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THE SĀRDHAŚATĀBDĪ
COMMEMORATION
VOLUME

1804–1954

Edited by

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THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

TOWN HALL, BOMBAY 1

1957

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Secretary, THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY, Town Hall, Bombay 1.

THE SĀRDHAŚATĀBDĪ
COMMEMORATION
VOLUME

PREFACE

It is only by a freak of good fortune that I am associated with the publication of this volume, containing learned articles. It was planned and most of the printing was carried out by Professor G. C. Jhala, my predecessor in the office of the Honorary Secretary.

The publication of this volume was delayed by reasons, which may best be left unmentioned here. I, however, consider it my duty to offer my sincere apologies to the learned contributors to this volume for the delay in placing before the public their scholarly work.

Originally planned as a separate book, it is now found expedient to publish it as two volumes of the Society's Journal—the thirty-first and the thirty-second. The fact also accounts for what appears to be an anomalous insertion inside the volume of two different title-pages. The second title-page is the vestige of the original plan. Though an exhaustive subject-index of this volume is ready for publication, it is held over to avoid further delay and will be published as a separate companion volume later. I am highly thankful to Shri G. N. Chikmath for compiling the main bulk of the index cards and to Shri R. V. Matkari, B.A., LL.B., B.T. for revising and correcting them with his characteristic zeal and meticulous care. I offer my sincere thanks to all the scholars, who have contributed their learned papers to this volume and also to all others who were concerned with the printing and publication of it.

Y. G. NAIK
HON. SECRETARY.

Town Hall,
Bombay.

5-6-59.

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FOREWORD

It gives me great pleasure to associate myself through this Foreword with the Sārdha-Śatābdī Commemoration Volume of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society now renamed 'The Asiatic Society of Bombay.'—The B.B.R.A. Society completed a hundred and fifty years of its life in 1954. The occasion was unique and was celebrated with dignified enthusiasm. The details of the Celebrations will be found in the article of Prof. G. C. Jhala, the Hon. Secretary, appearing in this Volume. However, it is in this Volume that the Sārdha-Śatābdī Celebrations find their most appropriate and enduring expression. I offer sincere thanks to the distinguished scholars from all over the country who have co-operated with us by sending their valuable papers on literature, philosophy, history, art, law, archaeology, religion and culture and thereby making this publication worthy of the occasion.

The publication of the Volume has unfortunately been delayed for reasons beyond our control. This, however, has permitted the incorporation of a couple of articles which only add to the importance of the Volume.

M. C. CHAGLA
President

INTRODUCTION

The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (BBRAS), which came into existence as the Literary Society of Bombay, completed the first hundred years of its life on the 26th of November, 1904. As our records show, the Centenary was celebrated in a manner befitting the great occasion. From 1904 to 1954—another fifty years passed. What a half-century it has been! Indeed, few half-centuries in history could claim to have witnessed anything even remotely resembling the drama of man's ambitions and struggles for power and wealth resulting in stupendous scientific achievements and mastery over the forces of Nature, which this one has done. Material progress following in the wake of scientific discoveries had a tremendous impact on man's mind : old values crashed—the finer graces of life disappeared. The need to save man for himself—from himself—was (and as yet is) paramount. In the general *bally-ho* for scientific and technological studies, it was perhaps only to be expected that the study of culture and the arts and the humanities should suffer. In fact, institutions or individuals devoted to study or research in cultural and humanistic fields have found it difficult to carry on their work against heavy odds. Fortunately, they have not given in. Our Society has contributed its humble mite to the efforts of institutions and individuals in India as well as the world over in the cause of the humanities. The times have been hard; yet the Society has carried on.

The completion of a hundred and fifty years of dedication to the cause of Oriental scholarship and research by the Society was regarded by a large number of members as an event worthy of celebration. The Committee of Management, endorsing the sentiment of members, resolved to celebrate the 150th Anniversary (*Sārdha-Satābdi*) of the Society in a befitting but dignified manner. The Hon'ble Mr. M. C. Chagla, C.J., B.A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, President of the Society, wrote to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of the Union of India, early enough requesting him to preside over the Inaugural Function of the celebrations which was to be held on the 26th of November, 1954—the day on which a hundred and fifty years ago, the Society first saw the light of day. Dr. Radhakrishnan replied immediately, accepting the invitation but suggesting that, as he would be returning from his tour of the Latin American States only on the 28th of November, he could participate in the celebrations only on a later s.s.—b

date. We revised our plans to suit Dr. Radhakrishnan's convenience and decided to fix the main (concluding) function for the 4th of December, 1954; this arrangement, as it turned out, greatly facilitated the formulation of the programme of the celebrations. 26th November to 4th December—this gave us one full week in which to continue the celebrations, if we usefully could. It was decided that the Inaugural function should be held on the 26th of November 1954 as originally contemplated and that Sir Girjashankar Bajpai, Governor of Bombay and *Ex-Officio* Patron of the Society, should be requested to preside on the occasion and declare open an Exhibition of rare books, valuable Mss., Coins etc. The Managing Committee appointed various sub-committees for collecting funds, chalking out the programme of celebrations, carrying on publicity for the celebrations etc. on which members of the Managing Committee as well as ordinary members willingly undertook to serve. The one fact which all of us—ordinary members as well as members of the Managing Committee—were wide awake about the prevailing condition of stringency; and it was recognized on all hands that the expenditure in connection with the celebrations should be cut to the minimum. After consultations and discussion, the programme was finally decided upon, so as to include, besides the Inaugural and Concluding functions, (1) an Exhibition of rare books, Mss. Coins etc. in the possession of the Society and photographs etc. of Old Bombay if they could be procured; (ii) a series of lectures by eminent scholars on Oriental subjects of their choice; (iii) the publication of a short narrative of the origin and development of the Society to be prepared by Shri V. D. Muzumdar, the Hon. Finance Secretary; (iv) the publication of a *Sārdha-Satābdī* Commemoration volume consisting of research papers and critical studies contributed by distinguished Oriental scholars; and (v) a tea-party to coincide with the concluding function. The occasion was, not unnaturally, to be availed of for making the Society better known to the public and collecting funds to enable the Society to carry on its activities, especially in connection with research and procurement of Mss.

Invitations were sent to distinguished scholars, Vice-Chancellors of Universities and Presidents of learned institutions in India and abroad to take part in the celebrations or at least to send us their good wishes for the occasion. Messages congratulating the Society on its past achievements and expressing good wishes for the future were received from Shri G. V. for Finance, New Delhi; Shri B. V. Keskar, Minister for Information and Mavlankar, Speaker, Lok Sabha, New Delhi; Shri C. D. Deshmukh, Minister

Broadcasting, New Delhi ; Shri K. M. Munshi, Governor of Uttar Pradesh ; H. H. the Aga Khan, Paris ; H. H. the Raja Sahib of Sangli ; Shri Y. B. Chavan, Minister for Civil supplies, Bombay ; Dr. D. K. Karve, Poona ; Sir R. P. Paranjpe and Shri Ambalal Sarabhai, Ahmedabad ; also from Dr. R. L. Turner and from the Vice-Chancellors of the Universities of Allahabad, Annamalai, Banaras, Bihar, Bombay, Calcutta, Gujarat, Mysore, Nagpur, Sagar and Utkal. The Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland—the parent of our Society, though younger in age—evinced its interest in the celebrations by nominating Prof. K. B. Vyas, M.A., of the Elphinstone College, Bombay, as its representative and sending a message of congratulations to us on the occasion. Similarly, the response to our appeal to scholars for sending research papers for the *Sārdha-Śatābdī* Volume was equally warm. Nearly thirty articles from distinguished scholars were received—a fact indicative of the esteem in which the Society and its activities are held by them. Special requests were made to Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Dr. R. K. Mukerjee, Dr. H. D. Sankalia and Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar to deliver lectures during the celebration week on subjects of their choice. All these scholars were kind enough to accept our invitation and thereby help us to invest the celebrations with significance such as we desired.

All expenses in connection with the celebrations were to be met from collections made for the purpose. It was, therefore, decided to request the members to pay a donation of Rs. 15|- only which, besides allowing them to participate in all the items and functions of the celebrations, would entitle them to attend the Tea Party along with their spouses. The response of the members to this reasonable request was good ; but it would have been better but for an un-warranted apprehension on the part of some that the celebrations would involve unnecessary expenditure. It was made clear at the very out-set that the celebrations were to be on a modest scale, as indeed they were found ultimately to be. The Hon. Finance Secretary, Shri V. D. Muzumdar, set about the task of collecting funds with his characteristic zeal and, I am happy to report, succeeded in collecting the fairly decent amount of thirty-three thousand Rupees mostly ear-marked for various purposes. The Directors of the Century Spinning and Weaving Mills Ltd., offered a handsome donation of Rs. 25,000|- spread over a period of five years for purchasing books. A donation of Rs. 5,000|- was received similarly from Mafatlal Gagalbhai Trust through Shri Aravind N. Mafatlal. The Tata Trust gave a donation of Rs. 2,000|- for research and

a donation of Rs. 1,000|- was received from Messrs. Kilachand & Co. Other minor donations, too, were received. The Society is sincerely grateful to all these donors and sympathisers for their generous help.

All preparations were finalized and everything was moving smoothly towards the 26th of November, the day of the Inauguration of the celebrations. Unfortunately, Sir G. S. Bajpai, Governor of Bombay, who was to preside at the Inaugural Function suffered a set-back in his health and we were informed on the 21st of November that he was not in a position to keep his engagement for the 26th. This unfortunate development naturally threw us into a quandary, especially in view of the all too short time in which to make alternate arrangements. It was decided to request Dr. M. R. Jayakar, Vice-Chancellor, Poona University and a distinguished member of our Society, to fill the breach. A telegraphic request was sent and Dr. Jayakar, despite his very indifferent health, obliged us by accepting it.

Came the 26th of November : The Inaugural Function was arranged in the Town Hall which was decorated tastefully with festoons and pendants of green leaves and presented a quiet but refreshing appearance. Dr. Jayakar was received on arrival by the President and members of the Managing Committee of the Society and was conducted round the library rooms. At 5-30 p.m. sharp, the *Sārdha-Salābdī* celebrations of the Society commenced, as the Hon'ble Mr. M. C. Chagla, President of the Society, rose to welcome Dr. Jayakar, distinguished guests and members present on the occasion. The Hon'ble Mr. Chagla paid a tribute to Dr. Jayakar as an Oriental scholar, an eminent jurist and, above all, a gentleman and requested him to inaugurate the celebrations and, afterwards, to declare the Exhibition in the Darbar Hall open. In his Presidential address, Dr. Jayakar traced the origin and history of the B.B.R.A.S., paid a glowing tribute to the zeal and scholarship of the early European officers who founded the Society and referred to the substantial contribution of Indian members to Oriental research; he pointed out in particular the unique position which the B. B. R. A. Society enjoyed as the premier institution in Western India, *radiating culture and education for more than a century*. The Hon. Secretary proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. Jayakar for accepting our invitation to preside at the evening's function at so short a notice. Dr. Jayakar was then conducted to the Darbar Hall where he cut a floral tape and declared the Exhibition open. The first exhibit that drew his—in fact, everybody's—attention was the Minutes of the very first meeting

of the Society held on 26th November, 1804. There were rare books and valuable Mss. arranged in one Section of the Exhibition. In another Section there were photographs of Old Bombay so kindly lent by Shri J. R. B. Jeejibhoy, the veteran Art collector. A third Section displayed coins—some of them rare—in our possession. The Exhibition was kept open for a week and more than a thousand persons visited it.

The intervening days were utilized for lectures as follows :

- 27-11-54 Dr. H. D. Sankalia, M.A., Ph. D. : Excavations at Maheshwar and the Problem of the Puranic Kings (with coloured slides).
- 29-11-54 Dr. S. K. Chatterji, M.A., D.Litt. : National Culture and National Attitudes to the World, seen and unseen.
- 1-12-54 Dr. S. K. Belvalkar,
M.A., Ph.D. : Bhagavadgītā and the Sānti Parvan.
- 2-12-54 Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji,
M.A., Ph.D. : Ancient Indian Education from Inscriptions.
- 3-12-54 Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar,
M.A. : Contributions of Śri Vedānta Deśika to Dharmaśāstra.

These lectures delivered by eminent scholars drew large but select audiences and were very highly appreciated. In fact, these lectures and the *Sārdha-Satābdī* Commemoration Volume in which most of them are printed were intended from the very beginning to be the core of the celebrations of an institution like ours devoted to research, scholarship and culture.

Then came the 4th of December—the day on which the Concluding Function with the Tea-Party was to be held under the Presidentship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Dr. Radhakrishnan had returned only a few days ago from a protracted visit to the Latin American States. He had agreed to come down to Bombay specially for our function. Dr. Radhakrishnan, who ever draws crowds like a magnet whenever he speaks, was going to

speak publicly in Bombay after an interval of months. Hence there was an air of expectancy about his speech at the Concluding Function. Dr. Radhakrishnan arrived in Bombay at 11-15 a.m. and was received at the air-port by the Hon. Secretary and the Hon. Finance Secretary and was presented with a *bouquet* on behalf of the Society.

Guests and members began to arrive in the main hall from 2-30 p.m. for the function which was preceded by the Tea party at 4-15 p.m. The Hall presented an impressive look with its pillars draped in green leaves and festoons and pendants of leaves and flowers hanging tastefully around. At the back of the platform there stood a Tricolour made of flowers. By 3-45 p.m. the Hall was filled with distinguished guests including members of the Diplomatic Corps, Senior Officers of the Government and members of the Society. The presence of a large number of ladies lent colour and charm to the function. Copies of the *Souvenir* setting forth a short history of the origin and development of the Society prepared by the Hon. Finance Secretary with much labour of love were distributed to the members and guests on arrival.

Dr. Radhakrishnan arrived in the company of Shri Morarji Desai, Chief Minister, Bombay State, at 4 p.m. and was received by the Hon'ble Mr. M. C. Chagla, President, the Hon. Secretary and the Hon. Finance Secretary. He was then conducted to the Vestibule where members of the Managing Committee were introduced to him. After going round the Society's rooms, Dr. Radhakrishnan entered the Hall at 4-15 p.m., walked up to the foot of the platform where he sat at the head of the table along with Shri Morarji Desai, the Hon'ble Mr. and Mrs. Chagla and other distinguished guests and members including the Hon'ble Mr. Dinkarrao Desai, Minister for Education, Bombay State. Miss Suhasini Deshpande provided light music during the Tea-party. At 4-40 p.m. Dr. Radhakrishnan rose along with the President and Shri Morarji Desai and moved among the guests from table to table, greeting, chatting, joking with individual members, many of whom were not strangers to him. From the Hall, he was conducted to the Darbar Hall where he went round the Exhibition, evincing great interest in some of the books, Mss. and coins on display. He returned to the Hall and took his seat on the platform along with the Hon'ble Mr. M. C. Chagla, President of the Society, and Shri Morarji Desai. At 5-15 P.M. the proceedings of the Concluding Function commenced with a benedictory Sanskrit song sung in a very melodious tune by the well-known Radio-star Shri Ninu Majumdar, Shri Kumudini Munshi and Shri

Rajul Mujumdar. Next, the Hon. Secretary read out a few of the many messages received on the occasion. Prof. K. B. Vyas then read out the following message from the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland which had nominated him as its special representative at the celebrations : "On behalf of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, which I have the honour and privilege to represent here, I offer warm and sincere felicitations to the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society on the occasion of its Sārdha-Śatābdī—150th anniversary. The record of activities of the Bombay Branch in the cause of scholarship and research during the century and a half constitutes a glorious chapter in the history of Indological studies. It is our earnest hope and prayer that the Bombay Branch may carry on the noble mission of spreading knowledge and culture as devotedly and successfully in the future as it has done in the past." The Hon'ble Mr. M. C. Chagla then welcomed Dr. Radhakrishnan and the guests ; he paid a tribute to Dr. Radhakrishnan, the 'Philosopher-Statesman', our unofficial ambassador interpreting the East to the West and thanked him for having accepted the Society's invitation to preside over the evening's function. He announced the various donations (already mentioned) received on the occasion and thanked the donors for their generous help. He declared that a *Souvenir* was to be presented to the oldest living member of the Society—the honour being claimed by H.H. the Aga Khan whose message for the occasion was also read out by him. Then followed the presentation of Medals for the year 1953: The Hon. Secretary read out the citations in regard to each medal and its recipient; Dr. Radhakrishnan presented the Campbell Memorial Gold Medal to Chevalier P.S.S. Pissurlencar (in absentia) the MM. Dr. P. V. Kane Medal to Prof. K. V. R. Ayyangar and the Society's Silver Medal to Dr. G. M. Moraes. An album of photographs of the statues and Sopara remains etc., was presented *in absentia* to H. H. the Aga Khan. A similar album was presented by the President to Dr. Radhakrishnan in memory of his participation in the celebrations. Dr. Radhakrishnan then addressed the gathering. He acknowledged the debt of gratitude to the European pioneers who gave us the inspiration to study our past, stated that education and culture knew no sectarianism, religious, political, geographical etc., commended the Society on its universality of spirit and achievements and pointed out that institutions like our Society could help bring about an understanding between the East and the West which was so necessary for the future of mankind.

Dr. Radhakrishnan's speech was shorter than was generally expected

but the gathering was gratified to hear him. MM. Dr. P. V. Kane proposed a vote of thanks and the function terminated with the singing of the National Anthem—ringing the curtain upon the celebrations of the *Sārdha-Satābdī* of the Society.

The same night the members of the Managing Committee had arranged a dinner at the Willingdon Sports Club in honour of Dr. Radhakrishnan at which Shri Morarji Desai, Chief Minister, Bombay State, Shri Dinkarrao Desai, Education Minister, Bombay State, Kum. Indumati Sheth, Deputy Education Minister, Bombay State, Sir V. N. Chandavarkar, Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, Dr. R. K. Mookerjee and other distinguished guests were present.

I have refrained all along from mentioning names in this account for fear of space. I gratefully record the fact that every member of the Managing Committee and many members of the Society offered their co-operation which made the celebrations the success that they were. However, I cannot help mentioning a few names which it would be less than grateful on my part to omit. Shri J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy, as mentioned earlier, lent us many valuable photographs of old Bombay which constituted an interesting section of the Exhibition. Equally valuable was the co-operation of Shri Purshottam Vishram Mavji who was kind enough to lend us a few exhibits from his father's rich collection. The authorities of the Prince of Wales Museum co-operated with us fully and helped in setting up the Exhibition. Last but not the least, Shri Nanik Motwane provided loud-speaker arrangements which, as usual, were perfect. We tender our sincere thanks to all these friends of the Society as well as to the P.W.D. authorities, and volunteers to whose co-operation the success of the celebrations was largely due. Lastly, I thank the members of the staff of the Society for their unstinted and enthusiastic co-operation in the long and laborious work which the week-long celebrations entailed. Thanks !

*Kālo gacchati—Time marches. May the Society march to 2004 A.D.
Panthānah Santu Te Sivāh !*

G. C. JHALA

Hon. Secretary

THE MEANING OF KUMARI DVIPA

By

V. S. AGRAWALA

The form of the *Saṅkalpa mantra* as recited at present is as follows :

हरिः ॐत्सद्य श्रीमद्भगवतो महापुरुषस्य विष्णोराज्ञया प्रवर्त-
मानस्य श्रीब्रह्मणोऽहो द्वितीयप्रहराद्धे श्रीश्वेतवाराहकल्पे वैवस्वतमन्वन्तरे
अष्टाविंशतितमे कलियुगे कलिप्रथमचरणे जम्बूद्वीपे भरतखण्डे भारते वर्षे
कुमारिकाखण्डे आर्यावर्तकदेशे अविमुक्तवाराणसीक्षेत्रे आनन्दवने
भागीरथ्याः पश्चिमे तीरे विक्रमशके बौद्धावतारे अमुकनाम्नि संवत्सरे
अमुकमासे अमुकपक्षे अमुकतिथौ अमुकवासरे अमुकशर्माहं ममोपात्त-
दुरितक्षयद्वारा श्रीपरमेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थं प्रातःसन्ध्योपासनं करिष्ये ।

This matter-of-fact utterance consists of four parts, viz., reference to time, place, person and the holy act or ceremony that is to be performed. The latter part is modified according to the particular spot, the *kartā* and the act as it is in each case.

The above version offers several points for consideration. Here we first have reference to Jambūdvīpa and its constituent part Bharatakhaṇḍa. There is a sort of repetition in the words which follow, viz. *Bhārata Varṣe Kumārikā khaṇḍe*. What could have been the reason for this addition and the significance of the two new geographical terms? This question can be answered in a historical perspective only. It appears that the new geographical term Kumārikā khaṇḍa belongs to the geographical horizon of the Gupta period. In the Bhuvanakoṣa chapters of the Purāṇas we get a description of Jambūdvīpa comprising seven Varṣas, viz. Bhadrāśva, Bhārata, Ketunāla, Uttarakuru, with the addition of Kimpuruṣa, Harivarṣa, and Ilāvṛta (*Matsya*, 113.29, 30, 44). This was the stand and pattern of Puranic geography in which Bhārata amongst the seven Varṣas was considered the most important and received conspicuous attention as regards details of mountains, rivers and Janapadas. From the lists of these three entities, it is at once clear that by Bhārata Varṣa India was meant although with somewhat extended boundaries towards the north-west. The natural frontiers of India began with Kamboja of the Pamir region, as Lassen correctly identified, and extended upto Trikūṭa in Ceylon.

The geopolitical factors emerging from the cultural expansion of India beyond the seas and the consolidation of power in the homeland, brought about a necessary change in the significance of the name Bhāratavarṣa. It so happened that the numerous islands

in the Indian Ocean including the majority of those now grouped as Indonesia received powerful cultural influences from India during the Gupta epoch which was the Golden Age of Indian history. The cultural overflow from the homeland completely submerged these oceanic islands with the result that they were regarded as virtual limbs of Bhārata in the cultural sense. Sanskrit language, literature, gods, goddesses, *yajñas*, religion, philosophy, music, dance, drama, costumes, art, architecture—in short the entire paraphernalia of Indian life and culture was transmitted to these regions and absorbed by their inhabitants with spontaneous joy. This was a two-way commerce, a mutual give-and-take. India exported her ideas and culture patterns and also material products, receiving in exchange the local produce of those lands. The gamut of Indian culture governed so completely the symphony of life in the islands of the Indian Ocean that for all practical purposes they became parts of Bhāratavarṣa. The significance of the term Bhārata was modified to suit the new facts of life. Bhārata or Bharata-khaṇḍa was now the name applied to a much bigger geographical entity which included the oceanic islands. An apparent need was felt to find a suitable name for the mainland of India herself. The Purāṇa writers took note of this change in the meaning of the term Bhārata, and coined two new words. India proper was called Kumārī-dvīpa and the oceanic islands together were named Dvīpāntara, i.e. the islands other than the mainland of India. Kālidāsa refers to the name Dvīpāntara exactly in this sense (द्वीपान्तरानीतलवंगुणैः , *Raghu.*, VI.57).

A new conception of Bhārata then filled the atmosphere, much more grand than what it had ever been ; it was a Bhāratavarṣa not limited to the natural confines of India but comprising nine divisions or *dvīpas* in all, as the Purāṇas record :

भारतस्यास्य वर्षस्य नवभेदाः प्रकीर्तिताः ।
 समुद्रान्तरिता द्वेयास्ते त्वगम्याः परस्परम् ॥
 इंद्रद्वीपः कशेरुश्च ताम्रपर्णी गभस्तिमान् ।
 नागद्वीपस्तथा सौम्यो गन्धर्वस्त्वथ वारुणः ।
 अयन्तु नवमंस्तेषां द्वीपः सागरसंवृतः ।
 योजनानां सहस्रं तु द्वीपोऽयं दक्षिणोत्तरम् ॥

(*Vāyu*, 45. 78-80 ; *Matsya*, 114. 8-10 ; *Mārkaṇḍeya* 57. 6-7)

The Purāṇas mentioned the nine divisions, most probably to begin with, or took note only of the more important units, for we find in contemporary literature a reference to eighteen divisions also (*aṣṭādaśa dvīpa*). Kālidāsa echoes this development :

संग्रामनिर्विघ्नसहस्रबाहुरष्टादशद्वीपनिखातयूपः ।

अनन्यसाधारणराजशब्दो बभूव योगी किल कार्तवीर्यः ॥

(*Raghu.*, VI. 38).

We may be sure that the term *aṣṭādaśa dvīpa* had been newly coined, and, wherever it occurs, points to that period when the particular passage was introduced. Bāṇa also repeats it (*aṣṭādaśa-dvīpāṣṭamaṅgalaka-mālinī medinī*, *Harṣacarita*, N. S. ed. p. 185 ; also *bhrūlatādiṣṭāṣṭādaśa-dvīpe Dilīpe*, *ibid.*, p. 179). There is a similar reference in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (अष्टादश समुद्रस्य द्वीपान-श्चन पुरवाः, 2.15). The *Mahābhārata* once refers to thirteen *dvīpas* (Ādi., Poona, 70.17) which is of kindred nature with the number eighteen. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* gives the names of several minor *dvīpas* besides the nine of the Puranic list, e.g. Karma-raṅga, Nālikera, Varuṣaka, Nagna, Bali and Yava. For the sake of clarity we may record the list with suggested identifications :

Indradyumna (Andaman), Tāmraparṇī (Ceylon), Nāgadvīpa or Nagnadvīpa (Nikkavaram, Nicobar), Gandharva (called also Pañyupāyana), Vāruṇa (Borneo), Vārushaka (Baros), Yava (Java), Bāli (Bali), Karmaraṅga also Kārdrāṅga or Carmaraṅga, a part of Malaya), Malaya (Malaya), Kaṭāha (Keda), Karpūra-dvīpa (Borneo or Formosa), Kamaladvīpa (Khmer or Cambodia), etc.

The history of each of these islands and an investigation into their cultural connections with India is a fascinating topic for which both literal and archaeological data are plentiful. We cannot pass un-noticed the fact that the Purāṇas knew these various regions to be separated from each other by oceanic distances (*samudrāntarita*) and accessible only by naval routes. The ninth *dvīpa* is also mentioned as sea-girt (*sāgara-samvṛta*), but left unnamed. The writer was obviously sitting somewhere in this land and is content by using the demonstrative pronoun *ayam* for it. Fortunately Rājaśekhara has cited these Puranic verses and he paraphrases *ayam* with *Kumārī dvīpaḥ* (*Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, ch. 17, p. 92).

So when the geographical connotation of Bhāratāvarṣa was extended as above explained, Kumārīdvīpa was the name applied to the mainland of India. Kumārī at first was the name of the extreme southern point of the mainland, as for example,

आयतस्तु कुमारीतो गंगायाः प्रवहावधिः

(*Matsya*, 114.10), but was now employed to serve a new role as the designation of the whole of the Indian peninsula. There is a story in the *Skanda Purāṇa* which explains the *rationale* behind the name Kumārīkā khaṇḍa. There were a virgin sister and her eight brothers. The sister Kumārī inherited this land as her share and

the brothers each got a different *dvīpa*. The sister choosing for herself a life of renunciation and penance offered her share to the brothers, but on their declining to receive it, partitioned it into seventy-two divisions and gave one each to her so many nephews (*Skanda Purāṇa*, Māheśvara khaṇḍa, Kumārikā khaṇḍa, ch. 39).

These 72 divisions cover the entire country including such names as Kamboja, Bāhlika, Kāshmirā, Uḍḍiyāna, Nepāla, Siṃhala, etc., showing that the new name Kumāridvīpa was intended to serve as an accurate substitute for Bhāratavarṣa and was conterminous with it. Kumāridvīpa, Kumārikā-khaṇḍa and Kumāradvīpa (*Vāmana Purāṇa*, 13.59)¹ were but forms of the same name.

Now, if we look to the wordings of the *Samkalpa*, it is obvious that the old formula *Jambūdvīpe Bharatakhāṇḍe* had become out-moded and no longer held good in the geographical context of the Gupta age. It denoted a far wider territory international in extent, and therefore gave place to the new formula *Bhārate-varṣe Kumārikā-khaṇḍe* which reflected the situation correctly. But since the old *Samkalpa* existed in the memory of the people and was indelibly fixed there the new wordings failed to oust or dislodge the old ones and the two continued in juxta-position which was rather an anomalous one.

It may be observed in passing that the Bhāgavatas offered a revised version of the old *Samkalpa* by stamping it with a religious character. The old formula

ॐ तत्सद्य श्रीमन्महापुरुषस्याज्ञया प्रवर्तमानस्य

seems to have been recast by adding हरेः, भगवतः, and विष्णोः in suitable places. Thus it became a perfect Vaiṣṇava formula for muttering at the beginning of religious ceremonies.

We may incidentally investigate the antiquity of the use of the name Hari as a synonym of Viṣṇu, which again seems to be an innovation of the Bhāgavatas or Pāñcarātras, some time in the post-Patañjali period as the word is conspicuous by its absence in the *Mahābhāshya*.

1. इमे तवोक्ता विषयाः सुविस्तराद् द्वीपे कुमारे रजनीचरेण ।

This verse placed at the end of 23 *amushṭup* verses in a different metre, seems to have been added later in the Gupta period to finish off an earlier text of the Bhuvanakoṣa tradition.

DHARMAŚĀSTRA, IN SOUTH INDIA WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO THE CONTRIBUTION
MADE BY SRI VEDĀNTA DEŚIKA

By

K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR

Compared with North India the contributions of the Dakhan and South India to Dharmaśāstra literature are relatively few. Hemādri (c. 1270) and Dalapati, the author of *Nṛsīmhaprasāda* (c. 1500) are the only authors of *nibandhas*. The commentaries of Aparārka and Vijñāneśvara on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, though termed bhāṣyas, are virtually *nibandhas*. *Smṛticandrikā* (c. 1225) and *Smṛtimuktāphala* of Vaidyanātha Dikṣita (c. 1600) are *nibandhas*, and Mādhavācārya's extensive commentary on *Parāśarasṛti* (commonly referred to as *Parāśara-mūdhaviya* (c. 1370), is virtually a *nibandha*. *Smṛtimuktāphala* omits treatment of *Vyavahāra*, possibly because of the existence of authoritative works on *Vyavahāra* in the area, like the supplement to his commentary on *Parāśara* by Mādhava, which, basing itself on one *śloka* of *Parāśara*, dealt with the entire field of *Vyavahāra*, and of Varadarāja's *Vyavahāranirṇaya* (c. 1225). The same reason may be adduced for the omission of the treatment of not only *vyavahāra* but some other topics dealt with in standard *nibandhas*, by Veṅkaṭanātha of Hārītgotra (c. 1450), popularly known in his community as Toḷappar, and to scholars by his title of *Vaidikasārva-bhauma*. His *Smṛtiratnākara* deals only with daily rites, including *pūjā*. His other works treat of topics like *aśauca* (*Āśaucaśataka-vyākhyā*, a commentary on ten *ślokas* summarising the rules of impurity by death, whose authorship is not now known, *Daśanirṇaya*, and *Sudhīvilocana*. I have given grounds for assuming that Varadarāja's *Vyavahāranirṇaya* is only a part of a larger work, named *Smṛtisamgraha*, which is referred to by Vedānta Deśika in his *Saccaritrarakṣā* (p. 47) and *Sanmārgadīpikā* of Varadarāja, cited by Vedānta Deśika in his *Saccaritrarakṣā* (p. 91) and in his *Pāñcarātrarakṣā* (p. 31). A writer named Kṛṣṇamuni, probably a *nibandhakāra*, whose work is lost, is cited by Varadarāja in the *Vyavahāranirṇaya* (pp. 78 and 278). This writer is cited by Vedānta Deśika in his *Pāñcarātrarakṣā* (pp. 2, 59, 60 and 88). There may have been some other works which are now lost, composed in South India unknown in Hindustan.

