends of Chapters II and IV of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. It is also found adopted as a surname by the members of the Brāhmaṇ families of that Gotra in the south and even the north of India. The distinctive name which was given to the said Bhāṣyakāra Kauṇḍīnya in later times was due to his having made a "Rāśī" (heap or collection) of the Sūtras in the canonical work of the Pāśupatas bearing on each of the five categories of the Māheśvaras, his object in doing so being to establish that the Yogavidhi expounded in the said work was quite in consonance with the ancient doctrine of the Māheśvaras. He has made this very clear at numerous places in his *Bhāṣya*.²⁸ This was required to be done because the adherents of the old school of Māheśvaras had begun to denounce the followers of Lakuliśa as heretics because of the "Vidhi" followed by them containing certain practices which were against the established practices of the Varnāśrama Dharma. This charge was successfully disproved by Kauṇḍīnya by the "Rāśikaraṇa" made in his *Bhāṣya*, with the result that the Lakuliśa Pāśupatas began to be recognised since then as forming a distinct sect of the Māheśvaras side by side with the followers of the old creed. This then was the special contribution of Kauṇḍīnya Rāśikara to the development of the cult of the Māheśvaras. His date comes somewhere between 401 and 425 A. D. as I shall explain later on.

V. Its sub-division into sub-sects in the mediæval period.

10. The said *Bhāṣya* does not anywhere refer to the inclusion of the followers of the philosophical systems of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika amongst the Māheśvaras.

27. T.S.S. No. 143, pp. 55, 77, 91, 108, 148.

28. *Op. cit.* p. 55 (first two lines of the *Bhāṣya* on Ch. II), p. 77 (first para of that on Ch. III), p. 92 (first para of that on Ch. IV), pp. 100-10 (first para of that on Ch. V) and pp. 146-48 (concluding remarks after the *Bhāṣya* on the last Sūtra).

Nor is there any Brahmanical work found to have been composed between the 5th and the 9th centuries justifying the inference that they were. Śāṅkara coming at the junction of the 8th and the 9th centuries has, while commenting upon *Bra.Sū.* II.2.37 spoken of the Paśupati Mata believed to have been refuted therein by Bādarāyaṇa as the view of "Kecana Māheśvarāḥ" and his explanation shows that he means by them the Lakuliśa Pāśupatas. Haribhadra Sūri, the Jaina author of the *Saddarśana-samuccaya*, who has been placed by Jaina scholars²⁹ in the 8th century says in verse 59 of the said work that the Vaiśeṣikas did not differ from the Naiyāyikas in the matter of religious faith, which according to verse 13 was in God Śiva, the deity who creates and destroys the universe. These statements are explained and supplemented by his commentator Guṇaratna Sūri and by Rājaśekhara Sūri in his work of the same name, which looks like a versified version of the prose comments of the former³⁰. They say that from the religious point of view the Naiyāyikas were known as the Śaivas and the Vaiśeṣikas as the Pāśupatas. These designations do not seem to be without a basis of truth because in the list of the 28 incarnations of Maheśvara and their disciples given in the *Vāyu, Kurma, Śiva and Liṅga Purāṇas* referred to above Akṣapāda (Gautama) and Kaṇāda are mentioned as two of the disciples of Somaśarmā, the 27th incarnation. We thus find that somewhere between the times of Kauṇḍinya and Haribhadra the followers of the Māheśvara cult had become sub-divided into the two sub-sects of the Śaivas and the Pāśupatas on account probably of difference on the question of the philosophical basis of their creed but agreement amongst themselves as to the religious practices to be followed for the practical realisation of the ideal placed before them by Lakuliśa. As to those times it has already been stated that Haribhadra has been ascertained to have lived in the 8th century A. D. Sri Kapadia has further definitely ascertained his lifetime to be 700 to 770 A.D. As for Kauṇḍinya-Rāśīkara he is the 17th of the 18 Tirthakaras beginning with Lakuliśa honoured by both the Śaivas and Pāśupatas according to both Guṇaratna and Rājaśekhara. The four of them who immediately follow Lakuliśa are, according to the *Purāṇas*, his direct pupils and therefore together constitute only one succeeding generation after him. Hence there were only 12 generations between Lakuliśa and Kauṇḍinya. Allowing 300 years for them after 125 A.D., the ascertained date of Lakuliśa, we thus arrive at approximately 425 A.D. as the date of Kauṇḍinya. The period of the sub-division of the followers of Lakuliśa can therefore be held to fall roughly between 426 and 775 A.D.

11. Coming to the 9th century we find Vācaspati Miśra stating in his gloss *Bhāmati*³¹ on the *Śārīrakabhāṣya on Bra. Sū. II.2.37* that there were 4 classes of Māheśvaras, namely : (1) Śaivas : (2) Pāśupatas : (3) Kāruṅikasiddhātins and

29. Kapadia, Intro. to the *Anekānta Jayantakā*, Vol. II (G.O.S. No. 88), p. XXVI ; Muni Jinavijaya, Intro. to the *Dhūrtākhyāna* (Sin. Granthamala No. 19), p. XII with Jacobi's approval at pp. XV-XX.

30. Both reproduced in Appendices II. 1 and III. to the *Guṇakārikā* (G.O.S. No. 15).

31. *Nirnayasagar* Press Edition, p. 565.

(4) Kāpālikas. Rāmānuja of the 11th century while commenting on the same *Sūtra* numbered II.2.35 in his *Śrībhāṣya* gives the same names of the sects of the Pāśupata Mata except that he gives that of the third sect as the Kālāmukhas. He also mentions the beliefs common to all of them and the distinctive marks borne by them on their bodies and the peculiar rites which the Kālāmukhas and Kāpālikas believed to be efficacious in the attainment of their ideal, some of which at least had the sanction of the *Śaiva Āgamas*. According to Gopinath Rao, author of the *Elements of Hindu Iconography*,³² those *Āgamas* sometimes divide Śaivism into Śaiva, Pāśupata, Somaśiddhānta and Lākula and in other places divide Śāivas into Śaiva, Pāśupata, Kāpālika and Kālāmukha. The philosophical drama *Prabodhacandrodaya* shows, according to Rao, that the *Somaśiddhānta* was the authoritative text-book of the Kāpālikas, and Somaśarma has been mentioned in the *Purāṇas* as the name of the 27th Avatāra and the Guru of Akṣapāda, Kaṇāda and two others. He is also the person to whom has been attributed the act of first setting up the Liṅga of Somanātha at Prabhas Patan. The Somaśiddhāntins were therefore most probably identical with the Kāpālikas and the Lākulas with the Kālāmukhas. The first two sects were known by the same names to the Jaina writers and even to the Hindu writers from Vācaspati of the 9th century downwards. Sāyaṇa-Mādhava of the 14th century has named the 6th section in his *Sarvadarśana-śaṅgraha*, "Nakulīśa Pāśupata Darśana." This name seems to have been coined somewhere between the 11th and 14th centuries in order to distinguish the followers of Lakulīśa from the Pāśupatas of the old school who may not be favourable to the adoption of some of the novel practices introduced on the basis of the *Pāśupatasūtra*. This must have been due to the wide popularity and the support of some of the ruling princes which the cult of Lakulīśa, perhaps suitably modified at places and amplified at others, seems from the books and papers noted below³³ to have acquired during the said interval. They place it beyond doubt that the said cult had spread from Gujārāt and Saurāṣṭra to Mālwā, Rājasthāna, Mahārāṣṭra, Karnāṭak, Mysore and Tāmil nāḍ and that temples containing the idols of Lakulīśa carved on the southern facings of Śivaliṅgas and on wooden and stone door-frames, and Mathas presided over by the teachers of the Lākulāgama, had been set up there with encouragement and assistance in many cases from the ruling princes or their officers in the respective regions. This work seems to have been done by the authors of the *Gaṇakārikā*, the *Ratnatikā* on it, the *Saṁskārikārikā*, *Satkāryavicāra*, the *Dīpikā* on the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* &c.

32. *Elements of Hindu Iconography* Vol. II, pp. 15-24.

33. Gopinath Rao, *Op. cit.*; R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣnavism, Śaivism And Other Minor Sects*, pp. 102-21; H. D. Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujārāt*, Ch. XI, p. 222 ff; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Arch. Sur. Rep.* 1900-07, pp. 179-92; *Epi. Ind.* Vol. XXI, pp. 1-9; *Pañcamukhī*, Karnāṭak Inscriptions, Vol. I, 1941; F. W. Thomas, *App. to the Catal. of South Indian Sanskrit MSS.* by Winternitz, p. 274. See also Bühler, *Epi. Ind.* Vol. I, pp. 271-87 and Majumdar, *Antiquities in Kārvāṇ* (Bom. Uni. Journal, 1949, History Section, pp. 43-67).

VI. *Modern Śaivism and its sub-sects.*

12. It is highly remarkable that the latest inscription noticed in the books and papers mentioned in the last foot-note is the one found at Śirohi in Rājasthān which bears the date corresponding to 1309 A.D. It would not be wide of the mark to infer from it that the phase of the Lakuliśa cult particularly followed by the Kālāmukhas had, since even the latter part of the first quarter of the 14th century, ceased to be popular and to get support from the persons in authority, in the different regions where it had spread in the previous centuries. This may be due to a certain extent to the fact that it may have been brought into disrepute by the indulgence, by the uncultured persons who may have got entry into it, in some abominable practices in the name of the Lakulāgama, which the author of the *Pāśu-patasūtra* as interpreted in the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* appears to have intended to be the cult of a limited number of recluses, the followers of the Nivṛttidharma mārga, drawn from the caste of the Brāhmins. It is obvious that in that original form it could not have been popular even in the period covered by the inscriptions, for some of the practices prescribed to be followed by the Sādhakas of that order in the second to the fourth stages of their Sādhana were such that no man determined to adhere to the status of a householder would be able to follow them without the loss of prestige, which he can ill-afford to lose. Modification in the rules of the order so far as they related to the first stage of the Sādhana must therefore have been made either in the 9th or any prior century. So, when the question of the loss of its popularity in that modified form comes up for consideration an explanation must be looked for elsewhere, and that is to be found in the greater adaptability in other respects of the several other forms of Śaivism which had arisen in different parts of Bhāratvarṣa between the 7th to the 9th centuries. These were :— (1) the Paurāṇic Śaivism of the most tolerant and eclectic type which respected the established rules of Varṇāśrama Dharma and acknowledged the Vedas and the treatises on Dharma based upon them as authoritative; (2) the Āgamic Śaivism of the southern regions, which had its roots in some of the Paurāṇic legends such as the destruction of the sacrifice of Dakṣa Prajāpati, the acknowledgment of the superiority of Śiva by Brahmā and Viṣṇu and the sack of the three cities of Tripurāsura by Śiva &c., and whose special feature was a firm belief in the power of a devotee of Śiva to work miracles based upon the popular songs composed in the Tamil language current since the age (7th and 8th centuries) in which the four great devotees of Śiva, Mānikka Vaśāgar, Sambandar, and others lived and created impressions on their contemporaries and St. Sekkilar heightened their glory and that of 59 others by composing the *Periya Purāna*; (3) the Śaivism of Kāśmīr, commencing with the *Śivasūtra* of Siddha Vasugupta of the 8th century and developed by Kallaṭa's Kārikā and the writings of a long succession of philosophical thinkers acquainted with the doctrines of all the Indian philosophical thinkers including the Tāntrikas, commencing from Bhaṭṭa Somānanda, the founder of the Pratyabhijñā school, which tried to bridge the gulf between the Prauḍhivāda of the Advaita school of Gauḍapāda and the Śāktivāda of the Tāntrikas, by

propounding the doctrine that there is only one Reality and that it is absolute and unconditioned and also devoid of any internal divisions, that it is of the nature of divine light, that the worldly phenomenon of diverse names and forms does not, in fact, exist and yet it appears to exist on account of its inherent power to give rise to such notions, which power is not distinct from the reality but natural to it and therefore inseparable from it, that thus Śiva, the Reality, and Śakti, its inherent power to create a delusion in the minds of the embodied souls devoid of the knowledge of its nature, are identical and that when that knowledge arises the delusion subsides. It follows from this that the universe of which the persons devoid of that knowledge have experience was never created, does not subsist, and will never be completely destroyed. That experience is merely of the nature of dream-experience, which is believed to be true so long as it lasts but is believed to be false when one wakes up; (4) The cult of the Vira Śaivas prevalent in the Karnāṭak region which had been founded by some Śaivite Yogis and had received state recognition at the hands of one Busava, the prime minister of King Bijjala of Kalyāṇ between 1156 and 1170 A.D. Its votaries do not recognise caste distinctions and carry a Śivaliṅga in a metal case suspended from the neck by a thread or a chain. It is possible that this was a modified form of the Lākula cult as prevalent in the Karnāṭak, because the Jain author Rājasekhara says in the section on the Śaiva Mata in his *Śaḍdarśana-samuccaya* that some of the Śaivas, all of whom looked upon Lakuliśa as their first Tirthakara, carried a "Prāṇaliṅga" (symbol of the life-principle) in their hands. This was most probably done with a view to carry out the direction contained in the S.I. 6 ("Liṅgadhāri P.S."). Another characteristic of this sect is that it does not approve of the worship of Śiva performed according to the *Śaiva Āgamas* with the use of Vedic Mantras as did the inhabitants of the Tamil country at least since the time of the Chola kings and as they do even now. The adherents of this cult are mostly members of the trading class and their Gurus known as the "Jaṅgamas" are Yatis (recluses) and live in Mathas spread over the whole of the region where the Kannaḍa is the mother-tongue of the inhabitants. In its modern form the beliefs and practices which they teach are embodied in a *Purāṇa* composed in the said language, which has, most probably, for its basis the teaching contained in the Tamil work *Tirumandiram*, believed to have been composed by one Tirumulār, who is believed to be, a Śaiva Yogi of Kāśmīr well-versed in the Āgamas, to have migrated to the Tamil country and made it his home; and (5) The Śaivism of the Nāthayogis, a sect tracing its origin from Ādinātha, who is identical with Śiva, but appearing to have been founded by Gorakṣanātha of the 9th century, who claimed to have secured by a severe course of self-integration undergone for 12 years at a place near the temple of Paśupati-nātha, situated at a distance of 3-4 miles from Kathmandu in Nepal, communion with Matsyendranātha, a legendary figure known to the *Purāṇas* as having had the benefit of the knowledge of the Nātha Yoga from the Ādinātha himself. The Gorakhpanti Mathas are found all over India and the works embodying their beliefs and practices are found to have been composed in Sanskrit as well as in many of the modern Indian languages such as Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati

etc. Out of those so far published, the notable ones in Sanskrit are the *Gorakṣa-śataka*, *Siddhasiddhānta-paddhati*, *Yogaviśaya*, *Gogamārtaṇḍa Amarughaprabodha*, *Gorakṣasiddhāntasaṁgraha*, *Siddhasiddhānta-saṁgraha* and *Haṭhayogapradīpikā*. A work in English written after much study and personal investigation at the Mathas of such Yogis by G. W. Briggs and published under the title *Gorakṣmāth and the Kanphāṭṭa Yogis*, gives a fairly comprehensive idea of the location of their Mathas, their beliefs and practices and the works which they consider authoritative. The list of such works given in Ch. XI of the work reveals that though their Iṣṭadevatā is Śiva they are broad-minded enough to acquire knowledge even from the Vaiṣṇava and Tāntrika works. In this respect they resemble the Paurāṇic Śaivites and differ from the Lākulas to whom even the Śaiva Āgamas are authoritative only to the extent relied on in their canonical work, the *Pāśupatasūtra*. Another point of distinction between them and the Lākulas is that whereas the latter attach more importance to the Bhasmasnāna, Bhasmasāyana, Liṅgadhāraṇa etc., in the earlier stage of their Sādhana the former attach more to the observance of the Yamas and Niyamas. The point of resemblance between them is that both the sects believe that the end of Yogic Sādhana can be deemed to have been attained only when the Sādhanaka acquires by the grace of the deity the Siddhis, i.e. to say, the extraordinary powers of knowledge, will and action which he himself possesses.

13. The above brief survey of the changes which the cult of the Māheśvaras has undergone since it was first formulated in the later Vedic Period enables us to summarise that it had maintained its non-sectarian character for some time but became later sectarian in its character and began to be distinguished as the Pāśupata Mata of the old type, and continued to develop on that line till the advent of Lakuliṣa, who by introducing certain extreme practices in the Yogavidhi inconsistent with the life of a householder as regulated by the rules of Varṇāśrama-Dharma compelled the adherents of the old creed to form a separate sect of the Śaivas, leaving his followers to appropriate the designation of the Pāśupatas laying emphasis on the practice of the Yogavidhi, that the former could therefore count amongst themselves some of the Kushan rulers such as Kanishka III, and those of the Bhāraśiva, Vākāṭaka, Traikūṭaka and other dynasties which held sway in parts of the Indian territory between the 2nd and 4th centuries, that in the beginning of the fifth, Kaunḍinya-Rāśīkara enabled the Lākulas to rehabilitate their position and be regarded as belonging to the fold of the Māheśvaras by interpreting the *Pāśupatasūtra* in such a manner as to be consistent with the main teaching of the cult as consisting of the attainment of the end of miseries by the knowledge of the five categories, that it still continued to be suitable to the needs of a limited section of the Hindu community, that some time later scope for the initiation of non-Brahmans into the cult was found by assigning to such recruits the exclusive function of worshipping the Śivaliṅgas, that this enabled the members of the non-Brahman communities, by birth or adoption, to adopt the Māheśvara cult, with the result that we find many rulers of the Maitraka, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Chāhamāna, and Gurjara Nṛpati dynasties getting themselves described in copper-plate grants as “Parama

Māheśvaras, " that the Lākula cult is found to have spread far and wide in Bhārata-varṣa between the 9th and 14th centuries, as had also the tolerant Paurāṇic cult of the Śaivas, and had assumed numerous regional forms, that there was in course of time a split between the Lākulas *inter se* also, that the cult of the Nātha Yogīs, which like that of the Paurāṇic Śaivas was tolerant, but laid special emphasis on the necessity of a belief in the identity of their first Guru, Ādinātha with Śiva, had also come into existence as a distinct creed through Gorakṣanātha in the 9th century, and that all the sects of Śaivism now in existence have some beliefs and practices in common owing to their being the offshoots of the old Māheśvara cult but also have their own peculiar ones, which are not always reconcilable amongst themselves, with the result that the modern Śaivites do not constitute one single religious fraternity in the Hindu community but are divided amongst themselves into mutually exclusive groups of the devotees of God Śiva.

DĀSA AND DASYUS

By

N. G. CHAPEKER

The first question that can be conveniently posed at the outset is whether Dāsa and Dasyu are interchangeable terms. In the opinion of the author of the *R̥gveda* 10/22/8, they are so. He describes the Dasyu as irreligious and then calls upon Indra to kill him (the word here is Dāsa). Thus both the words appear in this *mantra* and they point to one and the same individual or perhaps to a community known by the term Dāsa or Dasyu. Another *ṛk*(1/103/3) affords corroborative evidence. Indra shattered the cities of the Dāsas (dāsīḥ puraḥ) and hurled his missile against the Dasyu. Here again, Dāsas and Dasyus are identified.

But then, it may be asked, why is it that one and the same object should have two names? Where was the necessity for them? Etymologically speaking, the two words can hardly be distinguished. Moreover, if we accept the reputed seers of the Sūkta as their real authors, then, there is no doubt that the same author has used both the words in an identical sense.

It may be noted that the words *dāsa* and *dasyu* are found in almost every Maṇḍala. The only exception is the ninth Maṇḍala to which *Dāsa* is unknown. The following table shows the number of times the two words are used in the ten Maṇḍalas.

<i>Maṇḍala</i>	<i>Dāsa</i>	<i>Dasyu</i>
1	5	20
2	6	6
3	2	3
4	6	6
5	6	8
6	8	8
7	4	3
8	9	10
9	0	4
10	16	13
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	62	81

It is evident that *Dasyu* is more frequently used than *Dāsa*. The marked imbalance in the first Maṇḍala cannot escape our attention. The ninth Maṇḍala

is entirely devoted to sacrificial ritual. Here the absence of the word *dāsa* is significant. Can we say that the word *dasyu* was older than the word *dāsa*?

The ṛṣis have mentioned the names of the *Dāsas* and *Dasyus*. It is noteworthy that most of these are common to both the *Dāsas* and the *Dasyus*; such as Śambara, Śuṣṇa, Pipru, Kuyava. This goes to establish, in some measure, the identity of *Dāsas* and *Dasyus*. *Vṛṣasipra*, *Kaulitara*, *Balbūtha*, *Arśasāna*, *Namuci*, *Sṛbinda*, *Anarśani*, *Ahīśuva* are the exclusive names of the *Dāsas*; similarly, *Cumuri*, *Dhuni* are mentioned in relation to *Dasyus*.

The *Dāsas* and *Dasyus* formed a distinct community antagonistic to the Vedic *Āryas* who hated them most. The latter prayed to their gods, particularly *Indra*, for their total destruction. It seems that the parties were disrupted on the ground of religion. The vedic ṛṣis accused them of being heretics.¹ They were godless (*adeva*).² They abstained from performing sacrifices (*a-karma*). Their form of worship, if any, did not conform to that of *mānuṣa* community (*a-mānuṣaḥ*), they insulted (*a-mantuḥ*) the *Āryas*. The *dasyus* were also irreligious³ (*avratāḥ*); they were non-sacrificers⁴ (*a-kratūn*; *a-yajñāḥ*) and, consequently, they made no gifts⁵ (*a-pṛṇataḥ*). They were cunning⁶ (*māyāvān*); they did not recite hymns (*a-brahmā*) so also they were unclean⁷ (*a-śivaḥ*). Out of this emerges complete accord in the matter of religion between *Dāsas* and *Dasyus*. But then the physiognomy as revealed by the ṛṣis in the case of *Dasyus* only may strike a discordant note. They were noseless⁸ (*anūsaḥ*). This description differentiates them from the *Āryas*. But does it distinguish them from the *Dāsas*? The evidence is quite meagre to say 'yes'. *A-nāsaḥ* is said concerning *Dasyus* only and hence the doubt. With *a-nāsaḥ* appears another adjective which brands the *Dasyus* as untruthful (*mṛdhra-vācaḥ*). This word '*mṛdhra-vācaḥ*' may mean those who utter obscene words.

Dāsa and *Dasyu* have been used in the *Ṛgveda* in more than one sense. They mean firstly a specified community of people, secondly, a cloud, thirdly, darkness and fourthly, a servant or slave. *Dasyu* is further a synonym of enemy. This sense is imparted to the word by a *khila* sage who, while extolling *Indra*, says that he kills the enemy of the people,⁹ (*Mānuṣaḥ dasyum*). In relating the story of *Yadu* and *Turva* providing (*Sāvarna* *Manu*) with beasts the ṛṣis applied the

1. 10-22-8 (*anyavrataḥ*).

2. 10-38-3.

3. 1-175-3; 9-41-2.

4. 7-0-3.

5. 5-7-10.

6. 4-16-9.

7. 1-117-8.

8. 5-20-10. *Mṛdhra-vācaḥ* may mean those who use vituperative language.

9. 8-50-8.

epithet *dāsa* to them. But these belonged to the Āryan stock. *Sāyaṇa*, therefore, rightly construes the word *Dāsaḥ* as *Dāsaḥ iva*, just like a servant.¹⁰

There are not a few ṛks which enable us to assert that there existed a well-marked and well-organised society known as *Dāsa* or *Dasyu*. It is needful to be reminded of this for, as said before and as I shall show hereafter this very word has been applied to a different category of objects, namely, a cloud and darkness. The decision whether *Dāsa* or *Dasyu* means this or that depends upon the particulars of description relating to these two categories. For instance, when we are told that the *vipra Tarukṣa* obtained hundred heads of cattle from *Balbūtha dāsa* there is no doubt that *Balbūtha* belonged to the *Dāsa* Community¹¹. The *Dasyus* were wealthy.¹² Naturally the Vedic Āryans coveted their wealth. The ṛṣis express hope that they will squeeze the wealth of the *dāsas* and distribute the same among themselves for the purposes of *Indra*.¹³ It seems the *dasyus* lived in a locality apart from that of the Āryans. A sage says he knew the way leading to that locality.¹⁴ *Indra* says with pride that he distinguishes the *dāsas* from the Āryans and goes to the sacrifices of the latter only.¹⁵ Gifts of *dāsas* used to be made along with cows, sheep etc.¹⁶ "Sinless as I am, I shall serve *Varuṇa* like a servant", says another ṛṣi.¹⁷ When *Indra* is called upon to visit their houses for killing *dasyus*¹⁸, it betokens an earthly and human occurrence. This very remark can be aptly made when the Āryans take the credit of overrunning the *dāsas* or *dasyus* with or without the intervention of *Indra*.¹⁹

Now, I shall take up for consideration another set of ṛks which have altogether a different significance for the words *dāsa* and *dasyu*. *Indra* is said to have annihilated *dāsa* by his light.²⁰ Here *dāsa* evidently means darkness or night. In one hymn, there is an obvious allusion to nights. There, *Indra* is praised because when he was born he drove away to the other half of his house the darknesses (*kṛṣṇāḥ*, nights) which appear alike etc., after having killed *Śambara* and *Varecin dāsas*.²¹ I think, this ṛk should be read with three other ṛks in the 10th Maṇḍala and an-

10. 10-62-10.

11. 8-46-32.

12. 1-33-4.

13. 8-40-6. इन्द्रेण = इन्द्रेण हेतुना (सा.).

14. 1-104-5.

15. 10-86-10.

16. 8-56-3.

17. 7-86-7.

18. 4-16-10.

19. 10-83-1.

20. 8-34-1. इन्द्रः अर्कः दासं अतिरत्.

21. 0-47-21. The ṛk is more than of an ordinary significance in that it suggests the long nights of the Arctic Home. *Kṛṣṇā* means, according to *Nirukta* a night (2-20). The word *sadṛśīḥ* may mean resembling each other every day (dive dive). When *Indra*—the super deity of the sun made its appearance possibly two nights had been left. I am not sure if *Varecin* and *Śambara* were the names of these nights or the names fathered upon them by the poet. This verse, I know, has been differently translated.

other in this Maṇḍala.²² And the impression is gathered that all this poetically and picturesquely paints what is merely a natural phenomenon, the sun-light coming after a long night.

Thus, if *dāsa* refers to the nights, *dasyu* refers to the clouds. There is a group of ṛks²³ which associate with the killing of *dasyus*, the Maruts, lightning, clear sky etc ; and all this takes place early in the morning with the commencement of sacrifices. When *dasyus* are killed, land is ploughed and seed is sown. It has been specifically stated that *dasyus* are killed so that the Āryas should obtain water. Maruts help Indra to dissipate clouds and hence they are aptly described as the friends of Indra.

It is worth while to point out that the *dāsas* or *dasyus* were slain by Indra to oblige some one of his followers. Śuśna and Kuyava were killed for the benefit of Kutsa ;²⁴ the *dāsa* Śambara was thrown out from the mountain for Divodāsa and Atithigva ;²⁵ for an unnamed ṛṣi, Namuci was done to death.²⁶ In order to enrich Purukutsa Indra demolished the seven autumnal towns of the *dāsas*.²⁷ Indra killed thirty thousand *dāsas* to oblige Dabhīti.²⁸ *Dāsas* and Vṛtra perished at the hands of Indra and Varuṇa while they were defending Sudāsa.²⁹

Indra had to fight with the *dasyus* to save Rjīṣvā. For the sake of Dabhīti, Indra had to kill *dasyus* such as Cumuri and Dhumi.³⁰ It will thus be seen that amongst those who were benefited by the heroism of Indra are Kutsa, Divodāsa, Atithigva, Purukutsa, Dabhīti, Sudāsa and Rjīṣvā. Of these, a look at the index of the R̥gveda Saṁhitā will show that only Kutsa, Sudāsa and Rjīṣvā are the composers of the hymns. It is natural, therefore, to expect that they relate

22. 10-138-3 ; 10-40-6, 7 ; 5-30-7 ; 2-11-18. The first is fully explained by the late Mr. Tilak in his *Arctic Home*. I entirely agree with his view. The other ṛks are susceptible to similar construction.

23. 1-59-6. When people desire that Vṛtra should be destroyed prayers or praises are offered to Indra. Then there comes the thunder and lightning. The four quarters quiver and Śambara is killed.

1-117-21. Here, it is the Aśvins who slew the *dasyu* with the result that agricultural operations were started.

5-31-7. Here Abi and Śuśna were killed by Indra. Abi, no doubt, meant a cloud.

1-100-18. Indra with the aid of the swift Maruts killed *dasyus* including Śimyu and made available sunshine and water and land. To the same effect is 5-14-4 where Agni and not Indra figures.

5-31-5. The horseless Maruts at the instance of Indra overpowered the *dasyus*.

1-101-5. Alludes to Maruts as the helpmates of Indra in his exploits.

2-20-8. Indra killed *dasyus* and shattered their fortresses (clouds).

24. 7-10-2 ; 1-51-6.

25. 6-26-35. It is assumed that the incidents related in this verse are not unconnected.

26. 10-73-7. It is possible this ṛṣi is one mentioned in 6-20-6- viz. Namī.

27. 6-20-10.

28. 4-30-21. Thirty thousand *dāsas* were laid prostrate by Indra.

29. 7-83-1 ; along with *dāsas*, Vṛtra and Āryas too were slain by Indra. The inclusion of Āryas and Vṛtra renders it an arduous task to decide what is meant by *dāsa*.