Reasons may be adduced for the failure of important South Indian works to reach North India and to be studied there. Firstly, such works composed in South India were written in local

alphabets like the modification of the Tamil alphabet for use in writing in Sanskrit, known as *Grantha*, as Tamil does not possess letters that will represent many Sanskrit letters and sounds, or the Telugu, Kannaḍa or Malayalam scripts. For writing on palm-leaves with an iron stylus, these alphabets are easier than Nāgarī, in any of its historical forms. Books written on local palm-leaf are easy to get destroyed. Unless the works were in common use, and many transcripts were accordingly needed, they are likely to perish by neglect or accident. Again, the need to instruct the common people, irrespective of *varṇa*, which was keenly felt by leaders of South Indian thought like Vedānta Deśika, made them prefer for popular instruction vernacular versions of the śāstras to the Sanskrit originals. This was specially so in the case of the followers of the Vaiṣṇava cult. The teachings of sages in Sanskrit were rendered either into the spoken language of the area (e.g. Tamil), or where easy renderings in the Vernacular were not possible for Sanskrit terms, in a mixture of Tamil and Sanskrit, which was useful in oral instruction. Such a language was formed and named *maṇipravālam*, and was extensively used by *ācāryas* in discourses, and in books reproducing them. Out of a *hundred* works of Vedānta Deśika, contained in a list in a modern sketch of his life, over *thirty* are in this dialect. Where the readers or hearers are deemed as more likely to understand a pure vernacular version, instead of this mixed dialect, Tamil was chosen by Vaiṣṇava writers to express their views. Vedānta Deśika has composed *fifteen* of his writings in pure Tamil, being equally proficient in that language as in Sanskrit. The attempt is like that of Christian reformers to translate the Bible into the vernaculars.

It is necessary that women should have a correct idea of their duties, and of the rules and prohibitions by śāstra of acts that one may commit. They are precluded by smṛti rules from a study of the Veda, as are Sūdras. Vedānta Deśika in his vernacular and *maṇipravāla* writings avoids Vedic citations and expresses Vedic ideas in lucid Tamil. To enable the rules to be memorised he has put them often in verse that can be easily mastered by women and even children. In view of the first great leaders of the Viṣṇu cult in South India, viz. the twelve Āḷwārs (ranging in date from the third to the ninth centuries), having inculcated their devotional teachings in magnificent Tamil poetry, this selection of Tamil for conveying instruction in śāstraic rules of Dharma is intelligible. For example, one of the important topics in Dharmasāstra is an enumeration or specification of articles of food and drink that are prohibited. It is necessary that women, who run the family and control its feeding, should be made conversant with

the rules. Vedānta Deśika recognised this need, and composed in 21 Tamil quatrains, which are easily understood and memorised, a complete list of the articles of food and drink that are allowed and forbidden by Dharmaśāstra.

Vedānta Deśika does not restrict the use of the vernacular to the exposition or inculcation of duties laid down ordinarily in *smṛti*. The recital of the names of God (conceived as Viṣṇu) is as much a duty (*ūcāra*) to be followed by every one, as other duties. This justified Vedānta Deśika in composing three poems, in easy Tamil, to inculcate the rules for the daily recitation, or mental recall, of the *aṣṭākṣara* and *Dvaya*, as well as the last verse of *Bhagavadgītā*, in which Śrī Kṛṣṇa's concluding injunction to Arjuna is to give up (*parityajya*) all enjoyed duties (*dharma*) and seek refuge in Him alone : " I shall release you from the consequences of all your sins (*sarvaṇāpāpabhya mokṣayiṣyāmi*) ; therefore grieve not."

In South India, while the non-recitation of the Vedas by a non-*dvija* was enforced, it did not prevent their study of them, as at the present day. This will explain how the hymns and poems of the great Śrī Vaiṣṇava saints (Ālwārs) show a wonderful familiarity with the Upaniṣads. A story mentions how when certain Brāhmaṇas were chanting the Vedas, an interruption made them halt ; and when they had to resume the recitation, none of those so engaged could recollect where they had stopped. Then one of the Saints (Ālwārs) showed the passage by a gesture that immediately brought it to the recollection of the chanters. A Sanskrit commentary written by a Śrī Vaiṣṇava ascetic on the devotional and philosophic poem of an early Ālwār, reads almost like an Upaniṣad, and suggests that the poem was a spirited rendering of it in the vernacular.

One reason for the failure of South Indian works to find their way to North India, even if they were important works on Dharmaśāstra, is the continuous wars between the Cālukyas of the Dakhan and the Cola rulers of South India, and their predecessors in South Indian supremacy, the Pallavas of Kāñcī. Movements through areas occupied by hostile armies will be difficult. Visits to North Indian *tirthas* and *kṣetras* became very difficult, and after the Muslim conquest of the Dakhan and establishment of the Bahmani kingdom, impossible. Though Vaiṣṇava tradition claims that Rāmānuja and Vedānta Deśika visited North India, and Rāmānuja even visited Kashmir, the stories have to be rejected. There is little evidence in their writings of such visits. An incidental advantage of barring the free flow of men and writings

from the Dakhan and South India to North India and *vice versa*, was the conservation in *South* India of literature that came originally to it from *North* India. The best instance of it is in the preservation of Vaiṣṇava *Āgamas*, both *Pāncarātra* and *Vaikhānasa* in South India when they became virtually lost in North India. Much of the space in *Āgama* literature is taken up by detailed instruction on temple worship and ritual, and the works enjoy much consideration on this account in areas in which the piety of kings and the wealthy founded and endowed great shrines. The case of the great temple at Tirupati (of Śrī Veṅkaṭeśa) may be cited as an instance. In the *History of Tirupati*, recently published by Sri T. K. T. Virarāghavācārya (1952-1954), based on literature and a vast number of inscriptions in the shrine, which have been published, one can find how *detailed* instruction in forms of worship and ritual and the construction of the shrines was given in this *Āgama*. According to Śrī Vaiṣṇava teaching, Bhagavān the Supreme Being is Nārāyaṇa, described as *Para* or *Para Vāsudeva*. He is in Vaikuṅṭha. He manifests Himself in *five* forms (*vyūha*) viz. Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, as also in His *vibhavāh* or incarnations like Rāma or Kṛṣṇa, in His residence in the human heart of the devout (*hārda*), and in consecrated images or idols (*arcā*). *Śālagrāma* (ammonite) is His residence also. It requires no special consecration. As such, he who worships an image or an idol in a temple, does not worship a material object, and the idol or image is not, as often stated by those unacquainted with the Vaiṣṇava doctrine, only a *means* of concentrating thought on God. *Mukti*, or release from rebirth, is the object of all human endeavour, according to Dharmaśāstra, and great digests like the *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara (c. 1110) begin with a *kāṇḍa* describing birth, and *saṁskāras*, and end with *Mokṣa* (release). *Purāṇas* deal with worship and specify the various ways of worship of some principal deities at home or in temples. But their treatment is not so thorough and they do not state the philosophic background of the images as the *Āgamas* do. Devotion (*bhakti*) is the culmination of *karma* and *jñāna*, and the *Bhagavadgītā* devotes a third part to each step, each preceding leading to that which follows it. *Bhakti* (deep faith in God) is the culmination of religious rites, meditation and thought. From compassion, Bhagavān has made it possible for every one to attain the end by worship, properly conducted, of His images in temples and by worship of *Śālagrāma* in daily domestic *pūjā*. The erection of countless temples in South India was dictated by this aim. The *Āgamas* guide their construction and proper use. Among Śrī Vaiṣṇava temples of South India, some follow the

Vaiṣṇānasa āgamas, like the ancient temples at Tirupati, and others a *Pāñcarātra āgama*, like the ancient temples at Srirangam, Viṣṇu-Kāñcī and Śrī Nārāyaṇapuram in Mysore, which are guided by the *Pāñcarātra Pārameśvara, Pādma* and *Īśvara Saṁhitās*, an Āgama work being known also as a *saṁhitā*. The great Śrī Vaiṣṇava *ācāryas*, viz. Yāmuna Muni, Rāmānuja and Vedānta Deśika, are associated with all these great shrines.

The ultimate end of human exertion being *Mukti*, which is gained by the correct discharge of appointed daily duties, including daily worship (*pūjā*), the description of daily rites including the mode of worship, is a *necessary* part of Dharmaśāstra. *Smṛtis*, however, contain little direction as regards modes of worship and the forms and rigour to be observed and maintained. *Pūjā* and *Pratiṣṭhā* (installation of idols) sections of the standard *nibandhas* are therefore of little help in guiding the devout in the forms to be observed in worship. The *Āgama* literature contains the material that supplements and, in cases, corrects what is contained in *smṛti* and *Purāṇa*. It is so not only with the Vaiṣṇava Āgamas but with other Āgamas, like the Śaiva, Pāsupata, Śākta etc. Āgama literature (particularly *Pāñcarātra* and *Vaiṣṇānasa*) ceased to have utility when, following foreign invasions, Muslim iconoclasts destroyed temples all over North India.

Āgamas are not *late* compositions or of human origin according to themselves. *Āgama* is distinguished from *Nigama* (i.e. the Veda), and is sometimes said to spring from the latter unless it claims to be specially revealed and is then named a *Saṁhitā*. Vaiṣṇava Āgamas are often termed *Bhāgavata*. *Hārīta* includes Āgama in *Śruti*, i.e. the Veda, and Dharma's ultimate authority or sanction is from *Śruti* (*śruti-pramāṇako dharmah*): *śruti* is of two kinds (*śrutiśca dvividhā*), viz. Vedic and Tāntric (*vaidikī tāntrikī ca*). Such was the early *smārta* view. Later, opinion among *smārtas* drifted to placing *śruti* above *tantra*, and making the former more authoritative. The profound influence of the Āgamas on the life of the people must not be underrated. Prof. P. T. Śrinivasa Aiyangar in his *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* (1909), almost the only work on the subject, which deals with Āgamas, states thus, "The influence of the Āgamas or Tantras, as they are more familiarly known, on Indian life has been profound. The living religion of today from Cape Comorin to the remotest corners of Tibet is essentially Tāntric. Even the genuine Vedic rites that are preserved and are supposed to be derived from the Vedas e.g., the *Sandhyā*, have been modified, as may be seen later, by Tāntric practices. Equally profound has been the influence of the Āgamas on the development of Vedānta philosophy.

Śaṅkara was a professed Śākta, and his Advaitic interpretation, and exposition of the Vedānta, though overtly independent of the *śākta* Āgamas, is influenced by Tāntric theories, and his discipline by Tāntric practices. Rāmānuja who, according to Dr. Thibaut, expounds a less forced form of Vedānta and more near to the ideas of Bādarāyaṇa, the author of the *Vedānta Sūtras*, than Śaṅkara, regarded the Vaiṣṇava Āgamas as authoritative, though, he too seldom quotes them. Madhva is so much under Āgamic influence, that his bhāṣyas are but a string of Āgamic texts with a few words thrown in to connect them." (pp. 130-131).

In his commentary on *Brahmasūtras*, Śaṅkara (II, ii, 42) mentions the four *vyūhas* of Vāsudeva, the highest Brahman, whose nature is pure knowledge, and is what really exists. Dividing Himself fourfold, He appears in four forms (*vyūhās*) : as Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. The third is *manas* (the mind) and the last is the principle of egoity (*ahamkāra*). Of these, Vāsudeva constitutes the ultimate causal essence, of which the three others are effects. "The believer, after having worshipped Vāsudeva for a hundred years, by means of approach to the temple (*abhiḡamana*), procuring things to be offered (*upādāna*), oblation (*ijyā*), recitation of prayers etc. (*svādhyāya*) etc. and devout meditation (*yoga*) passes beyond all affliction and reaches the Highest Being." Śaṅkara does not object to the view that Nārāyaṇa reveals Himself by dividing himself in multiple ways, or to the view that unceasing concentration of the mind on the highest Being which appears in the Bhāgavata doctrine of reverential approach, is enjoined, for that is endorsed by Smṛti and Scripture. (*Thibaut's Trn.* p. 440-441). Rāmānuja replies that since Saṅkarṣaṇa etc. are only *manifestations* of Brahman, the Pāñcarātra doctrine that they spring from Brahman is not contradicted. (*ib.* p. lii). Rāmānuja (*Śrī Bhāṣya*, II, ii, 442-43) controverts the view of Śaṅkara and upholds the Pāñcarātra view.

The questioning of the authority of the Āgama made Rāmānuja's predecessor Yāmunācārya (a. 1050) write a defence of the Āgamas, and their authenticity and authority (*prāmāṇya*)—*Āgamaprāmāṇyam*, (Kasi ed. 1900). The questioning of the authority of Āgamas by smṛti commentators like Medhātithi (c. 850) and silence of still later writers on *nibandhas*, in sections on *pūjā* etc. being based *entirely* on Purāṇic citations, necessitated the defence of Āgama, taking *Pāñcarātra* as the subject, by Vedānta Deśika. The only *nibandhakāra* of North India, who includes *Pāñcarātra* among sources of Dharma (see his *Paribhāṣāprakāśa*) is Mitramiśra (c. 1625). He cites a verse of Yogi-Yājñavalkya that *Pāñcarātra* is "highly authoritative." Passa-

ges from the *Mahābhārata* (*Śāntiparva*, ch. 334) *Bṛhatparāśara*, and *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, (III, 6. 1) are cited in favour of the authority of Pāñcarātra.

In the ninth and previous centuries in South India the popular works were the poetical hymns in Tamil by the Vaiṣṇava saints (Ālwārs). They constitute in all about 4000 verses. They show an intimate knowledge of Pāñcarātra, and they used to be sung in Viṣṇu temples. Each temple had been commemorated by an Ālwār during his visit to it, and that temple alone preserved the poem. There were a 108 such temples. As they were scattered and uncollected, Nāthamuni, the grandfather of Yāmunācārya, who lived about c. 950. collected and arranged them in their present form. They form the daily study of pious Śrī Vaiṣṇavas, and have been of great influence in spreading a knowledge of *Vaiṣṇava* doctrine and in inculcating lives of righteousness and intense devotion to Nārāyaṇa.

The existence and accessibility of Pāñcarātra works, and their claim to equal force with the Veda made for their spread and study. In works on *Vyavahāra*, which deal with civil and criminal law, one cannot expect citations from this literature. But, we find in Varadarāja's *Vyavahāranirṇaya* a reference to "Pāñcarātra-Vaikhānasa" on p. 220 and to *Ātreyasamhitā*, a Vaikhānasa work, on p. 195. In the lost works of this writer, like *Smṛtisamgraha* and *Sanmārgadīpikā*, there would have been many more citations from this literature.

In *Smṛtiratnākara* of Hārīta Venkaṭācārya, written eighty years after Vedānta Deśika passed away, there are references to certain Pāñcarātra works (pp. 22, 29, 70, 71, 163 and 165), and the rules about wearing the *ūrdhva-puṇḍra* mark on the forehead and the body are given, as from Vedānta Deśika's *Saccaritarakṣā*. Vaidyanātha's *Smṛtimukatāphala*, the famous digest, in *Āhnikakāṇḍa* (p. 296) notes that Pāñcarātra works enjoin that the body should be marked by emblems of Viṣṇu, like *śaṅkha* (conch) and *cakra* (discus).

Vedānta Deśika is easily the most versatile and eminent poet, scholar, dialectician and philosopher produced by South India. In the history of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism he is ordinarily accepted as second only to Rāmānuja, the apostle, but judged impartially, Rāmānuja cannot be credited with the versatile ability as scholar, poet and controversialist, in both Tamil and Sanskrit, of Vedānta Deśika. The followers of the sect place him only as second to Rāmānuja. He came to be regarded as an incarnation of the great bell in the Tirupati temple, which is rung during *pūjā* (*ghanṭāvatāra*). Born

about 1268, he became extraordinarily erudite before he was twenty, and for the next eighty years he enriched the world with numerous writings of the highest merit. The great reputation he earned naturally led to his apotheosis after his death: "His writings are marked by beauty of style and thought, intense moral fervour and profound spiritual insight. He wrote original works as well as commentaries, and popular expositions of doctrine, which needed wider knowledge and appreciation than it commanded." He taught and lectured, as he wrote, and wrote in Sanskrit and Tamil and in the mixed dialect or *manipravāla* intended for non-Brāhmaṇa Vaiṣṇavas, as well as Brāhmaṇas. He was not a mere idealist, and his practical-mindedness is seen in his trying to popularise doctrines and śāstraic injunctions that were without sufficient influence owing to their being in Sanskrit, which most persons did not understand. On the model of Kālidāsa, he wrote the *Haṁsasandeśa* (cf. *Meghasandeśa*) as also *Subhāṣita-nīvi* (cf. Bhartṛhari's *Niṭisātaka*), *Yādavābhyudaya* (cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*), *Samkalapa-sūryodaya* (cf. *Prabodhacandrodaya*), and a poem in a thousand stanzas in Sanskrit on the sandals worn by the holy feet of Nārāyaṇa (*Pādukāsahasraṁ*). He was a profound logician (*naiyāyika*) and wrote two works on Viśiṣṭādvaita logic (*Nyāyaparīśuddhi* and *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*), corrected the popular view that the Mīmāṃsā of Jaimini is atheistic (*nirīśvara*) in a work named *Seśvaramīmāṃsā*, wrote an elaborate work on the nature of the Universe in the light of Viśiṣṭādvaita named *Tattva-muktākalāpa* with an explanatory gloss named *Sarvārthasiddhi*, and a work on the relation of *Pūrva* and *Uttaramīmāṃsā* (Vedānta), which combated the general view that the two are opposed, and showed that they were complementary. For the guidance of his numerous disciples and future readers, he composed explanatory comments on Rāmānuja's *Srībhāṣya* named *Tattvaṭīkā*. As a teacher his method of presentation is said to have created among his pupils a livelier interest in each succeeding course. Tradition has it that after *Samkalpasūryodaya*, he wrote other books explaining and simplifying the *Srībhāṣya*. He wrote similar works on the teachings of *Bhagavadgītā*. Treating the teachings of the Ālwārs as *upaniṣadic*, he wrote in Sanskrit, *Draṁiḍoḥpaniṣat-tātparyaratnāvali*, obviously intending it for South Indians who could not understand Tamil, and persons in Upper India. In a famous book, named *Rahasyatrayasāhara*, in *manipravāla*, containing 32 chapters, he explained the hidden truths contained in the three sacred mantras, in which are enshrined the esoteric teaching of Śrīvaiṣṇavism, viz. the *Aṣṭākṣara* or "eight-syllabled-spell", usually referred to as *mūlamantra*, the *Dvaya*, known as *mantrarātna*, and the last

verse in *Bhagavadgītā* in which Śrī Kṛṣṇa enjoins Arjuna to give up all activity (ordinary or voluntary) and become devoted to Himself (*māmeva śaraṇam vraja*), and added the assurance that he would release Arjuna from all sequences of his sins, and he need not therefore be in sorrow.

Numerous other works of his are activated by the same objects viz. to explain, supplement, correct and popularise. For this purpose, as every one irrespective of *varṇa*, or age or sex, had to work for salvation and be helped to attain it, he used *every* means open to a great teacher viz. poetry, or prose, Sanskrit or the vernacular as the medium of his discourses. He was not a mere idealist. His practical-mindedness is seen in his using means to instruct persons ignorant of Sanskrit.

His immense literary activity and learning made it unattractive to him to repeat work that others had done. His command of smṛti literature is vast. In *Saccaritrarakṣā* he even cites *smṛticandrikā* and Viṅṇāneśvara (p. 27) for a verse that directs one to bathe with his clothes on, in order to purify himself from the pollution caused by touching Śaivas, Pāsupatas, Materialists (*Lokāyatāḥ*), atheists (*nāstika*), śūdras as well as *dvijas*, who neglect their ordained duties. It would have not been difficult for him to have composed a digest on the different topics of Dharmaśāstra, like the standard digests. Mādhava's *Vyavahāramādhaniya*, forming a supplement to his commentary on *Parāśarasmṛti*, made such an attempt, and it was by a contemporary and admirer of Vedānta Deśika. Vedānta Deśika cites twelve smṛtis in *Saccaritrarakṣā* and twenty-two in *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*, which are to be regarded as his contributions to Dharmaśāstra. The main difference between his treatment of Dharma and that of most writers on the subject is the high importance he gives to the Āgama literature, which he cites freely, in addition to citations from smṛtis, even more often than from the latter.

He justifies his approach and use of Āgama authorities in *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*. His predecessors Yāmūnācārya and Rāmānuja, had already vindicated the authority of the Āgamas. In regard to the rivalry of the two Vaiṣṇava Āgamas, and criticism of one by the other, he explains that mutual adverse criticism (*para-paranindāvacanāṅi*) are only meant to raise one's own śāstra, and not a denial of the value of the other (p. 25). If it were otherwise, worship in *Vaiṣṇava* Āgama-governed temples by those who worship in temples governed by *Pāñcarātra saṁhitās*, would have been barred. Worship in both classes of temples is equally attractive and enjoined.

Pāñcarātrarakṣā is a lucid treatise of about 180 printed pages, which deals with the daily duties of a person, particularly a *vipra*, from the moment of waking up from sleep to going to sleep at night. The duties are classified under *five* divisions of the day (*pañcakāla*). The main duty in each is as follows: 1. *Abhigamana* (invitation to Bhagavān to be present during his *pūjā*) ; 2. *Upādānam*, gathering materials for worship ; 3. *Ijyā* (*pūjā* or worship proper) ; 4. *Svādhyāya* or devotion to prescribed religious studies ; and 5. *Yoga*, concentration of the mind on Bhagavān, followed by *nidrā*, sleep. The performance of enjoined duties during the five divisions of the day is compulsory even of the *prapanna*, i.e. the person who has attained the sanctity of one who realises God. The duties of the *five* periods are approved by Rāmānuja (p. 51). The duties laid down for the *five* divisions of the day by Vedānta Deśika do not (he claims) contravene the *smṛti* injunctions, and he cites in support passages from the *smṛtis* of Vyāsa, Dakṣa etc. His teaching in this work do not over-rule *smṛtis* but supplement them. Both are binding. The first act after becoming awake is to recall the name of Bhagavān to memory and recite his names and concentrate the mind on Īśvara. Nārāyaṇa must also be remembered when one takes a bath (p. 63). After bath, one should do *tarpaṇa* to one's ancestors. Then he should begin *ārādhana*, after doing his *samidādhānam* (p. 65). Viṣṇu is Brahmā, and Viṣṇu is Śiva, and accordingly there is none more to be worshipped than Viṣṇu (p. 66). He who takes his food without first worshipping Viṣṇu, goes to hell and is reborn as a pig (p. 66). The food of one in whose house *daily* worship of Viṣṇu is not done, cannot be partaken (*naiva bhoktavyam*). After meals one should devote his time to his prescribed studies (*svādhyāya*) e.g. Itihāsa, Purāṇa, and the Veda. At night one must recall to mind the praise of God, before falling asleep. That these rules do not overrule those of *smṛtis* about performing the morning, evening and midday prayers (*sandhyā*) is made clear in a rule that he who fails to do *sandhyā* prayers is unfit for all devout rites (p. 70). Worship of Bhagavān must be in the forenoon, and of *pitṛs* in the afternoon. The discharge of the duties of the five divisions of the day and conserving them is like a married woman safeguarding her *māṅgalyasūtra* (p. 78).

In the third chapter, he emphasizes the duty of reciting the names of Viṣṇu in the first *muhūrta* of day. The formalities to be observed in cleaning teeth etc. and baths, and in the worship of Viṣṇu in any temple close to the place of bath (p. 4) are next described. On p. 130, the articles that are fit to be used in worship and those which are not, are enumerated. This includes a

list of flowers fit for use in *pūjā* and those which are unfit (p. 130). The acceptance of things needed for worship (like grain for cooking food for *nivedana*) are explained next. Persons from whom gifts of such articles must not be accepted are named next; they are those of bad morals, like whores, thieves, fallen men, or avaricious men (p. 135). When a gift (*dāna*) is made it must be accompanied by the prayer, "May Acyuta be pleased" (p. 135). *Pūjā* should begin by a resolution (*saṅkalpa*) to do it. In worship in temples or at home, a number of actions are forbidden. They are enumerated on pages 143-146, and are 32 in number. The old rule of Manu that the food of a king (*rājānnaṃ*) should not be eaten is repeated (p. 147).

He next deals with *svādhyāya*, study of an enjoined nature. During *mahāpradoṣa* there should be no Vedic study and one should observe silence (*maunācaraṇa*). The procedure in Vedic study is described next (pp. 152-153). It should be preceded by the recitation of the names of Bhagavān, as many times as possible, and never below ten times (p. 153). During the study one must concentrate his sight on an idol of Bhagavān (p. 154). He should end by a prayer that Bhagavān should forgive any errors of commission or omission committed.

The last duty, *Yoga*, to be discharged before going to sleep, should take the form of recitation mentally of devotional hymns, like the prose *Gadyatraya* of Śrī Rāmānuja (p. 161). The devotee's way of enjoying sleep at night, are described next. Sleep is service (*nidraiva kainkaryam*) to Bhagavān (p. 167). All duties of the *five* divisions of the day are service to Bhagavān (p. 167). Even during birth and death-pollution periods (*āśauca*) the singing of the names of Bhagavān is not only permitted, but is even obligatory (p. 1680). Impurity (*āśauca*) depends for its duration on the spiritual nature of the person affected. The Brāhmaṇa, who is devoted to fire-rites and to the study of the Veda, loses the impurity in one day, the ordinary student of the Veda loses it in three days, and ordinary persons in ten (p. 171). Rules of this nature are also found in *Suddhi-kāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpataru*. He who has Viṣṇu in his heart is in *Kṛtayuga* (the Golden Age); and he who has not, is in *Kali-yuga* (p. 171). If he who does daily *pūjā* is prevented from doing so by any cause, he is free from sin (p. 175). One should do his duty only according to his powers (*yathāśakti*, p. 176). Good qualities in a worshipper doing his daily *pūjā* are like flower offerings to the deity. (p. 179-180).

With this observation ends *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*. The title of the work is to stress the fact that its reliance is mainly on that litera-

ture. Both in this work and in *Saccaritrarakṣā* the number of *Pāñcarātra* works cited is twenty-six; while the number of *smṛtis* cited is twenty-two.

Saccaritrarakṣā is a smaller work. It enunciates the three duties, which will protect one and keep him in "good conduct", in a condition fitting him for holy duties. Every devotee of Viṣṇu must carry on his person emblems of Bhagavān. Among the sixteen weapons (*āyudha*) of Viṣṇu, the two most important, which he bears on his right and left are *cakra*, the discus, known as Sudarśana, and the conch (*śankha*), known as *Pāñcajanya*. Every devotee of Viṣṇu, i.e. God, must carry these marks on his or her person. When a boy is initiated, the Brahmācārin (acolyte) must have these marks branded on his right and left fore arms. He is not purified by mere baths, if he has not been thus purified in a lasting manner. Women also, after marriage, which corresponds, in their case, to *upanayana* in the case of males, must have these emblems stamped on their arms. Otherwise, they are not pure enough to prepare food that can be offered to God. Even Śūdras may be thus branded (p. 47). They lead them to heaven (*te vai svargasya netāro*).

Branded emblems are permanent. Daily, every devout person must wear on his forehead, and also on twelve places on his body, the vertical mark (*ūrdhva-puṇḍra*), made from white earth collected in holy places like great shrines, or the sea shore. The wearing of these marks is for all *varṇas* (*ūrdhva-puṇḍradhāraṇam sarvajātisādhāraṇam*, p. 55). The *Atharva Veda* rules that a mark like the feet of Hari makes a person a good *vipra* (p. 55). The mark should not be made in mere frivolity (p. 55). He who wears the marks, according to Bodhāyana, becomes pure enough to perform *pūjā* and *homa* (p. 56). All religious acts, like meditation (*dhyāna*), *homa*, *jaṭa*, and holy acts generally become fruitless (*niṣphala*) if done by one who does not wear the *ūrdhva-puṇḍra* marks (p. 56). *Viṣṇusmṛti* rules that any religious act done by one without binding his tuft, wearing his sacred thread from his left shoulder and without *ūrdhva-puṇḍra*, are done impurely, and become fruitless (p. 58).

If white earth is not available, sandal paste may be used instead (p. 66), or if both are unavailable, *pañcagavya* may be used. White earth is to be preferred to earth of other colours (p. 73). In making the mark, the middle finger should not be used (p. 75). The mark should be curved in its middle and the upper part should be broad (*madhyam kiñcit tu vakram syād, ūrdhva-bhāgam viśālakam*), (p. 80). The thirteen names of Viṣṇu used in *sandhyā* should be recited in succession when the twelve

marks are made on the body, in the places touched in *ācamanīya* (p. 84-85). The size of the marks on the body should be ten fingers long. Vedānta Deśika refers the reader to *Smṛticandrikā* for further details (p. 89).

The third and last section of the work is devoted to the use of the food offerings made to Bhagavān during worship. Vedānta Deśika states that the matter has been dealt with in Yāmunācārya's *Āgamaṭṭrāmāṇyam* and Varadarāja's *Sanmārgadīpikā* now lost (p. 93). Food offered to Brahmā and Śiva should not be eaten according to *Padmasaṃhitā* (p. 96), but food or offerings made to Viṣṇu are the purifiers of the pure (*pāvanānām ca pāvanam*, p. 96). In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāma worshipped Nārāyaṇa along with Sītā, offered *havis* to Him, and shared the offering with his wife (p. 97). Flowers or garlands offered to Viṣṇu should neither be smelt nor eaten (p. 99). Offerings to Bhagavān should first be submitted for acceptance to one's preceptor and then one's agnates who are righteous, and then alone eaten (p. 101). The *naivedya* is purified by the recitation of *mantras*. If such an offering is given to the undeserving, the giver commits sin (p. 102). Wise men partake it, as it has been offered to Viṣṇu (p. 103). He who eats or uses food or garlands offered to gods other than Viṣṇu must perform a *cāndrāyaṇa* as expiation (p. 105). *Naivedya* should not be sold (p. 107). Such a person is punished—both the seller and the buyer, in after-life. *Kuṅkuma* powder offered to Viṣṇu may be accepted and used, as also sandal paste, (p. 109). The water, which has washed the image of Viṣṇu (or Viṣṇu in the form of *sālagrāma*) must be put on the head; it is from Viṣṇu's feet, that Gaṅgā arose. Such use of Viṣṇu-offerings destroys every sin (p. 111). If when one is eating food and curds etc. offered as *naivedya*, something not so offered is also eaten by accident, it will be forgiven.

The extracts from both his Dharmaśāstra works, which have been cited in the preceding pages, will show how the chief contribution of Vedānta Deśika is his use of *Pāñcarātra* and Āgama literature extensively to make his points. In doing so he does not underrate *smṛti* and Veda. Hārīta has been cited to show that the Āgama is also *śruti*, being the *tāntric* variety of it (inf. p. 6). Mitramiśra, in the *paribhāṣā* section of his great *nibandha*, *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 21, cites *Mahābhārata* that he who uttered *Pāñcarātra*, was Bhagvān Himself (*pāñcarātrasya kṛtsnasya vaktā Nārāyaṇaḥ svayam*) and he cites *Bṛhat-Pārāśara* to the effect that *Pāñcarātra* works are *śruti*, i.e., the Veda, an emphatic way of saying that they have the force or validity or authority of the Veda. The disappearance of this literature and of Āgamas as well

as the temples where worship according to them would have been done from North India, made the *nibandhas* on Dharma the poorer for not using this source. It is to correct it, and to enable fuller use of the facilities furnished by South Indian worship, that Vedānta Deśika wrote his two *rakṣās*. He treats Āgama works as equal to valid smṛtis. In his *Rahasyatrayasāra* (ch. 17, p. 92 of the Kumbhakonam ed.) he cites the following declaration of Bhagavān: The Vedas (śruti), smṛtis, are my commands: he who transgresses them is a violator of my command, and is my betrayer (*mamadrohi*), and he is not a Vaiṣṇava, even if he claims to be my devotee (*madbhaktopi*)". It has been Vedānta Deśika's mission to stress the paramount force of devotion (*bhakti*) in attaining *mukti* or *mokṣa* and he has done it in many of his works. The smṛta literature extant has dealt at length with duties of an enjoined nature. Mitramiśra is alone among *nibandhakāras* in devoting a special section of his digest to Bhakti. The aim of smṛti *nibandhas* being to help men and women to lead lives that will enable them to obtain the real end of life, namely *mukti*, *nibandhas* that neglected this aspect were incomplete. This is why the two short treatises were composed by Vedānta Deśika in order to teach men to reach their ultimate goal. The value of Vedānta Deśika's contribution to Dharamaśāstra lies in them.

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NATIONAL CULTURES AND NATIONAL ATTITUDES TO THE WORLD

(The Indonesian *Pantja-sila*, Hellenism, Indianism, Sinism, Hebraism
and Africanism)

By

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

On the 1st of June 1945, President Sukarna of Indonesia delivered a speech before the 1st session of the Investigating Committee for Preparation of Independence. In the course of the speech he formulated what is known now in Indonesia as the *Pantja-Sila* (Sanskrit *Pañca-Śīla*) or the Five Principles of the Indonesian State. This speech which was not a written one, gave before the Indonesian people striving for its independence, and for the information of the world outside, a formulation of the great principles for which, in the opinion of its leaders (including the greatest of them, "Bung Karno" or "Brother Sukarna", Indonesia's President at the present day), the new nation stood. Here we have a conscious statement from a responsible leader who has led his people to freedom about what should be the principles guiding the life and aspirations of Indonesia. He stated that most of the different nations at critical moments of their history tacitly or overtly accepted certain ideas, or a definite ideology, as representing what the people thought to be its proper attitude towards itself and towards the world—both seen and unseen. We may mention that similarly certain great ideas emanated from the French people on the occasion of the French Revolution in 1788, namely, the ideas of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, indicating the French attitude towards the world—here specially the world of man, in France as well as outside France. Liberty, Equality and Fraternity are words of great ideas, which, of course are not new ideas. But the French people, after centuries of suffering under the rigours of a heartless feudalism in their own State, thought that they were the greatest ideals for the emancipation of Humanity. These they wanted to press before their contemporaries and for the benefit of posterity as ideas for which men could live and die. On the occasion of the establishment of the Republic in China, when the Manchu imperialistic domination, which was over two and half centuries old, was abolished, the emancipated Chinese people under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen accepted, in 1912, the Three Peoples' Principles—*San Min Chu I*—although these principles were given out in as early as 1885. These Three Principles were those of Nationalism (*Min Tsu*), Democracy (*Min Chuan*) and Socialism

(*Min Sheng*). In the present communistic set-up of the Chinese People's Republic, it is these principles which are actually functioning in the life of the Chinese people, though under a new guise. There are other peoples who also formulated some of their own particular attitudes to the world and to life. Some of these are principles which have only a restricted local or ephemeral application: principles like those of the Japanese *Kodo*, which were based on a belief in the Divinity of the Japanese Emperor and on the special character of the Japanese people as God's elect; and the Hitlerian philosophy of German National Socialism or Naziism; which similarly was a sermon on the theme of the so-called Nordic German people being the natural *Herrenvolk* who were destined to lead and rule over all the races of mankind. The attitude of the present day leaders of a large section of the white settlers in South Africa with their policy of *Apartheid* is in the same boat with the Nazis, and it is fear and ignorance which have made them adopt this particular attitude to the world of the Africans and other coloured peoples with whom Destiny has linked them up inextricably.

To come back to this Indonesian *Pantja-Sila* which indicates the Indonesian *Weltanschauung* or way of looking over the world. Dr. Sukarna at that time declared that the Indonesian national ideas found their fullest expression in the Five Principles or Rules of Conduct—*Silas*, as the Sanskrit word adopted in the Indonesian language indicated it. These, in the first instance, represented, (1) a faith in their own race or nation, (2) a faith in humanity or mankind as a whole—in fact, internationalism as a guiding principle in national affairs also, (3) a faith in democracy, which is virtually the same as faith in freedom, (4) a faith in social justice, and finally (5) a faith in God. These five *Silas* or principles are ultimately based on what the Indonesians call *Goton rojong* or Mutual Coöperation. After the public formulation of these principles by President Sukarna, they have become a sort of an expression of the aspirations of the Indonesian people, a direct consummation of their national culture with its long history of at least two millennia. President Sukarna in the course of his speech wanted to lay stress upon these ideas as being principles or aspirations to be followed, and therefore he had used the word "*Śīla*". They are not duties (*Dharma* or, as it is pronounced in Indonesia, *Darma*) which are established by law whether of Religion or of the State, and that is why he called these in their ensemble *Pantja-Sila* and not *Pantja-Darma*.

From an Indonesian friend I have got the current Indonesian words indicative of these five great ideas grouped under the *Pantja-Sila*. These Indonesian words are (1) *Ke-Bangsa-an* or Faith in one's *Bangsa* Sanskrit *Vamśa* — i.e., Race or Nation; (2) *Ke-*

Manusia-an or Faith in Humanity—Mankind as a whole—*Manusia* being from the Sanskrit *Manuṣya* 'Man'; (3) Faith in Freedom or Democracy—*Ke-Merdeka-an*—where *Merdeka*, the common word for Freedom in Indonesian is but the Sanskrit *Mahā-ṛddhikā* or 'the Great Prosperity', and the implication is that in freedom lies the greatest prosperity imaginable. (4) The word for fourth idea of Social Justice is *Ke-adil-an*; here the word *adil* is from the Arabic word *adl* which means 'the Principle of Justice'; and finally we have (5) the Indonesian word for Faith in God—*Ke-Tuhan-an*—where *Tuhan* is the common Indonesian word for 'God' and it means 'Lord' or 'Master'.

These principles which have been proposed by President Sukarna and have evidently met with the enthusiastic approval of his people are significant. Here we have a people on the eve of a momentous stage in its life, when after centuries of foreign rule they declared themselves independent, looking round them and announcing before the world that this was their attitude as a nation to the world around and to themselves, and also to the unseen forces behind life; and all this they considered to be just a final expression of their national mind nurtured in their centuries-old civilisation. We have a deliberate and a conscious purpose in this formulation. The conscious appreciation of the position and the deliberate formulation of a socio-political ideology may be quite characteristic of the age. But from very early times, whenever a distinctive type of national culture has been found to evolve among a people and to be really "racy of the soil" and indicative of the people's mind and spirit as much as of its economic milieu, a certain Attitude towards Things, a notable Way of Life, and a *Credo*, which however is not dogmatic in its character, also come to be established. Humanity everywhere is acting with an irresistible urge towards a higher life. All high and noble ideals, which elevate man and exalt him from the mere animal to the sage and saint and angel, and even to God, belong indeed to the whole of mankind.

The ancient Hindu conception of morality, as the average man in Hindu society came to appreciate it, looked upon Morality and Code of Behaviour for man in a society as being really operative in two parts. The first of these is the eternal and all-inclusive, a Code of life which is applicable to the whole of humanity and at all ages and periods, which is known in India as *Nitya-Dharma*. This embraces the great moral laws of Non-injury, of Truth, of Freedom from Desire to possess others' goods, of Self-restraint, of Cultivation of the higher faculties, etc. The other code refers to matters which are ephemeral and which have no all-inclusive bearing upon humanity as a whole, and these are known as *Laukika-Dharma*, or the code of

morals and duties which have a reference to the place, the time and the people. These include things which refer to what would come under good etiquette, like certain forms of behaviour in the matter of man's personal relations with others, certain *taboos* in his eating and drinking, his dress and deportment, etc. Frequently, these ephemeral matters are linked up and confused with things that have a more permanent and all-embracing significance. So intricately are these two aspects of *Dharma* or man's code of morals and of his duties mixed up in many societies that it often requires a superior intellect in man to unravel the one from the other. Dogma and ritual and an accepted good form in life, which has only a local and for-the-time-being value or appeal, are frequently given a supreme value. Take for example, the question of eating certain kinds of forbidden food among millions of people following different religions. The first necessity for any one who has to develop the best in him, including that uncommon faculty of truly appreciating the point of view presented by others not belonging to the familiar group or environment, will be to train up the mind in the way of distinguishing and appreciating the essentials and not being caught up by the accidentals. In this way alone can we become aware of certain all-embracing values in the world of man and of the world outside the physical purview of mankind.

In a great passage in one of his Epistles, St. Paul has asked those who have accepted Christ not to neglect anything which is great or noble or of permanent value, whether within or outside the orbit of the new religion that he was helping to build up, the religion centering round the personality and the divine quality of Jesus of Nazareth. The faithful are exhorted to think of all good, great and noble things, and this was the sure way of elevating themselves. A similar sentiment has been expressed in the *Gītā* when this is put in the mouth of Kṛṣṇa —

*Yad yad vibhūtimat sattvaṃ śrīmad ūrjitam eva vā,
Tat tad evāvagaccha tvam mama tejo'ṃśa-sambhavam.*

'Whatever things are endowed with special glory, are beautiful and are noble, regard them to be a part of My own radiance.' All great and good things belong to humanity, and the whole of mankind possesses a common aspiration for the achievement of goodness and nobility in life. The World's Desire is there, and this is for the Ultimate Reality that is both within and beyond life. The main note of Humanity has been caught by the seers and sages from very early times—mankind is one, but it is at the same time diverse as well. Transcending this diversity is our basic human unity. We have diversity in our physical formations—the diversity of race and

colour. We have also diversity in our mental temperaments. And almost embracing everything is the diversity of our different economic surroundings. We are all looking for at the same time—or trying to look at it or find it in our own lives—the *Summum Bonum*, the Highest Good, the thing which endures, but we are looking at it from different angles. That is why the outlook of the whole world is not absolutely identical, although the aspirations are the same. Certain aspects of Life and of the Ideal loom large before a particular people, and they are apt to ignore or relegate to a second place certain other aspects, which, viewed from a different angle, appear to be much more prominent and engrossing to them. In this way, the *Weltanschauung* of different peoples separated from each other by time and space and environment of race and economy is bound to differ from each other. Everywhere the nobler ideals or associations and aspirations are present, but it becomes a question of emphasis.

Some examples will indicate the position in the world in this matter. We have certain peculiar types of mentality which we have been accustomed to associate with or to ascribe to different peoples. Within Europe itself, people think they find differentiation among those of Romanic or Latin and Germanic or Teutonic origin (the word "origin" is loosely employed—it means only an ethno-linguistic atmosphere or milieu). The Greek and the Roman temperaments have also been differentiated. As contrasted with the Germanic or Teutonic English, the Celtic Welsh and Gaels are believed to possess a certain mystic and poetic quality in their temperament and attitude which is absent in the former. Advocates of Pan-Slavism made attempts to formulate what they thought was the salient character of the Slav mind, as contrasted with that of the German and the Latin. Similarly, Semites are contrasted with Indo-Europeans or Aryans, and the yellow Mongoloids and the black Negroids are sought to be differentiated in their racial attitude and their spiritual make-up from the Caucasoid or white race.

Doubtless, a great deal of the above sort of differentiation is subjective, when either a particular people as a whole or some of its historians and thought-leaders seek to formulate them. But nevertheless, it would be quite easy to see that the temperaments of a large mass of people placed in the atmosphere of a particular type of economic, social, political and cultural life would take a definite shape, even if its ultimate orientation is towards the same and unique World's Desire. As has been said before, it is always the question of emphasis. Different kinds of stress or emphasis on different kinds of approach are at the basis of the various racial or national attitudes.

A study of Greek literature, Greek history, Greek art—of ancient Greek culture in general, has persuaded scholars to formulate what has been called *Hellenism*. This Hellenism is generally accepted as an attitude to life and the world which is characterised by the following points mentioned below. This was the attitude which was built up by the ancient Greeks in the great centuries of their historic culture—from the 7th to the 3rd century before Christ. It consisted, in the first instance, of an intellectual approach to the world. By ordinary human intelligence we should try to understand things ; and although imagination and the mystic vein are not entirely eschewed, the attitude of man to the things as well as problems of life should be guided by intelligence and reason and not by blind faith and prejudice. Hellenism is nothing if it is not an apotheosis of Reason. Along with it goes a sense of proportion and harmony, and the doctrine of the *via media* : “ Nothing too much ”—no excess of vapid emotionalism or unreasoning scepticism. There is in Hellenism, again, plenty of room for the play of the imagination ; and the highest achievement of the Hellenic mind in the philosophy of Socrates and Plato does not shut the door to the presence of an Ultimate Reality which is both immanent and transcendent, and does not taboo the mystic perception. Further, one of the most noteworthy traits of Hellenism is its love of beauty. In Hellenism we for the first time are made aware of the inherent beauty of things as they are in nature ; and the Greek was particularly entranced by the beauty of the human body—he was not unique in this—there were other peoples also who similarly revelled in the beauty of the human form and preserved it for eternity in plastic mould. But Greek interest in the beauty of the human form, in the best period of Greek Art in the 5th and early 4th centuries B.C., was suffused by an idealism, an aspiration and an approach to the Ultimate Truth which was unique of its kind. Even such a thing as beauty of the folds of drapery appears to have revealed itself to the Greeks more than to any other people. The Hellenic spirit also is a believer in the freedom of man and in the democratic way of life. Although the Greeks as a people could not rise above the ancient system of slavery, outside of the limits of this slavery which they accepted in a matter of fact spirit, the Greek mind was all for the perfect freedom of the individual citizen. So the notes of intellectualism, of moderation, of beauty, of harmony and of democracy are indicative of the Hellenic spirit.

But these were not the monopoly of the ancient Greeks alone. Everywhere all other cultured peoples set store on these ideals. They belong to the whole of mankind. But since we find that the Greeks as a people laid much greater stress on the above ideals as being

among the things of the highest importance in life, we are justified in labelling them as Hellenic or Greek ideals, that is, as *Hellenism*. The note of freedom is universal, as much as is the note of beauty ; but there may be many people who would be not very much interested in either, and they would think of other things first. We say that a man belongs to Ancient Greece in so much as he possesses in a large measure an allegiance to the above ideals, but nevertheless, he remains essentially human and modern, and in addition to his preference for these ideals he may have some other values which would be either his heritage from his own race, or gifts accepted by him from some other race.

In India we have had, ever since the development of the Indian people as a distinct entity among the nations of the world, a peculiarly Indian *Weltanschauung* which we may call *Indianism*. This we may call *Bhāratīyatā* or *Bhārata-Dharma* in Sanskrit, as transcending and embracing the highest and most universal ideas in Brahmanism, Jainism, Buddhism, Dravidianism, and other expressions of Indian Culture. The Indian Man is a composite individual, like man in most parts of the world. Tennyson spoke with reference to the English people that they are Saxon and Norman and Dane—all mingled together, and with a dash of the Celt behind it all. So the Indian Man of the present day is a blend of various races with their respective languages and cultures who came into India from the outside in different groups and at different times from time immemorial, and settled here. This matter need not be dilated at length in the present context. In the formation of the Indian Man, four main ethno-linguistic elements—"language-culture groups"—have joined hands—the Austric or the Niṣāda, the Dravidian, the Mongoloid or Kirāta, and the Aryan. They came into India from different parts of the world and at different periods of history, and they settled down to live side by side. They were at first quite conscious of differences in their physical, mental and spiritual make-up. But Mankind is One ; and after they settled down here in India, miscegenation became inevitable. This miscegenation is a thing which the Indian mind with its notions of caste would not very easily be able to grasp at the present day. But through *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages, this thing became well-established, and ultimately we have the common masses of the Indian people evolved, through an intimate or superficial intermingling of these four elements. Over and above these four, it is not unlikely that there was one or two more, but their separate existence is no longer preserved, and they have now more or less fallen within the region of speculation, if they existed at all. A mixed people developed a mixed culture, and fortunately for India, quite early, when this

mixing was taking place, and was perhaps at its intensest—some-time during the late Vedic period (as it has been suggested by Dr. F. W. Thomas), there was a spirit of accommodation, as none of these races could claim pre-eminence over the others, except in the case of the Aryans, who came in as a white *Herrenvolk*, with a superior organisation, an uncommon adaptiveness, a rare imaginative-ness, and a most expressive and poetic language. But even these Ar-ryans were captivated by the superior material culture of the pre-Aryans, and the spirit of aloofness among the diverse races gradually melted away. Of course, when the rigidity of caste gradually began to take hold of the Indian people, particularly in post-Muslim times, a spirit of exclusiveness developed, but that was much later. But it was absent in the earliest phase when we see the Hindu people in travail,—a new people, the Indian people, coming into existence from this racial miscegenation.

It was this spirit of accommodation which was inevitable when four distinct peoples came together that gave the tone to Indianism through the three millennia of its existence. In the domain of practical religion, Indianism found its expression in the various Indian religions and cults and philosophies, beginning from the days of Vedic religion, e.g. Vedism, Brahmanism, Jainism, Buddhism, a number of ancient Indian philosophical schools and religious cults which are no longer in existence, Puranism, Tantrism, later forms of Mahayana Buddhism in India, Nathism and other medi-aeval cults, the South Indian schools of Saiva and Vaiṣṇava mysticism of the *Nayanars* and the *Azhvars*, mediaeval *Bhakti*, Akbar's *Din-i-Ilāhī*, *Bhakti* and other mediaeval Hindu schools of North India and the Deccan, Indian Sufism, the Sikh religion, and Brahminism, the Arya Samaj cult, etc. Each of these has its eternal principles which have been joined up with ephemeral things—these form an unavoidable combination of the *Nitya-Dharma* with the *Laukika-Dharma*, as mentioned above. But Indianism includes the basic ideology which embraces all and which forms the ideal of all.

This term was used by Dr. F. W. Thomas in his remarkable little book "*The Expansion of Indianism*," which was published in 1942 from the University of Calcutta, and this Indianism with him is a form of the Vedanta. The "Perennial Philosophy" which is but Aldous Huxley's English translation of the Sanskrit expression *Sanātana Dharma*, also can be looked upon as almost the same as this Indianism. Although they may not have used the word, Indianism, called by other names, has been sought to be defined or described by various scholars. With most students of Indian philo-sophy, particularly among the Hindus, Indianism is the philosophy

of the Upaniṣads *cum* the ideals of the great epics—the *Mahā-bhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in their universal aspect and application. With Muslim thinkers it would be something like *Tasawwuf* or Sufism.

The present writer has sought to give his own reading of Indianism as indicating the Indian attitude to life, both seen and unseen, and as an expression of Indian culture.

It is quite likely that his formulation of Indianism will differ from that of other persons. But in fundamental matters he ventures to think that his views would find acceptance with all who are familiar with the trends of our national history and of the national mind. The basic character of Indian culture as a composite lies in what may be called "Unity in Diversity". This *Unity in Diversity* that is so characteristic of Indian civilisation presents as its own consequence a *Harmony of Contrasts*, and this Harmony is based more or less on the following matters :

(1) A Sense of Unity of all life as the expression of an Unseen Reality which is both immanent and transcendent—which is, according to the old Tamil expression, *kaṣa-v-ul* ;

(2) a Desire for a Synthesis to combine apparently disconnected fragments in life as well as experience in their proper place in an Essential Unity ;

(3) a Belief in, or an Attempt to establish by Reason, the Ultimate Reality which has been mentioned above ; and there is also the general belief that man in his essential being, which continues after death, is part of this Reality. It is also a common idea that the proper aim of man's life should be to make this Ultimate Reality direct and shape his life, and thus the Reality postulated can become a true Reality. This realisation can be attained through self-culture, or through knowledge, or through intuitive experience, or again through the grace of this Reality itself, that is, in common parlance, through the grace of God ;

(4) a rigid Adherence to the Intellect while seeking to harmonise it in the higher plane with Emotion, with Intuition, and with Mystic Perception ;

(5) a Recognition of the Sufferings and Sorrows of Life, with an attempt to go to the root causes of these sufferings and sorrows with a view to remove them ;

(6) a Feeling for the Sacredness of All Life ; and

(7) a great Sympathy and Tolerance for all other peoples' ideas and points of view.

Indianism does not pin itself down to the experiences and opinions of any single individual—incarnation or prophet—although

it reverences them all. It recognises that the Ultimate Reality manifests itself in various ways, and the Supreme Truth is approachable by diverse paths ; and while allowing individual beliefs and faiths, it does not insist upon or inculcate a particular creed or dogma which must be accepted by all and sundry. It believes that man can attain to the *Summum Bonum* in life through the best that is available in his environment followed in a spirit of sincerity and charity.

The higher thought of Hinduism in its three forms of Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism ; the later expressions of Indian religion like Sikhism and various sectarian faiths ; the Sufi form of Islam as it developed on the soil of India after taking shape in Mesopotamia, Iran and in Central Asia ; besides, Zoroastrianism as it was established in India, and Indian Christianity in some of its aspects—these are the channels through which Indianism has flowed through the centuries. It embodies one of the highest expressions of the human spirit through the medium of Sanskrit and other Aryan languages of India, through Tamil and other Dravidian speeches, and through Persian and English. Just as the special vehicle of Hellenism was the Ancient Greek Language, so it was Sanskrit in the case of Indianism. And this Sanskrit, although it is in its origin an Aryan or Indo-European language, developed on the soil of India, and the non-Aryan peoples had a share in this development—in determining its tendencies and its history, in helping to change its phonetics and its grammar and to modify and add to its vocabulary (enabling this vocabulary to represent adequately the spirit of Indianism).

All the above ideas or attitudes which have been ascribed to Indianism may not find universal support in the theologies of specialised faiths, but there is a general agreement. I am not putting down here the idea of *transmigration* and *Samsāra* as one of the vital things in Indianism. Of course, some doctrines like *Karma* or man's action determining his fate and *Samsāra* or transmigration are almost universally believed in by Hindus, including Brahminists, Buddhists and Jains and others. But as Indianism does not entertain any dogma, it is not required of everybody to subscribe to these as a compulsory creed. Indianism inculcates a belief in a Supreme Existence, the nature of which is open to speculation. It may be a "personal god, (like the Greek Zeus), or the Law of Nature, or the Reason of Man", as Euripides, the Greek tragic poet suggested (*Zeus, eit' Anagkē Phuseos, eite Nous Brotōn*). The utmost that the Indian spirit would postulate about this Supreme Existence is that it is *Sal*, it exists ; and it is also *Cit*, that is, knowledge—there is order and mathematics behind the universe, which would suggest a conscious plan and purpose in the Unseen Reality—"an argument from design" ; and, finally,

it is *Ananda* or bliss, and this is the result of subjective consciousness on the part of the human being, which cannot be proved. It can be, again, some other type of principle which is behind the universe, and the ideas of the Buddhists and Jainas differ from those of the Brahmanas in this. Nature or the universe is an entity which consists of Matter and Energy (which is but a transformation of Matter). There is a Cosmic Law working behind this physical universe, and that is known as *Ṛta*; and the Ideal of Righteousness which holds this world together and makes relations between men conform to the Cosmic Law of *Ṛta*, is called *Dharma*, which permeates the essential nature of everything. These and similar ideas are parts of Indianism on the speculative side. On the practical side, we have the duties of mankind determined according to *Dharma*, by which man's normal existence as a social being is retained. Thus we have *Ahiṃsā* or non-injury to all life—within reasonable limits as the practical-minded Brahman will add; and *Karuṇā* or loving-kindness; as well as *Maitrī* or active good-doing, which are among the highest duties—the highest *Dharmas* of man. Socially, man has a three-fold debt (*Ṛṇa*) to pay: *Deva-ṛṇa* or debt to God, by good work and worship and service, *Pitṛ-ṛṇa* or debt to the forefathers—by marrying and perpetuating the line; and *Ṛṣiṛṇa* or debt to the sages—by study and dissemination of knowledge, and conservation as well as addition to it. Detachment from the world and from the concerns and affairs of the world and a spirit of renunciation (*Vairāgya* and *Tyāga*) are looked upon as inevitable corollaries to an all-absorbing desire for attaining to the Ultimate Reality, which is Freedom or Salvation (*Mukti* or *Mokṣa*) for man from the bondages of life, from all sorrows and sufferings. *Dharma* or the good or virtuous life, *Artha* and *Kāma* or the good things of life and joy and happiness acquired through *Dharma*, and *Mokṣa* or liberation from the bondage of life—this is the four-fold aim in the life of man.

The above in brief are the salient features of the Indian attitude to the world of the Seen and the Unseen—and this attitude represents the basic culture of India. It has been sought to be given expression to by the sayings and writings of the *Ṛṣis*, the saints and sages of the ancient India, of the philosophers, of the poets, of the devotees (*Nayanārs* and *Azhvārs*, *Siddhas* and *Bhaktas*)—and the mystics (*Sants*, *Yogis*, *Samnyāsīs*, *Sādhus*, *Fakirs* and *Qalandars*) of India through the ages. The entire trend of Indian literature has been to set forth the various aspects of this Indianism, as can be easily surmised.

The changing scene in the economic and political life of India, and social changes which are naturally coming in through evolution

(or are being brought in by revolutionary legislation which is forcing the pace), might ultimately affect the Indianism—the Indian *Wellanschauung* in various ways. But it is also expected that the modern spirit will find many things in Indianism to be of supreme value for the whole of Humanity, and will not let them pass away.

There are other national attitudes expressive of national cultures, and sometimes these have become broadened themselves, or have retained on the dogmatic plane their original rather narrow character ; and have even in spite of this stamped their impress on other peoples through their very spirit of intransigence and lack of compromise. Side by side with Hellenism and Indianism, we may mention the spirit of China—the national attitude of the ancient and mediaeval Chinese people which can be described as *Sinism*. This *Sinism* has apparently laid a particular stress on social and domestic virtues ; and although there is no lack of a deep and a very all-embracing mysticism in the Chinese spirit, which is comparable to that of Ancient India and Greece, the Chinese temperament is essentially practical. The great postulate of the Divinity is tacitly accepted by *Sinism* in its most characteristic form, viz., the philosophy of Confucius, but it is not given that tremendous importance which we find in Indianism, and, as we shall see later, in *Hebraism*. The philosophy of Lao-tzu is comparable to that of the ancient Sanskrit Upanishads, and herein we have a most remarkable formulation of the concept of an Ultimate Reality, which is unmanifest and absolute in its original nature, as well as manifested in the world and life. But in the history of its later development, the purer atmosphere of Lao-tzu's Taoism was made heavy by the intrusion of magic, and of a desire to perpetuate this life with all its material advantages. The Confucian attitude, on the other hand, which mainly concerns itself with the practical aim of producing good men and women who would be good citizens, sought to keep to the dry light of a reasoned existence, without landing itself into morass of blind faith and unmeaning ritualistic excess. The Chinese mind also showed a great Humanism, a sense of feeling for man as man, and this is very characteristically expressed by the Chinese proverbial phrases "Ten Thousand Countries, Same Feelings; Under Heaven, One Family."

This Chinese attitude towards mankind as a whole is comparable to that of the Ancient Greeks. The Ancient Greeks were interested in man for the very simple reason that, we are all men, and a man should naturally have a curiosity and a fellow-feeling about his brother men, whether they were civilised Greeks or uncivilised non-Greeks or barbarians. The Greeks invented a term for

this spirit of interest in man—*Anthrōpotēs*, and this has been translated into Latin as *Humanitas* or Humanity, and we have rendered it into our present-day Indian languages by the Sanskrit creation, *Mānavikatā*. This is an appreciation of man as man, with all his good and bad qualities, his strengths and weaknesses, with both the angel and the brute in him. The Greek attitude was something direct, and so was the Chinese attitude. This interest in man and curiosity about him has been inherited by the modern world; from the Ancient Greeks, particularly from the days of the Renaissance, and this forms one of the greatest characteristics or bases of a present-day world civilisation. The ancient Indian attitude towards man was also one of both curiosity and reverence. We may recall the passage from the *Mahābhārata* which runs thus :

*Guhyam brahma tad idam bho bravimi—
Na mānuṣāt śreṣṭhataraṃ hi kiñcit :*

‘This is the secret doctrine which I speak unto you—there is nothing higher than man.’

This spirit of reverence which the Ancient Indian man felt for his brother man was, however, not direct, as in the case of the Ancient Greeks or the Ancient Chinese—it was, one might say, *via* the Supreme Spirit. I am interested in man, because both in him and in me are to be found the Supreme Spirit—we are fragments of the same Divinity, and therefore I cannot take myself away and cut myself off from my brother man through isolation or through hatred : this is the old Indian attitude. This is paralleled by the feeling expressed by the English Christian mystic when he said that “No man is an island unto himself”—all men in fact are parts of a great continent, so that if any part of Humanity—any single individual—is affected, others also participate in it. The bell does not toll for the dead man alone, but it tolls also for the living as well, because they are inextricably linked with each other, the living and the dead, as parts of the same Common Humanity.

This attitude towards a Common Humanity is something which mankind needs most of all at the present day, and if we could have it, then there would be a real Moral Rearmament and a real Spiritual Revolution which would bring about political and economic revolution also. Exploitation of man by man, and the gratuitous insult which men of colour are perpetually suffering from their white brother men who have just the accident of birth in a white community, would in that case cease. This can only be the result of a rational attitude towards man, and if it is extended to the international plane, then there would be an end to many of the sins and sufferings of Humanity.