30. 2-15-0 ; 7-19-4 ; 10-113-0 ; 5-20-11. Pipru was killed for Rjīṣvā.

their own story which we know from other sources. But to our regret nowhere in the ṛks attributed to Kutsa does he tell us that Śuṣṇa and Kuyava were killed by Indra for his sake, nor does he even pray that Indra should do it. This silence on the part of Kutsa is inexplicable. The only exception probably is 1-101-2; and 1-103-8. Here, the ṛṣi, like a third person, showers praises on Indra for having slain Śuṣṇa, Śambara and Pipru, but not for him. He is narrating a historical fact. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that the Ṛgvedik Kutsa is Āngirasa Kutsa. Kutsa and Āngirasa Kutsa are very likely two different persons. There is another Ārjuneya Kutsa mentioned in 1-112-23. Now the hymn in which this ṛk is found is traditionally attributed to Āngirasa Kutsa. This Kutsa is the son of Arjuni (4-26-1; 8-1-11).

If we glance over the verses where allusion to Kutsa is found, we shall not fail to notice the apparent contradictions. He is both an enemy and a friend of Indra who inflicted bodily pain upon him and handed him over to a king. On the other hand Kutsa is said to be travelling with Indra in his chariot. Kutsa recites praises in honour of Indra. Kutsa falls in a well and Indra comes to his rescue. Kutsa is involved in a fight with Śuṣṇa in which Indra goes to his aid. Indra created water for Kutsa. Indra goes to the house of Kutsa. All this leaves one baffled as to who this Kutsa was. It seems probable that there were more than one Kutsa and we are left guessing as to which Kutsa it was for whom Śuṣṇa was killed by Indra.

Then, there is Sudāsa. We do not know whether this Sudāsa is the same as Paijavana Sudāsa. Then the only Sūkta which goes in the name of Pijavana-Putra Sudāsa viz. 10-133 offers no corroborative evidence of the alleged defence of Sudāsa by Indra in their fight with the Dāsas and Vṛtras, despite the fact that Indra is the devatā of this Sūkta. Incidentally, it may be stated that there is no internal evidence to prove the alleged authorship.

Similar is the case with Ṛjīṣvān. Indra saved him in the fight with the Dasyus. Now, the Sūktas of which the alleged author is this ṛṣi are 6-49; 6-52; 9-98; 9-108-6, 7. This too lend no support to what has been said about Ṛjīṣvān. The four Sūktas of the 6th Mandala viz. 49, 50, 51 and 52 are addressed to Viśvedeva. Indra is nowhere specifically addressed. The 98th Sūkta is the outcome of the joint authorship of Ṛjīṣvan and Ambarīṣa. What is meant by this joint authorship I am unable to comprehend. That apart, the devatā of this Sūkta is soma-pavnamāna as also that of 9-108-6, 7.

The words Dāsīḥ-Viśāḥ occur thrice in the Ṛgveda.³¹ It means community of Dāsas. Dāsīḥ is the adjectival form of Dāsa. In both these places, I think, clouds,

31. 2-11-4 दासीः विशः = दासजनः (सायण). 4-28-4; 10-148-2. As soon as Indra is born he over-powers dāsīḥ viśāḥ (nights?) with the help of Sūrya.

if not nights, are meant. Sūrya was the medium through which Indra destroyed the Dāsas. (There is an allusion to rain in one of these ṛks and hence the doubt).

Another analogous expression is *dāsīḥ puraḥ*.³² In my opinion it may be equated with *Dāsīḥ Viśaḥ*. Literally, it means fortresses of the Dāsas. Indra hurls his missile on the Dasyus and strolls on breaking the fortresses of the Dāsas one by one. The expression *Dāsīḥ Puraḥ* is to be found in not more than two places.

Not far removed from this is another expression *Dāsa-Patnīḥ*, literally the wives of the Dāsas. We meet these wives in three places.³³ The context leads me to hold that these words are used in reference to watery clouds.

Dāsa is described as six-eyed and three-headed.³⁴ In my opinion only clouds can at times answer this description. It is significantly stated the the two gods, Indra and Viṣṇu gave birth to Sūrya, Uṣas and Agni.³⁵ It proves that the sacrifices commenced with the dawn and this refers to the Arctic region. Wherever the word Uṣas occurs, I am disposed to hold that the ṛk has reference to the Arctic region. Indra and Viṣṇu, the ṛk further states, made the region wide for sacrifices.

A doubt may reasonably be entertained about the meaning of the word *Varṇa*. From the context however, I think the word means a section of the people. Indra protected Ārya *Varṇa*³⁶ by killing Dasyus and cast down in a ditch the *Dāsa Varṇa*.³⁷

Vṛtrahā and *Dasyuhā* are the two adjectives often used in praising Indra. In fact, it is said, he was born for the destruction of Dasyus. His fights with the Dasyus were frequent as the repeated word 'Dasyuhatyē' implies.

I will now try to probe more into the question of the identity of *dāsas* and *dasyus* who are usually named as *asuras* by Sāyaṇācārya. However, I must say

32. 1-103-3 ; 4-32-10.

33. 1-32-11 ; 3-12-6 ; 5-30-5 ; 8-96-18. The last is a khila. But it is important to know that the commentator¹ understands *dāsapatnīḥ* as waters (*upuh*). Indra and Agni demolished 90 cities of the *dāsapatnī*. This is 3-12-6. In 5-30-5 *dāsa-patnī* is rendered exactly as is done in 8-96-18-दासः पतिः यस्याः सा दासपत्नी. The association of Agni with Indra dispels the idea that Indra was a human warrior. Mark this word is used in its plural form.

34. 10-99-6.

In this connection it will be pertinent to refer to 5-30-9. It is supposed that this ṛk is an authority to say that in Ṛgvedic times *dāsas* had an army of women. I am not inclined to accept this view. The ṛk states that the *dāsa* used women as the weapons to fight with. "What harm will this women army do to me", thunders Indra. His two beautiful women (wives) have been hidden in the house. Indra thereafter fought with the *dasyu*. I follow the interpretation given under note 33. स्त्रियः means waters.

35. 7-99-4.

36. 3-34-9.

37. 2-12-14.

forthwith that the R̥gveda itself does not countenance Sāyaṇa in this respect. Several R̥ks are grouped around one central point namely, waters are taken up from below; but these are captured and seized by the wicked Dāsas; ṛṣis fervently pray for rain; Indra wants to release them for the benefit of the ṛṣis; sacrifices are commenced at the end of the night period when also the ṛṣis used to get showers of rain.

Admittedly, Indra is the rain god (7-43-4); Indra manifests himself and there is a rainfall (10-48-2). It is due to Indra that water finds a place in the clouds (10-48-2). This water, however, goes into the possession of the Dāsas (5-30-5; 8-96-18). The ṛṣis make an earnest appeal to Indra for rain (7-65-4) to make the earth wet with rain water (7-62-5), and to provide their progeny with water (7-57-6). Waters of such vital importance to the people were held up by the Dāsas viz. Vṛtra, Ahi etc. (2-17-1; 2-23-18 here Vṛtra plays the mischief; 2-19-2; 4-19-2; 5-30-6; here Ahi is the aggressive party; 6-72-3 here joint aggressors are Vṛtra and Ahi; 6-20-12 here Dhuni conceals the waters; see also 7-21-3). It may be noted here that Ahi, Vṛtra and Dhuni are functionally identical. Ahi is such a formidable foe that even gods had to pray to Indra for putting Ahi to death. Moved by these and similar other prayers, Indra prepared for the destruction of the oppressors. The result is Indra killed Vṛtra and released the arrested waters (3-32-6; 10-113-34; 10-74-6). Indra destroyed Vṛtra's autumnal fortresses (1-174-2). Vṛtra was killed and rivers began to flow (4-18-7; 8-100-12). The resistance of Ahi and Vṛtra was overcome and cows in the form of waters were let loose. Indra says with pride that he killed Vṛtra and released waters to enable the ṛṣis to offer oblations (10-28-7). 10-42-5, 8-12-22, 10-152-3 mention Vṛtra's destruction. Can 8-2-32 be so construed as to suggest that Indra drew away the clouds or the darkness of the southern globe? The word dakṣiṇā means south. When the impediment of Vṛtra was removed, the sky became clear and sacrifices commenced. Darkness is caused by clouds (8-93-14).

This achievement of Indra was not only in respect of Vṛtra and Ahi but of others also. For instance, he attacked Śuṣṇa (1-33-12; 1-175-4; 3-31-8; 6-20-5; 6-26-3; 8-96-17; 10-49-3; 10-90-9); destroyed his strong fortresses (1-51-11; 4-30-13); killed him and released waters (1-54-5; 10-111-4. 5 with waters, light also). Children of Śuṣṇa were killed. Two ṛks refer to heavenly waters (8-40-10, 11). In this Indra was assisted by Maruts (10-22-11).

Śuṣṇa assumed various forms (10-61-13). He had horns (1-33-12).

Vala can hardly be distinguished from Śuṣṇa. He, too, is killed to release waters (2-24-3; 10-68-5 cows set at liberty; 8-14-7 sky was cleared; 6-18-5 the cities of Vala; 6-39-2 Vala in association with a mountain).

Like Śuṣṇa Vala and others, Śambara, too, suffered extinction at the hands of Indra (1-54-4; 1-130-7; 3-47-4; -6-43-1; 6-47-21, 22). Śambara was the son of

Kulitara. He was thrown down from the mountain (4-30-14). Śambara seems to be connected with a mountain of which he was a resident. He was found out on the 40th year (2-12-11). Much ingenuity is needed to ascertain what this means. There is a reference to Ahi also in this verse which strengthens the belief that Śambara meant a cloud or clouds gathered about the mountain. This gains further (see also 7-18-20) support when Ahi, Marut and Śambara are simultaneously mentioned in the same context (3-17-4). Śambara is said to emerge out of a mountain. (6-26-5). Another important feature is that he was a master of several cities or fortresses (2-14-6; 2-19-6—99 towns; 4-16-13; 4-26-3·99 cities; 6-31-4—100 forts; 6-47-2; 7-19-5; 7-99-5; 9-61-2—towns). There is no doubt that Śambara was a mountain-cloud.

Besides Śambara and Śuṣṇa, others too owned towns or forts; for example, Nānuci (1-53-7); Vraṅgrā (1-53-8 100 towns); Aśna (2-20-5); Ilibiśa (1-33-12); Pipru (1-51-5; 6-18-8; 6-20-7).

Others who fell victims to the heroism of Indra were (1) Arbuda (1-51-6 he was crushed under feet by Indra; 2-11-20 for the benefit of Trita; 2-14-4; 8-3-19); (2) Karanja and Parnaya (1-53-8; 10-48-8) (3) Pipru (1-101-2; 1-103-8; 5-29-11; 8-32-2; 10-99-11;—he had a stable of cows); (4) Kuyava (1-103-8; 1-104-2, 3); 2-19-16; 4-16-12. He was killed early in the morning); (5) Narmara and Sahavasu (2-13-8); (6) Dr̥bhika (2-14-3) (7) Varcin (4-30-15 five lakh soldiers); (8) Mṛgayu (4-16-13; 8-3-19, 10-49 5-5) (9) Padgr̥bhi (10-49-5; 8-3-19); (10) Mṛga (8-5-36); (11) Anar̥sani, and Sr̥biṇḍa (8-32-2); (12) Uraṇa (2-14-4) he rushed with his 99 arms); (13) Vyaṅsa (2-14-5; 3-34-3 speaks of night cows; 4-18-9); (14) Rudhrika (2-14-5); (15) Cmuri and Dhuni (2-15-9; 6-20-13; 6-26-6 put to death while asleep 10-113-9), (16) Aurnavābha and Ahiśuva (8-32-26; 8-77-2).

Many of these names are grouped together. This shows that they belong to the same category. Therefore, if Śambara is a cloud, the others also are clouds. The figure ninety-nine is not sacrosanct. Possibly, it stands for so many mountains. (1-101-13 speaks of 99 rivers, see also 10-104-8). So many water falls because there were so many mountains. The dāsas were clouds hanging over and enveloping the mountains: when these clouds burst out, water flows down the hills. This is what is meant by Indra's freeing the rivers after having killed Vṛtra (8-100-12). The children of Śuṣṇa and others mentioned as being killed by Indra may mean small clouds (8-40-10; 10-42-5). The clouds make the mountains dusky and so these were appropriately termed, the iron forts of the dāsas (2-20-8). The destruction of so called towns followed by the falling of rain throws light on the real character of these towns (1-51-11). Waters are intimately connected with the killings of these dāsas (1-54-5; 1-59-6; 2-12-3; 2-24-3; 3-32-6; 3-34-3; 4-18-7; 4-28-1; 5-29-3, 4; 5-32-12; 8-3-19; 8-32-2, 26; 8-100-12; 10-74-6; 10-111-4,5; 10-113-3, 4)

These references are already noted ; but they were scattered. I have re-entered them here in one place in order to fortify my inference.

From this it seems that the rainy season in those ancient times commenced with the end of the long nights. The ṛṣis were anxious for rains as they wanted Soma for sacrificial purpose and Soma could grow only when they had a rain-fall (10-148-2). Now if the Vedic ṛṣis were living in the land of the five rivers it passes one's comprehension why they should be pining for waters from the sky. One is, therefore, disposed to argue that the authors of these ṛks were living in some mountainous region far away from the present Punjab. It further seems that the Soma was a herb which grew immediately like grass on the soil getting showers of rain. So also the fight was not so much with the dāsa community as with the clouds for setting the waters free therefrom.

There are numerous references which state the bare fact of the killing of the dāsas. They furnish no particulars. I have, therefore, thought it advisable not to encumber the article with those references.

Finally, I would draw attention to 2-15-9. There one more particular of killing Cumuri and Dhuni is given. These were killed by Indra while they were asleep. It would be cowardice and not heroism on the part of Indra to kill an enemy when he is sleeping. This particular description accords more with a cloud than any human being (7-19-4).

I should like to advert to one more point. There are many references to the destruction of Śambara's cities by Indra. There is a discrepancy as regards the number. Sometimes 99 are mentioned ; sometimes 100. The repetition, however, proves that the poets are relating an event of a bygone age which was handed over to them from generation to generation. It was not a contemporary occurrence. The figure 99 seems to be constant. Śambara, Vala, Aśna, Vaṅgrāda had each 99 (100 in two cases) cities or fortresses. Why ? There were also 99 enemies.

At one place Varcin is said to possess one lac of army (2-14-6), at another place, five lacs of army (4-30-15). All this is hyperbolic.

In conclusion, I repeat that the fight with dāsas was not a fight with people but with clouds or darkness personified. People were longing for rains and they wanted clouds to burst. Similarly, they dreaded darkness and desired to be blessed with sun-light. "Let not long night come to us" (2-27-14); "may we not shift to a place which is far away from light" (2-28-7). "Pray do not keep us away from the sight of the sun" (2-23-1).

After all, it is quite certain that Vṛtra, Śambara and others of their ilk are not Asuras as Sāyana is pleased to dub them.

Weapons used by Indra must be scrutinised. He, it is said (8-14-13), cut off the head of Namuci with the froth (apāmphēna). Is this not sufficient to prove that it was not a human fight ?

I am not unaware that quite opposite views are expressed on this point. I can only say that this is my reading of the Ṛgveda.

A GLANCE AT INDIAN STUDIES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By

VINCENC POŘÍZKA

Feelings of sincere friendship and admiration for India are deeply rooted in the hearts of Czechs and Slovaks and the most conspicuous expression of these feelings is the long tradition of Indian studies in Czechoslovakia. This tradition could never have come into existence if it had not sprung from the love for India in the minds of the scholars who contributed to this tradition. One may ask what are the reasons of the special interest of Czechs and Slovaks for India. Certainly, various answers could be found. I should like to speak from my own experience. In the first years after the second World War, we had an annual increase of about 50 students on an average in the courses of Hindi at the Oriental Institute in Prague. Most of them were never in India and will never see India. When asked about the reasons of learning Hindi, a great deal of them answered sincerely, "I should like to get direct knowledge of Indian culture by reading Hindi literature." For the same reasons, other students learned Sanskrit and Bengali.

Since long ago, Czech scholars were attracted by Indian culture, especially by Indian languages and literatures. The first Czech to write a grammar of any Indian language was Karel Prikryl (S. J. Prikryl Carolus, 1718-1785 A.D.), a priest, who came to Goa about the middle of the 18th century and wrote a grammar of the Konkānī dialect, in Latin ("Principia linguae brahmanicæ" Ms. No. X c 35, in the National Museum, Prague). Unfortunately, his book remained unpublished.

In the first half of 19th century, with the revival of Czech literature and Czech endeavours in all branches of knowledge, first articles about Indians, Sanskrit language, literature and poetry appeared in Czech periodicals. Since the second half of 19th century, the tradition of Indian studies in Bohemia is firmly established. In 1851, the first translations from Mahābhārata into Czech were published by a German scholar, August Schleicher, professor of the University of Prague, and by a Czech scholar, F. Sohaj. Next followed the translations of Śakuntalā by Čeňek Vyhnis/1873/ and of Hitopadeśa by Emanuel Kovář /1887/. Indian philosophy was systematically treated and interpreted by František Cupr/1876 ff/. The most prominent person among the Czech scholars contributing to Indian studies towards the end of the 19th and in the beginning of the 20th century was Josef Zubatý/1855-1931/, professor of Indo-European comparative philology at the Czech University of Prague and author of many learned dissertations concerning Indo-European linguistics and Sanskrit literature. He published also an excellent

translation of Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra and Meghadūta, the latter in collaboration with Jaromír Borecký.

Some German scholars at the German University of Prague devoted their energy to Indian studies, too. After August Schleicher, mentioned above, the most distinguished names among these German indologists are Alfred Ludwig, Moriz Winternitz, and Otto Stein.

In the Czech Charles' University of Prague, after professor Josef Zubatý, Indian studies were pursued by prof. Vincenc Lesný, prof. Otakar Pertold, and prof. Oldřich Friš.

Prof. Otakar Pertold /born in 1884/ was the first Czech indologist to visit India. In 1909-1910, he travelled throughout India from Bombay, Amritsar and Calcutta down to Tinneveli and Ceylon, wishing to get acquainted with the religious situation in India in general and to find out the survivals of the ancient folk-religions in particular. At the same time, he was pursuing his studies of Indian languages, Sanskrit, Pāli, Prākṛit, Hindī, Urdū, Tamil, and Singhalese. In 1919, prof. Pertold came to India the second time and remained there till 1923, having been appointed Consul of the Czechoslovak Republic in India—first Czechoslovak official of this kind in India; he spent all the spare time in learned researches. In 1927, he was appointed at Charles' University of Prague as professor of comparative science of religion. Up to the second World War, prof. Pertold was member of the Anthropological society of Bombay. The fruits of his Indian searching are embodied in a long series of articles, books of travels, scientific dissertations, works dealing with the comparative science of religion, linguistic manuals etc. / *Pearl of the Indian Ocean, From the Forgotten Corners of India, South Indian Remembrances, Elements of the General Science of Religion, Paritani—Pirit, Inquiries into the Popular Religion of Ceylon, Manual of Hindustānī* etc. / At present prof. Pertold is leading professor of the Chair of Ethnography in the faculty of philosophy at Charles' University of Prague.

Prof. Pertold's wife, Mrs. Anna Pertold, also published a remarkable description of the life of common people in India in her book *From the Border of India*.

One of Prof. Pertold's achievements is to be especially appreciated, viz. the establishment of studies of Hindī and Urdū in Czechoslovakia. As early as before the first World War, he insisted upon lectures of modern Indian languages to be inserted in the University courses. This plan of his was carried out only forty years later, in 1950. But already in 1923 he started courses of Hindī and Urdū in the Masaryk's Institute, and, since 1927, in the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute in Prague. Recently, he began lecturing Tamil and Singhalese at the Charles' University of Prague.

After the first World War, the first official seat for Czech studies of indology was set up at Charles' University of Prague under the leadership of prof. Vincenc Lesný /1882-1953/, the first Czech professor of Indian philology at Charles's University/appointed in 1924/. Professor Lesný visited India twice/in 1922-1923 and 1927-1928/ and became Fellow of the Viśvabhāratī University of Śāntāiniketan. After the second World War, he was promoted Director of the Oriental Institute in Prague, and, in 1952, he was nominated member of the reorganized Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. In the sphere of linguistics, following the example of his great teacher prof. Josef Zubaty, academician Lesný applied historical and comparative method in his lectures both of Old Indo-Aryan and Old Iranian languages; but his concern extended to Middle Indo-Aryan and New Indo-Aryan languages, as well. One of his early publications deals with syntactical uses of cases in Marāṭhī and his inaugural dissertation examines the stage of development of Prākṛit dialects in Bhāsa's dramas. In the School of Oriental Languages at the Oriental Institute of Prague, academician Lesný was lecturing in Bengali. This important Indian language in general and the works of Rabīndranāth Ṭhākur in particular were a great love of academician Lesný. He was personal friend of R. Ṭhākur and contributed very much to the popularity of the great Bengali poet with the Czech people by a detailed monograph on Ṭhākur's life and work/this monograph was published also in English/and by numerous translations from Ṭhākur's prose and poetry.

Another predilection of academician Lesný was Buddhism. He wrote two books on Buddhism, the first of which was published in 1921, the second, largely amplified and more broadly conceived, in 1948. In addition, he gave Czech readers a translation of *Dhammapadam*, in verse.

Apart from these publications treating particular subjects, academician Lesný wrote popular books on India offering information of general character. A remarkable work is his book *India and Indians*, a survey of main features of cultural development in India from the earliest stages to the present day. His other publications of similar kind are *The Spirit of India* and *India of Today*.

For his translations, academician Lesný selected texts of Sanskrit / esp. Nalāḥ and Damayantī and Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara/, Pāli/Dhammapadam/, Hindi/Ayodhyā Singha's short story Dev'balā/, and, most of all, Bengali/Old Bengali ballad Washerman's daughter, Rabīndranāth Ṭhākur's works : The king of a Dark Room, Free Stream, Strokes of the Pen etc./

After his death on April the 9th, 1953, six days after his 71st anniversary, academician Lesný was followed in office at Charles' University of Prague by his pupil, professor Oldřich Friš/1903-1955/for a very short time of one and a half year. Professor Friš died prematurely on January the 14th, 1955, at the age of 51, amidst his best scientific endeavours. He left behind several learned treatises

concerning Indo-European linguistics, especially Old and Middle Indo-Aryan and Old Iranian, and many translations from Sanskrit and Prākṛit, both in prose and in verse/a selection from Vedic hymns, Kālidāsa's Meghadūta, Ṛtusaṃhāra, Hālu's Sattasaī etc./ Professor Friš was the first Czech scholar to publish a Sanskrit Reader to which he prepared a Sanskrit-Czech-Russian-English Vocabulary.

Academician Lesný, prof. Pertold and prof. Friš are the most prominent Czech scholars who devoted their lives to Indian studies. Their work is based on direct knowledge of Indian languages, literatures and religions, and represents the best fruits of learned researches. Apart from their activity, insight into Indian culture was widely diffused by translations from indirect sources, viz. from other European languages, by many Czech writers. Among works of this kind we find translations of selected texts from Upanishads, Bhagavadgītā, Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā books of travels, and many other publications.

A new stage of Indian studies in Czechoslovakia was inaugurated after the second World War. School of Modern Oriental Languages was opened at the Oriental Institute of Prague. A popular Czech monthly, *Nový Orient* ("New Orient"), was founded. The Oriental Institute itself was reorganized and attached to the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

The publication of the learned organ of the Oriental Institute, *Archiv Orientální*. Oriental Archives, published since 1929/ was secured by the publishing House of the Academy. In 1950, lectures in Hindī and Bengali were introduced in the courses of the faculty of philology at Charles' University of Prague. Opening these courses, we were in a difficult position as we were in want of suitable manuals for this new branch of Indian studies. But we have overcome the initial troubles and look with confidence to the future. Our work was greatly forwarded by the favour of the Ministry of Education of India and by the kind assistance of the Embassy of India in Prague as well as of many Indian friends. We appreciate this help very much.

The fruits of the studies of modern Indian languages appeared in different spheres of our cultural life in the last few years. Experts in modern Indian languages are working in offices and institutes, especially in the Charles' University, in the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, in the State Institute of Modern Languages, in the Ministry of Education and Culture, etc. Many translations from modern Indian languages were published, thus from Hindī, Urdū, Bengali and Tamil. More translations and numerous scientific publications are planned for the near future.

At present, Indian studies in Czechoslovakia are pursued on three levels./1/ In the Indian department of the Chair of philology and history of the Near and Middle East and India, in the faculty of philology at Charles' University of Prague.

The aim of this department is to give scientific education to students of Indian philology. Lectures in this province comprise descriptive grammar, historical grammar, practical courses of the respective languages, interpretation of texts, lectures on history of India, and practical exercises in scientific seminaries. This year, we have eight students in Hindi, three in old and Middle Indo-Aryan philology and two in Singhalese. Lectures in Bengali turn in intervals of some years if required.

/2/ In the Indian department of the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. The task of this department is to organize the scientific work of individual scholars. Students who have completed their university studies may become members of the Indian department of the Oriental Institute. At present, in this department, there are working experts in Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdū, Dravidian languages, and Central Asian and Indonesian languages. Some members of this department belong to the staff of editors of the magazines *Archiv Orientální* (Oriental Archives) and *Nový Orient* (New Orient).

/3/ In the Oriental department of the State Institute of Languages. The purpose followed by this Institute is to impart practical knowledge of languages to all concerned no matter what their individual occupation may be. Teaching takes place, as a rule, in evening courses, and includes Hindi, Urdū, Bengali, Sanskrit, and Tamil. The number of attendance varies from year to year.

Thus, Indian studies in Czechoslovakia are secured in different ways according to the wants of interested persons and to the requirements of the country. Our prospects are hopeful, especially now when—for the first time in the history of Indo-Czechoslovak relations—a number of Czechoslovak students are coming to India to continue their studies in the very centres of Indian culture. We wish them best success and hope that their efforts—supported by the favour of the Government of India and of our numerous friends in India—will add most valuable contributions to the old tradition of Indian studies in Czechoslovakia.

THE JĀTIMĀLĀ OF SOMANĀTHA

Edited for the first time by

N. A. GORE

INTRODUCTION

1. *General Remarks*

Though Somanātha has been well known to Sanskritists and Musicians as the author of the *Rāgavibodha*,¹ an authoritative work on Karnatak music for the last sixty years or so, little was known about him as a poet, until Dr. V. Raghavan and Dr. P. K. Gode wrote three papers² on the subject. Dr. Gode asked me to edit the *Jātimālā* in January 1953 and placed at my disposal the two Mss. at the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute and also procured on loan for my use another Ms. of the work at the Oriental Institute, Baroda. A tentative edition of the text was prepared from these three Mss. in March 1953. At that time neither Dr. Gode nor I was aware of the paper of Dr. Raghavan.

I could not, however, publish my edition of the text owing to some personal difficulties and the work was put off until April 1955, when I secured on loan Ms. no. G. 8267 at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Then in December 1955 I wrote to Dr. Raghavan requesting information about additional Mss. He replied on the 9th of December 1955 stating that he himself had been contemplating to bring out an edition of the same work, but with characteristic generosity he promised to send me his materials, and on the 19th December 1955, he sent me his paper, referred to above, with transcripts of the Mss. at Baroda and Calcutta, with the variant readings, from the two Mss. at Wai, noted in the margins of his transcript of the Baroda Ms. Then through the favour of Tarkatirtha Lakshmanshastri Joshi, I secured on loan the two Wai Mss. also, on 26th December, 1955. I am deeply grateful to Dr. Raghavan for allowing me the use of his material and to

1. Four editions of this work are: (i) The text with the author's own commentary, *Fiveka*, published by Meherchand Lachman Das, Lahore, 1895, (ii) Sri M. S. Ramaswami's edition of the text with an English translation, Madras, 1933, (iii) Pandit S. Subrahmanyam Sastri's edition of the text with the *Fiveka*, Adyar, 1945, (iv) Shri P. G. Ghurpure's edition of the text with the *Fiveka*, Poona, 1894. Besides these complete editions, Richard Simon critically edited vv. 37-116 in the fifth chapter with a table of notations, Leipzig, Munich, 1904.

2. (i) Dr. V. Raghavan, The non-musical works of some leading music writers, the *Journal of the Music Academy*, Madras, Vol. XX (1949), pp. 152-154;

(ii) Dr. P. K. Gode, Poetical works of Somanātha Sakalākula of Yamulagrāma—before A.D. 1750, *The Journal of the University of Gauhati*, Vol. 4, (1953), pp. 365-368;

(iii) Dr. P. K. Gode, The Poetical works of Somanātha, the author of *Rāgavibodha*, *The Journal of the Prācyavāṇī*, Calcutta, Vol. XI (1954), pp. 22-25.

Shri Lakhmanshastri Joshi for the loan of the two Mss. at the Prājñapāṭhasālā, Wai. I must state here, however, that I have independently consulted all the four Mss. used by Dr. Raghavan, besides the two at the B.O.R. Institute, Poona. I do not state this to minimize my indebtedness to Dr. Raghavan, but to assume sole responsibility for all the shortcomings that may be noticed in the present edition.

2. The Mss. Material

This edition of the *Jātimālā* is based on the following 6 complete Mss. :-

(i) *B*—Ms. no. 5542 at the Oriental Institute, Baroda. Foll. 9; written on hand-made paper in the Devanāgarī script. Beginning : श्रीगणेशाय नमः । आर्यासूद्धसमानं etc. End : इति सोमकविकृता जातिमाला ॥ शके १६८९ सर्वजित् नाम संवत्सरे माघशुद्धतृतीया तद्दिनी केळकरोपनाम विष्ण्वात्मजरामजिपंतेन लिखितं ॥ छ ॥ It is about 190 years old, being written by one Ramji Vishnu Kelkar on the 3rd day of the bright half of Māgha of the Śaka year 1689 which corresponds to Friday, the 22nd January 1768.