We can make special reference to *Hebraism* as one of the great leavens of Modern Western Civilisation. This Hebraism is acting through Christianity in the civilisation of present-day Europe and America, *although* some of the intransigence and dogmatic aspects of it have been very much toned down by the spirit of the Ancient Greeks—by Hellenism—with which it had to come in contact and compromise. Hebraism in itself is based on a dual conception of the universe in which two forces are fighting with each other, those of good and of evil. Man is to take his side consciously and willingly with the good, and fight the evil. The evil is Satan or the Devil, and the good is God. This conception is believed to have originated first among the Ancient Iranians, and then it was taken over by the Jews during their long sojourn as captives brought to Babylon by the Persian conquerors. In any case, it must be said that the Jews developed along with this dualistic conception of the spiritual world, a vivid sense of Sin. Man is a sinful being from his very nature. His desire to *know* was a questionable trait in him—he ought to have submitted his thought and will absolutely to what he considered to be the dictates of the Divinity. The sense of a single Godhead—an individual and personal God who does not tolerate any rival in the devotions and affections of men, was also an idea which developed in the ancient Hebrew mind. The quintessence of Hebraism is therefore this sense of the Uniqueness of God, and a sense of Sin. Man removes himself away from God if he does evil in the sight of God his Lord, and it is by contrition and atonement that he can be won back into the fold of God. This Hebraism, therefore, became a very powerful force, with a very determinate conception of the Godhead and its aims and intentions which the Hebraic man (and his spiritual disciples) felt that they alone knew. Christianity caught its Hebraistic attitude from the Old Testament, but Christianity developed in a European, Greco-Roman atmosphere, and in certain aspects it was a transformation of the ancient Mediterranean world with a basic Hebraistic element, and, later on, strong doses of Celtism, Germanism and Slavism, as the case might be. Islamism also is basically related to the Jewish faith, and it retains, owing to the personality of its founder, the Prophet of Arabia, its general Semitic and specific Arabic character. The Arabistic base of Islam is found in its fundamental book, the *Qurān*. Muhammad's was a very strong personality, and his own conception of right and wrong and his own reaction to the cultural *milieu* of his country and times became *inextricably mixed* with Islam as it is formulated in the *Qurān* and in the *Hadith*, the former embodying what Muslims believe to be the direct revelation of God through his Prophet, Muhammad, and the latter gives the views and opinions and the behaviour and practice of the Prophet himself. Islam inculcated

above all things a most exclusive and ultra-rigorous faith in the Unity of the Godhead, in the first instance ; and secondly it insists upon Muhammad being the seal as well as exemplar of prophets and the culmination of prophet-hood. It proposes quite a very human and a reasonable code of morals, and enjoins the equality of men in the sight of God, although, like Hebraism and Hellenism, it permits slavery. Theoretically at least, there is no chosen or specially favoured people of God, although the Arabs for many centuries, because of their political predominance and because of the unique character of their language as the vehicle of the *Qurān* enjoyed a special pre-eminence, and the Muslim man is also believed to have special privileges in the realm of God. Islam followed at first the narrow path of orthodoxy, but coming in contact with other peoples, particularly the Iranians and the Greeks, its attitude underwent certain alterations, though outside of the very orthodox circles. There was its new development in the form of *Taşawwuf* or Sufism, in which the narrow path of orthodoxy was broadened and was sought to be harmonised with the World's Desire as expressed in other attitudes. Islam seeks to transcend national cultures and national attitudes, as much as theological Christianity in all its various schools does. But the national mind and spirit and the circumstances which give rise to national cultures cannot be suppressed, and therefore just as we have a Russian Christianity which is quite different from the Abyssinian, and an Italian Christianity which is distinct from some of the American Protestant developments of the same faith, all these differing from each other in their attitudes both towards God and Man, so we have different types of Islam, particularly on its popular (if not in its theological) aspects, and the Islam of a Maghrabi Berber nomad tribesmen is bound to differ from the Islam of a Javanese cultivator, and these in their turn would differ from the popular Islam such as we find among the Muslims of Bengal and among those of West Africa.

There are certain peoples who have so long been denied a place in the scheme of things in the political and cultural set up of mankind. Nevertheless, they have their own racial or national attitudes and cultures. Thus, for example, we can speak of the backward peoples of America, Oceania and Africa, as well as of some other parts of the world. We may mention the case of the Africans—the black peoples dwelling to the south of the Sahara. They consist of two main groups—the true or Sudanic Negroes of West Africa, and the Bantu Negroes of Central and South Africa. They have never had any occasion to obtain a hearing from other peoples. But with the passing of the first half of the 20th century, a great change is taking place among these peoples who appeared to have been disinherited or outcast children in the human family.

In West Africa particularly we find an upsurge of nationalism which is bringing about a new attitude of sympathetic enquiry and study into the culture and philosophical attitude of the West African peoples. Although under a cloud (from which the West Africans are very largely free, namely, the cloud of exploitation and persistent humiliation by white peoples settled among them) which is the lot of the black peoples of Central and South Africa, there too, as much as in West Africa, we find a new spirit waking up and struggling against the inhumanities of the policy of maintaining, by main force, white superiority. The policy of *Apartheid* will have to fail in the long run. Sympathetic students of African ways of life and African ideals have come out from among both scientific anthropological workers and true servants of Christ who have in them as a matter of primary faith a sense of the brotherhood as well as unity of all the races of man. Gradually we are coming to the position of appreciating the attitude of the Black Man in Africa towards the world, towards both God and Man. It is yet too early to formulate an *Africanism*; and whatever is formulated must also be accepted by the majority of Africans, as really representing what they have been thinking and acting upon, although they did not have occasion to make an introspection and to discover the basis of their Africanism for themselves. But as a tentative suggestion towards the establishment of an Africanism, as a formulated set of ideas characterising African culture, particularly of West Africa, we may state the following :

(1) Africanism is, in the first instance, motivated by a sense of *Dynamism*, of a great Spiritual Force or Reality existing behind all things in this world of sentient beings as well as inanimate objects, and moving them within their proper spheres. This faith has been wrongly described as *Fetishism*, but it is of the same line of thinking as the conception of an immanent and Transcendent Divinity which we find in Indianism and which we find also among most other peoples : we have it in the Indian conception of the Supreme Brahman, in the Ancient Chinese conception of the *Tao*, and in the Polynesian conception of the *Mana* or inherent spirit or force behind all things, etc. This sense of Dynamism enables the African to have a feeling of unity with Nature, and there is no superiority complex for man as the special favourite of God or Nature, although accepting the position that man possesses a higher nature in himself—what may be called his soul, in addition to his material personality.

(2) In Africanism Man is not an isolated phenomenon, he is closely connected with the Unseen World also. The African man manifests in his spiritual make-up a certain intense hankering for

association with the Force or Reality behind life. In case where he has accepted Christianity or Islam, this shows itself in a very characteristic spiritual aspiration, a "spiritual hunger", as it has been said, which one finds in American Negro spirituals and in the very deep and simple piety that often characterises the African Muslim.

(3) Africanism, as it is expressed in its social attitude, stands for Collectivism : a human individual has his own freedom, but he is subservient to the bigger unit of the family or clan or tribe or state. This subordination of Individualism to Collectivism is found in all wider issues affecting the community as a whole. For example, collective ownership of the land, and marriage are as much an affair of the tribe as of the individuals.

(4) The fourth thing in Africanism is a Sense of Rhythm in Life which is also suffused by a true *joie de vivre*—a joy of living. This Sense of Rhythm finds its expression in music and dance and in a variety of artistic expressions, with a true sense of colour and line. In social life, we find the African to be simple and trustful and expansive—eager to form contacts and friendships and not seeking to enter within his own shell in a spirit of superior aloofness.

Other points in Africanism, particularly with reference to both its spiritual and social attitudes, could be made up ; but the above appear to be on the surface some of the salient characteristics of Africanism.

We have thus in the various types of national cultures as expressed by national attitudes to the world and being a sum-total of man's ideals and aspirations in this way, namely, to realise himself in this mundane existence. It would be seen that the goal is felt to be the same. As the Sufi mystic poet has said in Persian—' the dream is but one dream, but its expressions have been different ' (*khvāb yak khvāb ast, mukhtalif ta'birihā*). We are all trying to bring about the Unity of Humanity not only in theory but also in practice. This we can achieve only by mutual understanding, and understanding with sympathy and real knowledge. The Asiatic Society in its various branches, since its inception, has been a potent instrument in bringing about understanding among the nations, particularly among those of the East and the West. The Society has been a great gift of Modern Europe to Asia, and it has enabled us, peoples of Asia, to know more about ourselves than we otherwise would have been able to do, if it were not for the Curiosity of Man—of the European Man—acting as the magic wand bringing back to life the Sleeping Princess. The Illustrious founder of the Asiatic Society, Sir William Jones, in 1784 declared that both Nature and Man were within the purview of the Society's investigations : "what-

ever is found in the one, and whatever is performed by the other." We have thus both the scientific and the humanistic side of knowledge, particularly within the geographical bounds of Asia, which is the purpose of the Society to study and unravel; and may the ideals of the Society lead to a better understanding of the various national Cultures and National Attitudes which have come into being among the Sons of Men, and thus lead to abiding Peace and Goodwill on Earth based on our Common Humanity, fortified by a sense of Mutual Appreciation.

TERRACOTTA FIGURINES AND TOYS FROM MAHESHWAR EXCAVATION

By
S. B. DEO

Several terracotta figurines and toys were found in the excavations at Maheshwar, some sixty miles from Indore, in Madhya Bharat. These excavations were conducted in 1952-53 jointly by the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, and the M. S. University of Baroda. The Universities of Poona and Bombay also gave considerable financial help.

The aims, objects and the resultant cultural sequence of this excavation have already been published twice or thrice before.¹ In order, however, to make the sequence more clear in relation to the figurines and toys described below, a short table giving details of the finds in various layers and their probable dating is given below :

Period	Trench	Layers	Finds	Probable dating
I	III and III Extension	III — 14 III Extension — 10	Scrapers and Discoid cores.	Proto-Neolithic
G A P				
II	III and III Extension	III — 9 to 13 III Extension — 5 to 9	Microliths, painted pottery, Mace heads, Ochre washed ware, and Red-and-Black pottery.	Proto-Historic
IIIA	II, III, III Extension	II — 13 to 19 III — 2 to 8 III Extension — 2 to 4	Painted Pottery, microliths, Red - and - Black pottery, early coins, Northern Black Polished pottery.	Early Historic c. 400 — 100 B.C.
IIIB	II	II — 6 to 12	Early coins, NBP, less Red-and-Black ware.	Early Historic c. 100 B.C. — 200 A.D.
IIIC	I, II	I — 2 to 6 II — 2 to 7	Red Polished ware, Brick structures, coins.	Early Historic c. 200 — 500 A.D.
G A P				
IV	I, II, III, III Extension	I—1; II—1, 2; III—1; III Extension —1.	Glazed Muslim ware, Late structures.	Muslim — Ma- ratha.

It may be noted that all the six figurines — male and females — as also eight somewhat intact toys were found from layers of period IIIC. Fragmentary legs of toy-animals were six, of which one was found in the layer of Period IIIB, three from that of Period IIIC, and two from those of Period IV. Thus, of a total of twenty, seventeen belonged to Period IIIC, one to IIIB, and two to Period IV. This clearly shows that toys and figurines were in greater use at Maheshwar between c.200-500 A.D.

Terracotta Figurines

A group of six terracotta figurines was found in the layers of Period IIIC. Unfortunately, all of these are fragmentary and headless.

Of these six, three are distinctly mother-and-child figurines, one a male, and two, though fragmentary, are most probably female figurines belonging to the mother-and-child group.

It may be noted that all these figurines are cast from a single shallow mould.

a) Mother and child :

All the three specimens were found in layers of Period IIIC. These depict a child supported by the bent left arm of the woman.

Pl. I, No. 2 A headless figurine of a standing mother-and-child, cast from a single mould; the mother's right arm hanging down and the other bent at right angles and supporting the child; the child's left arm rests on its left thigh; the child's hair appear to have been arranged in trefoil fashion; the mother has so worn the sari, that a large part of it hangs down in a loop, almost touching her left ankle. In such a fashion, the right shoulder seems to have remained bare.

Brownish-red in front, blackish at the back; no slip or wash of anything.

152 mm. in height.

No. 723, MHSR II, Tr. II, C(5), Period IIIC.

Pl. I, No. 1 Similar to above, with the difference that the child touches the mother's breast with its left hand; the child's hair seem to have been arranged in a knot over its head; it seems that the mother wears a necklace of which some traces are visible; style of wearing sari similar to that of No. 2 above; coarse, brown-red colour.

71 mm. in height.

No. 632, MHSR II, Tr. II, D(5), Period IIIC.

Another specimen, No. 646 [MHSR II, Tr. II, D(5), Period IIIC] is similar to No. 632 above.

b) Fragmentary :

Pl. I, No. 5. Fragment of a female figurine with the right palm and legs from the thighs intact ; cast from a single mould ; the feet indicated by a vertical shallow groove ; original fabric coarse red-brown ; traces of a yellow wash all over the body ; probably similar to the mother-and-child group, but having the lower portion of the body including the legs, shown in a more tapering fashion.
67 mm. in height.

No. 787, MHSR II, Tr. II. B(4), Period IIIC.

Pl. I, No. 4 Fragment of probably a female figurine cast from a single mould with only the halo and trefoil coiffure intact ; brown-red colour, core containing particles of silica ; the trefoil coiffure indicates that it may have affinity with the mother-and-child figurine No. 723 above, in which the child's coiffure is similar.
30 mm. in height.

No. 701, MHSR II, Tr. II, D(5), Period IIIC.

c) Male Figurine :

Pl. I, No. 3 Torso of a light brown-grey male figurine cast from a single mould showing well proportioned chest and abdomen and somewhat disproportionate arms hanging down ; the figure is wearing a tight-fitting loin-cloth ; may be a gymnast ; traces of a yellowish-white slip.
47 mm. in height.

No. 825, MHSR II, Tr. II, C(5), Period IIIC.

Parallels from other sites :

On the mother-and-child type of figurines, GORDON^{1a} remarks, "It is interesting to note also that this more genre type of sculpture, free from iconography, depicting human women carrying or playing with their children, does not appear until the Kushan period ; this is emphasised by the Muttra terracottas themselves." This remark holds good so far as the early limit of the period IIIC (c.200-500 A.D.) in which the Maheshwar terracottas are found, is concerned.

Looking at the specimens, however, from their artistic delineation, they more or less conform to the standards of the Gupta art as several similar parallels from sites like Ahichchatra and Kausambi

TERRACOTTA OBJECTS FROM MAHESHWAR



No. 1



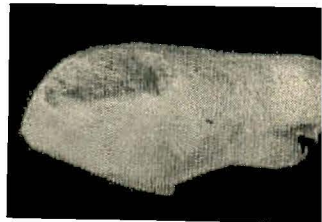
No. 4



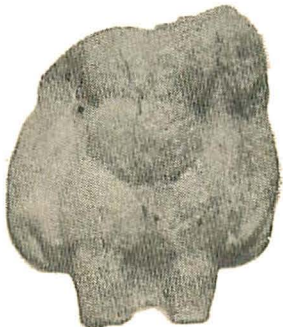
No. 2



No. 5



No. 6



No. 3



No. 7

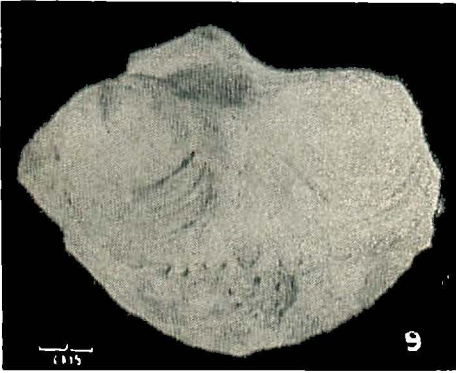
TERRACOTTA OBJECTS FROM MAHESHWAR



No. 8



No. 11



No. 9



No. 12



No. 10



No. 13

are reported. Generally, "they are cast from single moulds with moderate relief ; parts of the body, such as the suspended arms and legs, are seldom rendered free".² All the mother-and-child figurines under study conform to this characteristic element inasmuch as they are rigid and one whole.

Unfortunately as most of the figurines are headless, we have to depend solely on figurine No. 701 (Pl. I, 4) for providing some evidence to "an astounding variety of fashions and fancies, patterns in coiffure and drapery"³ so typical of the Gupta figurines. The trefoil coiffure of this figure has contemporary parallels from Ahichchatra⁴ and Kausambi.⁵ It may be noted that this type of coiffure is to be found in the case of the child also in Figurine No. 723.

In the case of Figurine No. 632, similar parallels can be had from Ahichchatra⁶ and Kausambi.⁷ The Ahichchatra specimen comes from Stratum III attributed to c.350-750 A.D. and resembles the Maheshwar figurine more than that from Kausambi which is not only a bit later in period but differs from the same inasmuch as the woman holds a ball or rattle in her hand and thus is a 'Kṛidādhātrī.' The mother-and-child figurines from Maheshwar are all of the type which is designated as 'Āṅkadhātrī' by AGRAWAL.⁸

Figurines of the mother-and-child type but of a different posture have been found elsewhere in India. A specimen belonging to the 1st century A.D. and coming from Skarah Dheri⁹ (now Lahore Museum), depicts Hārīti, (Buddhist) in a standing posture with her left hand supporting the sucking child. It has its drapery closely clinging to the body, with small folds running parallel. Our figurines are definitely later in type and style. A somewhat contemporary specimen is reported from Dhank in Kathiawar (c.4th century A.D.) which depicts "a woman with a child on her left knee, and her hand pointing up. She has heavy ear-rings, and apparently a frontal ornament in the parting of her hair, which is wavy and clustering." SANKALIA¹⁰ identifies it with the Jaina goddess Ambā or Ambikā. None of our mother-and-child figurines is a seated figurine like the Jaina Ambā from Dhank. Moreover, it is doubtful whether our figurines have any sectarian affinity.

In the delineation of the female form, the Maheshwar figurines are pieces of good workmanship as they depict them in conformity with the standards of feminine beauty eulogised by classical Sanskrit poets.¹¹ In this respect the male figurine (No. 825) is also remarkable for grace and curvilinear details of excellent physique.

Terracotta Toys

Several specimens of minor toys such as bulls, elephants, horses, ram and a bird were found. Of such fourteen specimens six were

fragmentary portions of legs of animals. Of the latter, one came from the layer of Period IIIB (c. 100 B.C.—200 A.D.) three from that of Period IIIC (c. 200—500 A.D.) and two from that of Period IV (Muslim-Maratha).

All the eight specimens described below belong to Period IIIC at Maheshwar :

Bulls :

Two specimens were found,

Pl. I, No. 7 A broken toy with only one leg intact and the three others broken, the head and the tail also broken—may be a bull or a horse ; black baked and the core containing siliceous matter.

No. 518, MHSR II, Tr. II, E(4), Period IIIC.

Pl. I, No. 11 Half fragment of a bull showing a prominent hump, a portion of one of the four legs and the mouth ; the horns are broken off ; crude workmanship.

No. 579, MHSR II, Tr. II, X(2), Period IIIC.

Ram :

Only one specimen was collected.

Pl. I, No. 10 A complete specimen of a ram with prominent twisted horns, the eyes indicated by fine incised circles on both sides below the ears, the nose by two close holes, the mouth by a sectional cut ; just above the nose is a hole possibly to pass a thread through for the convenience of children ; the colour of the body is black.

No. 651, MHSR II, Tr. II, D(5), Period IIIC.

Horses :

A pair of toy-horses was found.

Pl. I, No. 13 A specimen of a saddled horse (elephant ?) with all the four legs broken, the tail, the saddle, the reins, the ears and the mane gracefully depicted ; the upper portion of the saddle on the back of the horse broken — it might have contained the rider. (if an elephant, then the trunk probably, raised up, and sitting on its hind legs).

No. 691, MHSR II, Tr. II, C(5), Period IIIC.

Pl. I, No. 6 The fragmentary head of a horse with the ears and the body broken off ; the nostrils are indicated by a pair of holes, and the mouth by a cavity showing that the mouth

was open ; the whole mouth is covered by white colour and the reigns marked by lines in red colour.

No. 233, MHSR II, Pit No. 3, Sealed by (2) ; Period IIIC.

Bird :

A single specimen was found.

Pl. I, No. 12. Fragment of a high necked and beaked bird—possibly a duck with the body broken off ; the bird has no feet but is so fashioned that it has a flat round base in which a hole is made to pass a thread through ; the whole specimen was possibly hung to something or was held hanging with the help of thread by a child ; there are traces of white coating all over.

No. 730, MHSR II, Tr. II, C(5), Period IIIC.

Elephant :

Pl. I, No. 9 Fragment of the temples of an elephant painted white all over ; the ears are broken off ; the temples very prominent ; below these is a necklace and a pendent shown in relief with incised holes as decoration ; very crude in workmanship.

No. 730a, MHSR II, Tr. II, A(4), Period IIIC.

Sword :

Besides the animal toys described above, a fragmentary sword of terracotta was also found.

Pl. I, No. 8 Fragmentary sword with some part of the hilt and the blade intact, cast from a single mould.

No. 729, MHSR II, Tr. II, D(5), Period IIIC.

The concentration of the terracotta figurines and other toys—some of the latter having a hole to pass a thread through for either hanging the toy or pulling it as the children do—indicates the artistic tendencies of the people of Period IIIC at Maheshwar. This is further corroborated by the fact that 76% of the total number of beads there were also found in the layers of the same period.

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7. KALA, S.C., *op. cit.*, pl. LI, A, Fig. I.
8. AGRAWAL, V.S., *loc. cit.*
9. BACHHOFER, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Vol. II, pl. 150 (right) ; also Vol. I, p. 76.
10. SANKALIA, H.D., Early Jain Sculpture in Kathiawar, *JRAS.*, 1938, pp. 427-8, (also pl. III).
11. तन्वी श्यामा शिखरिदशना पक्कबिम्बाधरोष्ठी
मध्ये क्षामा चकितहरिणीप्रेक्षणा निम्ननाभिः ।
श्रोणीभारादलसगमना स्तोकनम्रा स्तनाभ्यां
या तत्र स्याद्युवतिविषये सृष्टिराद्येव धातुः ॥
— कालिदास, 'मेषदूत' (उत्तरमेघ, १९)

RĀMANĀRĀYAṆA *and his* GURUCANDRODAYA-KAUMUDI
By

G. V. DEVASTHALI

More than ten years ago I edited a small work called *Anumitinirūpaṇam* composed by Rāmanārāyaṇa and by way of introduction to that work gave all information about the author, his works, and the probable limits for his date as far as information was available to me then.¹ Only recently have I come across an interesting work named *Gurucandrodaya-kaumudī*² together with a *svopañña-likā* thereon both composed by Rāmanārāyaṇa who is beyond doubt identical with the author of the *Anumitinirūpaṇam* referred to above. This work contains several intriguing pieces of information, and in what follows I propose to deal with some of them, particularly with such as refer to the author himself and are useful in fixing up his date, works and erudition and also some of the views entertained by him.

More than half a dozen works of Rāmanārāyaṇa have been already mentioned. Thus we know for certain that he wrote commentaries on the *Pañcadaśī*, the *Vijñānanaukā* of Śaṅkarācārya, the *Bhagavad-gītā*, the *Rāsa-pañcādhyāyī* from the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. Annambhaṭṭa's *Tarkasaṅgraha* and Mahādeva's *Tattvāmusāna*. His *Anumitinirūpaṇam*, *Vanamālikīrti-chandomālā* (or simply *Chandomālā*) and *Kaṅṭhakoddhāra* also have been noticed.³ But there remain some other works of his which do not appear to have been noticed so far. Thus in stanzas 375 and 376 of his *Gurucandrodaya-kaumudī* (GCK) our author declares that he has discussed the point under consideration in his commentaries on the *Īśāvāsya* and the *Taittirīya Upaniṣads* and also on the *Rāmagītā* and elsewhere.⁴ And commenting on these stanzas he explains the expression *anyatra* (elsewhere) to mean, 'In such works as the short commentary on the *Vyāsasūtra* (i.e. *Brahmasūtra*) in keeping with the teaching of Nānaka.'⁵ This clearly shows that Rāmanārāyaṇa composed commentaries on at least two *Upaniṣads* and also the *Brahmasūtra* and the *Rāmagītā*, though his authorship of the *Nāmamāhātmyādī granthas*⁶ referred to by him in his commentary on GCK. 50 cannot be definitely proved.

Equally interesting are his references to the great *Ācāryas*. Thus Śaṅkarācārya he describes as an incarnation of god *Śiva* who, receiving his *saṁnyāsa-dīkṣā* from Govindācārya at the age of five, is said to have defeated the *Bauddhas* during his tours, thus establishing the *Vedic religion* and propounding *Brahmavidyā*.⁷ Rāmānujācārya is made out by him to be an incarnation of *Śeṣa* for the promulgation of the path of devotion.⁸ His reference to Vallabhācārya is still more interesting because quoting two stanzas from

his (i.e. Vallabhācārya's) commentary on the *Veda-stuti* our author avers in unequivocal terms that even Vallabhācārya held the world (*jagat*) to be false (*mithyā*)⁹. A similar interest attaches to the references to Viṭṭhaleśa (Vallabhācārya's son) and Kṛṣṇacaitanya. Nānaka according to our author is the Kalki incarnation of *Kṛṣṇa* or *Vāṣṇu* referred to in the *Purāṇas*. This view is objected to by some on the ground that *Viṭṭhaleśa* and *Kṛṣṇacaitanya* are well-known as being *Kṛṣṇāvatāra* while Nānaka is not known as such. But our author replies that the *Kalki avatāra* under discussion is described to occur among *kṣatriyas*, a circumstance which favours the *avatāratva* of Nānaka who was a *kṣatriya* rather than the two above-mentioned personages who both of them were *Brāhmaṇas*¹⁰.

At one place Rāmanārāyaṇa refers to four traditions of *Vedānta* along with one *sampradāya* which alone he declares to be *vedokta*¹¹. While explaining this stanza, he writes that one can't argue in favour of the *anāditva* (and hence *prāmāṇya*) of the four *sampradāyas* for three reasons: (i) *Parama Bhāgavatas* like *Ambariṣa*, *Yudhiṣṭhira*, and *Bhīṣma* did not recognize *Sampradāya-bheda*; (ii) *Brahmā*, *Rudra*, &c. are stated in the *purāṇas* to have promulgated wrong views; and (iii) it is impossible to reconcile the various views such as *viśiṣṭādvaita*, and *dvaita* propounded in these *sampradāyas*. They can't, therefore, be said to be the *vedokta sampradāya* which is but one.¹² It must, however, be observed that though our author thus finds fault with *sampradāyas* preaching *viśiṣṭādvaita* and such other views, he accedes to their utility in the propagation of devotion to God¹³. This would show how our author has tried to effect *samanvaya* among the various views before him. This attitude he has shown again while discussing the objection raised against the *Nānaka-mata* on the ground that its followers do not hold the marks such as *śaṅkha* and *cakra* on their body. In this connection he writes that these marks are only extraneous signs which do not really matter so long as one is devoted to *Vāṣṇu* at heart. Insistence on the holding of the marks outside on the body is, therefore, only futile and hence not observed by the followers of Nānaka.¹⁴

Similarly in his *GCK* as well as in the commentary thereon has Rāmanārāyaṇa referred to and sometimes even actually quoted from *Vidyāraṇya* and his *Pañcadaśī*¹⁵, and Śrīdharasvāmī's commentary¹⁶ on the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. He has also copiously quoted from the *Upaniṣads*¹⁷ (prose as well as metrical) every time fitting the passages into the metre of his text with suitable changes, *Purāṇas*¹⁸, and *Smṛtis*¹⁹, and has also shown his acquaintance with *Mīmāṃsā* by adducing its *nyāyas*²⁰. He has also shown his familiarity with the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* systems by referring to and defining

the ideas²¹ like *samavāya*, *saṃyoga*, *paramāṇu-saṃyogāt sṛṣṭiḥ*, and *aṇu-saṃyoga*, and discussing, defining and explaining elaborately the conditions of a valid *hetu* and also the various kinds of *hetvābhāsas*²². Besides all this he has also referred to works like *Guru-gītā*,²³ *Ātmabodhākhya prakaraṇa*,²⁴ *Aparokṣānubhūti*,²⁵ *Sammohana-tantra*²⁶, *Viṣṇu-tantra Pāñcarātrāgama*²⁷, and the *Sāṅḍilyasūtra*²⁸. From all these references it is clear beyond all doubt that Rāmanārāyaṇa was well-versed in *śruti*, *smṛti*, *purāṇa*, and various *darśanas* particularly the *Vedānta* and that he was a follower of the *Nānaka-mata* which according to him is as *vaidika* as any other *vaidika darśana*.

Turning now to his personal account, we find that he is the son of *Rājā Sucetarāma* and *Kṣamāi*; and that he has had three preceptors. From *Sadāsukha* he learnt the *śāstras*; *Rāmasimha* imparted to him *Brahmabodha*, and *Harinātha* was his *upadeśā* through his father³⁰. All these preceptors have been mentioned by our author in his *Anumitininirūpaṇam* but there we do not get the further particulars about them which we are given in the *GCK* and the commentary thereon. One further detail derived from this work is that our author was initiated (i.e. his *upanayana* ceremony was performed) by a *Brāhmaṇa* named *Bhavānīdāsa* who, the author claims, was none other than *Guru Nānaka* himself.³¹ While commenting on the stanza here, he writes: he (i.e. *Guru Nānaka*) made me a *dvija* through *saṃskāra*, *Sūdra* by birth as I was'. This, however, cannot be construed to mean that our author is describing himself as a *Sūdra* by birth. He has quoted here the famous line '*Janmanā jāyate sūdraḥ saṃskārād dvija ucyate*' which is too general in its application and can apply to all and sundry.³² On the other hand the title *rājā* prefixed to the name of his father and the fact that he describes his mother as *rajñī* in his commentary on *GCK* 477 may perhaps be taken to indicate that he was a *kṣatriya*, by caste.

It has been already observed above that Rāmanārāyaṇa was a follower of the *Nānaka-mata*. He has as such given us in the *GCK* the names of all the *gurus* of the Sikhs right from the founder *Nānaka* (who is with some etymological feats³³ identified as the *Kalki avatāra*, the tenth incarnation of Lord *Viṣṇu*) down to *Govindasimha*, who one and all are said to be so many different forms assumed by *Nānaka* himself. The names as given by our author are *Nānaka*, *Aṅgada*, *Amaradāsa*, *Rāmadāsa*, *Arjuna*, *Harigovinda*, *Harirāya*, *Harikṛṣṇa*, *Tyāgabahvādara* and *Govindasimha* respectively.³⁴ Our author has subjected all these names to etymological analysis to show that the names are significant. The explanation of the name *Govindasimha* is worth notice. It was

Nānaka himself who became *Govindasimha* which name signifies *Govinda* (i.e. *Viṣṇu*) called *simha* (a lion) owing to the fact that he destroyed the deer or beasts in the form of *mlecchas* who then had started causing religious harassment by breaking idols of the Hindus (or Sikhs).³⁵ We are further told that *Guru Govindasimha* it was who set in vogue the *simhaveṣa*³⁶ for the destruction of the *mlecchas* and for the protection of the vedic religion : and the *simhamūrga*³⁷ (which he is said to have initiated) is said to aim mainly at destruction of *mlecchas*, protection of cows and *Brāhmaṇas*, and *nāmakīrtanam*. Some information is also given of *Nānaka's* birth and a few details of his life which, however, appear to contain history mixed with legendary account.³⁸ Fanciful etymologies³⁹ are also utilised in proving his greatness.

Reference is also made to three main sects of the followers of *Nānaka* viz., *Udāsīna* which, the author declares is based on the word of Lord *Kṛṣṇa* ;⁴⁰ *Nirmala* and *Simha* in the absence of which last, it is declared, vedic religion was on the point of becoming extinct.⁴¹ Nor has *Rāmanārāyaṇa* forgotten to put before his readers in a nut-shell the salient features of the *Nānaka-mata*. In this connection it is interesting to note the zeal with which *Rāmanārāyaṇa* has tried to prove that *Nānaka* is nothing short of an incarnation of *Kṛṣṇa* or *Viṣṇu* and that the philosophy or *mata* preached by him is by all means in keeping with the teachings of the *śruti* and *smṛtis*.

All the more intriguing perhaps for us under the present circumstances is the discussion into which *Rāmanārāyaṇa* has entered in his *GCK* about the medium of instruction and the conclusion to which he has arrived after a careful weighing of the *pros* and *cons* of the problem. At the very outset of the discussion he points out that *loka-bhāṣā* has been resorted to by *Nānaka* because all are not entitled to a study of the *Vedas*, because teachings of the *śāstra* are beyond the capacity of several persons owing to their dull wits, and also in obedience to a definition of *guru* which states that 'A real *guru* is one who enlightens his disciple through the medium of local tongue and such other means'.⁴² To the objection that the expression *śrotavyaḥ* in the *Upaniṣad* passage negatives the alternative use of any language according to one's choice, *Rāmanārāyaṇa* gives a lie by pointing out that there would be nothing wrong if a teacher explains the *Upaniṣadic* passages and principles in his own tongue ; for, without resorting to one's own language no enlightenment would be possible. Grammar etc. which will have to be learnt by one before one is able to understand a language like Sanskrit (the language of the *śāstras*) can be learnt through *lokabhāṣā* alone.⁴³ Now if *Śrotavyaḥ* is understood as implying

the negation of the use of any tongue other than the *veda*, all works like the *sūtras* and *Bhāṣyas*, *purānas*, *itihāsas*, and *smṛtis* will be rendered useless ; and this would lead to the futility of the endeavours undertaken by *Vyāsa*. And if these labours are said to be useful because they render the teaching of the *veda* easy of understanding, the same can be said of the attempt of *Nānaka* to couch the teaching of the *veda* in *lokabhāṣā*.⁴⁴ In fact, argues our author, to couch the teaching in Sanskrit and then explain it in the language of daily parlance involves a waste of labour and energy which can be surely avoided by putting down the teaching itself directly in the *lokabhāṣā*.⁴⁵ Again he asks wherein the authenticity of the teachings lies : in the language in which they are couched or in the vedic teachings themselves. In the former case the systems of the *Bauddhas* and the *Jainas* (which are *avaidika* and hence not authentic) will have to be accepted as being authentic, since they are couched (many works of them) in Sanskrit. This is certainly a position which no follower of Vedic religion is expected to accept. In the other alternative there is no harm if *lokabhāṣā* (in fact any *bhāṣā*) is used, provided the teaching is the teaching of the *veda*.⁴⁶ The objection, that a *mantra* (translated) in a local language will not yield the desired or promised result, is dismissed by pointing out a general rule to the contrary and supporting the same by several illustrations.⁴⁷ Thus it is concluded that the medium of a particular language can't be detrimental to the efficacy of any religious teaching ; on the contrary, use of *Lokabhāṣā* is preferable as involving less labour and ensuring better enlightenment.

The above discussion will show why our author is at great pains to prove that *Nānaka* has preached a path which is in no way different from the *sanātana vaidika dharma*. Thus at one place⁴⁸ he describes *Nānaka Vedī* (i.e. born in the *Vedī* class of *kṣatriyas*) as an incarnation of *Viṣṇu* for the promotion of *Vedamārga*. At another⁴⁹ he is said to have accepted (rather than rejected and blamed) all the teachings of the *Veda* and in keeping with the teachings of *śrūtis* and *smṛtis* propounded the principle of *tyāga* (i.e. the abandonment of the results of all actions) with concentration on *nāma-gāna*. At a third⁵⁰ it is vehemently asserted that *Nānaka* has never preached the abandonment of *dharmācūras* and that the negation of the last two *āśramas* viz. *vānaprastha* and *saṁnyāsa* preached by him is but in keeping with the famous dictum⁵¹ which prohibits them and also certain other matters in the *Kali* age. From a reference⁵² at one place it would appear that different modes of *saṁdhyā-vandana* were brought into vogue by the propounders of different sects only with a view to acquire fame ; but our author declares that they all should be looked upon as being *avaidika*. *Nānaka*, he says, preaches the *vaidika saṁdhyā* only ; and the fol-

lowers of *Nānaka*, (unlike others) recite the same *gāyatrī mantra* which has been declared in the *veda*.⁵³

Having thus shown that *Nānaka-mata* is a *vaidika mata*, *Rāmanārāyaṇa* has tried to set at rest several objections levelled against it by some opponents. Thus, he says, the objection,⁵⁴ that *Nānaka-mata* has no definite *iṣṭa deva*, holds no water ; because a careful perusal of *Nānaka's grantha* will show that *Viṣṇu* has been accepted therein as the *iṣṭa deva* ; and it is quite in keeping with the statements in the *Upaniṣads*, and *Purāṇas*. In fact the whole of his work is imbued with the idea of *sakhībhāva* which, therefore, may be said to form an important item in his teaching.⁵⁵ But the one point about *Nānaka's* teaching, as noted by our author, is that he has a compromising attitude, and does not waste his energy in refuting other views but rather tries to see if they also would serve some useful purpose.⁵⁶

Having thus far seen what our author has to give us about *Nānaka* and others and the path propounded by them, let us now pass on to a consideration of his date, the two limits for which I had already fixed as the date of *Mahādeva Vedāntin*, the author of the *Tattvānusandhāna* and *Saṃvat* 1894, the date of a MS. of his *Chandomālā*.⁵⁷ With the acquisition of the *GCK* with the author's own commentary thereon we are now in possession of some further data that will enable us to fix the date within very narrow limits, correct almost to a decade. In stanza 477⁵⁸ *Rāmanārāyaṇa* has paid obeisance to his father *Rājā Sucetarāma* whom he has described as *sanmārgadarśaka* and his mother *Kṣamāī* who, he tells us, was a devotee of *Viṣṇu* and was also *gurupadānugā*. While explaining this latter expression, the author himself in his commentary adds that she had personally with her own eyes seen the lotus-like feet of *Mātṛsundarī*, the wife of *Guru Govindasimha*.⁵⁹ Now this is a matter of great importance in fixing the date of our author ; for we know for certain that *Guru Govindasimha* left his mortal coils in 1708 A.D. We may not, therefore, be far from the truth if we conclude that *Rāmanārāyaṇa's* mother cannot be far removed from that date. This circumstance coupled with the fact that our author refers to all the *Gurus* of the Shikhs down to *Guru Govindasimha*, but is silent about the further vicissitudes of shikhism or about prominent persons after *Govindasimha* forms ground strong enough to conclude that he must have composed his *GCK* within a few decades after the departure of *Govindasimha* from this world. It may, therefore, with much certainty be said that *Rāmanārāyaṇa* wrote his *GCK* about the middle of the eighteenth century and taking into consideration his scholarship and literary activities, his literary career may be said to spread over the second and the third quarters of that century.

NOTES.

- 1 Vide ' *Anumitīnirūpaṇam* of Rāmanārāyaṇa ' in ' A Volume of Studies in, Indology ' presented to Prof. P. V. Kane, M. A., LL. M. on his 61st birthday pp. 155 ff.
- 2 The work is cyclostyled at the Jagadis'a Printing Press, Bombay in Saṁvat 1941 by Saṁgatidāsa, a disciple of Gurupati from Sindhudes'a :
- 3 Vide my Introduction to *Anumitīnirūpaṇam*.
- 4 अत्र युक्तिप्रमाणादि यथावद् यत्त्वपेक्षितम् ।
ईशावास्यस्य तैत्तिर्या व्याख्याने सम्यगीरितम् ॥
तथा श्रीरामगीताया व्याख्यानेऽन्यत्र चित्रधा ।
सम्यग्पापादितं त्वत्र विस्तरादुपरम्यते ॥ GCK. 375-76.
Also read : उक्तं चास्माभिरयं नामार्थं रामगीताख्याख्यामङ्गलाचरणे ' रमन्ते चोगिनो यस्मिन् मोहरावणहिंसके । रामसिंहे । जयत्येष कौशल्यानन्दवर्धनः ॥ ' Comm. on GCK. 14. This clearly establishes रामनारायण's authorship of the रामगीताख्या and thus indicates his authorship of the other व्याख्यानाः referred to along with it in the above quotation. He has also claimed it in his comm. on the above stanzas.
- 5 Cf. अन्यत्र व्याससूत्राणां श्रीगुरुसंमतसूत्रवृत्त्यादौ ।
- 6 Cf. तत्तद्वाक्यानि नाममाहात्म्यादिग्रन्थेषु संगृहीतान्येवात्र विस्तरादुपरम्यते । This statement अत्र विस्तरादुपरम्यते, being identical with the statement in GCK. 376 quoted above, gives an impression that our author is referring to नाममाहात्म्यादि ग्रन्थः as his own.
- 7 Read : GCK. 25-30.
- 8 Cf. भक्तिमार्गप्रवृत्त्यर्थं कृपया भगवान् हरिः ।
शेषादीन् पार्षदांश्च धार्मां चक्रे तेऽप्यवनीं गताः ॥ GCK. 32.
and also : तेऽपि श्रीरामानुजाचार्योद्विरूपेणावनीं पृथिवीं भारतवर्षं गताः प्राप्ताः । Comm. By आदि here very probably are meant the other भक्तिमार्गप्रवर्तक वैष्णव आचार्यः like मध्व, निम्बार्क and वल्लभ. The two former, however, are nowhere actually named by our author in GCK. and his comm. on it.
- 9 Cf. तदुक्तं वल्लभाचार्यैः सुबोधिण्यां श्रुतिस्तुतेः ।
व्याख्याने चात्र तद्वाक्यं तात्पर्यार्थं विलिख्यते ॥
सद्बुद्ध्या सर्वदा सद्भिर्न संव्यमखिलं जगत् ।
भ्रान्त्या सद्विद्विरेति सन्तं कृष्णं भजेद् बुधः ॥
खपुष्यादिसमत्वाद्धि मिथ्याभूतं जगद् यतः ।
अधिष्ठानात् तु सद्विद्विस्तं कृष्णं सततं भजेत् ॥ GCK. 395-97
- 10 Our author quotes from the भागवतपुराण the following stanza:
अथासौ युगसंध्यायां दस्युप्रायेषु राजसु ।
जनिता विष्णुयशसो नाम्ना कल्किर्जगत्पतिः ॥ GCK. 69
Then discussing the matter further he arrives at the conclusion:
तस्मान्नानक एवायं न कल्किरिति निर्णयः ॥ GCK. 78 (The exact import of which is to be understood in the light of the objection raised here viz. ननु इदं वाक्यं कल्पवतारस्यैव बोधकम् । किमिति श्रीनानकावतारपरतया व्याख्यायते ।). An objection against the above conclusion is raised and refuted in the following stanza:
विद्वलं कृष्णचैतन्यं मन्यन्ते कृष्णरूपिणम् ।
नैव राजसु तज्जन्म ब्राह्मणो तौ न संशयः ॥ GCK. 79.

Also read the Comm. on this stanza where रामनारायण actually states who these विद्वल and कृष्णचैतन्य are: ननु श्रीवल्लभकुमारः श्रीविद्वलः तथा शचीपुत्रः कृष्णचैतन्यसंज्ञको महाप्रसुरिति प्रसिद्धो द्विवैतो कृष्णावतारत्वेन विद्वितौ तयोरेव विषयकमेतद्वाक्यं भवतु न नानकविषयकम् इत्याशाङ्क्ष्य etc.

- 11 Cf. एक एव हि वेदोक्तः संप्रदायः सनातनः ।
तं हित्वा ते पृथक् चक्रुः संप्रदायचतुष्टयम् ॥ GCK. 37.
- 12 Read: न च श्रीब्रह्मरुद्रसप्तमकाश्वत्वारः संप्रदायिन इति संप्रदायभेदस्यानादित्वमिति वाच्यम् । श्रीमद्भागवतमहाभारतादौ परमभागवतानामम्बरीषयुधिष्ठिरभीष्मादीनां संप्रदायभेदाप्रतीतेः श्रीब्रह्मरुद्रादीनां पुराणादौ विरुद्धार्थाभिधायितृत्वदर्शनात् एतेषु च संप्रदायेषु विशिष्टाद्वैतद्वैता-
विभेदेन विरुद्धार्थपर्यवसानेन तदेकनाक्यत्वाप्रतीतिश्च तदसंप्रतिपत्तेः । Comm. on 37.
- 13 Cf. तथापि न हि दोषाय विष्णुभक्तिप्रवर्तनात् । GCK. 38 ; तथापि संप्रदायभेददोषकल्पनाया मपि तत्कल्पनं दोषाय न भवति । कस्मात् तदुच्यते । विष्णुभक्तेः प्रकृत्या विविधप्रकारेण प्रवर्तनात् । Comm.
- 14 Cf. वैष्णवानां तु चिह्नानां बाह्यानां नैव धारणम् ।
दृश्यते नानकपथि प्रायस्तत्तु न दूषणम् ॥
वैष्णवो द्विविधः प्रोक्तो बाह्य आन्तर एव च ।
बाह्यस्तु शङ्खचक्राभ्यामान्तरो वीतरागतः ॥
यदा तु ह्यान्तरो भावस्तेषां विष्णौ सुपुङ्गवः ।
तदा बाह्येषु चिह्नेषु किं वृथाप्रहतो भवेत् ॥ GCK. 264-65, 267.
- Also read : यत् त्वन्ये वैष्णवाः प्राहुर्नैव श खादिधारणम् ।
शालग्रामादिपूजादिर्नैवास्ति च भवन्मते ॥
तद् वृथा नो निषेधोऽस्ति सद्धर्माणां गुरोर्मते ।
विधानं चापि पदेयामः साक्षान्नानकश्रीमुखात् ॥
वसन्तरागे निर्दिष्टं साक्षात् श्रीगुरुणा स्फुटम् ।
शालग्रामं च विप्रान्थं पूजयध्वं यथाविधि ॥ etc. GCK. 252 ff.

- 15 Cf. GCK. 310f., 406f., 437.
- 16 Cf. व्याख्यातं च स्वामिना युगस्यादौ सन्ध्यान्ते सन्ध्यांशः । Comm. on GCK. 71. The reference is here to श्रीधरस्वामिन्'s Comm. on some stanzas from the 11th अध्याय of 3rd स्कन्ध of the भागवतपुराण.
- 17 e.g. ब्रह्मवल्ली (of तैत्तिरीय उप०) st. 418 ; छान्दोग्य st. 418 ; तापिनी० st. 419 ; नारायणोप० st. 279 etc. Besides these several उप०, passages are quoted without naming their sources. e.g. यस्य देवे परा भक्तिः etc, st. 455 ; वाचारम्भणं विकारो etc. st. 423 ; एको देवः सर्वभूतेषु etc. st. 455.
- 18 e.g. भागवत st. 313ff. ; भारत st. 280 ; विष्णु० st. 280.
- 19 Cf. st.128-30, st. 304, etc. No names are given.
- 20 Two न्यायस have been actually made use of : (i) तस्मात् शङ्करमादर्थक्रमो हि बलवान् भवेत् । इति न्यायं समाश्रित्य ह्येवं तस्यान्वयो मतः ॥ GCK. 281. The न्याय generally has the form : 'पाठक्रमादर्थक्रमो बलीयान्' and is discussed and established at जैमिनि's मीमांसासूत्र V.1.2 and शङ्कर's भाष्य thereon (ii) यत्परो यो भवेच्छब्दस्तस्यार्थस्तु स एव हि । इति न्यायेन वेदार्थो ब्राह्मणद्वैते न चेतर्त् । GCK. 350. Explaining this न्याय our author writes : यः शब्दो यत्परो यस्मिन्नर्थे तात्पर्यान् स एव तच्छब्दार्थः यथा पिता पुत्रं प्रति विषं शुद्धस्वैर्युक्ते शब्दशक्तिविषयत्वेऽपि विश्वभोजनविधेर्नार्थत्वं तात्पर्यागोचरत्वात् किन्तु तात्पर्यागोचरत्वात् अक्षरार्थत्वाभावेऽपि शत्रुपृष्टहभोजननिवृत्तेरेव तदर्थत्वम् । This न्याय generally is quoted in the form 'अस्ति श्रुत्यर्थे लक्ष्यार्थो ग्राह्यः' or 'श्रुत्यसंभवे लक्षणा न्याय्या ।' He has also referred to नियमत्रिधि (GCK. 215) and उपक्रमादि पञ्चलिङ्ग's useful for अर्थनिर्णय (GCK. 268).
- 21 Cf. GCK. 344, 345, 347, 352.
- 22 Cf. Comm. on GCK. 467.
- 23 fol. 3 b
- 24 }
25 } Comm. on GCK. 400
- 26 GCK. 276
- 27 Comm. on GCK 368.
- 28 Comm. on GCK. 166.

- 29 Cf. सुचेतोरामराजानं तार्तं सन्मार्गदर्शकम् ।
क्षमाईमातरं विष्णोर्भक्तां गुरुरदानुगाम् ॥ GCK 477
- 30 Cf. गुरुं श्रीरामसिंहाख्यं विद्यादत्तं सदासुखम् ।
हरिनाथं च तं वन्दे हरिमन्त्रप्रदं गुरुम् ॥ Intr. stanza of the comm.
Also cf. रामसिंहं गुरुं वन्दे ब्रह्मबोधप्रदं स्वकम् ।
श्रीमत्सदासुखं वन्दे निर्मलाब्धिदशयं हरिम् ॥
सर्ववेदमयं वादितर्कनीहारहारकम् ।
हरिनाथं गुरुं वन्दे हरिमन्त्रोपदेशकम् ॥ GCK 474 f.
and हरिनाथस्वरूपेण विष्णुमन्त्रोपदेशतः ।
तातद्वारा कृपां चक्रे तस्मै श्रीगुरवे नमः ॥
रामसिंहस्वरूपेण ब्रह्मबोधं च दत्तवान् ।
ज्ञापयन् स्वात्ममाहात्म्यं तस्मै तद्गुणेषु नमः ॥
ख्यापयन् स्वात्ममाहात्म्यं श्रीसदासुखरूपतः ।
शास्त्रमध्यापयामास तस्मै तद्गुणेषु नमः ॥ GCK. 13 – 15
- 31 Cf. सावित्र्या हृत्तमोपत्रं भवानीदासकं गुरुम् ॥ GCK. 476.
Also read : स एव द्विजरूपेण भवानीदाससंज्ञया ।
सावित्र्या मां द्विजं चक्रे तस्मै श्रीगुरवे नमः ॥ GCK. 12
It may be noted from st. 13–15 quoted above that रामनारायण identifies with नानक not only भवानीदास (mentioned in st. 12), but also हरिनाथ, सदासुख and रामसिंह.
- 32 Commenting on GCK 12 रामनारायण writes : द्विजरूपेण ब्राह्मणरूपेण सावित्र्या तदुपदेशेन ' जन्मना जायते शूद्रः संत्काराद् द्विज उच्यते ' इति स्मृतेः जन्मना शूद्रमपि मासुपनयनसंस्कारेण द्विजं चक्रे etc.
- 33 Read : नाम्नातो मां पृथक् स्थाप्य नानुशब्दे स्यादगागमः ।
कल्केः ककारं संगृह्य नानकैति मतं बुधैः ॥
नाम्नाशिष्टस्तु माशब्दो लिङ्गशब्दस्तु विपर्ययात् ।
अगागमात् ककारे च नानको माकलिर्मतः ॥ GCK 97–98.
In these stanzas रामनारायण explains how he arrives at the equation ' नाम्ना कल्किः = नानकः माकलिः '. From नाम्ना remove मा; and to the expression नान्, that is left thereafter, add अ. Then add क. from कल्किः and you get नानक. Now take मा (which has been taken off from नाम्ना) and add to it लिङ्गः (remainder o-कल्किः) subjecting it to वर्णविपर्यय (which will make it क्लिः) and adding अ to ककार. This gives us. माकलिः. Thus नाम्ना कल्किः becomes नानकः माकलिः which shows that नानक is the कल्कि अवतार.
- 34 Read : स एव नानकगुरुरङ्गदश्व स एव हि ।
स एवामरदासश्च रामदासः स एव हि ॥
स एव ह्यर्जुनगुरुर्हरिगोविन्दनामधृक् ।
हरिरायः स एवाथ हरिऋष्यः स एव हि ॥
त्यागवह्लादरो नाम्ना स एव जगतां गुरुः ।
गोविन्दसिंहरूपेण धर्मरक्षणतत्परः ॥ GCK. 7 – ७
Commenting on the 7th stanza रामनारायण writes : तस्य श्रीगुरोर्विष्णुदशानातरं स्ववद् दशरूपस्वमुच्यते । which shows that according to him all these गुरुः are so many अवतारः of नानक himself.
- 35 Cf. जगतां गुरुर्नानक एव म्लेच्छैरस्य प्रतिमाभङ्गादिना धर्मविरोधे कृते गोविन्दसिंहरूपेण गोविन्दो विष्णुरेव म्लेच्छभृगनाशकत्वेन सिंहस्तेन रूपेण धर्मरक्षणतत्परो जातः । Comm. on GCK 9.
- 36 Cf. श्रीमद्गोविन्दसिंहेन म्लेच्छनाशनहेतवे ।
श्रौतधर्मस्य त्राणाय सिंहवेषः प्रवर्तितः ॥ GCK. 146.

- 37 Cf. म्लेच्छसंहारसद्धर्मरक्षार्थं सिंहरूपिणम् ।
 म्लेच्छैर्देवप्रतीकानां भङ्गं सद्धर्मेनाशनम् ।
 दृष्ट्वा गोविन्दसिंहाख्यरूपेण धर्मरक्षकम् ॥
 पथं प्रवर्तयामास म्लेच्छसंहारकारकम् ।
 गवां च ब्राह्मणानां च रक्षणं नामकीर्तनम् ॥
 म्लेच्छानां नाशनं मुख्यं धर्मं तेभ्यः समादिशत् ।
 नो चेद् गोविन्दसिंहेन सिंहमार्गप्रवर्तनम् ।
 लुप्येद् वै वैदको धर्मो म्लेच्छोपद्रवतः खलु ॥ GCK. 140 ff.

From a statement in the commentary it appears that गोविन्दसिंह started the two paths viz निर्मल and सिंह (corresponding to our well-known निवृत्तिमार्ग and प्रवृत्तिमार्ग) aimed at destroying the आन्तर असुर (i. e. काम, क्रोध, अज्ञान etc.) and the बाह्य असुर (i. e. म्लेच्छादिस). Thus as a matter of fact though these two मार्ग hold the same view and have the same aim (viz असुरविनाश), they differ only because the one adopts निवृत्ति while the other प्रवृत्ति owing to the difference in their target. Cf. गोविन्दसिंहरूपेण निवृत्तिप्रवृत्तिमात्रभेदेन रूपद्वयापन्नमतान्तरप्रवर्तनं सनिमित्तमुच्यते शास्त्रियेत्यादि सार्धत्रिभिः । असुरा द्विविधा आन्तरा बाह्याश्च । आन्तराः कामक्रोधाज्ञानादयो बाह्या म्लेच्छादयः । तत्रानयोर्मताभेदेऽपि आन्तरबाह्यासुरविनाशाय निवृत्तिप्रवृत्तिस्वीकरणमात्रविभागः । The two मार्ग referred to are clearly named in the original stanzas viz शास्त्रीयधर्मनिरतं वेदान्ताभिज्ञमद्भुतम् । शाब्दे परे च निष्णातं ब्रह्मण्युपसमाश्रयम् ॥ निर्मलाख्यं च सम्मार्गमकरोत् कल्मषापहम् । म्लेच्छसंहारसद्धर्मरक्षार्थं सिंहरूपिणम् ॥ GCK. 139. f.

38 Read GCK. 113-124.

- 39 Read: अप्राणः कः सुखाकारो नानकः परिकीर्तितः ।
 नानकं हि सुखं यस्मादावाक्रयसुखप्रदः ॥
 ना चासावनकश्चाथ नानकस्तेन संमतः ।
 न विद्यते अकं दुःखं यस्मादनक एव सः ॥ GCK. 99f.

- 40 Cf. ज्ञानद्वारैव मोक्षस्य साधनं त्याग एव हि ।
 प्रधानमिति निर्णोतं तं विना नान्यथा गतिः ॥
 इति निश्चित्य न्यासेषु सुविचार्य पुनः पुनः ।
 न्यासस्याश्रमरूपस्य निषेधान्नाकरोच तम् ॥
 सर्वकर्मफलत्यागं जन्मापादककर्मणाम् ।
 त्यागं मत्वा हरेरिष्टं सर्वोद्धारकमेव च ॥
 लोके प्रचारयामास नामगानैकतत्परम् ।
 वेदमार्गास्तु निखिलान् स्वीकुर्यस्तानदूषयन् ॥
 उदासीनवदासीन इति स्मृतिप्रणोदितम् ।
 उदासीनं मतं चक्रे नैव कस्यापि दूषकम् ॥ GCK. 132 ff

41 For निर्मल and सिंह see Note 37 above.

- 42 Cf. वेदपाठेषु सर्वेषां नाधिकारः प्रचक्षते ।
 सर्वलोकपकारार्थं भाषया कीर्तनं हरेः ॥
 बहूनां बुद्धिमान्येन शास्त्रबोधः सुदुर्लभः ।
 तेषामन्युपकारार्थं श्रौतार्थो भाषयोदितः ॥
 देशभाषादिभिः शिष्यं बोधयेत् स गुह्यमतः ।
 इत्यादिशास्त्रमाश्रित्य भाषयोद्धारितं जगत् ॥ GCK. 212-14

- 43 Cf. आत्मा वा अरे द्रष्टव्य इत्यात्मदर्शनाय हि ।
 श्रोतव्यः श्रवणे चात्र नियमे यो विधिर्मतः ॥
 तत्र व्यावर्त्यते पक्षे प्राप्तभाषादिबोधनम् ।
 इत्येवं ये वदन्ति स्म तदुक्तिः पक्षपाततः ॥

- गुरुस्तुपनिषद्व्याख्यां कुर्वन् शिष्याय बोधयन् ।
तदर्थं भाषया ब्रूयाच्चेत् किं भवति दोषभाक् ॥
लोकभाषां विना स्त्रीयां शास्त्रबोधः कथं भवेत् ।
आदौ व्याकरणार्थोऽपि भाषयैव प्रबुध्यते ॥ GCK. 215-18
- 44 Cf. यदा वेदं विनान्योक्तिर्वर्जिता स्यात् प्रबोधने ।
सूत्रभाष्यादिकं सर्वं तदा व्यावर्त्यते खलु ॥
तथैव च पुराणेतिहासस्मृत्यादिसंहिताः ।
तन्त्राद्यरण्यरुदितं व्यर्थं व्यासादिसत्त मः ॥
यदा वेदार्थबोधाय सार्थकस्तत्परिश्रमः ।
तदा तत्सुगमत्वाय भाषया सोऽपि सार्थकः ॥
सूत्रभाष्यपुराणादि यथा वेदार्थज्ञापकम् ।
तथा भाषाप्रबन्धादि नैव व्यावर्त्यते किल ॥ GCK. 219-22
- 45 Cf. देववाण्या कृतेऽप्यर्थे पुनस्तस्यापि भाषया ।
जनानां बोधनं कार्यं श्रुत्वा तद् गौरवं भवेत् ॥
तस्मादादित एवार्थं वेदानां भाषया कृते ।
सुगमो जनबोधः स्यात् तत्र लाघवमिष्यते ॥ GCK. 245f.
- 46 Cf. भाषायां नैव प्रामाण्यं चेत्तत् किं संस्कृते भवेत् ।
तथा चेद् जैनबौद्धदिशास्त्रं प्रामाण्यतां व्रजेत् ॥
तस्माद् वेदो हि सच्छास्त्रं तदर्थं भाषयाः कृतः ।
हरिणा गुरुरूपेण गुरुप्रन्थो हि तारकः ॥ GCK. 247f.
- 47 Cf. नैव वाच्यं नाममन्त्रो भाषया नैव सिद्धिदः ।
एष निष्कण्टकः पन्था यत्र संपूज्यते हरिः ॥
त्रियमाणो हरेर्नाम गृणन् पुत्रोपचारितम् ।
अजामिलोऽप्यगाद् धाम किं पुनः श्रद्धया गृणन् ॥
हरामेति वदन् कश्चिन्म्लेच्छः शूकरमारितः ।
विकुण्ठमगामद् विष्णुर्विमानस्थश्चतुर्भुजः ॥
प्रथिता दक्षिणे देशे कथेषा सावैलोकिकी ।
तस्मान्नाम्नस्तु माहात्म्ये नैव भाषादिना क्षतिः ॥ GCK. 225ff.
- 48 Cf. कलौ धर्मक्षयं दृष्ट्वा वेदमार्गस्य विप्लवम् ।
वेदीरूपोऽभवद् विष्णुः कलाबुद्धारहेतवे ॥ GCK. 17; Also Cf. GCK.
113, 127, 184f., 189f.
- 49 Cf. विष्णुर्नानकरूपेण त्रिकण्डं चाप्यदूषयन् ।
नामकीर्तनप्रधान्यं जनेषुपादिशत् प्रभुः ॥ GCK. 55 Also Cf. GCK.66.
Also read त्यागं मत्वा हरेरिष्टं सर्वोद्धारकमेव च । etc. (Note 40 above).
- 50 Read : नानकेन क्वचिन्नैव धर्माचारप्रवर्जनम् ।
कृतं वाण्यां येन कश्चित् तत्रैवं शङ्कते जनः ॥ GCK. 149.
- 51 Read : चत्वार्यब्दसहस्राणि चत्वार्यब्दशतानि च ।
कलैर्यदा गमिष्यन्ति तदा त्रेतापरिग्रहः ॥
संन्यासश्च न कर्तव्यो ब्राह्मणेन विपश्चिता ।
अश्रमेधं गवालम्भं संन्यासं पलपैतुकम् ।
देवराच्च सुतोत्ततिः कलौ पञ्च विवर्जयेत् ॥
इत्यादिस्मृतिवाक्यैस्तु संन्यासो वर्जितः कलौ ॥ GCK. 128ff.
वानप्रस्थस्तथा न्यासः कलौ शास्त्रेण वर्जितः ॥ GCK. 150.
- 52 Cf. वेदमंध्यादि संत्यज्य स्वस्वाचारः प्रकल्पितः ।
स्वनामख्यापनार्थाय स्वबुद्ध्या कलिमोहितैः ॥

- यैराचार्यैस्त एवात्र वेदवाह्यप्रवर्तनात् ।
 कलिप्रभवपाषण्डमोहिता नास्तिका मताः ॥ GCK. 158f.
- 53 Cf. वैदिकी या भवेत् संध्या द्विजातिभ्यः श्रुतीरिता ।
 सैव संध्या न चैवान्या कल्पनीया हि वेदिभिः ॥ GCK. 156.
 संप्रदायप्रभेदेषु गायत्री नैव भिद्यते ।
 स्वीयेषु संप्रदायेषु गायत्रीभेदकल्पकाः ।
 पाषण्डिनो भ्रुवं ते वै वेदमार्गप्रभेदकाः ॥
 गायत्री छन्दसां माता या द्विजेषु श्रुतीरिता ।
 सैव नानकशिष्येषु जप्यते हि द्विजातिभिः ॥ GCK. 204 ff.
- 54 Cf. यैस्तु कौश्रिद् वृथाऽज्ञानादुच्यते श्रंगुरोर्मते ।
 न विद्यते सुनिर्णत इष्टदेव इति स्फुटम् ॥
 तेषां तत् कथनं सम्यग् वाण्या अर्थासमीक्षणात् ।
 लिङ्गैः षड्गुरोर्ग्रन्थे इष्टो विष्णुर्यतो मतः ॥ GCK. 268f.
- 55 Cf. सखीभावस्य प्राधान्यं गुरोर्वाण्यां हि दृश्यते ।
 प्रायः सर्वगुरोर्ग्रन्थे तद्भावस्यैव कीर्तनात् ॥ GCK. 288
- 56 This attitude is generally referred to by रामनारायण repeatedly declaring that नानक has preached his मत without casting any blame (अद्वेष्यन्) on other मत्स. We have also seen how while declaring the सम्प्रदायचतुष्टय as not being अनादि (and प्रमाण) he yet accepts their utility (see Notes 12 and 13 above). Also Cf. गुरोर्नास्त्याग्रहोऽथापि ह्यन्यभावाविवर्जने । तत्सर्वभावमाधुर्यात् वैचित्र्याज्जनचेतसाम् ॥ GCK. 289 where while holding the doctrine of सखीभाव, he yet admits the utility of other भावस also since they are equally sweet and may suit different tastes and capacities.
- 57 रामनारायण has commented on the तन्वाचसन्धान of महादेव वेदान्तिन् who wrote his भाष्य on विष्णुसहस्रनाम in 1694 A. D. The limits for his date, therefore, approximately are 1700 and 1838 A. D. (See Kane Volume referred to in Note 1 above)
- 58 Read : सुचेतो रामराजानं तातं सन्मार्गदर्शकम् ।
 क्षमार्हमातरं विष्णोर्भक्तां गुरुपदानुगाम् ॥
- 59 Read : क्षमाई स्वीयां मातरं तद्गङ्गीं विष्णुभक्तां तदनुरागवतीं गुरोः श्रीनानकस्य पदानुगां शिष्यां साक्षादष्टगुरुगोविन्दसिंहपत्नीमातृमुन्दरीचरणपङ्कजां वन्दे ।

A LOCATIVE FORM IN PAUMACARIYA

By

A. M. GHATAGE

In all the changes and divergences, the Locative plural form of the Indo-Aryan languages shows a marked uniformity and continuity. In the OIA stage, the inflection is uniformly *-su* (changeable to *-ṣu*) for all types of nouns and pronouns. It is of Indo-European origin, though Greek shows a different vowel (*-si*) and different attempts have been made to analyse it into the element *-s-* and a deictic particle. The form persists in all the dialects of the MIA, where it is *-su* (the Māgadhī form being in *-ṣu*) and shows no change. But the same is not the fact with its syntactical usage. In the MIA we find the forms of this case slowly being used for other cases, particularly the Instrumental, and its use in Paumacariya, one of the old books in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, offers some interesting features worth consideration.