(ii) *W1*—A Ms. in bundle no. 58 in the Prājñapāṭhasālā, Wai, Dist. N. Satara. Foll. 10, 8 lines per fol; about 26 letters per line; written on thick hand-made paper; size 8.5" × 3.9"; script Devanāgarī. Hand-writing is bold and clear. It is mostly correct; yellow pigment is used in a few places only. Fol 1 a has the following verse:

हरिरासेवते निद्रा अधोन्मीलितलोचनः ।
त्वयि विन्यस्तभारस्य किमन्यदवशिष्यते ।

and the remark अथ जातिमाला प्रारंभः ।

Beginning : श्रीगणेशाय नमः । आर्यासूनुसमानं etc. End : इतिसोमकविकृता जातिमाला ॥ शके १६८९ सर्वजित् नाम संवत्सरे माघशुद्धतृतीया तद्दिनी केळकरोपनाम विष्ण्वात्मजरामाजीपंतेन पुस्तकं लिखितं ॥ छ ॥ श्रीः ॥ छ ॥ Fol. 10 b has the following three verses, the first above and the rest below the remark जातिमाला समाप्तः ॥

वाले नाथ विमुंच मानिनि रुषं कोपान्मया कि कृतं खेदोस्मासु न मेपराध्यति भवान्सर्वपराधा मयि ॥ तत् कि रोदिपि गदुदेन वचसा कस्याग्रतो रुद्यते नन्वेतन्मम का तवास्मि दयिता नास्मीत्यतो रुद्यते ॥१॥

घन्याः सा सखि योषितः प्रियतमे सर्वांगलनेपि याः प्रागल्भ्यं कथयति मोहनविधावालंब्य धैर्यं महत् ॥ अस्माकं तु तदीयपाणिकमलेप्युन्मोचयत्यंशके कोयं का कथमत्र कि नु सुरतं स्वत्पापि मे न स्मृतिः ॥१॥

श्रीगोस्वामिचिरंतनदृढपरिरंभपीडिता विधवा ॥ कुरुते हृदयविमुक्ता भणिति श्रीकृष्णकृष्णेति ॥२॥

A glance at the description of the two Mss. *B* and *W1*, will show that their beginnings and Colophons are almost identical. The only slight difference is in the

name of the Śaka year which is given as सर्वजित् in *B* and as सर्वजित in *W1*; the scribe's name is रामजि in *B* and रामाजी in *W1*. It is clear that one is the copy of the other. In the text also there is no difference in the two Mss. As I had not got these two Mss. at the same time, I am unable to say which was the original from which the other was copied by some unknown scribe. It is also possible that both are copies of a third Ms. and that the colophon belonged to this prototype of *B* and *W1*.

(iii) *C*—Ms. no. G. 8267—76—F.6 in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Foll 4; about 12 to 13 ll. to a page and about 59 letters to a line. It is written on country-made paper in the Devanāgarī script. Beginning: श्रीगणेशाय नमः । आर्यासूनुसमानं etc. End: इति श्रीसकलकलोपनाम मौद्गलिसोमनाथविरचिता जातिमाला समाप्तः ॥ छ ॥ श्री ॥ नारायण ॥ छ ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ छ ॥ The date of copying is not given. On the top-margin of 1^a we have the words: मालवरघुनाथस्येदम् and fol. 7b is blank except for the words:

॥ जातिमाला ॥

मालवीयरघुनाथस्येदम् ।

i.e. this Ms. once belonged to one Raghunātha of Mūlaviya family. I should like to point out that the Ms. no. G. 8213-76-F. 4. from the Asiatic Society, Calcutta and containing the *Śṛṅgāraśataka* and the *Adharaśataka*,³ both by Nilakaṅṭha Janārdana Śukla (1610-1670 A.D.) also belonged to मालवीयरघुनाथशर्मन्. It would be interesting to see if there are any other Mss. in the Asiatic Society's collection, belonging to this मालवीयरघुनाथशर्मन्.

(iv) *K*—The Ms. belongs to the Kotnis collection of Mss. acquired by the B.O.R. Institute, Poona, in 1953. Foll. 7; about 8 to 9 lines to a fol.; written on hand-made paper, turned brownish; moth-eaten in many places, particularly in the margins. Hand-writing is bold and clear, but that on fol. 2a is written with a pen different from that used for writing other pages. Beginning: श्रीगणेशाय नमः । श्रीजगदंकार्यै नमः । आर्यासूनुसमानं etc. End: इतिसकलकलोपनामकसकलपंडिततारागणसोमनाथ-वि...जातिमाला समाप्तीमगमत् । इदं पुस्तकं चितामभटेन लिखितं शके १८१९ पिंगलनाम सवत्स... वद्य ५ सायकालि समाप्त । श्रिदुर्गाप्रसन श्रिमार्तंडप्रसन रामचद्र प्रसन काशिविन्वेस्वरप्रसनशुभ... It is 160 years old, being copied by one Cintāma (ṇa) bhaṭṭa or Cintāma (ṇa) surnamed Bhaṭṭa, in the evening on the fifth day of the dark half of some month in the Śaka year 1729, corresponding to 1797-98 A.D.

(v) *P*—Ms. no. 302 of 1884-86 at the B.O.R. Institute. Foll. 3 (from 8a 1.7 to fol. 10); lines 13 to a page, about 50 to 52 syllables to a line. The earlier portion of the Ms. contains the *Vairāgyaśata* of Somanātha. It is written on hand-made

3. Edited by me in the *Jou. of the Uni. of Poona*, (1953), no. 1, pp. 94-118.

paper in the Devanāgarī script. The paper is much worn-out. It is not dated but appears to be the oldest of the six Mss. used by me. Corrections in the text are noted in the margins in a few cases. Beginning : श्रीगणेशाय नमः । श्रीमच्छिद्राय नमः । आर्यासूनुसमानं etc. End : इतिश्रीसकलकलोपनाम सोमनाथविरचिता जातिमाला समाप्ता ॥ छ ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ छ ॥

(vi) W2—A Ms. in bundle no. 75 in the Prājñapāṭhaśālā. Foll. 4; ll. 14 to 19 per page; 42 to 44 syllables per line. Thin hand-made paper; size 9.8" × 5.4"; Devanāgarī script. Hand-writing is small but incorrect in many places; red powder is used to mark out the numbers of the stanzas. On fol. 1a : ग्रंथसंख्या ७५ ॥ अथ सोमनाथविरचिता स्त्रीजातिमाला प्रारंभः ॥ The text begins on fol. 1b. and ends on fol. 4a. Fol. 4b has : ॥ जातिमाला ग्रंथ ७५. Beginning : श्रीगणेशाय नमः । आर्यासूनुसमानं etc. End : सोमनाथविरचिता जातिमाला समाप्ता ॥

3 The Title

The title of this short poem of 54 stanzas is *Jātimālā* i.e. a garland of *Jāti*s. Here the word *jāti* is used by the author in two different senses : (1) the figure of speech *Jāti* or *Svabhāvokti*. Note the words *जातीः सतीः* in the second line of the third stanza. This stanza explains the purpose of composing this poem. Somanātha says, " I am composing (*tanomi*) the (following) verses containing excellent or flawless (*Satīh*) natural descriptions (*jātih*) of the activities of the several ladies whose hearts were set on Lord Kṛṣṇa, who, out of curiosity (as it were), was imitating the behaviour of ordinary mortals. For, even an ordinary (*yathā tathā*) description of persons devoted to the Lord brings about purification of the mind and speech of the person giving that description." The verse implies that the ladies described in verses 4 to 53 were devoted to Lord Kṛṣṇa. But except in verse 53, there is no indication whatsoever that they were so devoted. The author probably felt that unless the background of the divine love of the *Gopīs* for Lord Kṛṣṇa was provided for these verses they would degrade him in the eyes of discerning critics; mere mortals are not a fit subject for the muse of a poet ! (ii) In the second explanation of the title, the word *jāti* means a variety or a class i.e. the poem is descriptive of the three varieties of the *Nāyikā*, depending on her age and experience of love viz. the *Mugdā*, the *Madhyā* and the *Pragalbhā*. This is followed by verses containing descriptions which may hold good for *Nāyikās* of any one of the three classes referred to above. Nine verses towards the end describe the eight well known varieties of *Nāyikās*, depending on the behaviour of the *Nāyaka* and their reactions to it.

4. The Metre

The first stanza is in the *Āryā* metre and the rest are in the *Pṛthvī* metre. Note the words 'āryā' in the beginning of the first verse and 'pṛthvī' in the third quarter of the second.

5. *The Summary*

V.1—The maṅgala. The poet pays homage to his father Mudgala who, with his wife Jhāpāmbā, was saluted to by eminent Brahmīns, resembling as he did Lord Gaṇeśa by his learning and who was the (sole) prop to him (the poet). V.2—Invocation of the goddess Pārvatī for the protection of the readers of the poem. Resorting to *vakrokti*, the poet describes a charming situation at the time of Umā's marriage to Śiva. Her friends insisted that she must take the name of the bride-groom while falling at his feet in keeping with the custom. Instead of saying the words, 'Sivāya namaḥ', she had hardly uttered the syllables 'Siv' when her speech failed her out of natural and becoming modesty, her eyes drooped and holding rice-grains in her folded hands somehow she managed to bow down at the feet of the bride-groom. V. 3—The poet's object in writing this poem. VV. 4.—9. The description of the charming behavior of a lady married while still in her adolescence and as yet unaware of the thrills of consummated love (Mugdā). When she is tired of playing with a bull, she plays with dolls, and is horripilated as she places the doll-bride by the side of the doll-bride-groom reclining on a couch (v.4). Her friends promise to keep her company while she lies down in the company of her husband. She enters the bed-chamber, but is so nervous to be left alone in his company that she clutches at her friends' skirts even after he has held her by the arm (v.5). Now the friends resort to a ruse and declare that her husband had gone out, and under this pretext she is brought into his presence. She was about to run away, being alarmed to see him there all of a sudden, assured as she was of his absence. As he gently drags her towards himself, she turns away her face, uttering the words ' *uhūn, hūn*' signifying her protest (v. 6). Now the friends frighten her with the alleged presence of thieves at night. They may rob her of her ornaments if she slept in the company of ladies. Why not seek safety in the company of the brave fellow (the husband)? What a plight! She could not sleep outside the bed-chamber, nor could she go in. There was fear in either course. Just as she was afraid of the thieves she was also apprehensive of what he might do (v.7)! Once she was just sitting on the couch in her bed-room, hoping to be alone. Her husband suddenly came in (her mischievous friends must have informed him!) eager for her embrace. With eyes rolling in fear, she jumped to her feet, with hands stretched out towards him, beseeching him (as it were in her alarm) not to advance towards her (v. 8). Her friends once managed to keep her in the bed-chamber. Though she was assured that her husband was asleep, she tightened the knot of her bodice, turned her face away from him and slept with the knees pressed against her bosom (v. 9). VV. 10-14 describe a lady experienced in love. But she is bashful all the same. She cannot lift up her eyes to see his smiling face when others are about. So she feasts her eyes by looking at him through the interstices of a curtain when he was seated in the assembly (v. 10). Once her husband stealthily approached her from behind, and closed her eyes with his palms. Her friends challenged her to find out what female friend had closed her eyes. The clever lady directed her hands towards the

bosom of the person closing her eyes —and said not a word but was thrilled with delight (v.11). A female friend tried to send her to her husband saying that he had brought ornaments for her. But she was clever enough to see through the ruse and with feigned anger asked the friend to go to him and to take the ornaments also (v. 12). Having heard from her friends that her husband had gone out, she entered the bed-room hoping to sleep undisturbed. Great was her alarm on discovering him there, feigning sleep (v. 13). (A comparative study of vv. 6 and 13 will show how a *Mugdā* and a *Madhyā* react to the same situation). Uncovering her bosom, she was looking at the first nail-marks—the very first ones. Her husband stealthily approached her from behind and threw a handful of fragrant powder at her; and she looked up and was overwhelmed with coyness (v. 14). VV. 15-18 describe the *Pragalbhā nāyikā*. At the loving touch of her husband, she mingles with him like water with milk, and even the faint words of feeble protest fade on her lips (v.15). Ever when she tries to beguile herself, during his absence, by singing to the accompaniment of a lute and the tinkling of bangles, she eagerly keeps on looking out, every now and then, for him to arrive (v. 16). She was combing her hair when she heard that he had arrived. In her flurry, she somehow tied up the hair with the west-hand as though it were a garland of flowers (v. 17). The next verse describes the lady as she gets up early in the morning, before her husband (v. 18). A graphic description of the way in which a lady puts on her bodice (v. 19). VV. 20-24 contain word-pictures of the several activities of the lady in the morning in the house and particularly in her pleasure-chamber, viz. the removing of the pot of curds from the contrivance of ropes in which it was placed, churning of curds, cleaning the bed-room with a broom and scrubbing it with water mixed with sandle and finally sprinkling sandle-water in the pleasure-chamber. V. 25 describes the bashfulness of the lady on seeing her husband while she was sitting in front of her friend for the hairdo. V. 26 shows how the husband cherishes in his memory the sight of his wife standing in front of a mirror, parting her hair and applying the *tilaka*-mark to her forehead. In VV. 27 to 31 there is a very realistic description of the lady engaged in the winnowing of grains, the drawing of water with the help of a water-wheel, to the accompaniment of a song, the pounding of rice and the mortaring of split pulses (*dāli*) to paste. In the next verse the husband describes how he remembers the sight of his wife climbing a flight of steps leading to the upper story of his mansion. In v. 32 there is a description of a lady tarrying on the road to look at her lover, under the pretext of waiting for her friend, while v. 33 describes a lady sitting on a swing and singing. V. 34—A lady was sitting at ease when her lover threw at her a lump of musk-paste and shouted, “Look out! A scorpion, a scorpion!” Naturally she was greatly alarmed and to the great delight of her lover, shook off the skirt of her sari, thereby exposing her breasts, and jumped to her feet. V. 35—Description of a lady as she emerges after bath from a lake only to enter the heart, as it were, of her lover. V. 35—A graphic description of a lady bathing a baby of her friend. V. 37—A lady rocks the cradle and sings lullabies

quickly to put her baby to sleep lest it disturb her in the enjoyment of her husband's company. V. 39 is the description of a lady helping her friend in taking the weekly over-head bath, while in v. 40 we have a word-painting of a lady as she emerges after bath, with her hair tied in a loose knot and wrapped somehow in a sari, and proceeds to change the garment. V. 40—A lady was drying her hair, with the sari resting on her shoulders. When she saw that her husband was coming towards her, she quickly turned away her face and replaced the sari on her head to show him respect in keeping with the custom. V. 41—The husband was expected to return from a journey and the wife was all eagerness to meet him. To make fun of her, he called her by the name of some other lady. The joy of expectation was turned at once into bitterness of sorrow at her husband's infidelity to her. She went into a corner of the house and slept, her face covered with the skirt of her sari, spoiled with collyrium washed down from the eyes by her tears. V. 42—A lady was waiting in the company of her friends, with her sari fallen off from the head and was putting on a bodice. Just then she saw her husband coming towards her. Being unable, under the circumstance to replace the sari on her head, as a mark of respect for him, she quickly called out to one of her friends and concealed herself behind her. V. 43—A lady was sitting all by herself, with her arms folded around the knees and even the toes covered with her sari, it being the period of her monthly impurity. But the husband who saw her thus seated, imagined that she was angry with him and tried to advance towards her to pacify her. Being afraid that he would be polluted by her touch, and smiling at his ignorance of the real situation, she kept him at a distance with the utterance of 'hum' and the palms of her out-stretched hands held out towards him. V. 44—A lady had sent a female messenger (*dūtī*) to invite her lover, but she returned after a long time without him. Her face had lost its luster, as if through the failure of her mission. But the lady understood that the *dūtī* had dallied with her lover and wringing her hands she remarked that the wretched *dūtī* had ousted her (as it were) from her own house. VV. 45 to 53 are devoted to the description of the eight varieties of Nāyikās. V. 45—The *Proṣita-bhartṛkā* i.e. "a woman whose husband is gone abroad." The husband of a lady had gone out on a journey in spring. Her friends once deceived her by saying that he was returning home. Due to emaciation caused by separation from him, she slowly walked up to the threshold and placing one hand on the hip, she held the other over the eyebrows to have a look at him even when he was far away. V. 46—Description of another lady whose husband was about to go out on a journey. He said he had to go but offered to bring for her anything she liked when he returned. With her downcast face she struck her forehead with her bent finger to curse her fate that was taking him away from her, and with faltering words she asked him only to offer her libations of water at every holy place, (as she was sure to die soon after his departure). V. 47—A *Khaṇḍitā-nāyikā* i.e. "a woman whose husband or lover has been guilty of infidelity and who is therefore angry with him." When a lady noticed that the lover, who had stayed out overnight and returned only at dawn, showing

signs of dalliance with another woman, she looked at him with eyes bent low and quickly turned her face away from him. When he tried to fall at her feet, she covered them with her sari, and when he tried to touch her, she prevented him from doing so with the word 'hum' betraying her contempt for him. V. 48—A Kalahāntarītā Nāyikā or "a woman separated from her lover in consequence of a quarrel with him (one who is angry and yet sorry for it)." A friend of the Nāyikā describes her to the Nāyaka, saying that her face was resting in the palm of her hand and shed tears which were removed with the tip of her forefinger. She refused to speak, was sitting all along at the threshold and her breasts heaved as she sighed in sorrow. V. 49—Vipralabdhā Nāyikā or "a woman disappointed by her lover's breaking the appointment." A lover had promised his beloved to meet her in a bower of creepers. Though he failed to keep the appointment, she went there at the appointed hour. When she found that the bees there were humming undisturbed she knew that he had not come at all, and suspecting the sincerity of his love, became rigid with anger, heaved sighs of grief and saying, "O deceitful one, what shall I do now?" she wrung her hands. V. 50—An Utkā or Utkāṅṅhītā Nāyikā i.e. "a woman longing for her absent lover or husband." She does not doubt the sincerity of his love and is perturbed when he fails to arrive at the appointed time and place. This verse very graphically describes by using a string of eight verbs the great excitement of a lady who fails to see her husband in the creeper-bower at the appointed time. V. 51—A Vāsakasajjā Nāyikā or "a woman who dresses herself in all her ornaments and keeps herself (and her house) ready to receive her lover, especially when he has made an appointment with her: an expectant heroine." A lady awaiting the arrival of her lover, was looking every now and then at her body, fully decked in ornaments, reflected in a jewelled mirror. The lover stole up to where she was and surprised her by presenting himself all of a sudden. She feigned to be greatly alarmed and lovingly embraced him. V. 52—An Abhīsārikā Nāyikā i.e. "a woman who either goes to meet her lover or keeps an appointment made by him." Fortunate, indeed, is the lover who is approached by a lady, full of longing, her path illuminated by the glistening gems in her ornaments and her lovely breasts gently moving and the small bells in her anklets tinkling, walking gracefully in her amorous charm and the skirts of her silken garment touching the earth. V. 53—A Svādhīnapatikā Nāyikā i.e. "a woman who has full control over her husband." Rādhā repeatedly tells with joy her friends how Kṛṣṇa was devoted to her alone, in spite of the fact that hundreds of other Gopīs were attached to him. He (lit. his body) did not leave the courtyard of her mansion, his eyes were fixed on her face and his ears were eager to listen to her words. V. 54—The poet Soma (nātha), son of Mudgala, having on his delighted heart a weighty garland of beautiful lotuses in the form of the feet of goddess Umā, lord Śiva and his own Guru, offers to appreciative and upright readers, for securing their favour, this garland of Jātīs (i.e. the poem *Jātīmālā*) which is so fresh (newly composed) and is made from (flowers plucked from) the creeper in the form of his pious mind.

The Author : His Works and Date

The Name :—The name of our author occurs in his works in three slightly varying forms, viz. Soma, Somaka and Somanātha. Soma is the form used in the last verse of the *Jātimālā*, the 55th verse of the *Vairāgyasāta*,⁴ the third introductory verse of the *Viveka*, the third verse in the first chapter and the last in the fifth chapter of the *Rāgavibodha*. The concluding verses of chapters 2, 3 and 4 and the penultimate verse of the fifth and last chapter of the same work have the name Somaka. This form was probably used for the sake of metre and also for alliteration with the preceding word 'upanāmaka.' In the final verses of the five chapters of the *Viveka* and in the colophons of the *Jātimālā*, the *Vairāgyasāta* and the *Rāgavibodha*, Somanātha is the form used and that appears to be his popular name. In his paper referred to above, Dr. Raghavan states that Someśvara who is mentioned as the author of the *Anyoktimuktāvalī* in Ms. no. 1096 at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, "is the same as the Sakalakala Maudgali Somanātha who wrote the *Rāgavibodha* and the *Jātimālā*". As I have not examined this Ms., I cannot say whether Someśvara like Somaka is a form used by Somanātha himself or is due to a scribal error.

His Surname :—In the colophons of two out of the six Mss. of the *Jātimālā* used for the present edition, in v. 55 of the *Vairāgyasāta*⁵ and in 12 places in the *Rāgavibodha* and the *Viveka*⁶ Somanātha mentions Sakalakala as his surname or family-name. I have been able to trace two more authors who belonged to the Sakalakala (° lā) family. Śaṅkaraṣaṇa, the son of Śivadāsa and author of the *Nṛsiṅhacampū* was a scion of his family.⁷ Śaṅkarakavi, the author of the

4. From MS. no. 302 of 1884-86 at the B.O.R. Institute :

जातुर्दातुर्दयालोः सकलकलकुलालं कृतेर्मुद्गलाद् यः
 प्राभूत् (ज्) ज्ञापां विकायां सुललितयमलग्रामधामा स सोमः ।
 वैराग्यं प्राप्तुकामः स्वमृदुमतिलताजातया जाड्यचंचुः
 पंचाशत्पद्यपुष्पाद्विरकृत गिरिजाजानिपादाद्वजपूजाम् ॥

5. See ft. n. 4 above.

6. (i) सकलकलोपाख्यकुलः...सोमनामाहम् । R.I. 3 :

(ii-v) सकलकलेत्युपनामकसोमकविहिते... । R. II.53, III.61, IV.48, and V.224 :

(vi-vi) सकलकलेत्युपनामकमुद्गलसूरिसुतसोमनाथेन । R.I. 83, and last verses of chs. 1-5 :

(vii) सकलकलकुलोद्भवः सोमः । V. Intro. v. 3.

7. इह सकलकलोद्यद्वंशमूर्धन्यभूषा—

मणिरखिलविपश्चित्पादपद्मैकभृङ्गः ।

सकलजलधिपारप्रान्तविश्रान्तकीर्तिः

जयति जगति विद्वान् कोऽपि संकर्षणाख्यः ॥ Introductory verse 4 ; and

इति सकलकलाकुलतिलकशिवदाससूनुसंकर्षणविरचिते नृसिंहचंपूकाव्ये चतुर्थोल्लासः ॥

MS. no. 4727-4065 in the TMSSMLibrary, Tanjore.

Śrīgārakāvya was also born in this family.⁸

His Home :—Śrī M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar, the editor of the *Rāgavibodha* states that Somanātha was a native of Āndhradeśa and lived in or about Rajahmundry. Śrī Aiyar's edition is not available to me for reference. But Dr. Gode has summarized the biographical information from Śrī Aiyar's Introduction, in his paper on Somanātha. It appears from it that Śrī Aiyar did not cite any evidence in support of his statements. Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastri also records no information on the point. On the other hand, as Dr. Gode has pointed out, there is internal evidence in the *Vairāgyasāta* of Somanātha himself that he had his home in the Yamalagrāma, but the colophon of the same work mentions Jalagrāma⁹ as the place of his residence. As colophons are not necessarily written by the author of the work and may be supplied much later by the scribes of Mss. more credence has to be given to the form occurring in the body of the text than to that in a colophon. Therefore, the scholars must try to find out what place was known by the name of Yamalagrāma at the time when Somanātha flourished and in what province it was situated. Yamalagrāma is likely to be changed into Yavalagaon, Yāvalagaon, Javalagaon or Jāvalagaon (यवलगांव, यावलगांव, जवळगांव or जावळगांव) in Marathi, rather than into Jalagaon (जळगांव) which is regular modification of the Jalagrāma of the colophon. Jalagaon is a town in the W. Khandesh district of the Bombay State. If the Scholars who would assign Somanātha to Āndhradeśa prove that the Sakalakala family to which Somanātha belonged, flourished in that province and that there was a village called Yamalagrāma at the time of Somanātha, then the question of the home town of our poet can be said to be finally decided. Until all the works of Somanātha are studied and other reliable evidence is forthcoming on this point, the question of the original home of Somanātha of the Sakalakala family must be treated as an open one.

Somanātha belonged to the family of learned men. His grand father Meṅga-nātha was, according to Somanātha, the foremost amongst the learned men of his time. His son Mudgala, the father of Somanātha, was a sūri i.e. a very learned man. He was well-known amongst his contemporaries for his liberality, performed many sacrifices and supported a large number of dependents. He resembled gods by his

8. विद्वत्सकलकलश्रीशंकरनामा सुखाय विबुधानाम् ।
अभिनवसाधुवधूनामुरसिजशृंगारकाव्यमातनुते ॥

End इति श्रीसकलकलाकुलतिलकशिवदासमूरिसूनसंकर्षणविरचिते शृंगारकाव्ये वधोजवर्णनं समाप्तं ॥

Prof. H. D. Velankar's Cat. of MSS
in the Library of the B.B.R.A. Society, Bombay, 1926, no. 1232.

9. ज्ञातुर्दातुर्दयालोः सकलकलकुलालंकृतेर्मुद्गलाद्यः

प्राभू (Ms प्रभू) ज्ज्ञापाविकायां सुललितयमलग्रामघामा स सोमः । *Vairāgyasāta* V. 53 :
इति श्रीजलग्रामवासिसोमनाथविरचिते वैराग्यशतं संपूर्णं ॥

F. S. colophon, MS, no. 302 of 1884-86 at the B.O.R. Institute, Poona.

several qualities and was highly respected by eminent Brahmīns. Somanātha appears to have completed his education in Sanskrit and music by sitting at the feet of his father Mudgala. For he does not mention the name of any other person as his teacher either in the *Rāgavibodha* or its commentary, the *Viveka*. On the other hand he expressly refers to Mudgala as "my father and teacher" or "my teacher Mudgala." In view of these statements of Somanātha about his teacher, the expression Umeśagura in the last verse of the *Jātimālā* should be carefully considered. I am inclined to render the first line of v. 54 as "bearing in his heart a garland of excellent lotuses in the form of the feet of goddess Umā, Īśa, i.e. Śiva and my guru i.e. Mudgala." The poet is speaking of a garland of lotuses. If Umeśa is taken as the name of his guru, we would have only two lotuses, in the form of his feet, which would not make a garland.

The name of Somanātha's mother was Jhāpāmbā or Jhāmpāmbā as can be seen from the first verse of the *Jātimālā* and the *Vairāgyasata*.

Somanātha has paid homage to god Gaṇeśa (also explained by resorting to pun on the word Gaṇeśa to mean Śiva, Viṣṇu, his father Mudgala and nāda), Rāma, his parents, goddesses Sarasvatī and Umā or Pārvatī. But he seems to be a great devotee of Śiva (Dakṣiṇāmūrti) as he has laid all the merit accruing from the composition of his *Rāgavibodha* at the feet of lord Śiva. Similarly he salutes lord Śiva in the second verse of the *Vairāgyasata*.

His Works :— Aufrecht records in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* the following works of Somanātha :

- (1) अन्योक्तिमुक्तावली (Bik. 285—CC. I. 2).
- (2) अन्योक्तिशतक (B. 276—CC. I. 20).
- (3) जातिमाला (Peters. 3394—CC. I. 205).
- (4) रागविबोध (Oxf. 200a, Bik. 518—CC. I. 499).
- (5) रागविबोधविवेक (Poona 276—CC. I. 499).
- (6) शृंगारवैराग्यमुक्तावली (Paris. D 260—CC. I. 661).

It should be noted that while Aufrecht records the *Rāgavibodha* under the name of सोम son of मुद्गल he records the *Rāgavibodhaviveka* under the name of सोमनाथ. But now we know for certain that they are the works of one and the same person—Somanātha, son of Mudgala of the Sakalakala family. Aufrecht could not indicate from the material at his disposal whether works nos. 1—3 and 6 in the above list, also were written by Somanātha, son of Mudgala. But from the examination of the Mss. of the *Anyoktīmuktāvalī*, the *Jātimālā*, the *Vairāgyasata* (not recorded by Aufrecht, but contained in the first part of Ms. no. 302 of 1884-86 at the B.O.R. Institute, Poona) are, in addition to the *Rāgavibodha*

and its commentary *Viveka*, the works of one and the same author viz. Somanātha, son of Mudgala of the Sakalakala family. But so far I have not been able to examine the Mss. of the *Śrīgāra-vairāgya-muktāvalī* and the *Anyoktiśataka* and therefore I cannot say whether they are written by our Somanātha. Similarly, a close and comparative study of the *Anyoktimuktāvalī* and the *Anyoktiśataka* will have to be made to find out whether they are really two different works. Until this is done we must content ourselves with assigning (1) The *Anyoktimuktāvalī*, (2) the *Jātimālā*, (3) the *Rāgavibodha*, (4) the *Viveka* and (5) the *Vairāgyaśata* only to our Somanātha, son of Mudgala.

Shri. M. S. Aiyar, in his Introduction to his edition of the *Rāgavibodha*, has assigned the *Somanāthīyam*, a work on Mīmāṃsā to our Somanātha. But Dr. V. Raghavan has pointed out that the *Somanāthīyam* is the same as the *Mayū-khamālikā* commentary on the *Śāstradīpikā* and that its author Somanātha is different from the author of the *Rāgavibodha*.

His Date :—It is not at all difficult to fix the period in which Somanātha flourished, for he has given the exact date on which he completed his *Rāgavibodha*, in the last verse of the work. It was completed under the Hasta constellation, on Monday, the first day of the bright half of the Aśvina month of year 1561, named Saunya, of the Śaka era, i.e. on Monday the 18th September, 1608 A.D. As the *Rāgavibodha* is a scientific work, being an authoritative work on the South Indian music and is the biggest of his works discovered so far, it is reasonable to take it as the product of his mature years. The number of works ascribed to him is also not very large. Therefore it would not be wide of the mark if we assume that his literary activity extended from 1600 to 1625 A.D. and assign him to a period comprising the last quarter of the 16th and the second quarter of the 17th century A.D.