The Paumacariya¹ of Vimalasūri is a voluminous work in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, dealing with the story of the Rāmāyaṇa, according to the Jain tradition, and belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era. Locative forms in *-su* are found in abundance in this work and their syntactical use may be investigated with some striking results.

These locative plural forms in *-su* may be grouped in four categories, according to their syntactical usage. In the first place, they are used, in agreement with their origin and the practice of the OIA stage, as regular locative plurals, in the majority of cases. They come from all types of nouns, *vimalakitti disāsu viyaṃbhiyū* Pau. 8.286, 'the spotless fame spread in all the directions'; *uvaviṭṭhā āsaṇesu divvesu* Pau. 15.61 'sat down on the divine seats'; *paḍḍo calaṇesu lacchinilayassa* Pau. 45.2 'fell at the feet of Lakṣmaṇa'; *kaṇṇesu kuṇḍalāim* Pau. 3.98. 'ear-rings in the ears'; *vara-kāmiṇīsu kilanto* Pau. 12.43 'sporting in the midst of excellent ladies'; *hemantamāsesu tavavaṇattho* Pau. 21.93. 'residing in the hermitage in the months of winter.' This usage needs no explanation.

Secondly, in a fairly large number of cases, these forms in *-su* are found used in syntactical combinations, where the OIA would consistently make use of the Instrumental forms of the nouns.

1. Ed. Jacobi, Bhavanagar 1914. It should be noted that there is a strange confusion of pages in the chapters 14, 15, which must be corrected. Arrange 74a+80b to 83a+77b to 80a+74b to 77a+83b. The corrected numbers are given.

All the shades of meaning of the normal Instrumental are represented. Thus we have the sociative meaning in : *mantesu pasū havanti hantavvā* Pau. 73 'the animals should be killed to the accompaniment of the incantations'; *akkhohiṇṇisu sattasu sahio* Pau. 47.21 'along with seven A.'; *nānesu tisu sahio* Pau. 3.69 'possessing three types of knowledge'; the sense of an instrument or means is found in : *bhuyaṅgapāsesu bandhaṇam* Pau. 1.77 'bondage with the ropes of serpents'; *kilaṇayasaesu kīlanto* Pau. 3.107 'playing with hundreds of sports'; *mohantā jaṇavayaṃ kusatthesu* Pau. 4.86 'deluding the people with false scriptures'; *vammahasaresu bhinno* Pau. 6.162 'pierced by the arrows of Cupid'; it is used to denote the acting agent in the passive constructions : *devesu vi ṇa jiyā haṃ* Pau. 52.21 'I was not defeated even by the gods'; *kāyavvo tisu vaṇṇesu* Pau. 11.72 'it should be done by the three castes'; *kayapariyammo tigicchiesu puṇo* Pau. 8.124 'being treated by the physicians again'; it is used to denote the mode of action : *vaccāi turaesu* Pau. 38.8 'goes on horseback'; *varisai dhārāsu* Pau. 516 'it rains in showers'; *etto ajesu janno kāyavvo* Pau. 11.25 'thus the sacrifice should be performed with goats'; these forms also express lapse of time and show a difference of meaning from those of the regular locative : *samanattaneṇa mokkhaṃ tisu dosu bhavesu vaccanti* Pau. 6.124 'they get liberation on account of their monkhood, in the course of two or three births'; *divasesu tisu hohi vīvāho* Pau. 15.43 'the marriage will be celebrated after three days'; *thevadivasesu* Pau. 7.143 'in the course of a few days'; even idiomatic usages are found with these forms : *kiṃ vā tusesu kīrai* Pau. 12.138 'what is the use of chaff?'; *rahīyā rahiesu samaṃ jujjhanti* Pau. 8.96 'warriors in chariots fight with their equals'; *kiṃ te juvaṇsu tujjha avaraddhaṃ* Pau. 8.174 'what fault have the ladies committed against you?' The range of this usage leaves no doubt that the author uses these forms of locative plural freely for instrumental plural, and in fact he regards them as merely instrumental forms of another type. This can be best seen where both the forms are found side by side : *ceiyagharehi rammaṃ . . . sarasarasivāvivappiṇasaesu aimaṇaharālovam* Pau. 2.12 'charming with temples and of very beautiful appearance with hundreds of lakes, ponds, wells and fields'; *pukkkharinidihīyāsu ya āramujjāṇakāṇaṇavanehim . . . ahiya-yararaṃaṇijjā* Pau. 8.267 'more beautiful with lotus ponds and wells as also with parks, gardens, forests and woods'; *ajjāhi samaṃ rehai tārāsu va sayalasaṇīhā* Pau. 102.60 'she shines with the nuns as does the full orb of the moon with the stars.' In contrast to this promiscuous usage, no form of the Loc. sg. used for the Inst. sg. is noted by me in the whole work.

In a third group we may put together a few sporadic cases in

which the Loc. pl. form appears to be used for other cases also. One of such uses, which grows more frequent in later Prakrit and becomes usual in a later stage of linguistic development, is the use of the locative for the accusative of the OIA to denote the object of verbs implying motion towards: *vimānavaravāhaṇesu ārūḍhā* Pau. 3.74 'they mounted the excellent aerial cars'; *calaṇesu paṇamiūṇaṃ* Pau. 9.15. 'saluting the feet.' Sometimes the direct object is also found in the locative plural: *daḍhacāvagahiyahattheṇa teṇa visihesu maucamāṇeṇaṃ* Pau. 8.100 'holding fast the bow in the hand and discharging arrows.' In a few cases, the form serves the function of the ablative: *phalāi giṅhanti pāyavaḡaṇesu* Pau. 3.142 'they take the fruits from the trees'; *baddho vi moio ham-sigghaṃ gihavāsapāsesuṃ* Pau. 8.126 'though I was bound, I was released quickly from the bonds of household life.' In a few more cases, the form takes the place of the regular Genitive: *dāūṇa rāya-lacchī suesu* Pau. 5.19 'bestowing the royal glory on his sons'; *vijjāsu sāhaṇaṭṭhaṃ* Pau. 7.65 'to accomplish the miraculous powers.' All these usages are rare and only show how the Prakrit syntax was losing the precision of the OIA stage.

But the most important group of these forms is the fourth in which a fairly large number is found used in the locative sense but with a confusion of numbers. These distinctly plural forms are found used in cases where a singular form is necessary or appropriate. In the majority of cases the singular meaning is obvious; *sejjāsu niranteraṃ suvai* Pau. 2.108 'he sleeps continuously on the bed'; *tatha nivittḥo maṇasilāsu* Pau. 6.38 'there seated on a slab of M. stone'; *bhaṇai sumitto nisāsu vaṇamālaṃ* Pau. 12.19 'S. says to V. in the night'; *kāūṇa vase nisāsu chiddēṇa* Pau. 25.22 'putting under control in the night'; *ciṭṭhai sisire nisāsu hemante* Pau. 26.21 'remains in a secluded place in the night in winter'; *tāva ya sejjāsu ḷhio* Pau 26.80 'remained on the bed'; *sahasā nisāsu gantuṃ* Pau. 37.40 'suddenly going in the night'; *raṇṇe guhāsu vasaiṃ ca karei dhīro* Pau. 37.70 'the wise take residence in the forest in a cave'; *ajja nisāsuvasaggo keṇa kao bhe apuṇṇeṇa* Pau. 39.36 'what wretch has produced an obstacle for you today in the night?'; *rayaṇisu chaleṇa viṇiyatto* Pau. 39.42 'returned in the night with a trick'; *dhammassa peccha viulaṃ māhappaṃ iha bhavesu gahiyaṣṣa* Pau. 41.74 'observe the greatness of religion, performed in this very life'; *asivarahattho nisāsu vaccanto* Pau. 48.16 'holding a sword in the hand and proceeding in the night'; *suvai bhaḍo vīrasejjāsu* Pau. 61.37 'the warrior sleeps on the bed of a hero'; *ahavā nisāsu gantuṃ* Pau. 65.3 'or going in the night'; *na divā na ya savvarisu a paose* Pau. 79.31 'neither by day nor in the night nor in the early morning'; *nisāsu tatthālayaṃ kuṇai* Pau.

82.46 'he makes his residence in the night there'; *pecchai nisāsu suviṇe* Pau. 97.4 'he sees in the night in a dream'; *nisāsu te bambhaṇā . . . pavisanti piwaraṃ* Pau. 105.52 'in the night the Brahmins enter the burial ground'; *mandaragirīsu . . . kīlāni* Pau. 107.7 'I will sport on the mountain M.'; *divvavimāṇesu ārūḍho* Pau. 108.4 'he mounted the divine aerial car.'

A few more cases are a little doubtful, but the singular meaning looks more probable: *je puṇa rayaṇīsu narā bhunjanti* Pau. 14.137 'but those men who eat in the night'; *paribhuttaṃ visayasuham suraloe varavimāṇavasahīsu* Pau. 32.31 'enjoyed happiness of senses in heaven in the divine region'; *jāyā doṇṇi vi devā vimāṇesu* Pau. 58.8 'both became gods in the heavenly region'; *vaccāi līlāe racchāsu* Pau. 67.24 'goes sportively along the road'; *jo bhūñjai savvārīsu rasagiddho* Pau. 103.27 'who eats in the night, being addicted to taste.' This usage is not confined to Paumacariya only, though not so frequent in other and later Prakrit works. I have noted one case in Somaprabha's Kumārapālapratibodha² (p. 131) *lahanti tāo nisāsu vi na niddaṃ* 'they do not get sleep even in the night.'

The above collection makes it quite clear that the author of the Paumacariya uses the form in *-su* in the following cases: as Inst. plu. as Loc. sg. and plu. From the wide range of this usage, the absence of any difference made in the different shades of meaning of these two cases and the impossibility of confusing easily the idea of singular and plural, it is most likely that the uses are not to be explained on the basis of case-syncretism. Nor can we see any purely phonetic reason to account for this strange confusion of case and number as the forms of the Inst. plu. Loc. sg. and Loc. plu. are quite distinct in the Prakrit languages, for all types of nouns. The reason must be psychological and a clue to it is probably available.

Dr. Jacobi³ already pointed out the influence of the Apabhraṃśa language on the language of Paumacariya and he has classified such forms into three groups. The first consists of forms which also occur in the Ap. language as a regular feature, like the gerund in *-evi*, the pronoun *kavaṇa* or the negative particle *navi*. Secondly there are some peculiar features of the language which may be regarded as the forerunners of the Ap. constructions. Such is the case where *najjai* is used to express an Upamā or an Utprekṣā. But more important are such usages, which are neither found in the Ap. in their exact form nor can be taken as their precursors, but for which there are close analogies in the Ap. language.

2. Ed. Muni Jinavijaya, Baroda. GOS. XIV.

3. Bhavisattakahā : Introduction : p. 59.

Thus he points out that the original form of the gerund in *-īṇa*, *-īṇa* also serves the function of an infinitive, which is also the case with Ap. gerunds in *-eppi*, *-eppīnu*, *-evi*, *-evīnu*. The apparently Nom. sg. forms of words ending in *-ā*, *-ī*, and *-ū* are also forms of the Acc. sg., which is paralleled by the identity of the Nom. and Acc. in Ap. Similar is the case of the use of *esa* with a Fem. word, and *esā* as the Acc. sg. form. In the same category he has placed the confusion between the forms of the Inst. plu. and Loc. plu. or better the use of forms in *-su* as regular Inst. plu. forms, as noted above, for the Inst. and Loc. plu. forms in Ap. are identical, both ending in *-hī*.

We have now seen that the same form in *-su* is also used as Loc. sg. and here also we may note that the Ap. forms of the Loc. sg. and plu. are nearly identical in nouns ending in vowels other than *-a* : *mālahi* ; *mālahī* ; *aggihi* ; *aggihī* ; *devihi* ; *devihī* etc. But the parallelism shows two divergences. In the first place the sg. and the plu. in Ap. is distinguished by the addition of a nasal in the plural, which is in full agreement with the practice of this language. Cf. Gen. *naraha* : *narahā* ; Abl. *narahu* : *narahū* etc. ; while here is no such distinction to be found. Secondly the Ap. forms are similar only in the nouns ending in vowels other than *-a*, while this usage pertains to *-a*-ending nouns as well in the Paumacariya. This is sufficient to show that they cannot be treated as due to the influence of the Ap. language only.

A careful consideration of all the relevant cases, makes it clear that all these usages are of a syntactical nature and must be due to the freedom which the author has taken in the use of the particular forms in *-su* to which he felt entitled because of habit. Thus the real cause of all such anomalies can only be the habit of the writer due to the current usage of his mother tongue or the language of his daily intercourse. The spoken language of the writer must have a usage in which the three forms of the Inst. plu., the Loc. sg. and plu. were indiscriminately used and this fact has led the writer to take the same liberty in the literary language also, in which he has chosen to write his epic. We can thus safely conclude that features which are anomalous in Prakrit and which show some parallelism in Ap. belong to the genuine spoken language of the writer. Such features may include the confusion between the infinitive and the gerund, the identity of forms in the Nom. and Acc., the interchangeable nature of the Inst. plu. and Loc. sg. and plu. and the sg. and plu. of the first person Present Indicative of the verbs. The first three of these are amply illustrated by the language of the Paumacariya, while the last may be found in the usage noted

by Alsdorf⁴ in the Vasudevahiṇḍī and can be seen much more clearly in the language of the Nāṇapañcamikahāo⁵ of Maheśvara. From the latter work we may note : I. 289 *jīvanto tattha ahañ piyāmo sīyalañ salilañ* 'While I am alive, I may drink there cool water'; I. 327 *natthi jae tañ thāṇaṃ jatthāhañ vaccimo pāvā* 'there is no place in the world, where I, the sinful one, can go'; IV. 67 *jeṇāhañ jīvāmo* 'that I am alive'; V. 20 *aṇurūvaṃ sañjogañ tamhā eyāṇa karimo hañ* 'I shall effect a proper union between the two'; V. 81 *rajjāñ pi lassa demo* 'I will give him even the kingdom'; VI. 44 *jammantare vi jeṇaṃ dāliddaṃ neva peccāmo* 'so that I may not experience poverty even in the next life'; VI. 66 *jāṇimo ahayañ* 'I shall know'; VIII. 22 *jāva ahañ jīvimo ettha* 'as long as I am alive here'; VIII. 25 *jeṇa pavuttiṃ lahimo* 'so that I may get information'; VIII. 75 *jeṇāhañ pavisimo tattha* 'so that I may enter there'; IX. 16 *pavajjāñ geṇhimo jeṇa* 'so that I may become a nun.'

The interchange between the Loc. sg. and plu. forms suggests an identity of such forms in the spoken language and this fact has an important bearing on two disputed points in the Ap. grammar. The writing of a nasal in many Ap. forms offers a difficult and confusing problem, where the teaching of the grammarians is at variance with the practice of the Ap. writers. According to Hemacandra, the Loc. forms of nouns ending in vowels other than *-a* show the termination *-hi* in the sg. and *-hī* in the plu. Thus *mālahi*; *mālahī*; *aggihi*; *aggihī*; *devihi*; *devihī* etc. The Mss of the Ap. literary works on the other hand show a good deal of laxity in the use of the anusvāra in such forms. The language of Dhanapāla's Bhavisattakahā makes a close approach to this distinction in the sg. and plu. based on the absence or presence of the anusvāra. But works like Haribhadra's Nemināhacariu and Somaprabha's Kumārapāla-pratibodha show forms with the anusvāra even in the sg. This fact has led Alsdorf⁶ to suggest that while the Śvetāmbara Ap. allowed nasalisation in the sg. it was not in order in the Digambara Ap. He tries to preserve this distinction by pointing out that sg. forms in *-hī* which occur so frequently in the Ms. A. of the Harivaṃśa, are due to scribal error. But this is not borne out by works of other Digambara writers or even by other works of Puṣpadanta himself. It is true that the editors of these works have not made a special effort to either record the variation in the anusvāra or to investigate its frequency with the help of statistics. But it is unlikely that they could have set an anusvāra on the Loc. sg. forms in *-hi*, if the majority of their

4. BSOS. VIII. 322.

5. Ed. Gopani, Bombay 1948.

6. Harivaṃśapurāṇa : Intro. p. 146.

Mss. did not sanction it, in view of the teaching of Hem. Thus in the Jasaharacariu we have : *tahī ujjēṇihī* (1.23.1) ; *ujjēṇihī jājjai* (1.26.5) etc. ; in the Nāyakumārācariu : *gau vudḍhīhī* (2.10.1) ; *vāvihī vihīṇā ṇaḍiyau* (2.12.11) ; *dhurahī ṇihippai* (3.3.5) ; *mahurahi thīya* (4.6.4) ; *nisaṇṇaurayanīhī* (5.2.3) etc. ; in the Karakaṇḍacariu : *purim campahim* (10.9.12) ; *gaṅgahī paḍiya* (10.13.2) ; *puvvāhim ni disihim jau thiyāu* (7.12.5) etc. in the Sāvayadhammadohā : *vesahī laggai dhanīyadhānu* (44) ; *dharanīhī paḍiu* (90) ; *sippihī gayau* (91) *karīṇihī laggau hatthiyau* (123) etc. All such cases will preclude us from regarding it as distinctive of the Śvet. Ap. and not correct in the works of Dig. writers. In fact, the Loc. sg. form cannot give us any valid criterion to postulate these two Ap. dialects based on the sects of the poets. We know that the sg. and plu. in the spoken language was identical and the same form was used in the Ap. as well, the distinction between the sg. without the nasal and the plu. with it being a purely literary device, suggesting the literary nature of the Ap. language as found in the poets and as described by the grammarians.

The second point of difference is the fact that while Hem. precludes the use of *-hi* for the Loc. sg. of *-a* stems, the grammarians of the Eastern school like Mārkaṇḍeya and Rāmatakavāgīśa, allow *-hī* in such cases. Jacobi⁷ has suggested that this form is a peculiarity of the Eastern Ap. and is found in the Dohākośas of Kāṇha and Saraha. Dr. Tagare⁸ appears to accept such a distinction. It is true that Loc. sg. in *-hi* or *hī* is rare in the Ap. work of both the Dig. and Śvet. writers, whether from Gujariāt or Mahārāṣṭra. The Bhavisattakahā shows only Loc. sg. as *nare nari* ; the Saṇānkumārācariu has *nari* ; the Kumārapālpratibodha has forms in *-i* or *ē* ; Puṣpadanta shows forms in *-ē* or *-i* and most of the early writers in Ap. do not show forms in *-hi* with the *-a* stems. A few forms noted by Dr. Tagare for his West and South Ap. are incorrect. Thus *sāyaragayahī* (Sdd. 3) is not Loc. sg. *dhūrahī* (Nc. 3.3.5) is a loc. sg. of a Fem. word in *-ā* ; *pāsahī* (Nc. 1.10.10) may be plural. But such forms become frequent in later writers. Kana-kāmara uses *divāṇa pahāṇahī divadive* (1.3.1) ; Hem.'s Ap. quotations have forms like *gharahī*, *desahī* etc. and they are more frequent in the Sandeśarāsaka. They must be thus regarded as an extension of the forms from other stems to the *-a* stems, under the influence of the spoken language. That it cannot be regarded as the peculiar feature of the Eastern Ap. is also seen from the fact that Puruṣottama does not allow it (XVII. 43). We now know that in

7. Sanatkumārācaritam p. XXV.

8. Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa Poona 1948, p. 29.

the spoken language the Loc. sg. and plu. of *-a* stems also were identical or at least similar in form and the presence or absence of such forms in *-hi* for *-a* stems is due to the more or less influence of the spoken language on the literary Ap. It is, moreover, not quite safe to postulate Ap. dialects either on the basis of the sect of the poet or even according to the locality in which he lived.

Finally we may passingly note a case or two of the influence of the spoken language on Sanskrit. In the epics we often come across the Dat. pronominal form *mahyaṃ* in place of the expected *mama*, obviously due to the identity of these two forms in the spoken language as reflected in the Prakrit *mājḡham*. Cf. Mbh. II. 61.6 *etad rājan dhanam mahyaṃ*; Rām. V. 37.20 *śrutvaiva ca vaco mahyaṃ*; V. 53.35. *sati mahyaṃ parākrame*. Can we similarly regard the use of the Loc. plu. *rāmāgiryāśrameṣu* in the very first verse of Kālidāsa's Meghadūta as a similar case, in spite of the various attempts of the commentators to explain it?

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF TĀMBŪLA — USE OF
LIME (CŪRṆA) AND CATECHU (KHADIRA) IN
TĀMBŪLA AND ITS ANTIQUITY — c.A.D. 100-1900

By

P. K. GODE

After my paper¹ on the history of *Indian Nut-Cracker* (A.D. 1300-1800) was published, a friend of mine suggested that I should write a paper on the history of the *lime-pot* used for keeping lime or *chunam* by persons who eat *tāmbūla*, a combination of the *betel-nut*, *betel-leaf*, *catechu* and other spicy ingredients. I agreed to this suggestion and began to hunt up references to lime-pot in literary sources known to me. Unfortunately in the material about *tāmbūla* collected by me I could not locate any definite references to the lime-pot as such though we have reason to believe in the existence of some lime-pot since our ancestors began to use *chunam* or lime as an ingredient of *tāmbūla*. It is, therefore, necessary to prove the antiquity of *lime* (= *cūrṇa* in Sanskrit) as used in *tāmbūla* as also of *catechu* (= *Kāt* in Marathi) as the combination of the *chunam* and *catechu* in the mouth reddens the mouth of the person chewing *tāmbūla*.²

(1) Raghunātha Paṇḍita in his *Rājavyavahārakośa* (c.A.D. 1676) refers to *lime* as चूना (“चूना नाम भवेच्चूर्णम्”) and *lime-pot* as चुनाळ (“चुनाळः स्यात् चूर्णपात्रम्”) as I have already pointed out in any paper on the Nut-Cracker referred to above.

(2) The Marathi Dictionary called the *Śabdakośa* (by Y. R. Date and C. G. Karve, Vol. III, p. 1210) records the following words for *lime-pot* :—

“ चुनाळ, चुनाळ, चुनाळें ”

and derives them from Sanskrit चूर्ण + आलय (= चूर्णालय) = चूर्णपात्र of the *Rājavyavahārakośa*. So far I have not traced any usages of the चूर्णपात्र or चूर्णालय in the Sanskrit sources.

1 Bhārata Itihāsa Mandal Quarterly, Poona, 1948 pp. 8-14.

2 Cakrapāṇinātha in his *Bhāvopahāra* (Kashmir Sanskrit Series, No. 14, Srinagar, 1918, pages 36-37) refers to *tāmbūla* in the following stanza 39:—

“ स्वसंविज्ञानन्दानन्द नागवल्लीद्लोज्ज्वलम् ।
स्फुरत्स्फेन्दुसुरभि ताम्बूलं ते निवेद्यते ॥ ३९ ॥ ”

The commentary of Rāmyadeva Bhaṭṭa on this stanza explains *tāmbūla* as “ताम्रभवामूलम् अखिलोपरञ्जकत्वात्”. This etymology of *tāmbūla* needs to be examined. It is indeed highly imaginative,

The *Sabdakośa* does not record any usages for the words about *lime-pot* referred to above.

(3) The habit of chewing the *tāmbūla* is current in Indo-China. This habit has a great antiquity as I am informed by my friends at Hanoi, one of whom has sent me a version of a story about its origin which I am appending to this article. Consistent with this tradition is the discovery of a *lime-pot* at *Thanh-hoa* (in Northern Annam) by O. R. T. Janse, who led an expedition to Indo-China and the Philippines and published his report on it in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (June 1941). A photograph of this *lime-pot* will be found on Plate XXV. This *lime-pot* is one of the articles of the *Sung* and *Ming* dynasties discovered by Janse. Prof. P. K. Mukherji in his *Indian Literature in China and the Far East*, Calcutta, 1931, records the following chronology of the *Sung* and *Ming* dynasties in his list of the Translators of the Chinese *Tripitaka* — (Pages 3-4) — Later (Northern) *Sung* dynasty A.D. 960-1127 K'aifung (Honan) — Southern *Sung* dynasty—A.D. 1127-1280—*Ming* dynasty—A.D. 1368-1644. It is not clear from Janse's Report whether the *lime-pot* belongs to the *Sung* or the *Ming* dynasty. We may, however, conclude that it belongs to the period A.D. 960-1644 and hence cannot prove the use of *lime* in *tāmbūla* in Indo-China prior to A.D. 960.

(4) In the article on *Chunam* in the *Hobson-Jobson* (by Yule and Burnell, London, 1903, pp. 218-219) we get the following dated references to the use of *lime* in *tāmbūla* :—

A.D. 1510—"And they also eat with the said leaves (betel) a certain *lime* made from *oyster shells*, which they call *cionama*."

—*Varthema*, 144

A.D. 1563—"...So that all the names you meet with that are not Portuguese are Malabar, such as *betre* (betel), *chuna* which is *lime*...."

—*Garcia*, fol. 37g

A.D. 1610—"Chunan"—Pyrard de Laval, ii. 84 (Hak. Soc. ii, 135).

A.D. 1614—"Having burnt the great idol into *Chunah* he mixed the powdered *lime* with *pān* leaves and gave it to the Rajputs that they might eat the object of their worship".

—*Ferishta*, quoted by *Quartremère*, *Not et*
.. *Ext XIV* 510.

A.D. 1673—"The natives chew it (betel) with *Chinam* (lime of Calcined Oyster Shells)"

—*Fryer*, 40

A.D. 1689—“*Chinam* is Lime made of Cockle-Shells or Limestone ; and *Pawn* is the leaf of a Tree.”

—Ovington, 123

These references³ clearly prove the use of *lime* in *tāmbūla* and in particular of the *lime prepared* from *Oyster Shells* or *Cockle-Shells*, which is even now used in some parts of India.

(5) From the reference to the use of *lime from Oyster Shells* in *tāmbūla* made by Varthema in A.D. 1510 we now turn to the section on *tāmbūla* (*tāmbūlabhoga*) of the *Mānasollāsa* (c.A.D. 1130) of king Someśvara. In this section the use of *lime from pearl-oysters* is prescribed for use in *tāmbūla* or *vīṭaka* (Marathi *viḍā*) as follows :—

“सुक्ताशुक्तिभवं चूर्णं वीटकेषु निघापितम्”

[See p. 84 of *Mānasollāsa*, Vol. II (G. O. Series, Baroda, 1939)]

The use of *lime* in *tāmbūla* is thus clearly established from c.A.D. 1100 up to the present day.

(6) In the Tāntrika treatise on yoga called the *Śiva-Saṃhitā* (3rd Edition, Pāṇini office, Allahabad, 1942) we find the following references to *tāmbūla* including a reference to “*Cūrṇa*” or *lime* :—
Page 32—The Yogī should try to attain success in yoga by the following means :—

“He should use clarified butter, milk, sweet food, and *betel without lime*, camphor, husked sweet grains, pleasant monastery or retired cell, having a small door etc.”