DHENUKĀKATA

By

D. D. KOSAMBI

The main purpose of this note is to give the text and a translation of all known inscriptions from the caves (dated on palaeographic grounds to between 150 B.C. and 150 A.D. with later additions at Kārle) at Śelārvāḍī, Beḍṣā, Bhājā, and Kārle. This seemed necessary because all the epigraphs are not available in any one source, and also because of serious mistakes in earlier publications. Inscription 21 at Kārle seems to have escaped notice altogether, while the sphinx (see plate) is unique in its own way. Some of the inscriptions at Kārle, for example, have been placed on the wrong pillar. There is also an occasional flaw, not to be attributed to a misprint, in the published readings, such as Aseka for Asoka (in Kārle 19 below). The original publications relied upon estampages read patiently by distinguished scholars in such far-away places as Paris, Delhi and Ootacamund; here, these readings have been followed as far as possible, after comparison with the original graven letters, which are sometimes clearer on the rock than in the paper impression. The inscriptions naturally raise some important questions which have to be answered, or reopened. These questions are considered first, primarily on the basis of field work, and the inscriptions themselves given in the final section, with the minimum comparison, discussion or comment.

1. *The Name Māvaḷ.* This is used today for the *tāluqā* which includes Bhājā, Kārle, and Śelārvāḍī, which lie in the Indrāyaṇī valley while the Beḍṣā caves overlook the adjoining Paunā valley and are therefore located in the Paun Māvaḷ. The two valleys—though not the rivers—meet just beyond the hill containing the caves at Śelārvāḍī (near the present Beḡaḍevāḍī station on the Central Railway).

Māvaḷ has been (rather fancifully) derived from the Marāṭhī verb for the setting of the sun and other heavenly bodies, as “the region where the sun sets.” If so, this ought to have applied to the whole strip along the top of the Western Ghāṭs. It seems all the more ridiculous because the Māvaḷ is to the east of the most heavily populated section of Mahārāṣṭra, the Koṅkaṇ coastal strip.

Actually, the name is mentioned twice in the great Sātavāhana inscription on the Kārle Caitya façade (Kārle 30). The words are Māmāḍe (or Māmāḷe) and Māmūlā-hāra. The “province of Māmūlā” is clearly the meaning of the latter. The name itself would be pronounced Māvlā,.

The basic word still exists, and is reflected in the general worship of Māvalā-devī in these two *tāluqās*. Māvalā is the plural of *māūlī*, "little mother"; in fact this cult always shows worship of the goddesses in the plural, the number being indeterminate. The plural goddesses are also indicated by a translation compound: Māvalāyā. Their one peculiarity is that they must be near water, for wetting the aniconic images is the main rite of their worship. As such, one finds them on the *ghāṭ* near Kāmshet station on the Indrāyaṇī, inside most wells of the feudal period, and by the side of the large water reservoirs as at Talegāo, Navalākh Umbare, Muṇḍhavare, and so on. The cult fades away towards the borders of the Māval, proper, and is equated to the *sāṭī Āsarā* = "The Seven Apsaras" at Chinchvaḍ, Poona, and adjacent regions. Its persistence is important, as one is thereby encouraged to look for other survivals.

2. *The Trade Routes.* The caves were located where they are because the trade-routes passed by, and the larger complexes are invariably near the junctions of such routes. We know from the *Periplus* and Ptolemy's geographical account that the trade ports lay on the west coast, generally as far up the creeks and estuaries as navigation permitted. The best known, within the range relevant for the Māval caves are Broach (Barygaza, Bhārukaccha), Sopārū (Sophr, Ophir), Kalyāṇ (Kalliena) and Chaul (Semylla, Cheul): with these should be bracketed the creeks and estuaries of Thāṇā, Panvel, Revās-Dharamtar. The coastal region, however, was densely wooded and did not produce much for exchange, except salt, before the development of extensive coconut plantations. The coconut trees, though the most striking feature of the west coast today, are nowhere mentioned in the two Græco-Roman accounts above.

Under the circumstances, the main problem at the time the caves were first carved out of the rock was to find routes up the *ghāṭs* to the Deccan plateau. All the passes (Pimpri, Savāsani, Karsambli, Harnoli, Sāvā, Kurvaṇḍā, Borghāṭ, Dhāk, Kusūr, etc.) are difficult, and many of them involve crossing or going around further ranges of hills on the plateau after the main ascent has been completed. However, the routes themselves can be traced with some certainty because of the lesser caves, not generally known, which mark adjacent hillsides. Thus, one feeder route went right along the foot of the Western Ghāṭs, and reached Junnar via Nāṇeghāṭ. This is marked by a line of caves such as at Hāl, Ambivale, Pālu-Sonāṅḷe (adjacent to the foot of Nāṇeghāṭ), and elsewhere. Branches led up every valley. One branch might have climbed the Sāvā pass or the Kurvaṇḍā pass nearer Loṇāvalā, to go past Beḍsā. Another came up the valley to Khaṇḍālā, as is proved by the Koṇḍāne caves, and the much smaller caves on the opposite hillside above Central Railway tunnel No. 16, on a saddle-back overlooking both valleys. The other branch of the same valley leading up from Karjat terminates behind the village of Sāṇḍshī, above which there is again a large cave, which presumably marks an abandoned route on the other side of Rājmaḥī fort.

One old route skirted the hills past the foot of Kārle caves through Navalākh Umbare, and past Chākaṇ to merge into southern trade route to Junnar. One branch went past the hill ranges of Lohogaḍ and Bhājā, along the other side of the valley. The outer defences of Lohogaḍ fort enclose some ancient caves, originally monastic cells and assembly halls, converted into granaries and store-houses. The obvious reason for the caves is the existence of another saddle-back pass here into the Paunā valley. The old route on the Kārle side is marked by little-known caves such as at Shelātaṇe. The Kārle-Śelārvāḍī line of caves passes through Bāṇere, the unfinished caves at Catushringi, and better ones behind the Fergusson College. Other routes besides those to the Māvaḷ are also to be traced by their own line of caves, as for example from Kuḍā on Rājpurī creek, via Koḷ and Mahāḍ, past Shirvaḷ and so to the east. This route is connected to the northern by a track along the base of the towering and sheer Deccan scarp. Only two of the numerous intermediate passes mentioned are, or could formerly have been, passable for pack animals. Both of these are again marked by caves not recorded on the maps or in the Gazetteers. The unique importance of Nāneghāt derives from two exceptional advantages. First, more than half the climb is on a tolerably easy gradient, while the rest is no worse than the best of the other passes. Secondly, after completing the ascent, the caravan would immediately find itself in a comparatively broad, cultivated, and fertile valley not barred by further mountain chains. This accounts for the size and antiquity of Junnar as well.

The forts (such as Korigaḍ, Rājmaḥī, Lohogaḍ, Visāpūr) are all much later, built during the feudal period with the clear intention of collecting tolls on the trade routes and passes. These need not be discussed now, for our main purpose is to identify places named in the inscriptions.

This intimate association with the trade routes naturally raises a fundamental question : To what extent did the monks and their monasteries participate directly in the trade ? By this is meant the commerce of the great caravans, and not such late, degenerate practices as the sale of relics. Archæological evidence points very clearly to the monastic possession of great wealth in addition to that lavished upon their construction. Monks, nuns, and preachers of the Law have signed rich gifts, though primitive *Vinaya* rules forbade possession of all property. The cells were clearly provided with substantial wooden doors whose purpose was not privacy but the protection of valuables. Such doors (replaced in modern times) may still be seen at the Gaṇesh Leṇā, Junnar. Occasionally, a large hole cut through the partition into an adjoining room shows that one of the pair was used as a treasury, and access to it shut off except through the neighbouring cell, which would always be occupied.

In any case, the documentary evidence exists at the other end of the Buddhist world, in Chinese records and translations (*cf.* J. Gernet : *Les aspects économiques*

du bouddhisme dans la société chinoise du V^e au VI^e siècle—Saigon, 1956; especially pp. 149-162 for India, and to 190 for Chinese practices). The active Mūla-sarvāstivādins, and the Mahāsāṃghikas who dominated Kārlē quietly modified the *Vinaya* rules without deviating from the letter. Contact with gold, silver, jewels and such precious commodities was avoided by using an intermediary servant *upāsaka* for the manipulation, or in extreme cases by insulation with a piece of cloth! These two Orders further deposited the bulk of the donated wealth with the *saṃgha*'s treasurer, who not only bartered the gifts, permissibly used the money for repairs to the dwellings, but directly contravened the original rules by using the funds also for the purchase of necessities (such as food) that should have been obtained by begging, and for the robes that should have been pieced together from discarded rags. The Nāsik inscriptions state that Usavadāta—whose generosity figures also at Kārlē—gave “everlasting” donations (*akṣaya-nīvi*) to the *saṃgha* in the form of money deposited with various guilds which was never to be repaid, but whose interest was to be used forever to supply necessities, including a viaticum, for the monks who spent the monsoon in the caves. The Mahāsāṃghikas invested their money by letting it out at interest and their *Vinaya* (in Chinese translation) shows that the monks themselves managed such transactions, whereas most other sects left them to the external donors. The 7th century Chinese pilgrim I-tsing noted that the robes of the almsmen were purchased from the interest of the perpetual *akṣaya-nīvi* deposit, or the surplus harvest of fields and gardens, or the interest yielded by the fruits of the orchards. Not only the art but the organisation and economic management of Chinese Buddhist monasteries, especially the cave-monasteries such as Tun Huan and Yuen Kang (Tu-tung), were initially copied from Indian models, so that their records can be utilized for our purpose.

Certainly, the yield of the villages assigned to the caves was not all used up for the monks who were in residence during the rainy season. It would be extraordinary if some of the grain were not sold to the caravans that began to pass by soon after the harvest. It is known that surplus flowers from monastic gardens were sold to professional *mālākāras* who—to judge from their donations—must have profited heavily from the sale of garlands (for floral offerings) to pilgrims. That all other donors were interested merely in the spiritual merit gained and had no interest in or profit from the accumulated wealth of the *vihāra* would be incredible. It is not to be expected that our caves played the same role with respect to the caravans as the Central Asian Buddhist monasteries, which acted as great *sarāis* and supply depots as well as the actual trade headquarters. But the cave-monasteries with their increasing concentration of wealth must have been of considerable importance in the economic development of the Sātavāhana kingdom. It may be suggested that the unusually heavy incidence of tiny low-grade coins of copper, pewter, billon, and lead in the Sātavāhana Deccan must have had something to do with the fact that the handling of such coins was a trifling, venial sin for Buddhist monks. To what extent this special economic relationship to trade led the practical modification of the ancient discipline rules needs further study.

3. *Minor Identifications.* A question connected with the trade routes is that of Tagara, a great Deccan trade city mentioned by the *Periplus* (51 = Schoff p. 43, 196) and by Ptolemy (82 = McCrindle pp. 175-178). This has been variously identified with Junnar (Bombay Gazetteer 16. pr. 3 p. 181), Dhārūr, Ter (95 miles SSE. 3/4 E. from Paiṭhan; J. F. Fleet *JRAS*, 1901. 537-552), and several other places. The name Tagara-pura and Tagara-nagara is found (Fleet, *loc. cit.*) in inscriptions from the early seventh century onwards, without helping locate the city.

The identification with Ter is purely on philological grounds. The published argument for Junnar is almost as feeble, namely that *tagara* derives from *trigiri*, the three mountains about Junnar. A fundamental point hitherto neglected is that any identification other than with Junnar would lead to the conclusion that the Graeco-Roman traders from whose accounts both the *Periplus* and Ptolemy drew their main information did not see fit to mention the greatest Deccan trade centre of that time. Over 135 caves (apart from those which have been effaced by crumbling of the weathered basalt) are scattered on the Mānmoḍī (old *māna-mukāḍa*), Shīverī, and Sulciman (Gaṇesh Leṇā) hills, around Junnar. Although the main roads and railways have now bypassed Junnar completely and caused the city's decline, it still remains a considerable city. An impressive number of pack-animals, loaded with panniers or saddle-bags on horned pack-saddles, still make their way over the steep, perilously smooth, worn steps of Nāṇeghāt seventeen miles away, carrying goods exactly as was done two thousand years ago between Junnar and the coastal strip. The traffic density is greatest on Mondays, when pack-trains from the Sunday *bazār* at Junnar, mostly laden with onions and potatoes, pass down the ghāt for exchange against the coastal *varī* grain.

The Russian traveller, Afanasii Nikitin, spent a rainy season at Junnar about 1470 A.D. His vague and rather insipid narrative hardly helps the route to be identified: From Chivil (Chaul) to "Pilee" near the mountains in eight days; thence to "Oomree" in ten days, and thence to Junnar (Jooneer) in six more. "Pilee" has been tentatively identified by the translator with Pāli near Nagoṭhaṇā, "Oomree" with Umbare Navalākh, presumably reached via the Pimpri pass, across what is now Muṣhī lake, past Śelārvāḍī. But the number of travel days do not fit. If the account be taken literally, Nikitin's caravan must have dawdled to Pāli, made fair time to Umbare, and positively raced to Junnar! It might be noted that Pāli and Umbare are very common village names in the region under consideration. The Russian must have gone via Nāṇeghāt, for he describes Junnar as standing "on a stone island." The fearful pass whose ascent took a whole day, left a profound impression upon him (p. 10, Major's collection), which would have been more unlikely for the Pimpri-Navalākh Umbare route. In other words, Nikitin also followed the ancient trade route, presumably past Hāi, Palasdari, Dahivli (Karjat), Ambivale, Narivli, Dhasai-Vaiśākhare and then up Nāṇeghāt.

The etymology of the name Junnar need cause no difficulties. It is obviously a contraction of *jīrna-nagara*, "the old city," in its Prakrit form. Otūr to the north, reached from the coast by a pass near Harischandragarh (also marked by caves!) is surely derived from *uttara-pura*, the northern city. Thus, the name Junnar need not incorporate *tagara*. The local cave inscriptions seem to refer to it simply as *nagara* = the city. Greeks (L. 1154, 1156, 1182) and Śakas (L. 1148-9, 1162) have recorded their donations, as also have people from Kalyāṇ (L. 1177, 1179), Bhārukaccha (L. 1169) and other places equally distant.

To return to the Māvaḷ caves : I suggest that the Dharmuṭariya (Dharmotariya) sect mentioned there was prominently associated with Dharamtar. Actually, the two citations (Kārle 12-13) are by a preacher from Sopārā. The sect is also mentioned once at Junnar (L. 1152). It is an offshoot of the *Vacchi-putrakas*, (Renou-Filliozat : *L'Inde Classique* II, section 2317). The school was local, and is not placed except by these cave-inscriptions. The literal meaning of *Dharam-tar* = "religious ferry" hardly makes sense, as the place has no religious significance now. But it lies up an excellent navigable creek, and "entrepot of the Dharmotariyas" would be a reasonable origin for its present name. The principal Order at Kārle seems to have enjoyed the title *Mahāsāṃghikas* (cf. Kārle nos. 1 and 80), so that the Dharmottariyas were based upon some place other than Kārle.

The title *mahārāṭhi* or *°ṭhi* occurs several times in these and other contemporary epigraphs. I propose to interpret it as the title attached to a proto-feudal office which was often inherited in the direct line ; the main function of the person so designated would be to collect the revenues of a whole district or province for the king. This would mean control over a considerable armed force, judiciary powers to settle disputes arising from revenue assessment—the main burden upon the villages—and powers to alienate such revenues (cf. Kārle Nos. 8, 29, 30). So the person would often be closely related to the royal family.

The arguments are as follows : Removing the adjective *mahā* = great, and ignoring the calligraphic difference of a dot between *ṭh* and *th*, we have to interpret *rāṭhi*. This would seem to be the Prakrit equivalent of the Sanskrit *rāṣṭriya* (cf. Pali *raṭṭha* = *rāṣṭra*). *Rāṣṭriya* is actually reported as the title of Candragupta's legate, the *vaiśya* Puṣyagupta, in Rudradāman's Gīrnār inscription (A.D. 150 ; *EI.* 8.36 ff ; L.965). The title could not have been invented for the occasion by Rudradāman, but must have existed from Mauryan times or earlier. This *rāṣṭriya* began the great dam which was later completed by one of his successors, the *Yavana* rājā Tuṣāspha, Asoka's governor. This shows the great powers and high prestige of the *rāṣṭriya*. The word can best be derived from *rāṣṭra*, which is the technical term used in the *Arthasāstra* (2.15 *et passim*) for a large class of general taxes from sources other than crown lands and crown monopolies. Thus, the *rāṣṭriya* would be the collector of *rāṣṭra* taxes and the administrator for all related affairs. This would explain the *-rāṭhi*, but the *mahārāṭhi* must—at least

during the Māvaḷ cave period—have been closely related to the royal family. The large cave at the head of Nāṇeghat (L. 1113-18), shows remnants of a labelled set of reliefs, beginning with the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty, the *rāyā* Simuka Sātavāhana *sirimat* (L. 1113), followed in order by Nāyanikā and her husband Siri-Sātakani (L. 1114) who should presumably have been the ruling sovereign of that period. There is the prince (*kumāra*) Bhāya- (L. 1115) followed by the mahārāṭhi *Tranaka-yira* (L. 1116), after whom come two more princes *kumāra* Hakusiri (L. 1117), and *kumāra* Sātavāhana. The cave was not a monastic retreat, but a public place for some official use, undoubtedly for the collection of tolls from caravans passing through Nāṇeghāṭ. The group of sculptured reliefs would then represent the founder and the actual court of the day. If the *mahārāṭhi* could take precedence over princes of the blood royal except the crown-prince, a logical inference is that he was a senior member of the royal family. In fact, *rāstrika* is given in the dictionaries as “ruler of a kingdom”; and *rāstriya* also with a supplementary meaning, “the queen’s brother,” as in *Amarakośa* 1.7.14. The Prakrit *raṭṭhiā* is used in this last sense in *Śākuntala* VI, where the all-important token ring, lost and recovered, seems as pleasing as the *raṭṭhiā*’s face. The inscriptions cited for Kārle prove that the *mahārāṭhi* was also the provincial governor.

4. *Dhenukākaṭa*. This is more difficult, but important because so many of the donors in the Caitya cave are Dhenukākaṭans that the excavation seems today primarily a monument to their generosity. The wooden ceiling arches of the Caitya cave at Kārle, were covered with paintings; most of the pillar shafts, bearing traces of pigmented plaster, were also painted. How many of these were signed by donors’ names now lost cannot be estimated, though signatures on Ajaṅṭā paintings make it most likely that the Māvaḷ caves also had such names. Possibly, photography with special colour filters might reveal a few even now. On the strength of what remains on the rock, there is no doubt that Dhenukākaṭa had a settlement of Greeks bearing Indian or Indianized names. Yavana here could also mean Persian, as for Tuṣāspha in Rudradāman’s Gīrnar inscription. This is supported by the Iranian termination °*pharaṇa* for the names of the first donor and his father in Kārle 1. But these two are not said to be from Dhenukākaṭa, and no such termination is associated with any Dhenukākaṭa name.

The question of the Yavanas is perhaps settled by a curious sculpture on the capital of the 13th pillar on the right, in the Caitya Cave. The pillars behind the great caitya are plain. On the side of the nave, all the remaining pillar capitals bear human couples on elephants. The side facing the aisles have—with two important exceptions—such couples on horses. The finish of all sculptures on the aisles is much rougher than on the nave. This is easily understood from the total absence of natural illumination on that side, while the open-wick oil lamps that have left visible deposits of soot would hardly suffice to bring out any real surface detail. On pillar 13 (under discussion), the horse facing the main entrance has

been replaced by an animal that can only be called a Sphinx. This is unknown elsewhere in Indian iconography, but would bespeak powerful Greek influence. (The next best imitation is that of the centaurs on a tiny capital at the left of the most beautiful surviving cave at Bhājā, where the door-guards and the reliefs of the Sun-god and Indra attract all the attention). The model was unmistakably a sphinx statuette. The long ear-flaps pendant from a tight head-dress on a human face might be mistaken for floppy ears. The front claws are clear, but the main body of the animal is concealed by the body of the horse. Moreover, the supports left in the rock, below the paws, make the figure look from the ground like a squatting human dwarf. The sphinx, which faces to the observer's left, is ridden by a man; the adjoining horse by a woman. She has her right arm around the man's shoulders while his left seems to caress her hips. Inasmuch as the donor calls himself a Yavana Dhama-dhaya from Dhenukākāṭa (Kārle 24), that settlement must have contained Greeks in trade contact with Alexandria, rather than Persians. Supporting evidence may be seen on right pillar 17 in the physician's name which I read Miḷiṃda = Menander. The script is somewhat later and the pillar is quite plain, which shows that the generosity, if not the wealth and glory, of Dhenukākāṭa was on the wane. Miḷiṃda, though from Dhenukākāṭa, does not call himself a Yavana; his wife and children bear Indian names. Of course, the pillar inscriptions show other traders and donors besides Greeks from Dhenukākāṭa. The right eleventh pillar was donated by the *vāṇiṃya-gāma* of Dhenukākāṭa, paleogeographically the earliest record of a famous Indian institution, the *vaṇig-grāma*, or southern *maṇi-grāmaṃ*, whose remnants survive to this day in petty traders' guilds.

Dhenukākāṭa was first identified, purely on phonetic grounds, with Dhānya-ghaṭaka, modern Dharaṇikoṭā, at the mouth of the Kṛṣṇā river. This identification has long been abandoned by intelligent people, because there is no apparent reason why people from Dhenukākāṭa, Greeks or not, should march right across the peninsula and across the whole Sātavāhana kingdom to concentrate their donations at Kārle (where the name occurs in 17 out of the 37 inscriptions) while nothing else is heard of them except once each at Śelārvādī (below) and Kaṇheri (cave 76 = B. 28, L. 1020), in the same trade-region.

It must be emphasized here that the special relationship of Dhenukākāṭa was not to the Kārle caves as such, but to the *caitya*, for all Dhenukākāṭa citations occur only in that one cave, and all but two on the pillars inside the great hall. The point about the sphinx is also worthy of elaboration. Sphinxes of a sort do occur on a Bharhut gateway (Cunningham, plate X). The two free sides of the capital of a miniature engaged column at Bhājā (see plate) show dallying couples with human bodies from the waist up, and of some clawed animal from the waist down. These are sometimes labelled sphinxes, but much nearer to the classical centaurs. Along with the Asokan "Persepolitan" bell-capital and the winged lions above a Sāncī gateway, such chimaeras are taken as evidence of the foreign

influence that travelled along the land route through Gandhāra. The Kārle sphinx is unique; it was not clearly understood by the sculptor, who has retained the pedestal of the figurine in his model rather than put the hybrid down on the capital, like the addorsed horse. This would imply that the tradition came directly from abroad, with the model, not via Gandhāra and Bharhut. For the rest, Indian iconography generally favours a human body with animal head (Gaṇeśa, Hayagrīva, etc.), so that a direct foreign stimulus (possibly, some centaur statuette imported from abroad, via Dhenukākāṭa or otherwise) might be responsible for the Bhājā capital also. Left pillar 11 of the Kārle Caitya may have another sphinx but not on a pedestal; the human face is disproportionately large, without ear-flaps, and the pillar unsigned hence useless for our purpose.

E. H. Johnston (*JRAS.* 1941, 208-213) proposed to identify Ptolemy's *Dounga* with the modern village of Doṃgri on Salsete island opposite Bassein, and proposed further identification with Dhenukākāṭa. Though I accepted both, it now seems to me, after considerable deliberation and field-work, that the latter identification must be rejected, without any reference to the former. Johnston's arguments were as follows :

The geographer Ptolemy does not mention Kalyāṇ at all, though it was known to the *Periplus* a century earlier, and is very prominently referred to by Kosmas Indikopleustes some four centuries later. The *Periplus* remarks : ".....Kalliena in the time of the elder Saraganus became a lawful market town; but since it came into the possession of Sandares the port is much obstructed, and Greek ships landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza under guard." This is taken as consequence of the conflict between the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kṣatrapas. Dounga which " must have been somewhere on the island of Salsette " presumably replaced Kalyāṇ for a short time as an emporium for the Greeks. This is the reasoning for Doṃgri. As for Dhenukākāṭa, *dhenu* would be corrupted by local pronunciation to *dheū*, and *kaṭa* is equivalent to "slope of a hill," hence again Doṃgri—still according to Johnston.

Conflict between the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kṣatrapas is proved by the Nāsik inscription boasting of Gotamīputra's victory over Nahapāna, by Rudradāman's Gīrnār inscription, and by Kārle 30 which bestows Karājika village upon the monks without mentioning the previous gift of the identical village upon the same community by the Saka Usabhadāta, Nahapāna's son-in-law. Johnston's deduction from the map that Doṃgri was " suitable as a terminus for traffic down the passes of the Ghāṭs " is doubtful. Any location on the various creeks from Thāṇā to Dharamtar would have been much better, apart from the fact that Doṃgri traffic would lie as much through hostile territory as that through Kalyāṇ. However, our main objection is to the identification Dounga = Dhenukākāṭa, not to Dounga = Doṃgri.

The former equation rests mainly upon the assumption that Dhenukākāṭa was a Greek settlement on the coast. I see no justification for this. A Greek donor at Nasik (*EI*, 8.90-91) came from Duttāmitri (say Demetrius) in the north (*otarāha*). Inasmuch as there is no suggestion that Broach was Nahapāna's capital or even the site of his mint, the coins of that ruler bearing Greek legends must have been fabricated by foreign craftsmen who, presumably, had settled inland. Johnston's argument about *dheū* is admissible without reference to distant Bihār, because the word still exists in Koṅkaṇī, even as a place-name. But the weak point is the loss of a syllable. The compound is not *dhenu* + *kākāṭa* but *dhenukā* + *kaṭa*. So the first member would become *dheūkā*, the second *ka* might be softened into a vowel *a*, and perhaps lost by elision. In fact, the syncopated form Dhenukāṭa is actually found in Kārle No. 19 (Vats 12; left 13th pillar of Caitya), though treated as a scribe's mistake. But the local form of the name must have been within recognizable distance of *dheūkāṭa*. The transition from °*kaṭa* to °*kaṭa* is found at Śelārvāḍī.

The conditions of the problem now reduce to the following. We must look for a place which shows considerable antiquity, which had some special connection with the Kārle *caitya*, where an Indo-Greek settlement existed for a time, and whose name resembles *dheūkāḍ*. These are best met by the hamlet of Devagaḍ or Devaghar. It is at the opposite tip of the horseshoe curve of hills from Kārle and certainly lay on the old trade route. It is one of the few Māvaḷ villages to have an old water-reservoir hewn deep out of the rock. It contains an old ruined temple of Śaṃkara in the mortarless "Hemāḍpantī" style which could not have been built after the thirteenth century A.D., and is more likely to be of the 11th century. This temple is undoubtedly responsible for the final change to the uncommon name Devghar = god's house, from Dheūkāḍa. The hillside behind the village has a large cave, without cells, which is much older. This cave seems to have been abandoned before completion because of water leaking into it through cracks—which would have made it uninhabitable at just the time the monks would really need it, the rainy season. Best of all, Devghar still maintains a special cult relation with the Kārle caves.

The only living cult at Kārle now is that of the goddess Yamūi at the entrance to the Caitya: she has a Sanskritized name *Ekavīrā*, variously supposed to be a daughter of Śiva, or Reṇukā, the mother of Paraśurūma. This high-sounding name is sometimes derived from the Kanarese Akkā Aveyyār. The *gurav* priests who perform the service call her simply *aṃbā-bāi* = "Lady Mother," while the common name is *Vehar-āi*, = "Mother-Goddess of the Caves." She is still peculiarly related to the great Caitya, for offerings are made to both. Prayers for the birth of children are addressed indirectly to the stūpa. Not the image, but the stūpa is circumambulated (clockwise, to the right) because the goddess's image is carved in relief from the hillside. Should a child be born in response to such a vow, the cradle is "shown" to the stupa rather than to the

goddess. At every Koḷi family visit, the stūpa is worshipped with offerings, though otherwise the mother-goddess receives all the offerings, sacrifices and prayers. Her particular and most generous worshippers are the Koḷis, fishermen and sailors from Bombay island (not to be confused with Koḷi tribesmen from the hills). They regard this particular Yamāi as their patron deity and family goddess though Yamāi images are known elsewhere : As for example, at the Beḍṣā *rihāra* cave and in the hardly known cave at Bānere near Poona. It is these Koḷis who have built the *dharmasālās* near the caves and covered the goddess's shrine with silver plate. Most remarkable for our purpose is the fact that (for reasons no one can now explain) the great April *pālkhī* procession of the goddess starts (with all due ceremony) at Devghar and goes up to the goddess's shrine at the *caitya* entrance the next day, without visiting any other village, not even Vehergāo at the foot of the caves. Yet, there is no Yamāi cult or image at Devghar. The Koḷis have built an impressive temple of the village death-god Bhairava at Devghar a generation ago, and a *dharmasālā* behind it. Private residences for individual Koḷis, who use them only for a few days in the year, have also been built at Devghar and Maḷavali. The gathering, under Koḷi sponsorship, of several thousand pilgrims and worshippers at Devghar for the initiation of the *pālkhī* leaves no doubt about the ancient connection between that village and the Kārle *caitya*, for no reason apparent today, but comprehensible if the village were once Dhenukākaṭa.

Nothing can now be said about a possible Greek settlement at Devghar (°gaḍ) without some excavation or at least dredging out the silted but undoubtedly deep tank. But the gift by a Dhenukākaṭan ploughman's wife and squire's mother at Śelārvāḍī (inscription 2) would be quite natural if Dhenukākaṭa were located as is suggested here. The possible identification of Dounga with Domgri will not be affected, either way.