“घृतं क्षीरं च मिष्टान्नं ताम्बूलं चूर्णवर्जितम् ।
कर्पूरं निस्तुषं मिष्टं सुमठं सूक्ष्मरन्ध्रकम् ॥ ४० ॥”

On p. 58, however, *tāmbūla* has been definitely mentioned among the impediments of yoga as follows :—

“नारी शय्यासनं वस्त्रं धनमस्यविदम्बनम् ।
ताम्बूलं भक्षयानानि राज्यैश्वर्यविभूतयः ॥ ३ ॥
भोगरूपा इमे विघ्ना धर्मरूपानिमाञ्जृणु ॥ ६ ॥”

Trans.—“Women, beds, seats, dresses and riches are obstacles to yoga. *Betels*, dainty dishes, carriages, kingdoms, lordliness and powers etc. . . These are the obstacles which arise from *Bhoga* (enjoyment) etc.”

3 Bernier's reference (c.A.D. 1660) to *tāmbūla* may be added to the references from the Hobson-Jobson. It is as follows:—

“*Betel* is a small parcel made of aromatic leaves and other ingredients mixed up with a little of the *lime made from sea-shells*, this colours the lips and mouth red and agreeably perfumes the breath” (pp. 13-14 of *Travels*, London 1891).

Nārāyaṇatīrtha in his commentary *Yogasiddhānta-candrikā* (Chowkhamba Sans. Series, Benares, 1910, p. 100) refers to *tāmbūla* without lime in the following verse :—

“ कर्पूरं मधुरं स्निग्धं गन्धं ताम्बूलमेव च ।
चूर्णेन रहितं धातुपोषणं योगिनां शुभम् ॥ ”

(7) The earliest datable reference to the use of *cūrṇa* or *lime* or *chunam* in *tāmbūla* so far traced by me is found in the section on Perfumes (*Gandhayukti*) of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* (c.A.D. 500) of Varāhamihira (Chap. 77, Verses, 35, 36, 37 dealing with *tāmbūla* — pages 612-613 of the Edition with Eng. Trans. by V. Subrahmanya Sastri, Bangalore, 1947). This reference is as follows :—

“ युक्तेन चूर्णेन करोति रागं
रागक्षयं पूगफलातिरिक्तम् ।
चूर्णाधिकं वक्त्रविगंधकारि
पत्राधिकं साधु करोति गन्धम् ॥ ३६ ॥ ”

Translation—“A moderate dose of *lime* used with betel-leaves gives good colour ; an extra quantity of areca nut spoils the colour ; excessive lime produces bad smell in the mouth, but an extra quantity of betel-leaf, pleasant smell.” Lime by itself with betel-leaf may not produce red colour in *tāmbūla* when chewed. At present deep red colour⁴ is obtained by the combination of *lime* and *catechu* (Marathi *Kāt*) in the *tāmbūla*. We must, therefore, record evidence about the use of *catechu* in *tāmbūla* from Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit sources.

(8) The *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1938) mentions the use of *cūrṇa* or *lime* in *tāmbūla*, in the following verse 21 of Chap. 24 of *Cikitsāsthāna*.

“ कर्पूरजातीकङ्कोलवङ्कटुकाह्वयैः ॥
सचूर्णपूरैः सहितं पत्रं ताम्बूलजं शुभम् ॥ २१ ॥ ”

Tāmbūla is also mentioned in the following verses of Chap. 46 of the *Sūtrasthāna* :—

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4 The *Rājaniḥṣṭu* of Narahari (c.A.D. 1450) refers to the dye-producing properties of *Khadira* (*Khadira-sāra*) or extract from the *Khadira* tree (*Catechu*) in the following verse (p. 13 of Anandāśrama Edition, Poona, 1896) :—

“ खदिरः खदिरोद्भूतः तत्सारो रङ्गदः स्मृतः ।
श्रेयः खदिरसारश्च तथा रङ्गः षडाह्वयः ॥ ४१ ॥ ”

.....“ तस्माद्भुक्तेरितं कफम् ॥ ४८४ ॥
 धूमेनापोह्य हृद्यैर्वा कषायकटुतिक्तकैः ।
 पूगकङ्कोलकर्पूरलवङ्गसुमनःफलैः ॥ ४८५ ॥
 फलैः कटुकषायैर्वा मुखवैशद्यकारकैः ।
 ताम्बूलपत्रसहितैः सुगन्धैर्वा विचक्षणैः ॥ ४८६ ॥ ”

(9) The *Carakasamhitā* also mentions *tāmbūla* in the following verses of Chap. 5 of *Sūtrasthāna* (p. 42 of N. S. Press Edition, Bombay, 1941) :—

“ धार्याण्यास्येन वैशद्यरुचिलौगन्ध्यमिच्छता ॥ ७६ ॥
 जातीकटुकपूरानां लवङ्गस्य फलानि च ।
 कङ्कोलस्य फलं परं ताम्बूलस्य शुभं तथा ।
 तथा कर्पूरनिर्यासः सूक्ष्मैलायाः फलानि च ॥ ७७ ॥ ”

There is no reference to *cūrṇa* or lime in the above ingredients of *tāmbūla* mentioned in the early medical text of the *Carakasamhitā*. We must go through the whole text of this work and see if *cūrṇa* as an ingredient of *tāmbūla* has been mentioned in some other context.

(10) The *Rājanighaṇṭu* of Narahari (c.A.D. 1450) records the following verses about *cūrṇa* on p. 132 of the *Anandāśrama* (Poona, 1896) Edition of this work :—

गुणाः — “ चूर्णं चार्जुनवृक्षजं कफहरं गुल्मघ्नमर्काह्वयम्
 शोफघ्नं कुटजं करञ्जनितं वातापहं रुच्यदम् ।
 पित्तघ्नं जलजं बलाग्निरुचिदं शैलाह्वयं पित्तदम्
 स्फाटिक्यं दृढदन्तपक्विजननं शुक्त्यादिजं रुक्षदम् ॥ २० ॥

ताम्बूललक्षणम् —

पर्णाधिक्ये दीपनी रङ्गदात्री
 चूर्णाधिक्ये रुक्षदा कृच्छ्रदात्री ।
 साराधिक्ये खादिरे शोषदात्री
 चूर्णाधिक्ये पित्तकृत्पूतिगन्धा ॥ २१ ॥ ”

Verse 20 in the above extract mentions the properties of *cūrṇa* from the *Arjuna* tree, *Kuṭaja* plant etc. The *cūrṇa* from *śukti* (pearl-oyster) mentioned last in this verse is identical with the *lime* from oyster-shells used in *tāmbūla*. Verse 21 definitely deals with *cūrṇa* or *lime* and its use as also the use of *Khādirasāra* or *catechu* in *tāmbūla*. This verse may be compared with verse 36 in the *Gandhu-yukti* section of the *Brhatsamhitā* quoted above.

(11) The *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* (c.A.D. 625 according to Hoernle, or 8th-9th cent. A.D. according to Prof. Dineshchandra Bhattacharya)

of Vāgbhaṭa definitely refers to *Cūrṇa* (lime) and *Khadira* (catechu) in *tāmbūla* in the following verses (34-38) of Chap. 3 of *Sūtrasthāna* (ed. by R. D. Kinjawadekar, Poona, 1940, p. 15) :—

“ रुचिवेशद्य सौगन्ध्यमिच्छन्वक्त्रेण धारयेत् ॥
जातीलवङ्गकपूरकङ्गोलकटुकैः सह ॥ ३५ ॥
तांबूलीनां किसलयं हृद्यं पूगफलान्वितम् ॥
रक्तपित्तक्षतक्षीणरूक्षोत्कृषितचक्षुषाम् ॥ ३६ ॥
विषमूर्च्छामदारौनामपथ्यं शोषिणां च तत् ॥
पथ्यं सुप्तोत्थिते भुक्ते स्नाते वान्ते च मानवे ॥ ३७ ॥
द्विपत्रमेकं पूरां च सचूर्णखदिरं च तत् ॥ ”

(12) The importance of the medical properties of the *Khadira* (*Acacia Catechu*) and its products was recognized more than 2000 years ago as will be seen from the references to *Khadira* by Caraka, Suśruta, Vāgbhaṭa, Hārīta, Cakradatta, *Dhanvantari-Nighaṇṭu*, Vṛnda, Śodhala, Bhāvamiśra (*Bhāvaprakāśa*) etc. collected by my friend Vaidya B. G. Shah (Pages 452-458 of the *Nighaṇṭu Adarśa*, Part I, Ahmedabad, 1927). R. N. Khory in his *Materia Medica*, II, 184 records the *Actions and uses of catechu* as follows :—

“ Powerful astringent, stronger than Kino, anti-periodic and *digestive*. Its action is due to the *tannic acid* it contains. It is a powerful astringent to the mucous membranes, given in dyspepsia attended with pyrosis, and also diarrhoea in children ; in dysentery, intermittent fevers and scurvy ; as a gargle in hoarseness of voice and sore throat. Locally as a dusting powder, hypertrophied relaxed tonsils, ulcerated and spongy gums and to control passive haemorrhages. ”

(13) The combination of the decoction of the *khadira* (*Catechu*) and *Kramuka* (betel-nut) is prescribed in urinary troubles by the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1938, p. 452) —*Cikitsāsthāna*, Chap. 11, Section 9 as follows :—

“ क्षौद्रमेहिनं कदर-क्रमुक-कषायं ... पाययेत् ॥ ९ ॥ ”
(variant “ खदर-क्रमुक-कषायं ”)

Kadara is explained as *white catechu* by the lexicons *Vaijayanti* (c.A.D. 1050) — “ सिते तु तस्मिन् कदिरः ” and *Medinī* (c.A.D. 1200-1275) — “ कदरः खदिरे श्वेते ”

In the *tāmbūla* also there is a combination of *kramuka*⁵ (betel-nut) and *khadira* (catechu).

(14) The *Carakasamhitā* (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1941) gives recipes of (1) a pill (*guṭikā*) of *Catechu* (*Khadira-sāra*) and (2) oil from *Catechu* in the *Cikitsāsthāna*, Chap. 26, verses 206-214 (p. 609). These recipes are prescribed for persons suffering from *mukharoga* (diseases of the mouth). The recipe of the *Khadira-guṭikā* contains numerous ingredients like चन्दन (sandal), लवङ्ग (clove), कक्कोल, जातिकोश (nutmeg or its outer covering), मञ्जिष्ठा, घातकी, एळा (cardamom) etc. Some of these ingredients are used at present in *tāmbūla*. The verses referred to above begin with “तुलं खदिरसारस्य” and end with “खदिगादिगुटीकेयं तैलं च खदिगादिक्म्.” In this *Khadira-Guṭikā* of Caraka we have the ancestor of our modern scented *Kāt-goḷi* or *Catechu pill* used in *Tāmbūla*.

(15) The definite *Catechu pill* (*Kāt-goḷi*) used in *tāmbūla* is described in detail by Someśvara in his *Mānasollāsa* (Section on *Tāmbūla* called *tāmbūla-bhoga*) — Vol. II (G. O. Series, Baroda, 1939), p. 85 :—

(खदिरगुटिका) — “खदिरकाथचूर्णं तु कस्तुरीक्षोदमिश्रितम् ॥ ९७४ ॥
 श्रीखण्डकल्कसंयुक्तं कर्पूररजंसान्वितम् ।
 मेलयित्वा समैर्भागैर्गुटिका कल्पिता शुभा ॥ ९७५ ॥
 त्रिदोषशमनी कण्ठ्या दन्तानां च बलावहा ।
 (खदिरसारमुखरञ्जन) — अन्यत्खदिरसारस्य चूर्णे कोष्टाम्लसंयुतम् ॥ ९७६ ॥
 जातीफलस्य चूर्णेन मिश्रितं मुखरञ्जनम् ।
 जम्बीरवीजपूरस्य कलिकाभिः समन्वितम् ॥ ९७७ ॥
 कर्पूरपूर्यं खादेच्च तदनु क्रमुकान्वितम् ।”

The *catechu-pill* for king's *tāmbūla* contained *musk* (*Kasturī*), *Sandal* (*Śrikhaṇḍa*), camphor (*Karpūra*), while the *catechu-powder*, used with *tāmbūla* contained powder of *nutmeg* (*jālīphala*), camphor (*Karpūra*) etc.

(16) In the light of the history of *Catechu* in *tāmbūla* recorded above the following notes from the article on *Catechu* in the *Hobson-Jobson* (London, 1903, pp. 173-174) would be found interesting :—

5 In the *Bodhāyamiyagrhyasēsasūtra* (Mysore, 1920, P. 374 — *Praśna V*, Chap. 7 — *Vanaspati-homa*) worship of क्रमुकवृक्ष (betel-nut tree) is prescribed (“ क्रमुकादिवृक्षान् भर्चयित्वा ”). This text possibly belongs to 3rd or 4th Century A.D. (See p. XXIV of P. Harting's Edition of Selections from this text).

CATECHU also *CUTCH* and *CAUT*—An astringent extract from the wood of several species of *Acacia* (*Acacia Catechu*) the *Khair*, and *Acacia Suma*, Kurz, A.C. *Sundra* D.C. and probably more. The extract is called in H. *Kaḥ* (Skt. *kvath* 'to decoct') but the two first commercial names which we have given are doubtless taken from the southern forms of the word e.g. *Can. Kāchu*, Tam. *Kāsu*, Malay. *Kachu*. De orta, whose judgments are always worthy of respect, considered it to be the *lycium* of the ancients and always applied that name to it; but Dr. Royle has shown that *lycium* was an extract from certain species of *berberis*, known in the bazars as *rasot*. *Cutch* is first mentioned by Barbosa among the drugs imported into Malacca. But it remained unknown in Europe till brought from Japan about the middle of the 17th Century.

- Usages:* A.D. 1516 "drugs from Cambay... *Cacho*"—*Barbosa*, 191.
 A.D. 1554 — "...*Cate*... (at Ormauz) they call *Cacho*" —
A. Nunes, 22.
 A.D. 1563 — "...the wood vulgarly called *Cate*" — *Garcia*
f. 125.
 A.D. 1578 — "The Indians use this *Cate* mixt with *Areca*
 and with *Betel* and by itself without other
 mixture" — *Acosta Tract*; 150.
 A.D. 1585 — "Sassetti mentions *Catu* as derived from the
Khadira tree *i.e.* in modern Hindi *Khair* (Skt.
Khadira).
 A.D. 1616 — "*Catcha*"
 — *Foster, Letters*, 127.
 A.D. 1617 — "*Cacha*" (drug)
 — *Cook's Diary*, i. 294.
 A.D. 1759 — "*Hortal* and *Colch*, Earth-oil and wood oil.
 — *List of Burma Products etc., Oriental Report*
i, 109.
 C.A.D. 1760 — "To these three articles (*betel*, *areca* and
chunam) is often added for luxury what they
 call *Cachoonda*, a Japan-earth which from per-
 fumes and other mixtures, chiefly manufactured
 at *Goa*, receives such improvement as to be sold
 to advantage when reimported to *Japan*.....
 Another addition too they use of what they call
Catchoo, being a blackish granulated perfumed
 composition."
 — *Grose*, i, 238.
 A.D. 1813 — "The peasants manufacture *Catechu* or *terra*
Japonica from the *Keiri* (*Khair*) tree (*Mimosa*

Catechu) which grows wild on the hills of *Konkana* but in no other part of the Indian Peninsula" (erroneous)

— *Forbes. Or. Mem.* i. 303 (2nd Ed. i. 193).

(17) The *Khadira* plant has a great antiquity and sanctity. In the *R̥gveda* (Book III, Hymn 53) Indra is invoked as follows:—

"19. Enclose thee in the heart of Khayar (*Khadira*) timber, in the car wrought of *Śimśapā* put firmness" (Griffith's Trans. Vol. I, 1896, p. 375).

Griffith's Note:—"Khayar-timber": the hard wood of *Khadira*, or *Acacia Catechu* of which the pin of the axle was made. *Śimśapā*: *Dalbergia Sisu*, also a common timber tree.

It would require a special monograph to trace the history of the *Khadira* tree from the time of the *R̥gveda* upto the present day. This tree had great sanctity in ancient Indian sacrificial ritual as the sacrificial post was made of *Khadira* (*Khādīra-yūpa*). Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* (Chap. XVII of Book II on Superintendent of Forest Produce, p. 107 of Eng. trans. by Shamashastry) mentions among forest products (1) *Khadira* (*Mimosa Catechu*) and (2) *Somavalka* which is white *Khadira* (see p. 625 of *Aṣṭāṅgahīdayakośa* by K. M. Vaidya, 1936—article on *Somavalka* mentioned in the *Sūtrasthāna* of the *Aṣṭāṅgahīdaya*). The history of the economic products of India on the strength of Indian sources has not yet been studied systematically. Such history will have a respectable place in any comprehensive history of Indian Culture when it comes to be written. For this purpose each of these products must be studied separately from the historical and cultural point of view.

(18) *Berthold Laufer* in his *Sino-Iranica* (Chicago, 1919, p. 481) refers incidentally to *Catechu* as follows:—

"It is not intelligible to me why Hirth says that in the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1368-1644) *lu-wei* "Was, as it is now, *Catechu*, a product of the *Acacia Catechu* (Sanskrit *Khadira*)." No authority for this theory is cited; but this is quite impossible as *Catechu* or *Cutch* was well known to the Chinese under the names *er-Ca* or *hai'r-Ca*" (See *Stuart, Chinese Materia Medica*, p. 2; and *Laufer, Loan Words in Tibetan*, No. 107, where the history of these words is traced).

6 See list of Chinese dynasties with dates at the end of *Indian Literature in China and the Far East* by P. K. Mukerji, Calcutta, 1931 (p. 4 of the list).

(19) In Section 13 of Chap. 11 of the *Cikitsāsthāna* of the *Suśrutasaṃhītā* (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1938, p. 450) the author describes the method of gathering the juice of *Khadira* (*Acacia Catechu*) directly from the tree as follows:—

“ अतः खदिरविधानमुपदेक्ष्यामः—प्रशस्तदेशजातम् अनुपहतं मध्यमवयसं खदिरं परितः खानयित्वा तस्य मध्यमं मूलं छित्त्वा अयोमयं कुम्भं तस्मिन् अन्तरे निदध्याद् यथा रसग्रहणसमर्थो भवति, ततः तं गोमयमृदा अवलिप्तं अवकीर्य इन्धनैः गोमयमिश्रैः आदीपयेद् यथा अस्य दह्यमानस्य रसः स्रवति अधस्तात्, तद् यदा जानीयात् पूर्णं भाजनम् इति, अथ एनं उद्धृत्य परित्स्नान्य रसं अन्यस्मिन्पात्रे निधाय अनुगुप्तं निदध्यात् etc. ”

The *Khadira-vidhāna* or the method of gathering juice of *Catechu* prescribed above was as follows:— A *Khadira* tree growing on good ground and of middle age was selected and ground about its bottom was dug out. A cut was then made in its central root and a pitcher of iron or bronze (*ayas*) was so placed underneath as to admit the exuding juice. The pitcher was then besmeared with a mixture of cow-dung and earth and later kept in the midst of fire produced from (dried) cow-dung and other fuel. When the juice had boiled over, the pitcher was lifted up and the juice poured in a separate pot and kept properly covered.

The above method of gathering the juice from a *Khadira* tree so graphically described by *Suśruta* gives us a good glimpse of the processes employed by ancient Indians in the manufacture of herbal medicines.

(20) The *Yogaratanākara* (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona, 1900) is a voluminous medical compendium compiled between c.A.D. 1650 and 1725 as I have proved in my article on its date (Pages 154-156 of the *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, Bombay, 1943, Vol. IV). It contains a long extract of about 20 verses on *tāmbūla* (Verses 58-79 on page 35). The ingredients of *tāmbūla* mentioned in these verses are as follows:— (1) पूग (betel-nut), (2) कर्पूर (camphor), (3) कस्तूरी (musk), (4) लवङ्ग (clove), (5) सुमनस् (nutmeg), (6) ताम्बूलपत्र or पर्ण (betel-leaf), which should be पाण्डुर (whitish yellow), the betel-leaf from *Vaigadeśa* (Bengal) was the best (चङ्गदेशोद्भवं पर्णं परं कटुरसं सरम्) (7) *Catechu* (*Khadira*), (8) lime or chunam (*Cūrṇa*). The verses pertaining to *Cūrṇa* and *Khadira* are as follows:—

“ खदिरः कफपित्तघ्नशूर्णं वातबलापनुत् ।

संयोगतस्त्रिदोषघ्नं सौमनस्यं करोति च ॥ ७१ ॥

पूगाधिकं प्रभाते स्यान्मध्याह्ने खादिराधिकम् ।

चूर्णाधिकं निशायां तु ताम्बूलं भक्षयेत्सदा ॥ ७२ ॥ ”

The properties of *tobacco* (तमाखु) are recorded in 7 verses on pp. 17-18. At present some people chew tobacco powder along with *tāmbūla* or separately. Verse 4 tells us that the use of tobacco is a remedy against diseases of the teeth (दन्तरुक्-शमनं) and that it is a germicide (किमिकण्ड्वादिनाशनं).

The foregoing notes are sufficient to prove conclusively the use of *Cārṇa* (lime) and *Catechu* (*Khadira*) as essential ingredients of *tāmbūla* for about 2000 years say from the first century of the Christian era upto the present day. Further evidence on this topic has been gathered by me and I hope to record it in a subsequent paper.

Appendix

(The history of the use of *tāmbūla* in countries outside India must be studied critically with a view to understanding the spread of its use in India many years before c.A.D. 400. In this connection I made inquiries of my friend Mademoiselle S. Karpeles, Secretary of Ecole Francaise d'Extrême-orient at Hanoi (Indo-China) and sent to her my paper on *Indian Nut-Cracker*.⁷ She replied promptly in her letter of 16th March 1949 as follows :—

“Here is the name of the *Nut-Cracker*” :

Laotian — “MITSANAK”

Vietnamese — “DAO DĀU”

Cambodian — “PRĀNAK”

The habit of *chewing betel* is very ancient and current throughout the whole Peninsula and herewith a story about its origin found in old Vietnamese books translated into French. It is Monsieur TRAN HAM TAN, who took the trouble to find it out.”

On getting the above story about the origin of *tāmbūla* I got it translated into English by my friend Dr. R. G. Harshe, Registrar, Deccan College Research Institute, Poona. This English translation is given below. I take this opportunity of recording my best thanks to Miss Karpeles, Mr. Tran Ham Tan and Dr. Harshe for their hearty co-operation with me in the present inquiry about the history of *tāmbūla* in *Greater India*.

7 Prof. R. M. Bhusari has drawn my attention to a genuine Marathi word for the *Nut-Cracker* viz. पोफळफोडणा (*Pophal-phodaṇā*) mentioned in a Mahānubhāva Marathi text of the 13th Century viz. लीळाचरित्र (Edited by H. N. Nene — उत्तरार्ध, p. 100).

The Life-story of Tan and Lang.
(by Mr. Tran Ham Tan Hanoi).

Formerly there lived a Prince, Quan-lang, who had an imposing stature. He received the title of "Marquis of Cao" as title of nobility. Since then he took *Cao* as the family name. His two sons *Tan* and *Lang* resembled each other so much that one could not distinguish the elder from the younger. At the age of 17 or 18 they became orphans and went together to seek a preceptor for teaching them religion and philosophy. The daughter of their preceptor *Lâm Huyên* was also of 17 or 18 years of age. When she saw the two brothers she fell in love with them. Wishing to marry one of them, she did not know as to who was the elder, and who the younger of the two. She gave both of them a single cup of meat-soup and one only pair of sticks in order to know the elder and the younger. The junior passed all these things immediately to the senior. She then requested her parents to marry her to the elder one. The couple sometimes lived away from their little brother. The younger brother felt it very much and saying to himself that his elder brother being in love with his wife had forgotten his brother on that account and without informing his elder brother he returned to the paternal house. Coming to a deep stream at which there was no ferry he sat all alone and wept grievously and died; then his dead-body was transformed into a tree: the *areca*.

When the elder one did not see any longer his younger brother he abandoned his wife in order to go in pursuit of him; coming to the place where his younger brother had died, he threw himself on the tree (i.e. *areca*) and died; his dead body was transformed into a huge stone, attached to the trunk of this tree. When the young wife marked the disappearance of her husband, she went in his pursuit; coming to the place she learnt that her husband was already dead, whereupon she threw herself on the stone and embraced it till her death. She was transformed into a *Creeping stock* which braided over the tree and the stone and from which were produced the odoriferous (*sweet-smelling*) leaves. They were the *leaves of the betel*.

Their parents (relatives) came there very much distressed and built a temple in their honour. At the temple, the passers-by offered to them, the incense sticks, praised their brotherly love and the conjugal duty of the victims.

In the month of autumn the king Hung made a journey to this place. Seeing this temple with the tree surrounded by the creeping stalks he asked for its reason and being supplied with the

information made the *fruit* and the *leaf* to be brought to him. He chewed them and spat its *juice* on the stone which was of a *red colour* and which emitted a good smell. The king returned taking with him a *fruit of areca* and a leaf of betel prepared with a little *lime he chewed the betel and the areca-nut*. He even ordered that these newly discovered plants be planted in his kingdom and declared that *at marriages and feasts one ought to prepare a present consisting of the betel leaves and the nuts of areca*.⁸

[This took place under the dynasty of the *Hung-Vuong* — (2880-258 B.C.)]

8 In India also we distribute *Pān-Supāri* (betel-leaf and betel-nut) to all guests at marriages, feasts and all social and cordial functions. Do we owe this custom to Indo-China and other countries adjacent to India?

THE IMAGE-WORLD OF THE DHAMMAPADA

By

B. G. GOKHALE

The *Dhammapada* is perhaps the best-known and the most popular of the Buddhist Scriptures. And this is so for obvious reasons. In its 423 verses, grouped in 26 cantoes, the work presents a veritable compendium of Buddhist ethical thought in a manner which is at once authentic and striking. Its importance as a religious text has always been readily recognized. Thus Oldenberg called it one of the "most beautiful and richest of collections of proverbs".¹ This richness of the text in the matter of presenting the ethical wisdom of Buddhism has been eagerly utilized by all those who have written on Buddhism as a religion and as a philosophy. The present attempt aims at drawing attention to another aspect of the text namely, its happy knack of translating philosophical ideas into the language of "emotion and poetry".²

The image-world of the *Dhammapada* is, indeed, rich and varied. Its wisdom speaks in a series of striking images. As C. Day Lewis defines it, a poetic image "is a picture made out of words. An epithet, a metaphor, a simile may create an image; or an image may be presented to us in a phrase or passage on face of it purely descriptive, but conveying to our imagination something more than the accurate reflection of an external reality. Every poetic image, therefore, is to some degree, metaphorical. It looks out from a mirror in which life perceives not so much its face as some truth about its face".³ This quality of presenting the truth about the face of life is, time and again, brought to the reader's attention by the verses of the *Dhammapada*. The very first verse comparing the evil mind to a bullock, and misery to the wheel of the cart brings out the skill displayed in conveying not only a visual image but also the sound associated with the rumbling of the cart through the use of the syllable *ṭṭh* both in the first and the second lines of the verse. The idea conveyed is that of a causal relationship which is at once definite and inexorable. The same idea, in a contrary context, is conveyed through the use of the image of substance and shadow in the very next verse. The sense of evanescence is strikingly conveyed through the use of the common simile of a drop of water on a lotus-

1. *Buddha, His Life, His Doctrine, His Order* (London, 1928), p. 195.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 236.

3. *The Poetic Image*, (N. Y., 1947), p. 13.

4. Canto XXIV, Verse 3 (hereafter citations would be abbreviated as XXIV, 3).

5. III, 9.

petal⁴ and that of futility and uselessness through the image of a log of wood⁵ or a gourd cast away in winter.⁶ Another striking word-picture concerns the comparison of a man learning simply by rote without understanding anything of what he has learned to a hired cowherd counting the cows of others ;⁷ a similar idea wherein an unintelligent person associating with a learned man is compared to a ladle or a spoon not knowing the taste of the curry⁸ or wise words not followed upon in conduct compared to a flower beautiful in hue but devoid of fragrance⁹ — such are the evocative images drawn by the *Dhammapada*.

The image-world of the *Dhammapada* is as extensive as the universe itself. It draws upon the world of nature, the world of animals and birds, the world of human beings and even the world of the gods. The common "arche-types" are to be seen in the frequent use of the images of mountains, rivers, wind, fire and sound. An attempt may now be made to examine the different similes and metaphors in their several groups.

The world of nature : In this the image of the moon is the most striking. There are references of the phases of the moon,¹⁰ the moon hidden by clouds,¹¹ and the moon traversing the path of the constellations.¹² A mention is also made of the three parts of the night.¹³

The simile of the mountain is very often used to convey the ideas of ruggedness, immovability,¹⁴ primordiality and eminence.¹⁵ The splendour of the Himalayas is brought out by saying that the mountains shine from afar¹⁶ ; in another the wise man in his patience is compared to the earth.¹⁷

Another frequent object of imagery is the river to which is compared human existence beyond which lies *Nibbāna*.¹⁸ Death is also compared to a flood¹⁹ indicating thereby a certain unity in the processes of life and death. *Nibbāna* is compared to an island which cannot be overwhelmed by the flood of the processes of life and death.²⁰ Life, in its unreality and ephemeral nature is compared to a bubble or a mirage²¹ or to a bamboo-grove overwhelmed by a flood.²² The action of seepage of water is very vividly brought out in the simile which compares it with similar action of passions on a mind which is compared to an ill-thatched roof.²³ A stormy

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|-------------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| 6. XI, 4. | 7. I, 19. | 8. V, 2. |
| 9. IV, 8. | 10. V, 11. | 11. XIII, 6 and 7. |
| 12. XV, 12. | 13. XII, 2. | 14. VI, 6. |
| 15. II, 8. | 16. XXI, 15. | 17. VII, 6. |
| 18. VI, 10. | 19. IV, 4. | 20. II, 5. |
| 21. XIII, 4 also IV, 3. | 22. XXIV, 4. | 23. I, 13. |

wind uprooting trees is referred to in a striking simile²⁴ and the action of fire in its natural as well as metaphorical allusions is also presented in a number of images like *bhasmacchanno pāvako*²⁵; *dahantam aggīva gacchati*,²⁶ *rāgasamo aggī*²⁷ and *niccam pajjalite*.²⁸ The vitality of natural growth is brought out in the simile of a tree growing up again after cutting²⁹ or its ubiquity is pointedly referred to in the simile of the all pervasive *māluva creeper*.³⁰ The unfriendliness of nature, if its laws are violated, is the subject of another simile.³¹

The floral world is drawn upon not only to point out a moral but also to adorn the tale. The most frequently mentioned flowers are the lotus³² *tagara*, *mallikā* and *vassikī*.³³ Out of the 15 verses of the *Pupphavagga* — the canto of flowers — 14 have references by way of similes to flowers, their beauty, attraction and fragrance. The 6th verse admonishes the monk to be like the bee in living in the village, for the bee takes away the honey without damaging the beauty of a flower, similarly the monk should obtain his livelihood without disturbing the harmony of a village.