It is clear from the inscriptions and from the Sino-Buddhist evidence cited above that the intimate connection between the rich monastery at Kārle and the wealthy merchants' settlement Dhenukākaṭa had a solid economic foundation. The mercantile function of the monasteries was not only the purchase of cloth and other commodities for the monks and retainers, and the buying of costlier materials for ritual and ostentation, but also the supply (for profit) of essential provisions and the loan (at interest) of indispensable capital to the trade-caravans. The great market centers of the Sātavāhana Deccan were sparsely distributed; their interconnecting trade-routes passed through wild, thinly settled, and difficult country. The caves were located conveniently near the worst stage of the journey, originally because of the monastic love of seclusion and the obligatory monsoon Retreat. The monasteries were untaxed, and their possessions not in danger of arbitrary confiscation by kings or officials as might be the lay merchant's hoard. A secondary economic function, the charitable use of monastic grain for the relief of famine, scarcity, or individual distress among laymen gained them special reverence from the savage tribes

and the earliest villagers. The sanctuary that would be given (in spite of certain *Vinaya* rules) even to robbers who wished to renounce their evil ways rendered these foundations the more immune to attack by brigands. It is only after village settlements using the heavy plough had become much denser that the same monasteries were transformed into a drain upon the revenues and the resources of the country, without mitigating features. By that time, it was much too late to reverse the trend towards degeneracy that had inevitably set in (under the guise of theological differences) with the gain of wealth and the taste for luxury.

The manifest association between Dhenukākāṭa and the *caitya*, as between the monks and the merchants, accounts for the continuity seen in that cave, in the execution of a fixed architectural design through the co-operation of many donors, over a period of several generations. The goddess Yamāi is surely derived from some prehistoric cult which preceded the caves, may have been the cause of the Kārle caves being located where they are, and which has survived the Buddhists. In support of this contention, one may point to the small hillock about 500 metres to the east of Devghar-Dhenukākāṭa. This bears a Bhairava shrine, and impressive rock-cut water-cisterns now neglected except for the usual red pigment spots representing Māvalā-devī. An unusual concentration of carnelian microliths may be picked up at the foot of the hillock, which is thus proved to have been a prehistoric center of exchange as well as a cult-spot, long before the Buddhists brought in trade at a much higher level of production. The Bombay Kolis would seem to carry on traditions formed by their ancestors in caravan days two thousand years ago, though unaware of this remote antiquity.

5. *The inscriptions*: The standard publications are: Kārle: E. Senart. *Epigraphia Indica* 7.1912.47-74; referred to as *S.* with numbers. M. S. Vats, *ibid*: 18.325-329 as *V.* with number. These supplant G. Bühler's report in the *Arch. Survey Western India* Vol. IV, 1882; it is still useful for the other inscriptions. For Śelārvādī, the Caitya inscription was first cleared and reported by A. C. Ghosh in *EL*. 28.77. For comprehensive references to that date, numbers are given from H. Lüder's *Index* (*EL*. 10, appendix), with code-letter *L*. *BI*. refers to J. Burgess and Bhagwanlal Indraji's *Inscriptions of the Cave Temples of Western India*, (Bombay). In what follows, the text is given in Roman, with doubtful letters italicized, and missing letters supplied in square brackets; the end of a line is indicated by the *solidus*. The *anusvāra* is usually uncertain. The decorative symbols such as the *svastika* etc. have been omitted. The text is followed by an English translation, and by bracketed notes or remarks on the text.

KĀRLE

The general order is from north to south, as far as possible.

1. North of Caitya cave, wall of 2nd cell from south. upstairs, of a vihāra (S. 20, L. 1106):

Sidham Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Siri-Puḷumāvisa savachare catuvisse 24 Hemaṃ-
tāna pakhe tatiye 3 divase bi-/tiye 2 upāsakasa Harapharaṇasa Setapharaṇa-
puttasya Sovasakasya Abulāmāya vathavasya ima deyadhāmma maḍapo /
navagabha Mahāsaghiyānaṃ parigaho saṃghe cātudise dinc * mātā-pitunaṃ
pujā savasatānaṃ hita-sugha-sṭhataye ekavise sa-/vachare niḥito *saheta* ca
me puna Budharakhitena mātara casya ** upasikāya Budharakhitasa mātā
deyadhāmma *pāṭho ani***.

Perfection! On the second 2 day of the third 3 fortnight of the winter season
in the twenty-fourth 24 year of King Siri-Puḷumāvi, son of Vāsiṭhi; this hall with
its nine cells is the pious gift of the lay-worshipper Harapharaṇa, son of Setapharaṇa,
a Sovasaka from Abulāmā; to the universal (Buddhist) Order. (but)
specially for the Mahāsāṃghikas, in worshipful memory of his parents. In the
twenty-first year, again, by me Budharakhita along with his mother the lay-follower
**, (was it) finished with a passage-way; (as) the pious gift of Budharakhita's
mother.

2. Cistern, north of Caitya (S. 21 ; L. 1107) :

*** 5 Hemaṃtānaṃ pakhe * e **** ya puvāya bhayaṃta, *** hīna atevā-
vāsiṇiṇa leṇaṃ bhagi *** kāṇa sadigā, *** kale pavāitāṇa Saṃghāya Bu*** dhamma
podhi ; **** / *** atevāsinilū.

{Badly worn, virtually illegible; commemorates the gift of that particular
cistern and cave; donors may be as in Śelārvaḍi 1.}

3. Lion pillar, front of Caitya cave (S. 2 ; L. 1088) :

Mahārāṭhisa Gotiputrassa Agimītraṇakassa sihathabho dānaṃ.

Of the Mahārāṭhi Agimītraṇaka, son of Goti, (this) lion pillar (is) the gift.
{Mahārāṭhi is here a high official title, whether or not *Marāṭhā* is its etymological
descendant}.

4. Verandah pillar in front of central door, Caitya cave (S.5 ; L.1091) :

Gahatasa Mahādeva-/-nakassa mātu Bhāyilāyaṃ dānaṃ.

Gift of Bhāyilā, mother of the householder Mahādevaṇaka. {The doubtful
reading might be Bhāyilāyā}.

5. Same pillar, below the preceding (S.6 ; L.1092) :

Dhenukākaṭakeṇa vaḍhakinā Sāmi-/-ṇa Veṇuvāsa-putteṇa gharasa / mugha
kata *dāruṃa** *dhu*.

The wooden door of this cave was made as a pious gift by the carpenter Sāmi,
son of Veṇuvāsa, resident of Dhenukākaṭa. {The carpenter not only worked on

the door but must have done so at his own expense. The existence of the wood-work is not in doubt, but no workman's name is given as such anywhere else in the inscriptions, which concentrate upon the donors. A soft streak in the basalt runs through the epigraph, which is badly weathered}.

6. Left end of verandah, Caitya cave (S. 1 ; L. 1087) :

Vejaymtito seṭhina Bhutapālenā selagharam pariniṭhāpitaṃ Jambudīpamhi ūtamaṃ.

Rock-mansion, the finest in the whole of India, completed by the financier Bhutapāla from Vejayanti. {The rock-mansion refers to the relief of a five-storied mansion on the left of the verandah, and possibly a duplicate on the opposite wall, unsigned, but with the legend *Sidham* (= L.1086). Vejayanti has been identified with Banavāsī in North Kanara}.

7. Wall to left of central Caitya doorway (S. 17 ; L.1103) :

***maṇyūtāya dānaṃ veyikā.

{This} railing (is) the gift of (some lady). {The reading might be *samaṇa-mātuya*}.

8. Caitya façade, upper frieze, left of central door (S. 14 ; L.1100) :

Raño Vāsīthiputasa Sāmi-siri-P[u]ḷumāvi]sa savachare satame 7 gimhapakhe paṃcame 5 / divase pathame 1 etāya puvāya Okhalakiyāna Mahārathisa Kosikiputasa Mitadevasa putena / mahārathinā Vāsīthiputena Somadevena gāmo dato Valurakasaghasa Valuraka-lenāna sakarukaro sadeya- / meyo.

On the first 1 day of the fifth 5 fortnight of the summer season in the seventh 7 year of king Sāmi-siri-Puḷumāyi son of Vāsīthi—on the above (date), a village was given by the Mahārathi Vāsīthiputa Somadeva, son of Mahārathi Kosikiputa Mitadeva of the Okhalakiyas, along with its taxes and dues, to the monastic order of Valuraka of the Valuraka caves. {What was given was the income from the village that the state would have received ; but it is unusual that an official had the power to make the donation, which could normally be made only by the king. Hence, the Mahārathi was close to the king in power, unless words *etāya puvāya* have been misread, or conceal some reference to the royal patent. The name of the village might indicate the modern Velhergāo at the foot of the caves. }

9. Caitya, left third pillar (S.10 ; L.1096) :

Dhenukākaṭā / Dhamma-Yavanasu.

{Gift} of the Yavana Dhamma from Dhenukākaṭa. {The pillar has been wrongly given as the fourth}.

10. Caitya left fourth pillar (S. 7 ; L.1093), belt of the capital :

Dhenukākaṭā Yavanasa Sihadhayāna thaṃbho dānaṃ.

(This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Sihadhaya (Siṃha-dhvaja) from Dhenukākaṭa. {Pillar wrongly given as the 3rd}.

11. Same pillar shaft (V.7). Identical with the preceding, but with the last three words in a second line and reading *yavaṇasa*.

12. Caitya. left 5th pillar (S.8 ; L.1094) :

Sopārakā bhayaṃtānaṃ Dhammutari-/-yāna Yasakanāthasa therasa/bhayaṃ-
tasa aṃtevāsisa bhāna-/-kasa Naṃdaputasa Sātimitasa / saha *** tili thaṃbho
dānamukha.

(This) pillar (is the) gift of the reciter Sātimita son of Naṃda, disciple of the Reverend Elder Yasakanātha of the venerable Dhammutariyas from Sopāraka. together with ***. {This inscription has been erased, presumably because Sātimita later gave the gift in his own name, and added some relics for which the hole is seen on the shaft : cf. the next inscription}.

13. Below the preceding, same pillar (S. 9 ; L.1095) :

Sopārakā bhayaṃtānaṃ Dhammutariyānaṃ bhāna-/-kasa Sātimitasa / sasariro
thaṃbho dānaṃ.

(This) pillar with the relics (is) the gift of the reciter Sātimita (a member) of the venerable Dhammutariyas (sect) from Sopāraka.

14. Caitya, left sixth pillar (V.8) :

Dhenukākaṭā Somilana-/-kasa dāna thaṃbho.

(This) pillar (is) the gift of Somilunaka from Dhenukākaṭa.

15. Caitya. left 7th pillar (S.11 ; L.1097) :

Dhenukākaṭā Usabhadata-putasa Mitade-/-vaṇakasa thaṃbho dānaṃ.

(This) pillar (is the) gift of Mitadevaṇaka. son of Usabhadata. from Dhenukā-
kaṭa. {The father Usabhadata has been taken to be the Saka, son of Dinika and
son-in-law of Nalupāna, who figures so prominently at Nāsik and in no. 29 below ;
but there is no evidence}.

16. Caitya left 8th pillar (V.9) :

Dhenukākaṭā Gola-vāniya-/-sa putasa Isalakasa thaṃbho dānaṃ.

(This) pillar (is the) gift of Isalaka, son of the trader Gola. from Dhenukākāṭa. {The *da* of the last word shows a false start}.

17. Caitya left 9th pillar (V. 10) :

Dhenukākāṭā Yavanasa / Yasavadhanānaṃ / thaṃbho dāna.

(This) pillar (is the) gift of the Yavana Yasavadhana from Dhenukākāṭa.

18. Caitya left 10th pillar (V.11) :

Dhenukākāṭā Mahamitā ghariniya.

Of the good wife Mahamitā from Dhenukākāṭa. {Badly cut, and perhaps incomplete. Mahāmātā would mean grandmother}.

19. Caitya left 13th pillar (V.12) :

Dhenukākāṭā gahapatināṃ Asoka-/sa natiye Dhamadevayā dānaṃ / thaṃbho.

(This) pillar (is the) gift of Dhamadevi, grand-daughter of the squire Asoka, from Dhenukākāṭa. {*nati* is taken as the Pāli *nāti* and Sanskrit *jñāti*, to indicate mere relationship, but the word must be the Prakrit feminine of *napti*. The man's name is read Asoka by Vats, though the vowel quality is quite clear. The syncopation of Dhenukākāṭa was presumably due to rustic pronunciation}.

20. Caitya right 17th pillar (*RI*. 24. p. 282) :

Dhenukākāṭā Miṇḍasa vejasa / thaṃbho dāna sahā bhariyāya Jayami-/tāye sahā ca va putehi Bhayabhutinā / Nābubhutinā ca Vasumitāya ca.

(This) pillar (is the) gift of the physician Miṇḍa from Dhenukākāṭa, along with his wife Jayamitā, his two sons Bhayabhuti and Nābubhūti (and his daughter) Vasumitā. {K. A. Nilukaṇṭha Śāstri and his colleague read the first personal name as Miṇḍasa, but the *anusvāra* is clear, and the *hā* in *sahā* is nearer to the Śclārvāḍi type than the other pillars, so that the physician derived his name from Menander. The first name in the last line was misread *Jebu*^o, but the letter is clearly *nā*}.

21. Caitya, right 16th pillar ; unpublished ?

Dhenukākāṭā Utaramatisa koḍupiniya Drāghamitāya samātukāya dānaṃ thaṃ-/bho.

(This) pillar (is the) gift of Drāghamitā, wife of Utaramati from Dhenukākāṭa jointly with her mother (or aunt). {Badly cut, light poor}.

22. Caitya, right 15 pillar (V.6) :

Dhenukākāṭā Cūlayakhana / Yavaṇasa thaṃbho dāna.

(This) pillar (is the) gift of the Yavana Cūlayakhana from Dhenukākāṭa.

23. Caitya, right 14 pillar (V.5) :

Dhenukākāṭā Rohamitena cūla-/-pitukasa Agilasa athā-/-ya thabo kārito.

(This) pillar has been caused to be made by Rohamita from Dhenukākāṭa, for the sake of his younger paternal uncle Agila.

24. Caitya, right 13th pillar (V.4) :

Dhenukākāṭā Yavanasa Dhamadha-/-yānaṃ thabho dānaṃ.

(This) pillar (is the) gift of the Yavana Dhamadhaya (Dharma-dhvaja) from Dhenukākāṭa. {This is the pillar topped by a Sphinx in place of a horse, on the darker side}.

25. Caitya, right 11th pillar (V.3).

Dhenukākāṭā / vāniya-gāma-/-sa thaṃbho dānaṃ.

(This) pillar (is the) gift of the traders' association at Dhenukākāṭa. {This seems to be—palaeographically—one of the earliest references to such traders' associations, who decided all questions between its members, and sometimes took care of a member in difficulties ; cf. *Daśakumāracaritaṃ* chap. 6 ; p. 233 of the *NSP* edition}.

26. Caitya, right 8th pillar (V.2) :

Goṇekākāṭā Dhamila upāsakasaṃ deyadhamaṃma thaṃvo.

(This) pillar (is the) pious gift of the lay worshipper Dhamila from Goṇekākāṭa. {The whole inscription is badly incised. Vats read *Goṇekākāṭa*, but the last syllable is *tā* or *ja* and the first two letters are also doubtful, so that this donor was, in all probability, also from Dhenukākāṭa, but unfortunate in his choice of scribe and mason. His name has been read as Dhamula, but here the vowel quality seems unmistakable. *Goṇe* is also Pāli for 'cattle'}.

27. Caitya right 5th pillar (V.1) :

Umehānākāṭā Yavanasa / Ciṭasaṃ gatānaṃ dānaṃ thabho.

(This) pillar (is the) gift of the departed Yavana Ciṭa from Umehānākāṭa. {The exact meaning of *gatānaṃ* is in doubt, though the use of the genitive plural to modify a noun in the genitive singular is seen elsewhere in the Kārle inscriptions. The interpretation has generally been that *gata* is a local or tribal name, *Garta*. Vats combines the name to get *Viṭasaṃgata* as the reading. The *anusvāra* is present but fortuitous, and *Ciṭa* seems correct, as a similar inscription *Yavanasa*

Cīṭasa gatānam is found at Junnar (L.1182 ; BI.33), as the donor of a dining hall cave on Shivnerī, just beyond the Shivābhī temple. Moreover, another such *gatānaṃ* gift has been made in the name of the Yavana Irila (Junnar, L. 1154 ; BI.5), so that *gata* has to be taken separately as “ departed ”, presumably “ dead.” The gift would then be posthumous }.

28. Caitya, inside belt of great arch (S. 12 ; L.1098) :

Asāḍhamitāye bhikuṇiye dānaṃ.

Gift of the nun Asāḍhamitā. {Note that the Buddhist monastic rules must have slackened—as may also be seen by the luxurious couples on the pillars and on the Caitya façade—if a simple nun could handle enough money to make such costly donations.}

29. Caitya façade, upper frieze, right of central door (S.13 ; L.1099) :

Sidham raño khaharātasa khatapasa Nahapānasa jāmatarā [Di] nīkaputena Usabhadatena ti-/gosata-sahasa-deṇa nadiyā Baṇāsāyā suvaṇṇatathā-karena*** brahmaṇana ca soḷasagā-/-made * Pabhāse pūtatithe brahmaṇāṇa aṭhabhāyā-pra *** anuvāsaṃ pi tu sata-sahasam bho-/japayita Valurakesu leṇavāsinaṃ pavajitānaṃ cātudisasa saḡhasa /yāpanatha gāmo Karajiko dato sa * na *** vāsitānaṃ.

Perfection! The village of Karajika has been given for the support of the ascetics living in the caves at Valuraka, belonging to the Order in general, for all who would pass the rainy season (in those caves), by Usabhadata, son of Dīnika and son-in-law of the king, satrap, *khaharātu* Nahapāna. (This Usabhadata was the) donor of 300,000 cows, giver of gifts of gold and a place of pilgrimage on the river Baṇāsā, donor of 16 villages to the gods and the brahmins, who arranged for eight wives to be married to brahmins at the pure pilgrimage-spot Pabhāsa, the feeder of 100,000 brahmins a year.

30. Caitya, frieze between central and right hand doors (S.19 ; L.1105) :

ānapayati Māmāde amaca parāgata-gāmasa etha lenesa Vālarakesa vāthavāna/pavajitāna bhikhuna nikāyasa Mahāsaghiyāna y*pan*ya etha Māmālāhāre utare mageg*m* Karajake/bhikhuhale dadama—etesa tu—gāma—Karajake—bhikhuhala—deya—pāpehi—etasa—casa/gāmasa Karajakāna bhikhuhala-parihāra vitarāma apāvesa a*** ***pārihārika ca etehi na parihārechi pariharah* et* casa gāma Karajake/bhikhuhala-parihāre ca etha nibadhāpehi aviyeṇa ānata*** *** chato vijayatha-satāre dato *thehukā paṭikā* sava 14/va pa 4 diva 1 Sivakhadagutena kaṭṭā.

[The king ***] thus commands his legate at Māmāda :—For the support of the sect of the Mahāsāṃghikas, ascetic almsmen living here in these

caves at Vālaraka, come to shelter from foreign parts, do we give the village Karajaka here on the northern road, as monks' land. For them (alone) is the possession of the village Karajaka guaranteed as monks' land. And to this village of Karajaka do we grant (all the usual) immunities appertaining to monks' land: not to be entered (by royal officials) *** to enjoy all (other) kinds of immunity. With all these immunities have I invested it. And I have had registered here this village of Karajaka and the immunities enjoyed by monks' land. Ordered by word of mouth, written (down) **** given at the victorious ***** charter executed by Sivakhaṃḍaguta in the year 14 (of the reign), on the first day of the fourth fortnight of the rainy season. {This, in reality, is only confirmation of no. 29, after Nahapāna's defeat. *Amaca parāgata-gāmasa* may mean "legate of conquered villages". The cult of the goddess Karajāi, 'Mother-goddess (of) Karaja' still exists at the village of Indūrī, on the Indrāyaṇī, four miles east of Talegāo railway station. If the interpretation 'northern road' is correct, the direction can only be from the royal headquarters, not from the caves. A village Karaṇḍoli lies beyond Vehergāo}.

31. Caitya, over right doorway (S.4 ; L.1090) :

Dhenukākātā ** gaṃdhikasa Sihadātasa dānaṃ gharamugha.

(This) door (is the) gift of Siṃhadāta, a perfume merchant from Dhenukākāta.

32. Caitya wall to right of central door, close to rail pattern (S.18 ; L.1104) :

Koḍiya bhikhuṇiye Ghuṇika-mātu veyikā dānaṃ Naṃḍikenā kataṃ.

(This) rail, (is the) gift of the almswoman Koḍi, mother of Ghuṇika ; made by Naṃḍika.

33. Caitya, above pair of figures at right corner of verandah (S.15 ; L.1101) :

Bhadasamasa bhikhusa deyadhama mithūna ve.

(These) two couples (are the) pious gift of the almsman Bhadasama.

34. Caitya, below feet of the three elephants at right end of the verandah (S.3 ; L.1089) :

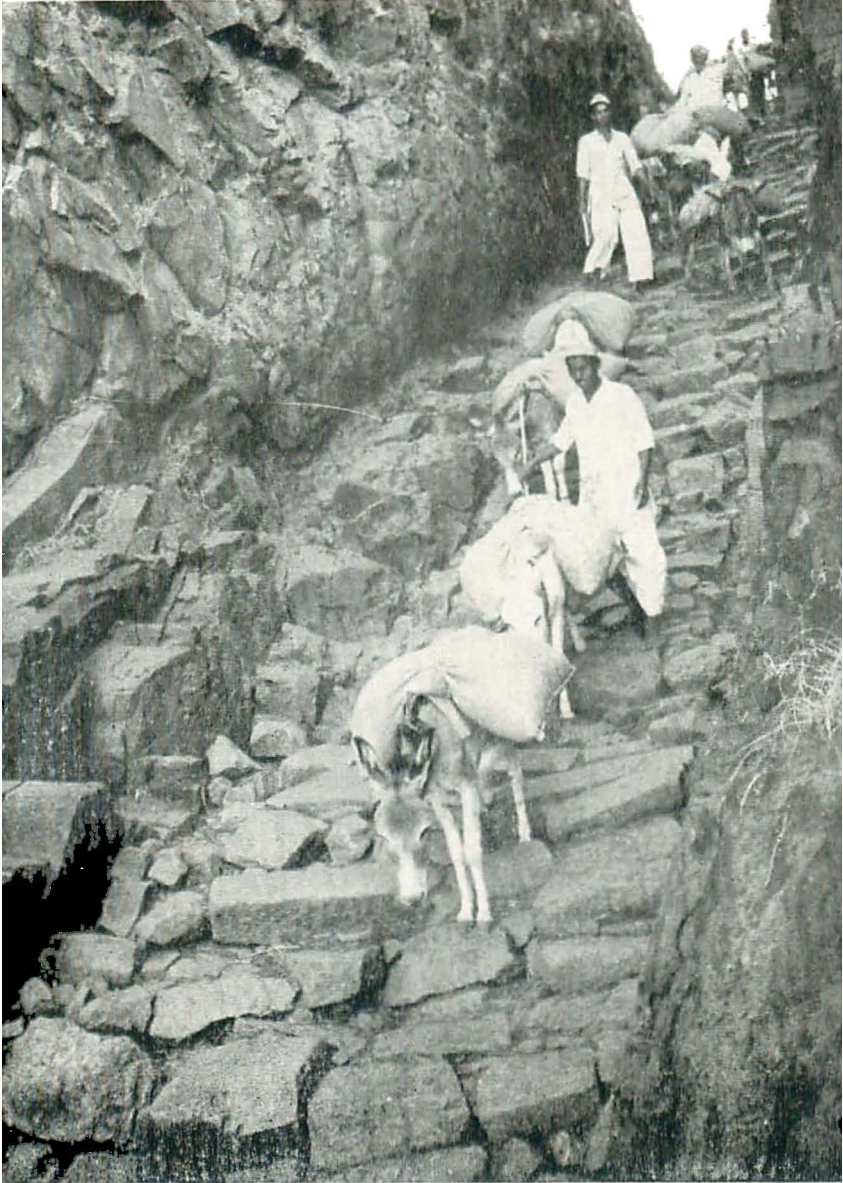
Therānaṃ bhayaṃta-Ṛṇḍadevasa hathi ca puvādo hathinaṃ ca uperimā hethimā ca veyikā dānaṃ.

(These) elephants and the railing-pattern above and in front of the elephants (are the) gift of the Reverend Elder Ṛṇḍadeva.

35. Caitya, inner side of right hand screen of verandah, above a relief sculpture of a couple (S.16 ; L.1102) :

Bhadasamasa bhikusa deyadhamam mithūnam.

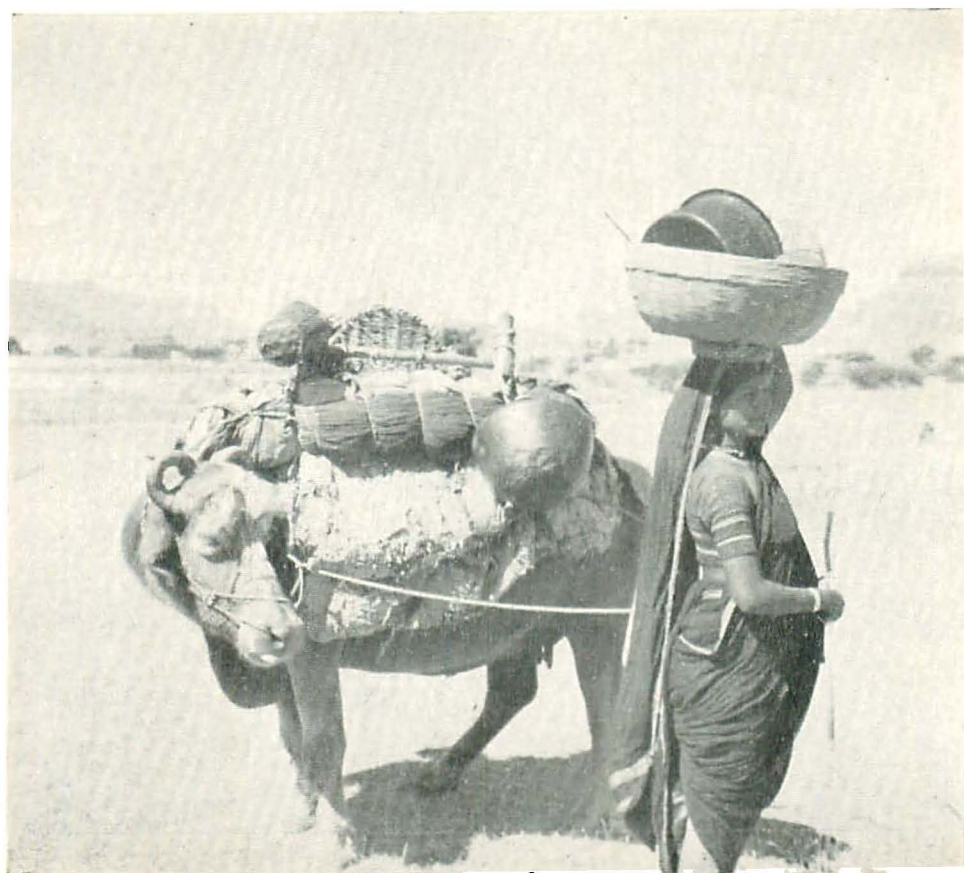
(This) couple (is the) pious gift of the almsman Bhadasama.



Monkey caravan beginning the Nāṅghāṭ descent ; note horned pack-saddle to keep the load from slipping over the pack-animal's head. Photo from the platform in front of the Sātavāhana cave.



Sphinx on capital of rt. 13th pillar, Caitya cave, Kārlē; (photo courtesy of the National Defense Academy, Khadakvasla). Other photographs show even more clearly that a support has been left beneath the Sphinx's claws, which therefore look like knees.



Buffalo loaded for trip down Nāṅghāt.



Centaurs on capital of engaged pillar, Bhūjā.

36. Front wall of a vihāra cave, a furlong south of Caitya, top left of entrance (S. 22 ; L. 1108) :

Sidham pavaetasa Budharakhitasa *deyadhama*.

Perfection ! Of the monk Budharakhita. {It is not clear whether the cave was the gift of Budharakhita, or his residence ; the last word is virtually imaginary in Senart's paper-impression and no trace of it now remains. The Budharakhita may be identical with the monk who signed Kārle 1}.

37. Inscribed stone found near the caves (V.13) :

****khusa Śega*-putrasa.

Of the *bhikṣu*, son of Śega. {Other such inscribed pieces might be discovered by searching through the pieces fallen from the earliest caves, to north of the Caitya, whose front walls have collapsed entirely, to the extent of breaking off and bringing into the open stairways which were at one time tunnelled through the rock for access to the upper tier of caves.}

ŚELĀRVĀDI

1. Sidham / Therāṇam bhayaṃta-Sihāṇa ate-āsiniya/pāvaītikāya Ghaūrāya bālīkāu Saghāya Budhā-/a ca cetiyagharo deyadhama mātā-pita ūdisa saha ca sa-/vehi bhikhu-kulehi saha ca ūcarivehi bhataavireyehi sa-/māpito.

Perfection ! This Caitya-house is the pious gift for the merit of their parents and presented for the use of all categories of almsmen, belonging to schools founded by diverse teachers, by Saṃghā and Budhā; daughters of Ghaūrā, (the disciple of the Reverend Elder Siṃha), who took holy orders. {This inscription is to the left of the inner entrance to the cave towards the Pavanā valley, now used as a Śiva temple. The original caitya capital still remains attached to the ceiling, and is now bored to suspend the water-pot which wets the Śiva symbol ; the rest of the stūpa has disappeared, presumably having been cut away, but not trimmed to the *liṅga*, which is a later addition. The cave has a front wall added, traditionally, by one of the Dābhūde barons whose keep at Indūri may be seen from the caves, and whose seat Talegāo is the nearest large village. The name is given by Ghosh as Ghaparā, in *EI.* 28·77 but *u* or perhaps *ḍa* is the correct letter}.

2. (L.1121) Sidham Dhenukākaḍe vāthavasa / hālakiyasa kuḍubikasa Usabha-/nakasa kuḍubiniya Siaguta-/nikāya deyadhama leṇa sahū pute-/ṇa Ṇaṃḍa-gahapatiṇā saho.

Perfection ! (This) cave (is the) pious gift of Siagutaṇikā, wife of the ploughman-householder Usabhanaka, resident at Dhenukākaḍa ; (made) jointly with (her) son the squire Ṇaṃḍa along with. {Ploughman-householder would mean a person who had occupation rights to the land which he worked, and was not a labourer who ploughed for someone else. The son had risen in the world to the status of a *gahapati*, head of a large household, which I translate as "squire" .}

BEDSĀ

BI.1 ; L.1110 (behind a votive stupa) :

Yāgobhutinam āraṇakāna peḍapātikānam Marakuḍavāsiṇam thupo/...ante-
vāsinā bhat-Āsālamitena kārito.

...(Memorial) stupa made by Bhaṭṭ-Āṣāḍhamitra, disciple of Yāgobhūti, the mendicant forest hermit resident at Marakuḍa. {The inscription is greatly worn. The initial letter, read as *ca*, is almost certainly *ya*; in the donor's name, *ca* could also be read as *da*.}

BI.2 ; L.1111 (water cistern) :

Mahābhoya-bālikāya Maṃdavi/-ya mahāraṭhiniya Sāmaḍinikāya / [de]ya-
dhamma Āpadevaṇakasa bitiyikāya.

Pious gift of Sāmaḍinikā, a Mahāraṭhini, a Maṃdavi, daughter of a Mahābhoya, and wife (or second wife) of Āpadevaṇaka. {The published BI. reading is ma[hā] deviya, making Sāmaḍinikā a queen. But there is no room at all for the extra syllable. The Mahābhoyas are well represented at Kuḍā, and several times called Maṃdava (both together, BI.9, 17, 23; *maṃdava* alone, BI.14); presumably, indicating the chief of a tribe in some locality near the Mahāḍ-Rājpurī region. In any case, it would be difficult to imagine the titles Mahāraṭhini and Mahādevī being held simultaneously, especially when the husband is not called a king. The lady's name also be read Sāmaḍinikā.}

BI.3 ; L.1109 (Lintel of cell door, right side in Caitya cave) :

Nāsikato Ānadasa seṭhisa putasa Pusaṇakasa dānam.

Gift of Pusaṇaka, son of the financier Ānanda from Nāsik. {Much worn.}

BHĀJĀ

BI.1 ; L.1078 (Cave 18, west of Caitya) :

Nāḍasavasa Nāyasa bhāgavatasa gābho dānam.

Of the Nāya (?Nāga) Nāḍasava, follower of the Blessed One (is this) cell the gift. {BI. read Bhogavata, taking it as a place-name, but *Bhāgavata* is the best reading possible. Later, this would mean worshipper of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa, but in spite of the Heliodoros pillar, Bhagavat here can refer in the context only to the Buddha, whose normal title it was in Pāli canonical literature.}

BI.2 ; L.1079 (cistern) :

Mahāraṭhisa Kosikiputasa / Viṇhudatasa deyadhama poḍhi.

(This) cistern (is the) pious gift of the Mahāraṭhi Viṇhudata, son of Kosikī.

BI.3 ; L.1080 (2nd stūpa front row ; all the stūpa inscriptions are badly weathered) :

Therānaṃ bhañāṃta Dhamagirinā thupa.

Stūpa (in memory) of the Reverend Elder Dhamagiri.

BI.4 ; L.1081 (base, third stūpa) ;

Theranāṃ bhayaṃta Aṃpikiṇakānaṃ thupo.

(Memorial) stūpa for the Reverend Elder Aṃpikiṇaka.

BI.5 ; L.1082 (base, 4th stupa) :

Theranāṃ bhayaṃta Saghadinānaṃ...

(Memorial stupa) for the Reverend Elder Saṃghadinna.

BI.6 ; L.1083 (2nd row, stupa capital ; unchecked) ;

Therānaṃ bhayaṃta...

BI.7 ; L.1084 (Right hand cell door, vihāra cave VI, east of caitya) :

Badhāyā hālīka-jāyāye dānaṃ.

Gift of Badhā, a ploughman's wife. (The name should be Budhā as at Śelār-vaḍī, but the rough background makes determination difficult).

BI.8 ; L.1085 (large stūpa in front row) :

Pacannavasi-bhuta-satānaṃ thu[po].

(Memorial) stūpa for a holy man who had reached the age of 95.

{The name of a donor seems to have been carved on a wooden rafter or pillar found at Bhājā, but is not included here. Its main interest lies in proving that the original wood-work of not later than the 2nd century A.D. could last to the present day.}

NOTES & REFERENCES :

In the abbreviations : *EI* = *Epigraphia Indica* by volume and page ; *JRAS* = *Journal of The Royal Asiatic Society* (London), by year and page ; *L* = H. Lüders, appendix (on old Brahmi inscriptions) to *EI*, vol. 10 ; for the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, the translation of W. Schöff (New York, 1912) has been used ; for Ptolemy's geographical account, J. W. MeCrindle's translation. For field work, preliminary knowledge was gained from the old Bombay Presidency Gazetteer (particularly vol. 18, pt. 3), supplemented by Survey of India maps (mostly to scale $\frac{1}{2}$ " = 1 mile). I am grateful to the National Defense Academy authorities at Khudāvāsā, and to Mr. J. B. Pāṭaṅkar (curator at Kārle) for their kind cooperation. A. Nikitin's narrative is one of four translated in R. H. Major's *India in the Fifteenth Century* (The Hakluyt Society, London, 1857), see especially pp. 9-10, 12 and 26. For the historical background, the reader may find my *Introduction to the Study of Indian History*. (Bombay, 1956), Chapter 8, of some use.

My special thanks are due to Lt. Col. D. M. Kee and the Cadet-members of the N. D. A. archaeological club for their enthusiasm and efficient organization of the field-work.

“TWO SPURIOUS INSCRIPTIONS
OF
MAHĀRĀṆĀ PRATĀPA OF UDAIPUR”

By

R. C. AGRAWALA

I. *Inscription of Udaipur Museum.*

The Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur preserves a stone slab (Museum No. 42) which presents an inscription¹ of the reign-period of Mahārāṇā Pratāpa of Mewar. The existing record consists of 12 lines ; the first four lines are quite distinct and furnish the date as *Monday, the 5th day of the bright half of the month of Jyeṣṭha of the (Vikrama) Year 1630*. Later on (lines 5 to 12), there is a reference to the award of a strip of land for a certain Brāhmin but the text cannot be made out with certainty at the present moment. The introductory part of the record may be noted as follows :—

Line	1.	सं ² १६३० वष ³ जेष्ट ⁴
	„	2. मासे सुकल ⁵ पषे ⁶ महा
	„	3. पवणी ⁷ पचमी ⁸ समवा ⁹
	„	4. रे राज ¹⁰ श्री राणा प्रताप

The inscription alone covers a space of about 16 inches in breadth and 13 inches in height. The letters, in Devanāgarī script, are not of a uniform shape and appear to have been carved by some illiterate person. The text of the record is full of mistakes as is evident from the foot-notes below.

The combination of the *tithi* (5th or bright half of Jyeṣṭha) and the *day* (i.e. Monday) of V. S. 1630 presents some difficulty because the inscription refers to day as ‘Monday’ instead of Wednesday on that particular *tithi* (*Indian Ephemeris*,

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1. Noticed by G. H. Ojha, *History of Rajputana*, Hindi, Vol. II, p. 774.
 2. i.e. संवत्.
 3. i.e. वर्ष.
 4. i.e. ज्येष्ठ.
 5. i.e. सुकल.
 6. i.e. पक्षे.
 7. i.e. पर्वणि.
 8. i.e. पंचम्यां.
 9. i.e. सोमवारं.
 10. i.e. राजा.

V, 1922, p. 348). It is just possible that the existing inscription was engraved at some late stage, perhaps with a view to assert one's claim over the particular strip of land. The aforesaid error in the date may even lead us to regard the inscription as a spurious one.

II. *Inscription from Sūrkhanda*¹¹

It was a few years ago that my esteemed friend, Dr. G. N. Sharma, published a brief account of an interesting inscription¹² from *Sūrkhanda* (G. N. Sharma, *Mewar and the Mughal Emperors*, 1954, Agra, p. 115-6) which refers to the defeat of the Rāṭhoḍas in the region of Chhappan at the hands of Mahārāṇā Pratāpa of Mewar. This important event of Pratāpa's regime has also been recorded in the *Vīra Vinoda* (Hindi, Vol. II, p. 158) where Kaviraja Shyamal Dass¹³ has even quoted the name of Lūṇā Cāvaṇḍiyā—the leader of the aforesaid Rāṭhoḍas. The former (i.e. *Sūrkhanda* Inscription) makes a specific reference to Pratāpa's victory over the Rāṭhoḍas but the language thereof is decidedly unlike that of V. S. 1642—the date¹⁴ of the record. The use of Hindi phrases is quite evident in lines 2, 6, 7, 11, etc., and it is therefore not plausible to date the record as early as the 16th century A.D. The text of this particular epigraph appears to have been drafted and engraved at a very late period in spite of a specific reference to the subjugation of the Rāṭhoḍas and the struggle with Rājā Mānsingh, the famous Commander-in-chief of the forces of Mughal Emperor Akbar. The last 5 lines refer to Pratāpa's award of a strip of land for the Viṣṇu temple dedicated to Raṇachodārāyaji whereas the inscription ends with the date as *11th day of the bright half of Jyestha* (line 16). The mixture of Mewārī and modern Hindi dialects, in this record, should be taken note of by the students and scholars alike. It is just possible that some interested resident of the locality of *Sūrkhanda* got the text drafted and engraved simply to prove his hereditary claim over the particular strip of land (4 *halas* in l. 15) at *Sūrkhanda* only in recent times. There appears to be sufficient difficulty in believing the authenticity of the award cited above.

The text¹⁵ of this inscription is very corrupt¹⁶ and has remained unpublished

11. Near Sarāḍī, the headquarters of the tahsil Sarāḍī, distt. Udaipur.

12. An inked impression of the same has been preserved in the Jagir Misal No. 1722/93 of the Commissioner's office, Udaipur.

13. It is regretted that Kaviraja Shyamal Dass has not referred to any epigraph or literary work about this important information.

14. It can even be read as 1648 or 1649.

15. I stand obliged to Dr. G. N. Sharma for the kind help accorded to me in deciphering the existing text.

16. The letters, in Devanāgarī script, too, have been engraved quite carelessly. The rectangular slab measures about 35 inches in height and 11 inches in breadth.

so far. It may thus be presented on the basis of an estampage as preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur :—

॥ श्री एकली[लि]ग श्री राम ॥

सहे

- Line 1. महाराणाधराज¹⁷ प्रता—
 „ 2. प सींग¹⁸जी ने राठड¹⁹ का रा—
 „ 3. ज पराजि कर सिसोदिय—²⁰
 „ 4. ण का राज संवत् १६४२^{20a}
 „ 5. मं राज प्रतापत²¹ की—
 „ 6. आ सुरखंड²² नगरे²³ पर
 „ 7. राज काद²⁴ उस समे²⁵
 „ 8. मुगल अकबर
 „ 9. के विषात²⁶ सेनापती रा²⁷
 „ 10. मानसेह²⁸ को सात²⁹ जुद³⁰
 „ 11. था³¹ महाराणा³² जी असी वज

17. i.e. महाराणाधिराज.

18. i.e. सिंह.

19. i.e. Having defeated the Rāthodas of the region of Chhappana. राज means 'राज्य', पराजि=पराजित.

20. i.e. Sisodiās of Mewar. Pratāpa belonged to this family.

20A. i.e. संवत् १६४२. The last numeral can even be read as ८१९ or

21. i.e. Established the supremacy of the Sisoda dynasty by exterminating the Rāthodad प्रतापत कीआ = प्रतिष्ठापित किया in Hindi.

22. i.e. modern Sūrkhāṇḍa, as cited above

23. i.e. नगर.

24. i.e. कीआ in Mewārī.

25. i.e. उस समय in Hindi. पराजि कर (line 3) and कीआ [(= किया), lines 5-6] are Hindi phrases.

26. i.e. विख्यात = famous.

27. i.e. राजा.

28. i.e. Māna Siṅha—the commander-in-chief of the army of Mughal Akbar.

29. i.e. के साथ in Hindi.

30. i.e. युद्ध.

31. This is also purely a Hindi word.

32. i.e. महाराणा.

- Line 12. पइ³³ ऊ³⁴ पुसी मे श्री रनसड³⁵
 ,, 13. जी का मदीरा³⁶ डोरी³⁷ थ³⁸ उ-
 ,, 14. सका प्रमद³⁹ कीजा लु-
 ,, 15. बी हल ४ पुजारा⁴⁰ कुव⁴¹-
 ,, 16. र को दा⁴² जेठ सुकल ११

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33. i.e. ऐसी विजय पाई.
 34. i.e. Mewārī उण खुसी । खुसी = happiness ; मे = में.
 35. i.e. रणछोड़रायजी, an epithet of Viṣṇu.
 36. i.e. मंदीर temple.
 37. i.e. land. I am thankful to Dr. G. N. Sharma for this interpretation.
 38. i.e. थी.
 39. An obscure phrase, perhaps referring to the award of land. उसका is purely a Hindi word.
 40. i.e. पुजारी = priest.
 41. i.e. कुंवर, perhaps the name of the priest of the temple of Ranachōḍarāyaji.
 42. i.e. को दी a Hindī phrase indeed.
 43. On 11th day of the *sukla* (bright) *pakṣa* (half) of the month *Jyeṣṭha*.
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REVIEWS

The Indo-Tibetans : By the Rev. Dr. MATTHIAS HERMANN, S.J., Ph.D.,
Published by K. L. Fernandes, Bandra, Bombay 20 ; 1954 ; pp. 159.

Dr. Hermanns is a well known and arduous field-anthropologist. His German works on the Tibetan races are esteemed highly by scholars. Now that this monograph has appeared in English many more students of culture in this country can be acquainted with his work.

The Indian reader though no longer ignorant about the people and customs of Tibet and the Himalayan border, has yet much to learn about the Indo-Tibetan culture. The formidable mountain ranges make travelling in these regions a pretty hard job. Dr. Hermanns had the good luck not only of visiting this land but he also stayed there for some years. He is well acquainted with the nomadic as well as the shepherd tribes of Tibet and Nepal. In this book a graphic picture of the principal tribes of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan is given and their cultural juxtaposition is discussed. There is much in this book which is useful to the reader who wants to know how far the Indians and the Indo-Tibetans are culturally bound together.

The book begins with a short cursory account of the Mongoloids. According to Dr. Hermanns, the Mongoloids did not have their original home in Mongolia but they trickled into Inner Asia from China. This view is supported by a short account of pre-historic and anthropological data.

In the second chapter the mountain-tribes of Nepal are described. They are (1) Kirat Rai or Kichak (2) Limbu (3) Magar (4) Gurung (5) Tharu (6) Newar (7) Sunwar (8) Dhamang and (9) Sharpa.

Dr. Hermanns in the last chapter of the book suggests that the Kirat-Rai or the Kiratis have an old link with the Kirata hill-tribes alluded to in the Mahābhārata. This, no doubt sheds an important light on the probable existence of a specific tribe called Kirata and also its location. The Kiratas in the Mahābhārata are however, only a hunting race. Nowhere do we get in ancient Indian literature a reference to the Kiratas being tillers of soil, as the Kiratis in Nepal are today.

Another similarity of nomenclature which struck me was that of Kichakas in the Mahābhārata. The Kichakas were formidable warriors and good at many arts and trades. The leaning of the Rai on the Hindu origin is very significant. The author, however, does not elucidate the point and so it remains only a query.

In the third chapter comes a detailed account of the Lepchas as the principal tribe of Sikkim. They are also known as Rong and are a hunting tribe. They

know the secret of poison and use it to their advantage in hunting. Dr. Hermanns gives a detailed account of their hunting rites, myths and a very important sacrifice where an intoxicating drink called chi is prepared for the gods. It is supposed that it satisfies the gods but turns the snakes and other ungodly creatures tipsy. Dr. Hermanns also shows that this sacrifice though of independant origin has same parallels with the Indo-Iranian Soma or Homa sacrifice.

The fourth chapter gives a rather sketchy report of the tribes of Bhutan. The next two chapters deal with the physical anthropological analysis of the tribes and then comes the seventh and the last chapter which deals with the cultural impact between the Indians and Into-Tibetans.

After discussing the Kiratis' relation with the ancient Indian Kiratas Dr. Hermanns also shows the clan of the Licchavis in the Buddhist canonical literature actually ruled in Nepal.

Dr. Hermanns then proceeds to the language problem. The various languages of the Indo-Tibetans show an amazing diversity, some languages are of Aryan origin, some are Austrio-Asiatic and some are Mongoloid.

The author then proceeds to analyse the spiritual influence with a racial background. This seems to me the weakest portion in the book. The author follows Oldenberg and accepts the view that 'the over-bearing pride of race and caste was typically Aryan and it admitted of no contact with the outcastes.'

A foregoing reference that Shakya noblemen were haughty and arrogant, and that they took no notice of the spiritual dignity of the Brahmans from Oldenberg's 'Buddha', leads the author to the conclusion that the Shakyas, from among whom the Buddha came, were Kshatriyas yet no Aryans. He thinks they were non-Aryans accepted into the Kshatriya caste and consequently into the Aryan community. In order to support of this unique conversion, Dr. Hermanns cites an example of the Kachari King Krishna Chandra (1790) who obtained a formal declaration from the Brahmans that they were Kshatriyas.

The case Dr. Hermanns has quoted is really that of a non-Kshatriya of the Hindu fold of the four varnas being made into a Kshatriya. The Aryan racial pride of which Dr. Hermanns speaks earlier contradicts such possibilities. Because Gautama the Buddha opposed the Vedic doctrine and sacrifice, it does not follow that the family which he springs from should be of non-Aryan origin when the Buddha himself calls his own discipline an Aryan discipline.

As far as the anthropological data are concerned, the author's contribution is certainly valuable.

Mīmāṃsākośaḥ Volumes I—III compiled by Svāmī Kevalānanda Saraswatī and published in the Prājña Pāṭhaśālā Maṇḍala Grantha Mālā by Shri V. G. Joshi for the Prājña Pāṭhaśālā Maṇḍala, Wai, pp. 84 + 17 + 136 + 1800 ; Price Rs. 35, 30, and 40 for the three volumes respectively.

The Prājña Pāṭhaśālā Maṇḍala of Wai has been doing signal service to the cause of Sanskrit learning for the last thirty years and in the three volumes of the Mīmāṃsākośa published so far we have its latest instalment.

The Mīmāṃsākośa, as declared by its erudite compiler the late Śrī Kevalānanda Saraswatī in his Introduction, is a comprehensive work which includes within its purview not only the *nyāyas* of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā but also several other *nyāyas* or maxims lying scattered in works on grammar and Vedānta and other sciences and also other compilations like the Nyāyasāhasrī. It contains the main adhikaraṇas of the Mīmāṃsāsāstra and also several other passages from various works where the *nyāyas* have been utilized. The work has, therefore, its use not only for a student of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā but also to a student of other sciences like Dharmaśāstra, Vedānta, and Grammar. The Kośa under review is expected to run through seven volumes comprising more than four thousand pages, the last volume containing several highly useful indexes.

The three volumes published so far cover 1800 pages of the kośa proper which has reached the end of the letter *Ja*. Besides these we have about 250 pages distributed over three volumes presenting some very useful information in connection with the Pūrvamīmāṃsā System.

Thus in 84 pages appearing by way of the editor's introduction to the first Volume, the reader is enlightened as regards the antiquity of the Mīmāṃsāsāstra in its origin, the exact connotation of the term Mīmāṃsā and the scope of the present work. It also supplies some information about the authors and works laid under contribution for this work (giving thus a brief survey of the Mīmāṃsā literature) ; describes in brief the main tenets of the Pūrvā Mīmāṃsā as a system of Indian Philosophy ; discusses several problems such as that of the identity of the Vṛttikāra, the extent of the Vṛttikāra grantha and the variant readings in the work of Jaimini. More interesting still is the portion where the editor has noted with actual quotations the difference of opinion of every later writer with his predecessor. Thus it has been shown how Śabara differs from the Vṛttikāra, the Vārttikakāra from Śabara, and so on down to so late an author as Khaṇḍadeva. All this, according to the editor, only proves beyond all doubt that 'nothing is stable and steady under the sun'. Another interesting point indicated with sufficient authority is the difference of View-points between the Mīmāṃsakas on the one hand and the Yājñikas on the other—a matter, as is suggested by the editor himself, for further investigation and elaboration.

The 136 pages added to the third volume contain matter which is highly useful to a close student of the Pūrvā Mīmāṃsā Sūtra. In one section is given

the index of the Adhikaraṇas of the Sāṅkara-kāṇḍa in the order of the text. This is followed by an alphabetical index of all the Adhikaraṇas of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā Sūtra including the Sāṅkara-kāṇḍa. These two indexes are bound to be of immense help to a student of the Mīmāṃsā Darśana ; but pages 13-45 are perhaps the most important to one who desires to get a succinct idea and a good grasp of the subject matter discussed by Jaimini in his work. With the help of quotations from various works the editor has given us first an idea of the contents of the work as a whole and then while describing the contents of the several adhyāyas, pāda by pāda and adhikaraṇa by adhikaraṇa, he has tried to give in brief the main subject as discussed in the various pādas of that adhyāya. Thus a perusal of these pages is calculated to give the reader a clear and succinct idea of the various topics along with the various aspects thereof discussed in the different adhyāyas of Jaimini's work.

The matter discussed and presented in these pages certainly deserves a wide circulation and study than it may be expected to have, couched as it is in Sanskrit rather than English.

Even a casual glance through the pages of these volumes will be enough to show how useful the Mīmāṃsākośa is as a reference work particularly to one desirous of studying details about several matters sacrificial as well as interpretative. Thus, for example, one can find in these pages several details connected with Agnicayana (p. 27ff), Agniṣommiya, (pp. 97 ff), and Ādhāna (pp. 913 ff). The reader will have again, a detailed account from the Pūrvamīmāṃsā point of view about Ātman (pp. 888 ff), Kṣaṇabhaṅgavāda (pp. 1517 ff), or such peculiar Mīmāṃsā theories as Anvitābhīdhānavāda (pp. 468 ff), Ākr̥ti (pp. 778 ff), Ākhyātavāda (pp. 817 ff), Uha (pp. 1223 ff), and Karmabheda (p. 1409). But by far the most important appear to be the general rules and general maxims such as those that are noticed under captions Kārakaśruti (p. 1448), Kāṇḍānusamāya (p. 1436), Karmabheda (p. 1409), and Ākāṅkṣā (p. 775).

The members of the Prājña Pāṭhaśālā Maṇḍala of Wai deserve our heartiest congratulations for having undertaken such important but voluminous works involving great expenditure. With the advent of independence the need to study Sanskrit and the rich heritage couched therein is being more and more keenly felt day by day. A sort of re-awakening as regards the importance of Sanskrit even for the sake of our future progress is visibly manifest among responsible quarters ; and it is to be hoped that in Independent India works like the present one and Institutions that have proved their worth by doing such illustrious service to the cause of our rich heritage untiringly and undaunted by any difficulties, should enjoy rich patronage both from the public as well as from the State and also the Central Governments.

Art in Urdu Poetry. *By* SHAHABUDDIN RAHAMATULLAH. Can be had from : Writers' Emporium Ltd. Sir Phirozshah Mehta Road, Bombay-1. Price : Rs. 10/-.

In the Preface to the "Art in Urdu Poetry," Mr. Shahabuddin Rahamatullah says that 'Urdu poetry, despite its life of only a few centuries, has stored priceless treasures of beauty, art, thought and wisdom. It is remarkable for the expression of the innermost soul of man. The calm pathos, which pervades, makes it the sweetest poetry of the world. Urdu poetry is pessimistic and at the same time voluptuous. The visions of Urdu poets unfold the whole human destiny in a setting that is essentially oriental and as such exquisite. They have painted pictures with colours of human sentiments applied with bold yet delicate literary skill of a high order. Their verse is melody, their technique sweet melancholy and their works which are highly intellectual, are comparable with the works of the greatest artists of the world in any sphere of art.' It is with this object in view that the author of the book under review, Mr. Rahamatullah has presented the beauties of Urdu poetry and the art in it in the English language in a matter-of-fact style.

Mr. Rahamatullah who occupies a unique position in the world of literature in general and of Urdu in particular, is not only a litterateur and poet but also a philosopher and an artist. "Art in Urdu Poetry" which is the product of his genius, is the embodiment of the beauties and charms of the various forms of Urdu poetry and its distinctive peculiarities. It is also an album of twenty two well-designed and most artistic plates which are the best specimens of the Persian Art.

The book has been divided into two parts. The first part speaks of the growth and development of Urdu which has been evolved by the joint efforts of Hindus and Muslims and thereby presenting a composite culture, a heritage, common and indivisible. The second part deals with the salient features of the most distinguished and select poets of Urdu of the past and of the present with their life-sketches in brief.

It can be said without hesitation that Mr. Rahamatullah has done yeoman's service in producing the book and therein translating Urdu verses into English verses in such a manner as to keep close to the original and still maintaining its beauties and force of expression.

"Art in Urdu Poetry" of Mr. Rahamatullah is indeed, an erudite and charming book and is the only work of its kind in English on Urdu poetry. It is hoped that the book would be possessed by the well-equipped libraries in particular and lovers of Urdu in general.

Varnaka Samucchaya,—Part I, (Maha Patha) : *By* DR. BHOGILAL J. SANDESARA, M.A., Ph.D., Director, Gujarati Section, Research Department, M. S. University, Baroda, Balbodh Characters. Thick card board, pp. 220. Price —Rs. 7/8. A.D. 1956.

Prof. Sandesara is a reputed student and scholar of old Gujarati. Varnaka means a peculiar style of prose-writing on the discription of any subject. The author has closely looked into the Manuscripts and given a facsimile of "Vividha Varnak" and examined the work from every point of view, the result of which is this enlightening work. The section describing "Dinner, Jimanavar" is very interesting. It mentions the most recent 'courses' like Khaja.

K. M. JHAVERI

Kahanad De Prabandh : *By* KAVI PADMANABHA (Volume I : Text) edited by Prof. K. B. Vyas, M. A., Elphinstone College, Bombay, pp. 33 plus 272—Price Rs. 9/8. Thick card board cover. 1953.

Kavi Padmanabha lived at Zalor in West Marwad and he wrote this epic poem in A.D. 1456 describing the courage and resourcefulness of the Zalor Rajput prince Kahanad De who drove away the armics of Alauddin which were sent out to invade Gujarat and destroy the Hindu ruler. It is written in old western Rajasthan or old Gujarati and the Text has been preserved, while the texts of poets like Narsimh and Mira have undergone changes. The scholarly Introduction contributed by Muni Jinavijayaji and that of the learned Professor himself set out in full detail the labour bestowed on comparing the different Mss. of the Text. The Text as published now is the last word on the subject and a very valuable last word. It shows the way to other research workers.

K. M. JHAVERI

Outlines of Muhammadan Law : Second Edition (1955) : *By* ASAF A. A. FYZEE, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. Cloth bound, with a jacket ; pp. 445. Price Rs. 16/- Oxford University Press. Bombay 1.

The first Edition of this work was published in A.D. 1949 and a Second Edition was called for within six years ; that testifies to its usefulness. Mr. Asaf Fyzee is an erudite Arabic and English scholar, and having been the Principal of the Government Law College, Bombay, and a Practitioner in the High Court for many years here, was in every way qualified to expound Muhammadan Law based on original sources. In his Preface to the First Edition, he has explained why he has taken up the Hanafi Branch of this Law as being suitable to India as distinguished

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from countries like Iran, Arabia etc. The special merit of this composition of Mr. Fyzee is that it is not merely a technical Law Book, useful to Lawyers only. It is so written as to interest a layman, a student and a specialist. It has been brought up-to-date while being revised, by the deletion of certain decided cases, the addition of cases decided during the interval, by modification of chapters on Gifts, Divorce, Marriage and of the Index. The Index is the most valuable part of the work. Pakistan Lawyers, it may be stated, would find it as useful as those in India.

K. M. JHAVERI

Tantra Samuccaya of Nārāyaṇa with the commentaries 'Vimarsīnī' of Śaṅkara and 'Vivarāṇa' of Nārāyaṇa-Śiṣya : Part II : Published by M. M. K. S. Mahādeva Sāstry, Pandit in Charge, University Manuscript Library, Trivandram Sanskrit Series Publication No. 169. University of Travancore, Trivandrum, 1953. Royal Octavo Pages 3 + 9 + 442 + 10 + 24 + 6 + 4. Price Rs. 4/0.

The late M. M. Gaṇapati Śāstri of the Travancore Manuscript Library was a stalwart doyen amongst the fast disappearing race of editors of Sanskrit works. He brought to the notice of indologists through the Trivandram Sanskrit Series many rare and valuable original works which were till then known through internal references only. His editions of (a) the epoch-making plays of Bhāsa (the early third century BC), (2) of the Mahayan Buddhist work with Tantric leaning, the Ārya-Maṅjuśrī Mūla-kalpa (4 to 7 cent. A.D.) (3) of the text of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (the late third century B.C.) with his own scholerly Sanskrit commentary, (4) of the Śaivite work, the Tattva-Pakāśa, ascribed to Bhojadeva (7 to 8 Cent A.D.) but not Parmāra Bhojendra d. 1062 A.D.) with its tantric commentary by Śrī-Kumāra (late eleventh Century A.D.,) (5) of the Tantric work belonging to the Trika system of Kashmir Śaivism, the Mahārthamañjarī (with the author's commentary the Parimala of Maheśverānanda alias Gorakṣa (1100-1150 A.D), and (6) of the extensive Tantric manual on worship and kindred subjects, the Iśāna-Guru-Deva-Paddhati written by Iśāna (925-950) of the famous line of Śaivite preceptors of the north India show evidence enough of his indomitable energy and assiduous scholarship.

The initial edition of the work under review was edited and published by him in two volumes each of six chapters (paṭhalas) during 1919-1921 with only one commentary, the Vimarsīnī. The present volume is the second part of a revised edition whose first part was published in 1951 as the publication No. 151 of the Series; and contains four chapters from V to VIII with two commentaries, the second and the new being from the pen of the direct disciple of Nārāyaṇa, the author of the original work. Nārāyaṇa composed it by 1426 A.D. in the Malabar region of South India; and it is probable that he based his work on the writings of

Aghora Trilocana and other Śivācāryas of the 11th and 12th century A.D. and on Śaivite works of the Āgama School which since early Christian era boasts of a vast literature on the public temple worship and festivals as are found in vogue in the South Indian seats of the Śaiva religion. He does not refer to authorities by exactly naming them but known through the similar works so far published. His style of writing chaste Sanskrit reflects on the high order of Sanskrit scholarship in the medieval period. The present part under review contains middlemost chapters, and their topics are mostly related to the worship of the Iṣṭa-devatā of individual appeal and to other similar topics on the mode of the Pañcāyatana Pūja (arcā-vidhi) of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, Skanda and Gaṇapati. The most important topics in the fifth chapter are mostly of Tantric nature and deal with the initial purificatory rites connected with various types of Śuddhis, bodily and otherwise, with ritualistic practices of Nyāsas, touching of the different parts of body with different fingers and identifying them with the corresponding deities presiding over them, and with the showing of the mudrās—entwining of fingers of both the palms in order to please the deity that is being worshipped etc. The aim of this ritual is explained in the Tantras as “Devobhutvā Devam Yajet”. Dr. Renou in his Oxford lectures on Indian religions has remarked that the word ‘Pūjā’ is not fully explained. Since he has not left the topic of Śrī-Vidyā untouched it is very difficult to understand what he wants to know further from the word ‘Pūjā’ as is known traditionally and meticulously explained in almost all the Tantric manuals in their Āhnika portions. The summary treatment of the six ways (Ṣaḍadhivas) that lead to the realization of the identity of macrocosm and microcosm either by way of Yoga practices or by way of grasping the final aim of the Thirty-six Principles—the Tattvas forming the cosmos, had already been found touched upon during the earlier ages by the authors and commentators of the Tattva-Prakāśa, Mahārtha-Mañjari and the Isāna-guru-deva-paddhati. The very topic was mentioned in the Gandharva Tantra (hypothetically dated the 4th to 6th. cent. A.D. but is not included in the Canon of the sixty four original Hindu Tantras); and Bhāskara-Rāya (1680-1750 A.D.), the last exponent of the Tantra school of the Śrī-vidyā, fully developed the same thought esoterically under the section dealing with the identification of the various arthas (the siddhāntas, ascertained truths) in his Varivasyū-Rahasya-prakāśa, his initial work on the Hindu Mantra-Śāstra. The scholars who wrote on the problems of the Hindu Dharma do opine that the portion dealing with the daily religious practices (ācāras) of the Hindus (found treated in the orthodox āhnikas) forms an inherent part of the Hindu Dharma-Śāstra. It is now almost unanimously admitted that these ācāras are more than ninety per cent Tāntric in nature. No doubt they have leanings on the orthodox yoga system subjected vitally to the psychological influence of the Tantric Yoga practices of the Kuṇḍalinī, the life form, and its passage through seven psychic plexuses there in are included the play of the fiftyone akśaras of the Sanskrit alphabet (mātṛkas) from which is originated the Hindu Mantra-śāstra. Such and similar practices by which an individual initiated sādḥaka strived for

the realization of the identity between the bi-unitary principle-Śiva-Śakti and the world and the individual self, were considered as the component parts of the Dharma-Śāstra mostly on account of the fact that the Tantra ideal was based on the practical achievement of the four puruṣārthas with the help of the idealistic aim of the system of the Vedānta). Hence Tantra was more of a religious cult than a system of philosophy. It is most likely that on account of this very reason Mādhavācārya in his famous compendium, the Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha did not touch the Tantras as a separate darśana; he did not find it obligatory to treat the ideal of the Śrī-vidyā as a Śāmbhava or Śākta darśana. He treated this topic of the Mantra-śāstra as a branch of the Yoga system and has cited bodily a sūtra viz. 'mantrāṇām acintya-śaktitā' from Śrīvidyā-Kalpa-Sūtra ascribed to the sage Paraśurāma, thereby indirectly acknowledging the school of the Śrī-Vidyā, a vital portion of the Hindu Tantras, as one of the cults or vidyās falling under the tenets of the orthodox Vedānta. Nārāyaṇa, the author of the Tantra-Samuccaya should be distinguished from the author Nārāyaṇa whose work, popularly known as the Viṣanārāyaṇiya is published in the Madras Government Oriental Series No. XV(1950). These two works should again be distinguished from the 'Mantra-nārāyaṇiya, an old authoritative work on the mantra-śāstra, and which is oft quoted by Rāghava-bhaṭṭa (1493A.D.) the commentator of the Śāradā-Tilaka of Lakṣmaṇa (950 A.D.). MM. K. S. Mahādeva Śāstry the editor of the book under review should be congratulated for his patient work in introducing a new feature of giving a list of quotations in the work; and it is a very useful feature, for there would be scholars who may trace them to their originals. The paper used is bad for such a work which saw a new light after a quarter of a century; but the price is very moderate and economical for a work of nearly five hundred pages.

D. S. MUNGEKAR

Report on the Excavations at Nasik and Jorwe : 1950-51. By Drs. H. D. SANKALIA and S. B. DEO. Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona. 1955. Crown 4 to. pp. XX + 178, with 10 Plans and Sections, 36 Plates, and 85 Figures. Price Rs. 45/-

Studies in early and Mediaeval Indian Ceramics—Some Glass and Glass-like Artefacts from Bellary, Kolhapur, Maski, Nasik and Maheshwar. By Dr. B. B. LAL. *Deccan Bulletin*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, pp. 48-58 (forming part of the *Excavation Report* and supplied along with it).

The book under review is an excavation report by Drs. Sankalia and Deo, along with topical contributions by various experts on the technical aspects of the different problems, Dr. Lal's contribution being one of them.

Dr. Sankalia has established his reputation as an expert in prehistoric archaeology and excavation, and thanks to the regular grants received from the University of Poona and its keen interest in field archaeology and the grant-in-aid from the University of Bombay, and above all, to the facilities and encouragement by the authorities of the Deccan College, he has been able to carry on successfully his excavations in different regions. It must indeed be a matter of gratification for Dr. Sankalia to see that some of those who received their training under him, are not only occupying responsible posts in the Archaeological Department and elsewhere, but are themselves carrying forward his good work. As stated by Dr. Sankalia in his Introduction, " Besides confirming in a number of details the character of the Early Historic Culture in MahārāshtraNasik has provided positive and reliable evidence for the existence of at least two cultures—one pre-historic, the other proto-historic—which were hitherto quite unknown...With the clues supplied by Nasik and Jorwe, one can look forward to a systematic and large scale investigation of the extent and full significance of these cultures. "

Excavations suggest three main climatic phases,—wet phase being followed by a dry phase and again a wet phase. Natural earth of yellow silty nature was reached at three different points at depths of 15' 9", 25' 2", and 28'. Though the occupation of the site can be chronologically related as belonging to Early Stone Age on the basis of the recovery of tools of trap rock cleavers, scrapers and handaxes of Late Abbevillian and Early Acheulian type from the buried riverbed at Ganga-wadi, 10 miles northwest of Nasik, this period is not numbered and included in the summary as it is not represented in the regular excavation. The earliest period, therefore, is the sixth layer, Period I, called the protohistoric period, characterised by microliths, painted pottery and a large amount of ochre-washed ware. It is pre-N.B.P. period and may be placed in the Chalcolithic or Early Bronze Age, its duration extending between 1500-1000 B.C. to 500 B.C.

This was followed, after some lapse of time, by Period II (4th-5th century B.C.—A.D. 50) divided into two phases, which yielded N.B.P. and black and red and ordinary red wares. The occupants were either hunters or makers of metal weapons, and were non-vegetarians, though probably Buddhists. They lived in mud huts roofed with tiles and supported by wooden rafters, and used storage jars, weapons, etc. No such details are available with regard to the people of Periods III and IV. Though no structures of Period III, that of Roman Contact (A.D. 50-200), were extant, the contacts of Nasik with the Roman World have been inferred on the basis of the find of a few sherds of the black rouletted ware of the Arikamedu type, a sherd of the lustrous Samian ware, and imitation red polished ware, though not recovered from well stratified deposits. After this there appears to be a lacuna in the finds between A.D. 300 and 1300 when the site was abandoned and resettled during the Muslim period.

Some special features of the Nasik ceramics may be enumerated here. A bright or dull orange red with a soft powdery surface may be called the distinctive feature

of the Nasik pottery. Painting in black over a red or reddish surface, which does not recur later at Nasik, is the second feature of the early period. A very light whitish red ware is the third feature of the Nasik I pottery.

Dr. B. B. Lal's chemical and microscopic examination of the glass and glass-like objects from Nasik, along with other objects from Bellary, Kolhapur, and Maski, shows that certain glass-like objects are neither made of glass nor of chalcodony, but are made with a paste of the latter and resemble in their composition objects of similar material from Mohenjo-daro; though associated superficially with microliths and neoliths the polychrome and monochrome glass bangles from Maski and Bellary are technologically identical in their make and material to the glass bangles of the 14th-15th century unearthed from stratified deposits at Kolhapur; the art of moulding and even annealing glass objects was known by 3rd century B. C.

The importance of the Nasik excavations lies in the occurrence of microliths in the basal habitation layer separated from that of the early historic by a weathered horizon indicating a well-developed microlithic industry much before early historic period. Nasik, again, is the first site in the South where N. B. P. has been found, and where some new or more shapes in it are available. The cast inscribed coins, besides presenting two new varieties, show that the distribution of these coins was not confined to Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, but extended to include parts of North Deccan.

The printing and get-up are worthy of the publications of the Deccan College, though the price appears to be a little high.

A. D. P.

Pleistocene Studies in the Malaprabha Basin: By Dr. R. V. JOSHI. Published by the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, and the Karnatak University. Poona; Dharwar; 1955. Price Rs. 15/- Crown 4to. pp. xi + 116, with 41 Figures and 9 Plates.

Dr. R. V. Joshi's book is the first of its kind in India. Another feature is that it is probably the first joint publication of two different regional institutions—the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute in Poona, which has taken the lead in prehistory, and the University of Karnatak, which wishes to specialise in the branch of Geochronology for the study of which no facilities exist in any other University in India at present,—in furtherance of their joint work.

The book is divided into eight chapters and contains an Appendix giving a detailed description of the illustrated tools. It brings into prominence the problem

of the prehistory of Karnatak nearly seventy years after the pioneer work of Robert Bruce Foote in the Southern Maratha Country. The survey of the Malaprabha was substantiated by actual field work in other regions as well.

The study includes the geological, geomorphic and prehistoric observations of the Bombay-Karnatak region, and may be regarded as the first systematic and comprehensive account of the culture of the Early Man of Karnatak and his environment. The survey yielded twenty-one sites and over 900 tool specimens. The work is thus twofold ; (i) study of the environment by the application of the geological methods ; and (ii) identification and classification of the palaeolithic tools including their comparison with similar tools in India and outside.

The landscape of the Malaprabha is, in general, of the erosional type. Want of sufficient data renders it difficult to conjecture at what stage of the Pleistocene the history of this region begins. The river-deposits comprising bottom-set mottled clay and gravels, overlying brown sand, black soil and river alluvium do not throw any light as regards climatic succession. However, the application of Zeuner's climatic successions in Gujarat to the Karnatak region reveals a close parallelism between the two so far as environmental factors are concerned.

The Malaprabha basin is rich in Stone Age remains. On a typological basis the implements belong to the middle or upper Pleistocene period. The Malaprabha industry belongs to the Acheulian complex. A number of tools from the Vaal river, Uganda and Olduvai Gorge invite comparisons with the Malaprabha tools. No comparison, however, can be instituted with the lower palaeolithic industries of Java, Burma, Malaya and China as these belong to an entirely different culture-complex which is absent in the Malaprabha industry. All the characteristic features of the standard Abbevillian-Acheulian tools from Europe are found in the Malaprabha specimens. As regards the Soan industries the Malaprabha industry does not show any resemblance to them. Some of the Chauntra tools (Group C) show affinity with the corresponding Karnatak finds. The industries of Madras, Godavari and Gujarat show very close parallelism with the Malaprabha industry, while the Narmada and Mayurbhanj industries show but a partial correspondence.

Dr. Joshi deserves to be congratulated on breaking new ground. The printing and get-up are up to the mark. It is hoped that similar studies for different regions will be undertaken by competent scholars.

A. D. P.

It is a happy sign that Indian archaeology, a neglected science in the past, is receiving better attention from the Department of Archaeology and some Indian Universities. The problems of Indian archaeology are many and the sites innumerable. The scientific examination of these sites requires the attention of a host of scholars. Therefore, any attempt of howsoever limited nature to bring to light cultural evidences hidden in the bowels of the earth and unrecorded in literature and oral traditions must win our appreciation and encouragement.

Among the band of research workers in the field of Indian archaeology, Dr. H. D. Sankalia and his students deserve special mention. It was at his instance that Shri R. N. Mehta was able to dig independently at Timbarva, a small and important site near Karvan not far from Baroda in the Dabhoi Taluka. The trial excavation which lasted only for two weeks of April 1953 yielded some interesting data about the Early Historic Culture of Central and Southern Gujarat. The excavations revealed the Iron Age Culture associated with Red and Black Ware in association with the Northern Black Polished Ware. This culture could be connected with similar culture at Maheshwar and Navada Toli (Madhya Pradesh) and Nasik and Jorwe (Bombay State). Unfortunately in the absence of other datable evidences the chronology of the site depends mainly on pottery types—N. B. P. (c. 400 B. C.), Red Polished Ware (C. 100-300 A.D.), Red Slipped Ware with paintings in black on white background (c. 600 A.D.). The site seems to have been deserted in the 10th or 11th century.

The monograph describes at length the types of pottery in all the three periods. It is followed by an analysis of beads and some objects whose significance is not quite clear. The first of the two figures of the Mother Goddess from the layers of Period I is also of interest. The metal objects throw some light on the Iron Age Culture of Gujarat preceding four or five centuries of the Christian era.

In short the diggings at Timbarva, reveal certain culture phases, the evidence, however, being too meagre to come to certain definite conclusions. It is hoped that trial excavations in Gujarat will in future will be taken on much wider scale to establish the typologies of various culture sequences. The evidence from Timbarva when correlated with similar evidences from other sites is bound to increase our knowledge of the history and culture of India.

MOTI CHANDRA

The Nānārtha-ratnamālā of Irugapa Daṇḍādhinātha. Critically edited by Dr. B. R. SHARMA, M. A., Ph.D. Published by the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona, 6. 1954. Royal Octavo pp. vi, 280. Rs. 15/-.

The Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute has undertaken the preparation of Dictionary of Sanskrit on historical principles, and has started

a series entitled, "Sources of Indo-Aryan Lexicography", as a tributary of the Dictionary. The work under review is the eighth in the series. The *Nānārtharatnamālā*, as the title itself suggests, is a lexicon of homonyms. It is divided into six chapters (Kāṇḍas) the first four of which deal with homonyms containing one to four syllables respectively ; the fifth is devoted to homonyms with more than four syllables and the last explains the various meanings of indclinables. This important lexicon is compiled by Irugapa or Iruga who was also known as Bhāskara and Nirupama, and was a minister or chief justice of the Vijayanagara king Harihara II, who ruled between 1379 and 1400 A.D. As the king is referred to in the fourth introductory verse as being alive, the *Nānārtharatnamālā* must have been composed during these years. The editor suggests that Bhāskara, the author of the drama *Unmatta-Rāghava* was identical with Irugapa, the author of this lexicon, (Foreword, p. iv).

A peculiarity of this lexicon is that the homonyms are arranged in the order of the last syllable and not of the final consonent e. g. *ojas* is given under *jānta* words and not under those ending in *s* (*sānta*). While words ending in *jā* are correctly given after those ending in *ja* those in *kṣa* are given separately after those ending in *ha* and not after those ending in *ka*.

This critical edition is based on a printed edition in the Grantha script and 3 Mss., one of which is in the Grantha and the two in the Telugu characters.

The editor has given a complete index (which incidently corrects the misprints in the text in a few places) not only of all the homonyms with their genders and meanings in English, but of each and every signification of a homonym as often as it occurs with a separate entry for each, even when the meaning is the same, e. g. there are four separate entries for अङ्क and four for अग्र which involves a waste of space and increases the cost of printing. In fact there should have been an Index only of the homonyms with their different meanings. An index of all the words in an important and ancient literary work is desirable but that of all the words used by a medieval author of a lexicon to explain the homonyms recorded by him is a waste of time of the editor and money of the Institute. We are interested, e. g. in what different meanings are assigned to the word अङ्क by our author and not in a record of all the occurances of the word अङ्क in the whole of the lexicon. Then the Index records not only single words but often 'padas,' in other words, it is not only a 'Śabda Sūci' of all the hononyms 'taught' in the text with their various meanings, but a 'Pada-Sūci' of all the meanings assigned to the homonyms. This has resulted in the indexing of such explanatory lengthy compounds with their meanings, as the following :

गजपृष्ठास्तीर्णचित्रद्रव्य	(one of the three senses of	कुय,	l. 579),
जनितात्यन्तरागयोषित्	(,, ,, ,, two ,, ,,	वनिता,	l. 533),
छत्रप्रान्तविलम्बिवस्त्र	(,, ,, ,, three ,, ,,	झल्लरी,	l. 1910),

कांस्यादिसर्वतैजसवस्तु	(one of the two senses of	लोह,	l. 1144),
ऋमनिम्नमहीभाग	(„ „ „ eight „ „	प्लव,	l. 1041),
गुरुकुलस्थायिशिष्य	(„ „ „ four „ „	न्यङ्कु,	l. 188),
तैलादिपाकपात्र	(„ „ „ three „ „	कटाह,	l. 2119),
मुग्धस्त्रीहस्तविन्यासभेद	(„ „ „ „ „ „	स्वस्तिक	l. 1199),
मुसलाग्रस्थलोहमण्डलक	(„ „ „ „ „ „	शम्ब.	l. 697),
अतिप्रौढस्त्रीगुह्यांगुलियोजन	(„ „ „ „ „ „	अर्धेन्दु	l. 1618),
प्रसादीकृतमालयाक्षतादि	(„ „ „ „ „ „	शेषा	l. 1120).
पूर्वदिग्देशकालस्थद्रव्य	(explanation of पूर्व adj.,		l. 1071).

Instances of this type can be cited by the score. A literal translation of the text, verse by verse, would have been far better than such piecemeal translation of all the explanatory words in their alphabetical order in the Index. The meanings assigned in the Index to certain words are **incorrect**, e. g. आश्वास is not a chapter or section of a story book ; it is the name of a chapter of the आख्यायिका (a particular type of Sanskrit prose work as distinguished from कथा). It is absurd to index the following words : तत्सूत, “ his charioteer ” (1. 1445); तद्विभूषण, “ an ornament made of that ” (1. 799); तच्चिह्न, “ its impression ” (1. 609). तच्छिरा, “ its vein ” (1. 1044). ककुद or ककुत् is explained by वृषभाङ्ग. A hump of the bull is वृषभाङ्ग; but वृषभाङ्ग by itself cannot be translated as “ a hump of a bull.” नृजाति (1. 1608) is not the “ name of a caste ” (कायस्था—it should have been कायस्थो ना नृजात्यात्मनोरयम्); while कायस्थ is so. करण (1.1443) is not just any ‘division of a day’; even a घटिका is so. The explanation of शोण (1.445) as ‘ name of a *male* river ’ (italics mine) is noteworthy ; सीवनसाधन (1. 281 which is the author’s paraphrase of सूचि) is not needle ; a thread also is a सीवनसाधन. कल्प (1.683) is not only a “ termination meaning ‘ equal to ’ added to the nouns, ” it is added to adjectives also. Besides it is not correct to say that ‘ equal to ’ is the meaning of कल्प; he should have said ‘ almost equal to ’. The meaning of असिधारा in असिधाराव्रत (1.2186) is not explained. घटसाधनभेद (1.921) is not only a potter’s wheel’; even a दण्ड is घटसाधनभेद. The text has ऋक्चः करपात्रे स्यादपि ग्रन्थिलपादपे (1.1338). In the Index ऋक्च is explained as ‘ Saw, N. of the Granthila tree ;’ and ग्रन्थिल as ‘ the tree ग्रन्थिल ’. ग्रन्थिल is ‘ knotty ’; it is not the name of a particular tree. क्षेत्रिय (1. 1808) : one of its meanings is given in the text as चिकित्साहान्यदेह which is explained in the Index as ‘ (disease) curable in the future body.’ I would like scholars to consider whether the meaning is correct or not. च्युतमहोपल (1. 2398) is not simply a ‘ boulder ’ but a boulder fallen from a mountain (गण्डशैलः स्याल्ललाटे गिरेश्च्युतमहोपले). The word समुद्रनवनीत (1.2493) in the senses of “ nectar ” and “ the moon ” is both striking and picturesque. The editor should have explained the 6th verse which is rather difficult to understand without the proper explanation of the words द्वि, त्रि etc. occurring in it. These slight flaws are not pointed out to detract from the credit that is certainly due to the editor for having prepared this critical edition of this valuable lexicon. Publication

of such important lexicons should be continued without break, for it is only institutions like the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute devoted to pure research which can sponsor and carry through such highly-significant and valuable research work.

N. A. GORE

Family and Kin in Indo-European Culture : By G. S. Ghurye. Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1955. Demy Oct. pp. vii + 254. Price Rs. 12/-

Marriage and Family in India : By K. M. Kapadia. Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1955. Demy Oct. pp. xxviii + 286. Price Rs. 18/-

Under the able General Editorship of Dr. G. S. Ghurye, Head of the Department of Sociology, and Dean of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Bombay, a new Series has recently been started entitled "Sociology Series" in the University of Bombay Publications, in which valuable contributions by the learned scholar and his colleagues and students under his inspiring guidance are being published. The books under review form respectively Nos. 4 and 3 in the Series.

While stressing the importance of ethnological analysis in the study of social institutions, Rivers also emphasised the importance of kinship terminology and the kinship study in any culture investigation. It is now generally accepted that nomenclature of kin throws light on the family organisation, and changes in kinship terminology are an index of the changes in the fortunes of the respective kins. In the *Family and Kin in Indo-European Culture*, Dr. Ghurye has studied the Indo-European culture as a whole to extract information about the family and kin with particular reference to India, Greece, Rome and to the ancient Celtic, Teutonic, and Slav cultures. Both the terminological and behavioural data about kin among the major speakers of the Indo-European languages have been used in order to focus them in the elucidation of the history of the institution of family. The book thus is mainly concerned with the nomenclature of relatives in Indo-European culture, the important role it plays in the interpretation of social history and the indications it affords of the organisation of the family. The author's specialised knowledge of original sources so far as India is concerned and his vast reading regarding other Indo-European cultures invest the work with soundness and authority.

The book is divided into ten chapters covering 216 pages, followed by an Appendix which lists all the known terms of kinship current in most of the sub-families of the Indo-European languages. The first three chapters deal respectively with (1) Nomenclature of Kin, (2) Consanguineal Relatives and (3) Affineal Relatives. The next two chapters (4) and (5) describe "Family and Kin in Indo-Aryan

Culture", followed by two chapters each devoted to "Family and Kin in Greek Culture" (Chs. 6 and 7) and "In Latin Culture" (Chs. 8 and 9). The concluding chapter is entitled "General". After "Appendix" come "Bibliography", "Index", and "Publications of the Department of Sociology, Bombay University", the last of which should not have been included as forming part of the book.

Opening with a critical study of the nomenclature of kin in Indo-European languages, the author concludes that affineal terms in Sanskrit languages are individualising and descriptive derivative, while those in Greek, Balto-Slavonic and Gothic languages are classificatory in varying degrees. While not subscribing to the view that the pristine form of social organisation in Indo-European culture was matrilineal, Dr. Ghurye has invited attention to the fact that no author has yet used the argument based on the nomenclature of daughter which can be used to propound the matrilineal theory. According to him, the primitive Indo-European organisation was patrilineal because "The position of the husband and the father suggested by the widely current terms for these relatives is not compatible with a matrilineal organisation."

Reference may be made here to some important observations and conclusions of the author based on a study of nomenclature for consanguineal relatives. It is shown that the modification of the term for wife from *patnī* (mistress) to *vadhū* (bride) indicates similar change in her position from the Vedic and later ritual. The cultural derivation of Skt. *putra* (son) as one who saves his father from a hell called *punī*, which is linguistically not correct, has rightly been rejected in favour of its derivation from the Indo-European base *pu-*, small. In contrast to modern Indian linguists who take *ammā*, *akkā*, *appā* and *attā* as loan-words in Indo-Aryan languages from Dravidian or substratum languages, Dr. Ghurye has shown all these terms to have an Indo-European ancestry. Similarly, on the basis of Latin, Lithuanian, Old High German and Anglo Saxon terms for mother's brother, the word *āī* is shown not to be an Indian loan-word, but one derivable from a primitive Indo-European base. The author's finding connection between the practice of cross cousin marriages and the Marathi term for brother's son (*putaṅyā*) which incidentally is used for brother's son (male speaking), does not appear convincing.

The conclusions based on the abundant vocabulary of affineal terms in Indo-European languages, which supplies a wealth of material on the social life and familial organisation of primitive Indo-European times, and of the kinship terminology in general, are that the primitive Indo-European culture was based on recognition of bilateral kinship and that it was patrilocal in residence and patrilineal in descent with a familial organisation comprising three or four generations.

Attention has rightly been invited to the formulation of its ends and the prescription of means for the guidance of society and its components by the Indo-Aryan culture which are its distinguishing characteristics. The four social categories

of *varṇa* (caste), *āśrama* (stage of life), *puruṣārtha* (purpose of life), and *ṛṇa* (debt) are stressed as the foundations on which the Indian theory and practice of life, its social philosophy and its laws and customs are reared. Ancestor-worship, an important feature that developed in India and continues to be the pattern for about 1300 years, is shown to be very different from all other ancestor-worships in the Indo-European culture, of which details have been given in its content, extent, and time-spread. Its close connection with the family organisation has been credited with sustaining the Indian family unit. Divālī, Makara Saṅkrānti, and kite-flying are associated with ancestor-worship in India. Sapiṇḍas, Samānodakas, Sakulyas, etc. are considered exhaustively in all details. There is an interesting discussion about the motives underlying the laws propounded by Vijiṇāneśvara and Jimūtavāhana, and their effects on the Hindu family, which may be compared with similar topics dealt with by Dr. Kapadia in his *Marriage and Family in India*.

Several of Morgan's views and theories have been controverted, and in one instance it is stated that his particular view shows "not only Morgan's mental confusion but also a travesty of discrimination." Among other important discussions in the book attention may be specially drawn to the consideration of Engel's view that social functions of kinship and the type of familial organisation are conditioned by economic factors, which has been shown to be untenable.

It is impossible to do full justice to the various important points raised in the book in the short space of a review. The book brings out clearly the cultural value of kinship terminology in presenting a correct picture of the ancient family organisation, and deserves to be carefully studied by students of Indian culture.

In contrast to the entire omission of diacritical marks and the indifferent use of *c* and *ch*, *s* and *sh*, *r* and *ri* in transliteration in Dr. Ghurye's book reviewed above, Dr. Kapadia's *Marriage and Family in India* has correctly employed diacritical marks and has a uniform system of transliteration. Excepting chapters 3 and 9, which respectively deal with "The Muslim Social Outlook" and "Marriage in Islam," the remaining ten chapters are mainly concerned with the study of Hindu social institutions. While tracing the development of Islam in India, the author has shown that the Muslim Law has been influenced, in a certain measure, by contact with non-Muslim peoples, economic and political conditions of the Islamic Empire, ancient custom, and alien ideas and usages. Though by restricting polygyny to four wives and by favouring monogomy, Islam has shown some consideration to women, whose status has been further improved by condemning female infanticide, by investing women with property rights, by declaring *mahr* as a gift to the bride, and by reorienting the Arab law of marriage and divorce in favour of women, it has not placed women on equal footing with men.

In "The Hindu View of Life" (Ch. 1) is given a short sketch of Vedic thought from the R̥gvedic period when nature in its varied aspects was regarded as manifesting different deities to the Upaniṣads which propounded the highest philosophical

truths culminating in the *Bhagavadgītā* which co-ordinates the Vedic ideal of sacrifice and knowledge and the theory of Karma developed in the Upaniṣads and gives them a new meaning and significance consistent with its central theme of the philosophy of Karma. The theory of *Puruṣārthas* (aims of life), which seeks to co-ordinate material desires and spiritual life, finds concrete expression in the scheme of "Āśramas" (Ch. 2), dividing the life into four stages, viz. *brahmacarya* (student ship), *gṛhastha* (householder), *vānaprastha* (forest hermit) and *saṁnyāsa* (ascetic) with duties and functions attached to each. Gṛhasthāśrama brings us to the consideration of marriage, which, according to the Hindus, has three aims, *dharma*, *prajā* (progeny), and *rati* (pleasure), and is a sacrament (Ch. 8). With regard to the age at marriage (Ch. 7), Dr. Kapadia rightly criticises the Hindu Code Bill for ignoring the evils of early marriage and recent trends in opinion on the subject by retaining the marriageable age at 14 (made 15 in the Marriage Act), and states it as his opinion that 16 should be accepted as the minimum age, "but not as the desirable age for marriage", which he takes to be 20. There is an elaborate discussion on *sapinda* and *gotra* exogamy, caste endogamy, etc., which prescribe restrictions in the selection in marriage (Ch. 6). The author is quite correct in his view that the arguments that the Law makes divorce easy and that if legislation is allowed to interfere with the sacrament of marriage, the institution of marriage will collapse, are groundless.

Cross-cousin marriage, which seems to have been a characteristic of the Dravidian peoples, was current only among the Yādavas, Pāṇḍavas, and outlandish Indo-Aryan peoples. It is a moot point whether the Yādavas were held up as respectable in Indo-Aryan history. Dr. Kapadia rightly invites attention to the inconsistency in the Hindu Code Bill in allowing cross-cousin marriages on the basis of local custom, but invalidating marriages between uncle and niece which also have the sanction of local custom. The author is correct in stating that so long as different social conditions prevail and influence regional norms and institutions it is disputable whether a uniform pattern of marriage for the whole of India can be thought of.

Polyandry (Ch. 4), which presents different patterns among different groups and tribes and has different origins and developments, has been considered with reference to the Khasas, the Nairs, the Todas, the Iravans, and the Coorgs. Among the first three, it was probably preceded by sexual laxity while no such condition precedent could be presumed in the latter two. As regards the polyandry of the Pāṇḍavas, the author states that the "Pāṇḍavas belonged to a group or tribe with a tradition of privileged familiarity between a woman and her brothers-in-law, a tradition not unknown to the Vedic Aryans. This privileged familiarity was not inconsistent with polyandry and hence reflected a pattern of sexual behaviour in this group or tribe."

Polygyny (Ch. 5), which is a widely distributed trait in India, likewise has different meanings in different contexts. It was due to group ideology and the

caste system among the Hindus, while it was due to their patriarchal joint-family organisation among the Nambudiris. Though polygyny was socially approved, opinion was in favour of monogamy.

Caste and joint-family system along with village conditions accounted for the continuance of cultural traditions of the Hindus through centuries. The advent of the British, with their new economic organisation, ideology, and administrative system, however, has effected a transformation of these factors. Fortified as they are with his intimate knowledge of original sources, Dr. Kapadia's views regarding the historical evolution of the family organisation, marriage, etc. command serious consideration, if not complete acceptance; their value is further enhanced with regard to the present set-up of the cultural patterns by his close observation and utilisation of the reports of surveys conducted by the students of the Department. With regard to caste, Dr. Kapadia finds that though city life, speedy means of communication, western education and ideals of western society and above all, British administration and judicial system have tended to minimise the authority of caste, co-operative societies, etc. have strengthened caste loyalties even among educated people, and "the moral force of caste is still so great and the Hindus are still so caste-minded that it is questionable whether legislation will break the ice."

Curiously enough, as the author says, the Hindus break away from one joint-family to build up a new one with their own sons and grandsons, testifying to the deep-rooted sentiments in favour of the joint-family. The social security provided by the joint-family as also the religious functions, *śrāddhas*, *vratas*, *sanskāras*, etc., which re-inforce loyalties to the joint-family, are factors that will sustain joint-family for some time to come and "although believed to be outmoded" the joint-family "is not likely to collapse in the near future." The Hindu family has, throughout its long history, been joint and agnatic, and the Hindu sentiments even today being in its favour, its destruction by legislation, according to Dr. Kapadia, is "rightly considered to be non-Hindu because it ignores Hindu family history and sentiments."

Reference may be made in brief, in conclusion, to Dr. Kapadia's observations on the position of women in the new society. Female education, which has brought about a tremendous change in Hindu marriage and in family ideals and practices, coupled with city life, economic independence, active participation in the national struggle and several other factors has wrought phenomenal changes in the life of Hindu women, who have come out of the confines of the house, are taking to several professions and are getting employment in various government, commercial and other establishments, and are holding responsible posts, and are proving their equality, if not superiority, to men in various activities of life.

The practice of removing footnotes from their proper place at the bottom of the relevant page and putting them together under "References", either at the end of each chapter or at the end of the book, as followed in the books under review, causes a lot of inconvenience—not to say annoyance—to those who want to refer to the footnotes. The sooner this practice is given up in favour of the usual one will be the better.

A. D. P.

Studies in the origins of Buddhism (*Ancient History Research Series—1*) By GOVIND CHANDRA PANDE, M.A., D.Phil. Published by the Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology of the University of Allahabad, 1957, pp. 599.

This book consists of three parts. The first part deals with the Buddhist canon and its chronology and the stratification of the *Nikāyas*, *Suttanipāta*, *Itivuttaka* and *Udāna*. It contains an analysis of the suttas in the *Dīgha*, *Majjhima*, *Samyutta* and *Anguttara Nikāyas* and other matters such as the grouping and order of the suttas in the *Majjhima*. In the second part the author has studied the historical and cultural background of early Buddhism. Under this broad head he has made a review of the Vedic background. He has discussed the significance of Pre-Vedic civilisation, the development of Vedic society etc. The religious conditions in the age of the Buddha, the Buddha's life, spread of Buddhism etc. are treated in this part. The third and the last part contains the result of his study of early Buddhist doctrines. There are three appendices devoted to early Jaina sources, the home of Pāli, and the *Maitrāyaṇīya upaniṣad*. Besides there are abbreviations and bibliography, index and errata.

As regards the Hinayana Buddhist Canon the author says that it is divided into two Piṭakas (Ch.i., p. 1). We are not prepared to accept it, as the third main division of the Tripiṭaka (*piṭakattaya*)¹ is the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* which treats of the same subject as the *suttapiṭaka* and differs from it only in being more scholastic. The *Abhidhammapiṭaka* stands like a catechism chiefly in the form of questions and answers. Its starting point appears to have been the *Suttapiṭaka*. All the *Abhidhamma* books follow a progressive scheme of treatment; the *mālikās* (or the table of contents) or *uddesas* (ordinances) are followed by the *niddesas* (expositions). The ideas are classified in outline. The *Abhidhamma* is a supplement to *Dhamma* or *Sutta* and not a systematic presentation of philosophy.

Regarding the chronology of the *Nikāyas* as discussed by the author in his book (Pt.I, Chap. I) it may be pointed out that we are justified in assigning the

1. Childers' *Pali Dictionary*, p. 500; Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 8.

whole of the *Dīgha Nikāya* of the *Suttapiṭaka* to a pre-Aśokan age, there being no trace of any historical event or development which might have happened after king Aśoka. The only exception is in the case of concluding verses of the *Mahā-parinibbāna suttanta*, which were interpolated according to the celebrated commentator Buddhaghosa in Ceylon, by the teachers of that island. The whole of the *Majjhima Nikāya* strikes us as the most authoritative and original among the collections of the Buddha's teachings. There is no reference to any political event to justify us in ascribing the date of its compilation to a time far distant from the Buddha's death. The literary developments as can be traced in the *suttas* of the *Majjhima*, are not of such a nature as to require more than a century after the Buddha's death.

A careful study of the *Samyutta Nikāya* shows that it reached its final shape previous to the occurrence of *Pañcanekāyika* as a personal epithet in some of the Bārhut and Sāncī inscriptions, nay, even before the closing of the *Vinaya Cullavagga*, where we meet with the expression *Pañcanikāya*. Like the *Majjhima* the *suttas* of the *Samyuttanikāya* do not help us to find out any political incident to enable us to place the date of its compilation far beyond the demise of the Buddha.

The *Anguttara Nikāya* contains a section called the *Muṇḍarājavagga* in the *Pañcakanipāta* commemorating the name of king Muṇḍa who reigned at Rājagaha about half a century after the Buddha's death. That the *Anguttaranikāya* contains a clear reference to Muṇḍarāja cannot be regarded as a compilation made within fifty years from the Buddha's death. There is no other historical reference which helps us to fix its date beyond the first century from the Buddha's *mahāparinibbāna*. The date proposed for the *Anguttaranikāya* will not appear to be unreasonable, if it be admitted that the *suttas* of the *Anguttara* form the real historical background of the contents of the *Vinayapiṭaka*.

I have also discussed the chronology of the fifteen books of the *Khuddakanikāya* in my *History of Pali Literature* (Vol. I, pp. 33 ff.). Of the fifteen books the *Cullaniddesa* is one of them. It cannot be dated much earlier than the reign of Aśoka for the reasons given in my book. The date of the *Vimānavatthu* may be ascribed to an age ahead of a century and a half from the Buddha's demise. A discourse based on the *Appamādavagga* of the *Dhammapada* attracted the attention of king Aśoka to Buddhism. It can be inferred from this fact that the *Dhammapada* existed as a distinct anthology as early as the third century B.C.

The author ought to have made an exhaustive study of the Pali chronology based on new data, throwing new light on the subject. No definite date can be assigned to the *Nikāyas* as a whole.

His notes on the *suttas* of the *Nikāyas*, though short and sometimes scrappy, are useful. In order to maintain the link of discussion the Pali passages should have been shifted as footnotes from the body of the text.

Page 7—The author says that a fifth *Āgama* or *Nakāya* does not appear to have been recognised by schools other than the Theravāda. In support of this statement he has quoted Winternitz's *History of Indian Lit.*, Vol. II., p. 236 f.n. 2) where we find that a Kṣudraka is mentioned by Hsüan Tsang as the fifth *Āgama* of the *Śrāvaka-piṭaka*. Is it a book of the Theravāda? Winternitz has made the point clear by saying "the Sanskrit Canon contained a "Kṣudraka" corresponding to the *Khuddakanikāya*. We do not know whether this included all those texts which, in the Pali Canon, are counted as belonging to the fifth *Nikāya*." (Winternitz, *History of Indian Lit.*, II p. 236).

Page 9 (f.n. 39) It is a pity that the author has not referred to Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism* pp. 101 ff. where we find a very authentic account of the Buddhist Councils.

Page 11 (f.n. 50). There is a reference to Winternitz, II, p. 603 which needs verification. *Chanda* means metre, prosody and *Chandaso* means one who is conversant with the Vedas, a brahmin (*vide* Childers' *Pali Dict.* p. 104).

Page 13 (f.n. 53G). The author has quoted the book without page-mark. *The Points of controversy* or subjects of discourse translated by Shwe Zan Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids, prefatory Notes p. XXX will be a complete reference. Really speaking the translation was undertaken by Shwe Zan Aung and revised by Mrs. Rhys Davids. The same defect is found in p. 14 f.n. 56. It should be *Points of controversy*, (1915), Prefatory notes, p. XXXI.

Page 14 (f.n. 55). Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids points out in the preface to the *Dialogues of the Buddha* (S.B.B. Vol. II, p. xviii, f.n. 1) that no critical scholar will accept the proposition that because the commentary on the *Kathāvattu* mentions the *Vetulyakā*, therefore the *Kathāvattu* itself must be later than the rise of that school. He admits that it is a blunder on the part of Prof. Minayeff.

Page 45—The sixteen great countries (*Soḷasamahājanapadā*) are fully treated in my *Historical Geography of Ancient India* (pp. 42-53), mainly based on Pali texts and commentaries. Rhys Davids is not right in calling them Great Powers (*Buddhist India*, p. 23). Janapada means country, district, people. They may be called sixteen great peoples.

Page 46—Āḷavi—The author says that its location is uncertain. (*Vide* Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, 1924, pp. 707-08; N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, pp. 3-4). Āḷavi has been identified by Cunningham and Hoernle with Newal or Nawal in the Unao district in U. P. Some have identified it with Aviwa, 27 miles north-east of Etawah. The way from Śrāvastī to Āḷavi lay through Kiṭāgiri (*Vinaya*, II, 170 ff.). There was a shrine called Aggāḷava close to the town of Āḷavi where the Buddha lived (*Jātaka*, I, p. 160).

Page 47—The author says that a *sutta* in the *Majjhima* speaks of the Yonas as having two classes; freemen (*ariyo*) and slaves (*dāsā*). The *sutta* referred to is the *Assalāyana sutta* (93), which mentions that in the Yona, Kamboja and other border countries there were two classes: masters and slaves. A master can become a slave and *vice versa*. *Ayya* means lord, master, sire, gentleman, chief, and a Buddhist priest (Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, p. 76; P.T.S. Dictionary, p. 75). *Ayya* is the contracted form of *Ariya*, which cannot mean a freeman.

Page 93 f.n. 24.—Sakya—no page-mark given. It should be p. 326.

Mrs. Rhys Davids says that in the *Tevijja suttanta* there is a talk with young brahmins and that the notable simile in that talk is very genuine.

Page 97 (f.n. 27). *Uppajjetha vā* or *Upapajjetha vā* is omitted in the passage quoted.

Page 110 *Pāyāsīsutta*—The author ought to have compared the two versions, Jaina and Buddhist.

In p. 137 (Sutta No. 94)—It may be pointed out that the name of Ghoṭamukha is found in the *Arthaśāstra* and in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*. It may be maintained on the authority of the Buddhist texts that Ghoṭamukha, one among the predecessors of Cāṇakya and Vātsyāyana was a contemporary of the Buddha Gautama. He was a brahmin who naively denied virtuous life (“*natthi dhammiko paribbājako*”—*M. N. P.T.S. Ed.*, II, p. 158; Law, *Historical Gleanings*, p. 14).

The Suttas, 129-130 (p. 140)—The *Bālapaṇḍita sutta* forms a prose background of the *Bālavagga* and the *Paṇḍitavagga* of the *Dhammapada*.

Page 141 (f.n. 66)—I do not agree with what the author says. *Mettā* is one of the *pāramitās*, *perfections*) which are synonymous with *Buddhakāraḍdhammā* (*Cariyāpiṭaka Commentary*, p. 8). Every Bodhisatta who is destined to be a Buddha, has to perform ten supreme virtues, one of which is *mettā* or love or amity. It is only in *mettā*, as Mrs. Rhys Davids says, that we come upon the idea of a relation between man and man which is independent of all social and worldly relations. The samgha upheld the importance of *mettā* and left it as worthy legacy to India (For a full discussion vide Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Wayfarer's Words*, II, 575 ff. and my *Indological Studies*, Pt. II).

Page 143 (Sutta 137)—The pasage has been incorrectly quoted. It needs verification.

Page 155 (f.n. 103) No page-mark given. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism, its birth and dispersal*, pp. 67 ff. This shows carelessness of the author. It is not expected in a work of scientific research.

Pages 330-331—The Paribbājakas used to discuss such topics as nature of soul, efficient cause (*agañña*), value of life, conduct, pleasure and pain, consciousness, *puggala* (personality), sacrifice, traditional learning, knowledge and emancipation, perfect man, five moral precepts, etc. (*Dīgha*, I—Poṭṭhapāda sutta, *Dīgha* III, pp. 12-35; *Dīgha* III, 36-37; *Majjhima*, I, 513; *Anguttara*, v. 120-121, 230; *Ang*, III, 356, *Sam*, V, 73; *Majjhima*, II, 29-39)

Page 330—In the Buddha's time the Jaṭilas, who were the wearers of matted hair, had three settlements or colonies under three Kassapa brothers in the three divisions of the Gayākhetta (*Vinaya*, I, 31 ff).

Page 353—The author ought to have explained *Syādvāda* first. *Syādvāda* consists of seven *nayas* or view-points from which assertions are made as to truth. According to the doctrine of *Syādvāda* there are seven forms of metaphysical propositions and all contain the word *Syāt* e.g. *syād asti sarvam*, *syād nāsti sarvam*; *syāt* means 'may be' and it is explained as *Kathamcīt* (somehow)—Hastings, *Encyclopædia of religion and ethics*, Vol. 7, p. 468.

P. 356—The author ought to have made a comparative study of soul in Jainism and Buddhism in a very clear language. What he has done is in some places scrappy and not clear. In early Buddhism the soul is feeling, happy, painful or neutral (*Dīgha*, II, 66 ff). The soul after death is not subject to decay and is conscious. It has form, is formless, finite, infinite, both or neither; it has one mode of consciousness, various modes of consciousness, infinite consciousness; it is altogether happy, altogether miserable, is both and is neither (*Dīgha*, I, p. 31) The Buddha denies the doctrine that the soul is identical with the body or the reverse (*Samyutta*, II, 75 ff.; *Ibid*, III, 135). The soul and the body are not the same. The soul is neither reborn nor dissolved like *nirvāṇa*. It is permanent, unchangeable and unaffected by sorrow. The *Milindapañha* (pp. 55-57) denies the existence of soul. Transmigration is defined in the following manner (p. 77). A being born here dies here. Having died here he is born elsewhere. A being born there dies there. Having died there he is born elsewhere. This is what is meant by transmigration. In early Buddhism there cannot be any such process as transmigration in the usual sense of the term. In Mahayana Buddhism the existence of soul is denied. The non-sautrāntika and non-vaibhāṣika schools of Buddhism agree with the Theravada Buddhists in denying the existence of a permanent soul and a permanent external world. Really speaking a soul is a bundle of elements or forces (*samskārasamūha*) and a stream of thought. It contains nothing permanent or substantial; it is *anātma* or soulless. (Stcherbatsky, *The conception of Buddhist nirvāṇa*, p. 8). Buddhism does not see the necessity of accepting a permanent soul because it believes that the *Khandhas* or the constituent elements are always changing and that the mental state is also changing with them. (Yamakami Sogen, *Systems of Buddhist Thought*, p. 133). In fact the Buddha denies that there exists anything equivalent to that which in other systems is called the soul.

In Jainism everybody has an individual soul. These souls exist as long as the bodies exist but after death they are no more. There are no souls which are born again. Souls and substances do not undergo any change. They are liable to changes due to changes in circumstances. The plurality of souls is a point in Jainism which is the same as in the Sāṃkhya system. Both the systems necessitate a careful consideration of the cosmical, biological, embryological, physical, mental and moral positions of the living individuals of the world as a whole. These constitute the scientific background of the two systems of thought. These also constitute the scientific background of Vedānta and Buddhism. The Jain belief is a belief in the transmigration of soul, a point in which it differs from the Buddhistic conception of rebirth without any transmigration of soul from embodiment to embodiment. The soul in Jainism as in most of the Indian systems is the factor which polarizes the field of matter and brings about the organic combination of the element of existence. The Jains do not deny the existence of soul as an external substance with consciousness as its fundamental attribute. The soul is imperishable and eternal by its very nature. It is one of the six substances. It is susceptible to the influences of *Karma* which consists of acts that produce effects on the nature of soul.

Pp. 364 ff—The author's treatment of *samvara* and *nijjarā* is not very clear. *Samvara* is the principle of self-control by which the influx of sins is checked or stopped. The category of *samvara* comprehends the whole sphere of right conduct. *Nijjarā* consists in the wearing out of the accumulated effects of *Karma* on the soul by the practice of austerities, and *mokṣa* or *vimutti* (emancipation), which logically follows from *nijjarā*, signifies the final deliverance of the soul from the bondage of *Karma*, the bondage of sin. I have discussed all these points in my *Mahāvīra : His Life and Teachings*, and also in my *Jaina Canonical Sūtras*.

Page 376 f.n. 44.—The passage occurs on page 40 and not on p. 19.

Page 382—1st Discourse—The *Dhammacakka-pavattana sutta* is traditionally known as the *Paṭhama Dhammadesanā*, the first preaching of the doctrine, the first sermon and the first discourse (*Milinda*, p. 350). It is claimed in the *Peṭakopadesa* that all that the Buddha had taught or promulgated for the attainment of Buddhahood till his demise were epitomised in the *Dhammacakka-pavattana sutta* and nothing outside its scope. The first discourse in which the Buddha was to have fully stated his position as a thinker and teacher ought to have borne the title of *dhammataḅka* rather than that of *dhammacakka*

Pages 386-389—Buddha among the clans—In my *Tribes in Ancient India*, I have made an exhaustive study of this topic based on Pali and other sources.

Pp. 386 ff—The author has given a meagre account of the spread of Buddha's doctrine in different places. Many new information will be available from my

recent articles, *Buddha's activities in Aṅga-Magadha* (JBRs, *Buddha Jayantī Special issue, Kāśī-Kośala and Vaiśālī* (*Journal of Indian History*, Vol. xxxiv Pt. II, August 1956, and Vol. xxxv, Pt. I, April 1957).

P. 437—The author has not discussed an interesting point raised by Buddhaghosa. Can *avijjā* be treated as an uncaused root-principle like the *mūla-prakṛiti* of the Sāmkhya philosophy? With the Buddhist *avijjā* is not uncaused. Buddhaghosa admits that there are some texts in which *avijjā* may appear to be similar to the *mūla-prakṛiti* of Sāmkhya. He refers to a passage in the *Aṅguttara* in which the Buddha is represented as saying: 'The beginning of *avijjā* does not appear so that one might say that ignorance did not exist formerly but it has since come into being. However it is apparent that *avijjā* is conditioned.' I have discussed in my *Buddhaghosa* (Monograph No. I of the B.B.R.A.S.) pp. 116 ff.

The author has not referred to the *Visuddhimagga* (Chap. XIV) in dealing with *saṃkhāra* (complexes or mental coefficients). This commentary enumerates fiftyone *saṃkhāras* or Synergies according to Mrs. Rhys Davids. The vital point about a *saṃkhāra* is that it is *Cetasika*, being the work of mind. *Samkhārakkhandha* and *Paṭiccasamuppāda* have many points in common. *Samkhārakkhandha* means the group of volitions and other associated factors. It is chiefly applied to *cetanā*. Kern points out that *saṃkhāras* are affections, temporary mental or moral dispositions, having their motive in *Vedanā*.

Viññāna is cognising. *Viññānakkhandha* is consciousness as an aggregate. Consciousness knows objects to be blue, green, yellow and reaches the penetration into characteristics. (*Visuddhimagga*, p. 437).

In the expression *manoviññānadhātu* a single moment of consciousness is called by three names: *mano* (mind) in the sense of measuring, *viññāna* (consciousness) in the sense of discrimination, and *dhātu* (element) in the philosophical sense of ultimate reality or of absence of a living entity (*Atthasālinī*, 140 ff.). For a detailed study, *vide* my *Buddhaghosa*, 121 ff.

Āyatana—Some have rendered it as sphere. Some translate it as organ of sense and object of sense. According to the *Visuddhimagga* (II, 481) the *āyatanas* are twelve in number.

P. 407—Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Towards a history of the Skandha doctrine* (I.C., III, Nos. 3 and 4, 1937) has escaped the author's attention. It is a very learned paper which repays perusal. In Chapter XI much has been said by the author about suffering. The relation between *sukha* and *dukkha* in Buddhism is important. In the terminology of one of the earlier thinkers of the Buddha's time they were conceived as two distinct principles, one of attraction, integration or concord, and the other of repulsion, disintegration or discord. Considered in this light

sukha was taken to be the principle of harmony, and *dukkha*, that of discord. *Dukkha* is nowhere postulated as a permanent feature of reality. It is admitted and entertained only as a possible contingency in life as it is generally lived. This point should have been fully discussed by the author.

The author has not discussed in details the twelve kinds of *karma* and their consequences (*vipākas*) based on the *Visuddhimagga*, which are manifested in their true aspect in the Buddha's knowledge of the consequences of *karma*.

The author while discussing *nirvāṇa* should have paid attention to an important point. According to the *Milindapañho* a householder, if he leads a religious life, may attain to arhatship which is *nirvāṇa*. Whoever has attained to arhatship as a layman, one of the two courses is left to him.—either that very day he enters the order or he dies away, far beyond that day he cannot last. All persons who as laymen living at home and in the enjoyment of the pleasures of senses realise in themselves the condition of Peace, the supreme good, *nirvāṇa*—all of them had in former births accomplished their training, laid the foundation, in the practice of the thirteen vows, had purified their walk and conduct by means of them; so even now they as laymen living at home and in the enjoyment of the pleasures of the senses do realise in themselves the condition of peace, the supreme good, *nirvāṇa* (*Questions of Milinda*, S.B.E., II 96,253; *Milindapañho*, Trenckner Ed., 264, 352).

Dr. Barnett says that stillness is the most suitable term to express the idea of *nirvāṇa* (Cf. Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, pp. 111 ff.; 152 ff.; Barnett, *The Path of Light*, pp. 97-98). *Nirvāṇa* does not signify extinction or annihilation as is generally imagined but the very reverse, perfect spiritual self-realisation in transcendental being. It denotes *mokkha* the state in which the individual soul, identifying itself with universal being, is entirely at rest in itself and in *Brahma*, in the stillness of infinite thought. I have discussed this point in my *Concepts of Buddhism* (Kern Institute Publication, Holland).

I have drawn the author's attention to some of the points in my review. The book as it stands will be useful to those interested in Buddhism. The Index is very short. In the abbreviations and bibliography the author ought to have mentioned the following important works: Mrs. Rhys Davids' last work entitled *Wayfarer's Words*, 3 Vols. (1940, 1941 and 1942), *A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics* written by her and included in the Oriental Translation Fund Series of the Royal Asiatic Society, Sir Charles Eliot's *Hinduism and Buddhism*, 3 vols, and L. D. Barnett's *The Path of Light* (Wisdom of the East Series, 1909). The title of Bigandet's work in pp. 369 and 579 is wrongly printed. *Gautama* should have been *Gaudama*.

The Vedānta Kaumudī of Rāmādvayācharya edited by S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, Madras University Series No. 20 ; pp. 289 XXVIII, 1955 ; Rs. 12/-.

The present work belongs to the class of the prakaraṇa which is a tract or monograph written with a view to clarify, defend and justify the postulates or theories of the philosophical school to which the author belonged. The *Vedānta Kaumudī* confines itself to an elaborate study of the first four sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa but takes in its strides practically every aspect of the Kevalādvaita theory as expounded in the entire *Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkarācārya. The work had early attained importance as an authoritative text as is evidenced by references made to it by Appayya Dikṣita and others. Shri S. Subrahmanya Sastri as well as the Madras University deserves to be congratulated for publishing this work which will be a useful guide to students of Vedānta and acquaint them with the basic points of dispute between the vedantin and his opponents.

The printing is neat, though, unfortunately, printing mistakes are often met with, e.g. *lingādih* for *linādih* in line 9 on p. 221 ; *Cedanā* for *Codanā* in line 3 on p. 227 ; at least three misprints on p. 65 etc.

G. C. JHALA

Studies in Epics and Purāṇas of India : A. D. PUSALKAR. Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay).

The Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, through the Book University is doing useful service to the cause of Indology by publishing books of recognised writers on topics connected with Indian Culture.

It is but meet that the Bhavan brings out as its 3rd publication a work on Epics and Puranas from the pen of Dr. A. D. Pusalkar who is known to the students of History and Indology as an erudite scholar. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar is associated with the Bhavan from its very inception and is doing great work as an Assistant Editor of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's ten-volume History and Culture of Indian people.

The book under review is a collection of different papers on Epics and Purāṇas contributed by the author to various learned journals and therefore by the nature of it, it is bound to touch different problems concerning the study of the Epics and Purāṇas.

The Epics and Purāṇas had exercised great influence on Indian thought and culture for over 1,500 years and therefore deserve a very detailed and consistent study at the hands of the scholars. It is really a pity that though a great deal of

work is done on the Epics by scholars on both sides of the Suez Canal, Purāṇic literature has been relatively speaking, ignored because of certain misconceptions and prejudice regarding their contents and authenticity. It is, however, heartening, to note that in recent times a growing interest is being taken in Purāṇas by our scholars.

The last chapter of the present work takes a comprehensive survey of the work done by scholars so far in the field of Epic and Puranic studies and is useful not only on that ground but also because it indicates in ample measure the lines on which further work can be done. The introduction is a mine of information on the two epics, Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa as well as Purāṇas as in this chapter briefly but succinctly the writer chronologically gives the traditional and European views of different scholars who have worked ceaselessly on these great works and laid the students of Sanskrit literature under a perpetual debt. Of special interest are the two articles 'Kuruśravaṇa and Kuru-saṁvaraṇa' and 'Historicity of Kṛṣṇa' which I have no doubt the readers will find stimulating.

The work on the whole is marked by thoroughness and balance of views and this justifies the place Dr. Pusalkar rightly holds in the world of research and scholarship.

S. N. G.

Nṛgamokṣa Prabandha of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. Published by Sūrānād Kunjan Pillai, Honorary Director, University Manuscripts Library, Trivendrum.

The Trivendrum Sanskrit Series of the University of Travancore has been publishing since long many works in Sanskrit, thus considerably promoting the cause of Sanskrit learning in India. The book under review comes under that category. The edition is based on a single manuscript and contains a useful introduction and an idea of verses. 'Nṛgamōkṣa Prabandha' is written by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, a celebrated Sanskrit poet of Kerala and a prolific writer having to his credit many devotional works in the nature of Praśastis, Stotras and Prabandhas.

'Nṛgamokṣa Prabandha' is a small work containing 52 stanzas and a dozen short prose passages. It is based on Mahā Bhāgavata and deals with the story of King Nrga who owing to some fault in his charity became a lizard as a result of a curse and was later released by the grace of Śri Kṛṣṇa.

Though generally speaking the Prabandha writing is marked by ease and effectiveness, there are many places where the writer seems to be influenced by Baṇa and uses long involved compounds and obscure words, e.g. word प्रहि for a well, माहा for a cow.

There is an effort at alliteration, sometimes smacking of artificiality. The commentary published along with the text will be found useful in understanding and appreciating the work.

S. N. G.

Bhīmaparākrama by Śatānandasūnu. Published by Surānād Kunjan Pillai, Hon. Director, University Manuscripts Library, Trivendrum.

Another publication under the same series is *Bhīmaparākrama* by Śattānandasūnu. This also is edited from only one manuscript in Malayalam script with a preface and an index of verses. The work is a small drama of the व्यायोग variety and glorifies the exploit of Bhīma in his encounter with Jarāsandha.

The dramatic piece is quite interesting, easy to understand though many of the verses are full of long compounds. A short introduction giving a brief appreciation of the dramatic piece would have increased the utility of the work.

S. N. G.



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS :

1. Sangeet Natak Akademi Bulletin 4 (March 1956).
2. Asia Major, New Series, Vol. 5 Part II.
3. Yoga-Mimamsa, Vol. 6 No. 1 (June 1956).
4. Scientia Sinica, Vol. 5 No. 1 (March 1956).

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