The world of animals and birds :

Of the world of animals the elephant, horse and the bull find frequent mention in the similes and metaphors of the *Dhammapada*. The Buddha compares himself to an elephant in battle in the very first verse of the *Nāgavagga* or the canto of the elephant. "The elephant" observes Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan,³⁴ "is the symbol in Buddhism of endurance, strength and restraint" and we might add, majesty. It will be recalled here that of the five symbols used by early Buddhist art, the white elephant stands for the conception by his mother of the Bodhisattva himself. The horse stands for renunciation, the Bo-tree for Enlightenment, the two deer with the wheel for the first preaching of the Law and the *Stūpa* for the *Parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha. Aśokan art has made the figure of the bull famous with its use at Rampurva. In the *Nāgavagga* there are references to famous elephants like Dhanapāla and descriptions of well-trained elephants. Of the horse the difference between a weak horse and a strong one is brought out in showing the superiority of the earnest over the slothful and of the wide-awake among those who are sleeping.³⁵ The superiority of the Sindhu breed of horses is mentioned in one verse³⁶ while the training of a wise man is often compared to the breaking of a horse.³⁷ The other animals mentioned are

24. I, 7.
27. XVIII, 17.
30. XII, 6.
33. XXV, 18.
35. II, 9.

25. V, 12.
28. XI, 1.
31. XXII, 6.
34. See the *Dhammapada*, p. 160.
36. XXIII, 3.

26. II, 11.
29. XXIV, 5.
32. XX, 13.
37. VII. 5 and X, 16.

a hog (a slothful, gluttonous man revelling in the pleasures of life is compared to a hog),³⁸ a suckling calf (a sensual mind attached to desire is likened to a suckling calf)³⁹ while the ageing of an ignorant man is compared to that of a bullock.⁴⁰ But a simile which is of frequent occurrence in Indian literature namely, that of the spider and its web occurs here but once.⁴¹ Of the birds the ones mentioned are the swans,⁴² crow,⁴³ and cranes.⁴⁴ In another charming word-picture the restlessness of a fish out of water⁴⁵ is very strikingly brought out through the appropriate use of the verb *paripphanda*. Mention also must be made here of two picturesque similes of the tracklessness of the birds in the sky (*ākase'va sakuntānam galī tesam durāmayā*)⁴⁶ and the bird freed from the net (*jālamuttosakunto*).⁴⁷

Finally we come to the world of men with all their hierarchy, their organization, their desires and fears. Frequently the figure of the king is used to indicate the excellence of the social order from which he springs,⁴⁸ the majestic tame elephant which he rides,⁴⁹ his painted chariots,⁵⁰ his exile,⁵¹ his arbitrary or punitive action,⁵² and his ambition to become the sole monarch of this whole earth.⁵³ The complexity of the mind and the desirability of its being well-ordered is compared to a planned city⁵⁴ with a sly reference to the existence of dung-heaps.⁵⁵ War, as an institution, is described in all its organization and frightfulness.⁵⁶ But the peaceful side of life is not forgotten. References to aspects of farming operations,⁵⁷ the pastoral vocation, the almost "arche-typal" use of the term *gocara* and the mention of the professions like water-carriers, fletchers and carpenters, the iron-smith and the silver-smith, the artist and the gambler⁵⁸ all these are mentioned as the essential constituents of a rural or urban life. The transition from a rural-pastoral *milieu* to an urban-commercial economy with an increasing use of money as a medium of exchange is shown by a number of similes referring to *kahā-*

38. XXIII, 6.

39. XX, 12.

40. XI, 7.

41. XXIV, 14. However, the sense here is that of the spider being the prisoner of his self-created web, very much different from the sense in the spider-web configurations in Western literature. But cf. the Chinese proverb :— "The silkworm weaves its cocoon and stays inside, therefore it is imprisoned; the spider weaves its web and stays outside, therefore it is free." *The Wisdom of China and India*, (ed) Lin Yutang. (N. Y., 1942) p. 1093.

42. VII, 2.

43. XVIII, 10.

44. XI, 10.

45. III, 2.

46. VII, 3.

47. XIII, 8.

48. XXI, 5.

49. XIII, 2.

50. XIII, 5.

51. XXIII, 10.

52. X, 11.

53. XIII, 12.

54. III, 8.

55. IV, 15.

56. VIII, 4, VII, 6, XI, 11, and XXII, 9.

57. XVIII, 18.

58. For pastoral life see X, 7 ; 1, 19 ; for the term *gocara* see 1, 11, 12 ; II, 2 ; VII, 3 ; X, 7 ; XIV, 2 ; for the other professions see VI, 5 ; X, 17 and II, 1 ; X, 6 ; XXII, 3 ; XVIII, 5, 6.

*paṇa*⁵⁹ and *nikkha*,⁶⁰ the use of scales⁶¹ indicating fixed measures, and the activities of the merchant travelling with a caravan.⁶² The landscape seems to have been characterized by long stretches of forests⁶³ with trails and roads⁶⁴ passing through them and the dangers of the journey are pointedly referred to through a number of similes.⁶⁵ The famous utterance of the Buddha about the house and the house-builder enumerates a number of the parts of a house such as *phāsuka* and *gahakūṭam* and the thatch.⁶⁶

There are also a few references to current Brahmanical practices like fasting,⁶⁷ worship of the sacred fire,⁶⁸ ascetical practices⁶⁹ and popular religion,⁷⁰ learning⁷¹ and learned men.⁷² The world of the gods comes in for incidental mention and the gods so referred are Indra,⁷³ Agni⁷⁴ and Yama.⁷⁵ Finally if gods are mentioned the Evil One is not forgotten. He is described on a number of occasions.⁷⁶

Such is the image-world of the *Dhammapada*. As is inevitable many of these similes are to be found in equal profusion in other texts of the Pali canon like the *Sutta-nipāta*, the *Thera-Therī-gāthas*, the *Nikāyas* and the *Vamsas*. This is as much due to the very nature of the text itself, which is an anthology of the utterances of the Buddha, as due to the fact that they relate to a consistent world-view expressed through a number of well-chosen 'arche-typal' images. Light and darkness, island and ocean, ship and stream, path and wilderness ; these are some of the most common pairs of opposites through which striking philosophical and ethical ideas are conveyed. They relate to the everyday world around, for it must not be forgotten that the teachings of the Buddha were primarily meant for the common people and aimed at leading them from darkness to light, from the flux of change to changelessness, from the unreal to the Truth itself. In this task of making the Truth self-revealed the image-universe of the common world was adroitly used. But in this process it was also visibly demonstrated that literary beauty is not antithetical to ethical and philosophical profundity.

59. XIV, 8.

60. XVII, 10.

61. XIX, 13.

62. IX, 8.

63. VII, 10.

64. See the terms for different types of roads, *magga*, IV, 14, *Mahāpatha*, IV, 15, *dvedhāpatha*, XX, 10 and *upanisā* V, 16.

65. XVI, 11 ; IX, 8 and XVIII, 1 and 3.

66. XI, 9 ; 1, 13, 14.

67. X, 13.

68. VIII, 8.

69. X, 13.

70. XIV, 10.

71. XVIII, 7.

72. XXI, 6.

73. II, 10.

74. VIII, 8 ; XXVI, 10.

75. IV, 1, 5 ; XIII, 4 etc.

76. IV, 3, I, 7, 8 ; III, 2, 5 etc.

THE HIGH ENDOWMENTS AND DIGNITY OF YAMA

By

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It must be said first of all that the *R̥gvedic* ṛṣis understood very well the double nature of man, partly spiritual and partly material. Of the eight Ādityas, who naturally participate in the spiritual nature of Aditi (the Absolute), it is said that "the eighth angelic being [the last Āditya] is in human guise", *manuṣvat daiivyam aṣṭamam*¹; that is to say, the last spirit created by God (the soul of man) "remains incarnate in the universe"². It is equivalent to what was said about man by King David: "Thou hast made him a little less than the angels"³. Thus the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* may rightly say: *Imaṁ lokamabhyārcat puruṣarūpeṇa*⁴, "He (God) shines upon this world in the image of man". All the creatures of the world proclaim the glory of the Creator, but the reflexion of the latter shines in a special way in the soul of man. Such was Yama, the first man⁵, and such was the natural beauty of his soul. Had he besides any other gifts from the liberal hand of his Creator⁶?

The first man and father of the whole human race, one in whom the Creator had placed such trust and confidence⁶, could not but be endowed by Him with extraordinary qualities. Some of them are recorded by the *R̥gvedic* ṛṣis.

First of all, Yama was not destined to die. His immortality was so well remembered in Vedic tradition that the people are invited to honour and venerate it: "Let us with offerings honour Yama's deathless birth", *Yamasya jātam amṛtam*,⁷ which means that from the time of his creation all those material forces which naturally tend to the final disruption and disintegration of the human body

1. *Rg.*, II, 5, 2.

2. Cf. Coomaraswamy; *A New Approach to the Vedas*, p. 67. That man is classified as one of the *devas* (shining beings), in fact the last one, is clear from the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI, 1, 6, 14; "These are the *devas* who were created out of Prajāpati: Agni, Indra, Soma and Parameṣṭhin Prājāpatya", the latter being the first man. Cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, II, 6, 3; IV, 6, 3.

3. *Ps.*, VIII, 6.

4. *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II, 2, 1.

5. Cf. My article on "The Personality of Yama in the *R̥gveda*" in the *Jadunath Sarkar Commemoration Volume*.

6. Cf. *Rg.*, X, 10, 3.

7. *Ibid.*, 1, 83, 5.

were stopped and eliminated for all practical purposes⁸. The Sumerian traditions record the same fact when stating that the first man grew not old⁹; which is also said by Hesiod :

“Nor o’ver decript age mis-shaped their frame,
The hand’s, the foot’s proportions, still the same”¹⁰

The absence of death from the horizon of Yama’s life is in perfect agreement with what his Iranian parallel, Yima, says in the *Avesta* : “In my kingdom shall be neither . . . disease nor death”¹¹. Accordingly the *Yasna* says that in those early days “people were free from dying”¹²; and the *Rām Yast*, that “men were undying”¹³.

A number of primitive tribes, the world over, remember the same great privilege of the first men. The Algonquins of California repeat that in those days “there should be neither sickness nor death for man”¹⁴. The Singphos of Assam say that their ancestors during their sojourn in Mājai-Singra-Bhum, “were immortal”¹⁵. The Bakairi of Brazil aver that in those days “men lived for ever, there was no death”¹⁶. Accordingly the Arunta of Australia style the place wherein early men lived “a place of immortality”¹⁷; while the time itself when they lived is called the “age of immortality” by the Zuñi Indians of North America.¹⁸ Also the *Avesta* affirms that Yima “ruled an age of immortality”¹⁹. The Karyans of Borneo finally state that man was destined never to die “but would have gone straight to Amei’s Place of Heavenly Delight, the Apur Lagan above the Clouds”²⁰. An ancient Indian statement, very often repeated in philosophical works, may perhaps be an unconscious remembrance of this original immortality of Yama : men

8. This is also what is meant by the statement that Agni, Indra, Soma and Parameṣṭhin (the first man) “were born with a life of a thousand years” (*Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI, 1, 6, 15). Very often endless time is expressed by a very long period of time. In this case the first man is said to have the same long life as the *devas*.

9. Langdon, *Sumerian Epic of Paradise*, p. 6.

10. Hesiod, *Opera et Dies*, p. 9.

11. *Vendidad*, II, 2, 5.

12. *Yasna*, IX, 4, Cf. 5.

13. *Yasts*, XIX, 7, 33.

14. Schmidt, *Primitive Revelation*, p. 133.

15. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnography of Bengal*, p. 13.

16. Mills, *Prehistoric Religion*, p. 206.

17. Spencer-Gillen, *The Arunta*, I, p. 73.

18. Suching, “Zuñi Creation Myths”, *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 381.

19. *Yasna*, XXXII, c.

20. Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 201. The belief of the original immortality of man is one of the most extended traditions throughout the world. Cf. Frazer, *The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead*, I, pp. 59-86.

are said to be *amṛtasya putrāḥ*, "children of immortality"²¹.

Another quality with which Yama was adorned was wisdom. He is called by his own sister-wife Yamī *vedhāḥ*, "a sage"²². And if we take into account the short life of Yama before he was addressed thus and his lack of experience in things terrestrial and divine, we may easily admit that this wisdom was not acquired by him, but infused into his soul by God.

An incidental reference to the wisdom of Manu — the parallel of Yama — will confirm this view for he seems to have been held an expert in the knowledge of the medicinal qualities of fruits and herbs, a knowledge which the ṛṣi prays God to bestow on him, very likely as it was bestowed on Manu himself. "Of your pure medicines, O potent Maruts", says he, "those that are wholesomest and health-bestowing, those which our Father Manu hath selected, I crave from Rudra for our gain and welfare."²³

The wisdom of the first man is once more commemorated in the *R̥gveda*, concerning Ayu, which is, according to Sāyaṇa, another name of Manu. It is therefore said that "at Ayu's ancient call he by his wisdom gave all this progeny of men their being."²⁴

Hence it is evident that the wisdom of Yama was well known to, and celebrated by, all his descendants. A remembrance of this great gift to the first man seems to be contained in the belief of the Jainas that the human soul in its pure state possessed infinite knowledge, *unanta jñāna*²⁵. The same seems to be the view of Vallabhācārya when he teaches that in that state the soul of man "needed no external will and intellect to reach out towards consciousness."²⁶

This also seems to be the Iranian tradition about the first man, for Firdausi says of Jamshed, the same as the original Yima, that for fifty years, "his wisdom brought to light the properties of

21. *R̥g.*, X, 13, 1. Cf. Radhakrishnan, *An Idealist View of Life*, p. 307. This gift of immortality was, in the *Mahābhārata* period, misunderstood as having caused the overpopulation of the earth, owing to which the earth was supposed to have sank prior to its being raised by Viṣṇu as the *Varāhāvatāra*. *Vana Parva*, (III), 10933 ff. The original myth makes the *Varāha* lift the earth from the bottom of the primeval sea of waters, in the beginning of the Creation. Cf. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, XI, 110, 3; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, I, 4, 2-46. The overpopulation of the earth in the time of Yima is also spoken of, though never so exaggeratedly, in Iranian literature. Cf. Jackson, "Old Hindu-Persian Legend", *J.A.O.S.*, XVII (1896), p. 186.

22. *R̥g.*, X, 10, 1.

23. *Ibid.*, II, 33, 13.

24. *Ibid.*, I, 96, 2.

25. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 189.

26. Johanns, *To Christ Through the Vedānta*, III, Vallabha, p. 43.

things”²⁷ ; which seems to agree with what we heard of the medicinal knowledge of Manu. Centuries after, another Iranian author Jalalu’-d-dīn Rūmi still wrote : “ The father of mankind . . . hath hundreds of thousands of sciences in every vein. To his soul accrued (knowledge of) the name of everthing, even as that thing exists, in its real nature) upto the end (of the world).”²⁸

Fully in accordance with this view, Plato speaks of the first man as possessing “ wisdom in the various chances of life ”, and being busy in the “ learning of every nature which was gifted with any special power [another allusion to his medicinal knowledge] and was able to contribute some special experience to the store of wisdom.”²⁹

In the same way Adapa, the Sumero-Babylonian first man, is plainly styled “ the wise man ”³⁰ as it were *par excellence* ; and he is said to have “ received wisdom from (god) “ Ea ”, and to have been “ created like a sage among men ”³¹. Also the Zuñi Indians of North America call the first man, Poshaiyankya, “ the wisest of the wise.”³²

Adam the first man of *Genesis* is likewise introduced making use of his wisdom while giving their proper name to all the animals : “ And Adam called all the beasts by their names, and all the fowls of the air, and all the cattle of the field.”³³

We have not traced any other extraordinary quality adorning Yama, in the R̥gvedic hymns ; but in the *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa* there is a passage, which, though without mentioning Yama, certainly concerns him in the first rate. It is said that “ the *devas* saw that in man was divine nature (*devatā*) . . . which would enable him to succeed them (in heaven) after he had lived well on earth.”³⁴ What was this divine nature ? As regards its general nature we may say that it was not a gift that was due to the nature of man, for then it would have been called, though perhaps extraordinary, yet always human. If it was really divine, as it is called, it was not due to man’s human nature, it was something superadded to it, by the gracious will of the Lord, it was a grace of God, a *prasāda*.

What was the effect of this grace in the soul of man ? The word itself used by the *Brāhmaṇa* will indicate this effect. If it was

27. Firdausi, *Shāh Nāmāh*, IV, I. 25.

28. Jalālu-d-dīn Rūmi, *Mathnavi*, I, 1234-1235 (Nicholson’s transl. I, p. 69).

29. Plato, *Statesman*, 272 B.

30. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, p. 68.

31. Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, p. 149.

32. Suching, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

33. *Gen.*, II, 20.

34. *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa*, I, 98.

divine, its effect would be a divinization, a participation in the nature of God, as Plato acknowledges; when, speaking of the first men he says that "the divine nature (was) being continued in them,"³⁵ which is the same as to acknowledge that they possessed the divine nature by participation. The Teutons also affirm that with the gift received from Loke the first man and the first woman "were given the semblance of the gods."³⁶ No other seems to be the meaning of Hesiod when he, speaking of those early men of the Golden Age, avers that "like gods they lived"³⁷. Similarly the *Legend of Adapa* of Babylon styles its hero "a semi-divine being"³⁸; and Tagtug, also the first man, was called "a god" in Sumer³⁹, but "a god" who is later punished for disobeying the command of the heavenly God. All these traditions tend to show that the spiritual grace given by God to Yama elevated him to a plane much above his nature, since it bestowed on him the gift of participation in the divine.

Yima, Yama's Iranian parallel is also said to be possessed of glory which he had taken "from the *devas*"⁴⁰, for which he is often called "the bright Yima"⁴¹. The *Zamyāt Yast* shows the spiritual and divine character of this glory, a creature indeed, but of the highest order, so that man should be through it lifted to the divine plane. "We worship the mighty Kayanian glory, created by Mazdā, famous, excessively energetic, careful, vigorous, skilful, and superior to all other creatures, which belongs to Ahūra Mazdā, that he could make the creatures many and good, many and excellent, many and wonderful, many and prosperous, many and splendid; so that they might make the world renewed, not growing old, immortal, never decaying, ever living, ever profiting, and ruling-at-will, whereby the dead will rise, immortality will come to the living and progressive existence will be given at will."⁴² This is the glory that "adhered closely to Yima the King, the magnificent, for a long time while he ruled over the septempartite earth."⁴³ This glory is acknowledged by Fr. Messina, to be "a spiritual element which becomes the guarantee of success of the King."⁴⁴

35. Plato, *Critias*, 120.

36. Mackenzie, *Teutonic Myth and Legend*, pp. 29-30.

37. Hesiod, *Opera et Dies*, 113.

38. Rogers, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

39. Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

40. *Yasts*, XIX, 7, 32.

41. *Avesta*, *passim*.

42. *Zamyāt Yast*, II, 9-11 (Transl. by Kanga, "The philosophy of Zamyāt Yast" p. 7 (Reprinted from *Sanj Vartaman Annual*, 1938).

43. *Ibid.*, VII, 30-31 (*Ibid.*, p. 8).

44. Messina, "Il Sausyant nella tradizione iranica e la sua attesa", *Orientalia* (Rome), I (1932), p. 160.

What was this success to be is said in the above passage of the *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa*. That divine nature was given to the first man because it would enable him to succeed the *devas* in heaven after he had lived well on earth. That divine grace was the guarantee of supernatural salvation in *svarga*, for the first man having been made of the family of God, by the participation of his nature, was consequently, the heir of God's kingdom. "As long as the divine nature lasted in them", says Plato, "they were the seed of God."⁴⁵ "And if sons," adds St. Paul, "heirs also, heirs indeed of God."⁴⁶

There is still in Sanskrit literature another fourth quality which the first man was endowed with, though it is not mentioned in Vedic literature. It is found in a passage of the *Mahābhārata* which commemorates the work of the Creator, while he fashioned the bodies of men. The text runs as follows : "The first-born Prajāpati formed the bodies of corporeal creatures pure, spotless and obedient to duty. The holy men of old were not frustrated in the results at which they aimed ; they were religious, truth-speaking, and partook of Brahma's nature. Being all like gods they ascended to the sky and returned at will. They died too when they desired, suffered few annoyances, were free from disease, accomplished all their objects and endured no oppression. Self-subdued and free from envy they beheld the *devas* and the mighty *ṛṣis*, and had an intuitive perception of all duties."⁴⁷ This remarkable passage of the epic confirms the view that Yama possessed a supernatural grace by virtue of which he was made participant of the divine nature, for it says quite explicitly that God made man "partaker of Brahma's nature". Consequently he was like the *devas*. But the passage also speaks of another gift that God gave to the first man when He formed his body "obedient to duty", so that it was always obedient to the dictates of reason, never yielding to the allurements of passions or to the attractiveness of temptations. Accordingly he "was self-subdued and free from envy". This is equivalent to what Plato says of the men who lived in the Golden Age of mankind (the *Kṛta Yuga* of Indian scriptures). He says that "they despised everything but virtue."⁴⁸ And again : "Caring little for their present state of life and thinking lightly of the possession of gold and other property, which seemed only a burden to them neither were they intoxicated by luxury ; nor did wealth deprive them of their self-control."⁴⁹ This control of the reason over the earthly passions is

45. Plato, *Critias*, 120.

46. *Rom.*, VIII, 17.

47. *Mahābhārata*, Vana Parva, 12619-12624.

48. Plato, *Critias*, 120.

49. *Ibid.*, (Jowett's translation), II, p. 84.

particularly seen in the case of sexual feelings when *Genesis* says : " And they were both naked ; to wit, Adam and his wife, and were not ashamed " ⁵⁰. A similar tradition is found in different nations : Plato says that " they dwelt naked. " ⁵¹ The Teutonic tradition avers of the first couple : " Naked they stood before Odin at the seaway end. " ⁵² And the Mūndas of Chota Nagpur call their parents Tota Haram and Tota Buri, which means " the naked male ancestor " and " the naked female ancestor " ⁵³.

Yama, the first man, was also the king of the earth. " Associated with the progenitorship of the human race ", says Dr. Dandekar, " we find, in Veda, also faint traces of Yama's sovereignty on earth. " ⁵⁴ In one of the hymns of tenth *maṇḍala* he is called " King " three times, ⁵⁵ besides being compared to God Varuṇa in his prerogative of King. " There (in *svarga*) shalt though look on both the Kings enjoying their sacred food, god Varuṇa and Yama. ⁵⁶ Both cannot be kings of the same kingdom in heaven. Hence, just as god Varuṇa is the King of heaven, Yama was the King on earth. Yama's particular association with Varuṇa in this case " can be adequately explained only on the basis of the former's own sovereignty. " ⁵⁷

The kingship of Yama on earth was not forgotten in later times. Ajātaśatru, King of Magadha, called Yama " King " and revered him as such. ⁵⁸ When a pit was dug, Yama had to be invoked as lord of the earth. ⁵⁹ The sovereignty of Yama is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, when it is said that " the ancient and primeval deity, the God of gods, performed the duties of Yama, in the days of yore, in a terrible time of the *Kṛta Yuga* " ⁶⁰, as if saying that first God ruled the earth on behalf of Yama to show him how to perform his duties as a king. This is in agreement with what is said in *Genesis* that after God created man He ordered him to " rule over the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the air and all living creatures that move upon the earth. " ⁶¹ Thus the foundation

50. *Gen.*, II, 25.

51. Plato, *Statesman*, 272.

52. Mackenzie, *Teutonic Myth and Legend*, p. 186.

53. Roy. *The Mundas*. p. VI (App).

54. Dandekar, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

55. *Rg.*, X, 14, 4 and 15.

56. *Ibid.*, 7.

57. Dandekar, *op. et loc. cit.*

58. *Kauśītaki Upaniṣad*, IV, 15.

59. *Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra*, I, 5, 10.

60. *Mahābhārata*, Vana Parva ; 10932-10935. Cf. Williams Jackson, " On Mahābhārata III, 142-35-45, an echo of an old Hindu-Persian legend ", *J.A.O.S.*, XVIII (1896), pp. 185-187).

61. *Gen.*, I, 28.

of Yama's kingship is the fact that he is "identical with Yima, ruler of Paradise"⁶². Thus says Oldenberg : "The father of the human race becomes, probably from the Indo-Iranian period, a king of the golden age, of that age which knew neither old age nor death, neither cold nor torrid heat, neither needs nor passions."⁶³

Also the Khasis of Assam expressly affirm that "God appointed man ruler of everything on earth"⁶⁴. This was very well understood by the first man, for Yima, in the *Avesta*, replying to Ahūra Mazda says : "Yes! I will make thy world increase, I will make thy world grow. I will nourish, and rule, and watch over the world. There shall be, while I am king, neither cold wind nor hot wind, neither disease nor death"⁶⁵. And shortly afterwards Ahūra Mazda gives him the insignia of royalty, as Zarathuṣtra was informed. "Then I, Ahūra Mazda, brought two implements unto him (Yima) : a golden seal and a poniard inlaid with gold. Behold here Yima bears the royal sway"⁶⁶. Yima furthermore is introduced founding a *vara*, in the exercise of his kingly functions, in order to protect his descendants from the inclemencies of weather, and he enlarges the *vara* according to the needs of his children.⁶⁷ A similar idea is found in the Indian epic while it refers to the *sabhā* of Yama, wherein after the description of all the boons the inhabitants of the *sabhā* enjoy, it says that "they all cheerfully wait upon Yama, the son of Vivasvata" and at the end it concludes thus : "Such is the *sabhā* of the illustrious king of the *pitṛs*", i.e., Yama ;⁶⁸ from which the epic concludes that the ideal king is comparable with Yama⁶⁹.

The idea of Yama's earthly kingship is very often commemorated in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*. So a priest, praying for a deceased man, says : "May Yama grant him an abode", and the text explains at once : "For Yama has power over the abode in this (earth) and it is him he solicits for an abode therein for this (dead man)."⁷⁰ For Yama "rules over the settlements of the earth and grants it to the sacrificer."⁷¹ This kingly power he seems to exercise now in consultation with the *pitṛs*, his subjects, in the other world,

62. Macdonel, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 68.

63. Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 454-455.

64. Narayan, "Khasi Folk-Lore", *The New Review*, XVI, p. 450.

65. *Vendīdād*, II, 1, 5 (S.B.E. IV, p. 12).

66. *Ibid.*, II, 1, 7, (*Ibid.*)

67. *Ibid.*, 11, 1.

68. *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhā Parva*, 312-352.

69. *Ibid.*, *Sānti Parva*, 3444.

70. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 8, 2, 4.

71. *Ibid.*, VII, 1, 1, 3. Cf. III, 8, 2, 4.

for we read : “ King Yama Vaivasvata, his people are the Fathers.”⁷² “ Yama, the ruling power, with the consent of the Fathers, the clan, now grants to this (sacrificer) a settlement on this earth ” ; for “ to whomsoever the chief, with the approval of the clan, grants a settlement, is properly given ”⁷³.

The *R̥gveda* mentions not only that Yama offered a sacrifice, but that he was the first in stretching the web of sacrifice which was further extended afterwards by the Vasiṣṭhas⁷⁴. Also Manu is reported to have offered the first sacrifice⁷⁵ ; for which he is styled “ priestly ”⁷⁶. Yama’s devotion is not to be wondered at : his wisdom and the supernatural grace which God endowed him with invited him to make a public acknowledgement of the supremacy of his Creator ; a sacrifice, wherein a creature is destroyed in honour of God, is precisely such an acknowledgement. In point of fact it is said of Manu that he offered this first oblation “ with his heart and soul ”,⁷⁷ thus giving an example of his devotion and fulfilment of duty, “ for all the race of men ”⁷⁸. Owing to this famous *yajña*, the beginning of all other *yajñas*, the memory of Yama was highly respected and honoured by all his descendants⁷⁹. Hence he is mentioned together with the Angirasas, who are the typical first sacrificers⁸⁰. In the Upaniṣadic period Yama was said to be based “ on sacrifice ”⁸¹. Manu likewise is styled “ rich ”, naturally in merits, owing to his oblations⁸². This sacrifice of the first man is still commemorated in the period of the *Brāhmaṇas* : “ Parameṣṭhin Prājāpatya saw that sacrifice — the New and Full-Moon offerings -- and performed these offerings ”⁸³.

What kind of sacrifice did Yama offer ? The *R̥gveda* does not give details about the creature then destroyed in honour of God, but I am inclined to believe that he offered only the fruits of the earth, for this seems to have been the only sacrifice offered before the Fall of man⁸⁴. One thing is certain that the first man made use of fire to cause the destruction of his oblation. Agni is spoken

72. *Ibid.*, VII, 1, 1, 4.

73. *Ibid.*

74. *R̥g.*, VII, 33, 9-10.

75. *Ibid.*, VIII, 43, 13. X, 63, 7.

76. *Ibid.*, 1, 76, 5.

77. *Ibid.*, X, 63, 7.

78. *Ibid.*, I, 36, 19.

79. *Ath.*, XVIII, 2, 32.

80. *R̥g.*, X, 14, 3-6.

81. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III, 9, 2.

82. *R̥g.*, IX, 96, 12.

83. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI, 1, 6, 16.

84. Cf. My forthcoming book *Fall and Rise*, ch. 25.

of as "the priest of Yama"⁸⁵. Manu is said to have "enkindled fire" for the sacrifice⁸⁶. Yama is in this connection said to have discovered fire which was hidden, i.e. not known up to them⁸⁷; while Manu is reported to have brought fire "from far away"⁸⁸, which originally may be the same idea. In point of fact another text says that "fire was born by Manu's law"⁸⁹. Owing to this use of fire by the first man, Agni is said to have been "appointed as priest by Manu",⁹⁰ "a most skilled priest",⁹¹ ordained by the *devas* for Manu's sake⁹². God helped Manu in the performance of the sacrifice⁹³, probably by sending gentle breezes to favour the kindling of the wood⁹⁴ and blessing his humble act and prayers⁹⁵.

Yama being the founder and originator of all sacrifices, the poetical metres which symbolised the sacrifice soon were said to be deposited in Yama's custody⁹⁶. Owing to the same reason the best qualification a priest may hold is "to be the priest of Yama"⁹⁷, while the sacrificer himself is styled "the well-loved friend of Yama"⁹⁸. In point of fact in ancient Iran all priests claimed their origin from Manu⁹⁹.

Owing to this tradition concerning the first sacrifice performed by Yama, when the epic wants to extol the excellence of Bindusaras, a place north of Mount Kailāsa, it states that the gods themselves, Nara, Nārāyaṇa and Brahmā performed sacrifices there, to whom Yama himself is also added as having sacrificed on the same spot¹⁰⁰. This tradition of Yama's priesthood is even now traced in the rites of the Purānic type of matrimony in vogue among most of the Tamiḷ castes. In this kind of matrimony the *purohit* or priest performing the ceremony is regarded as equivalent to Yama himself¹⁰¹.

85. *Rg.*, X, 52, 3.

86. *Ibid.*, VII, 2, 3; X, 63, 7; 69, 3.

87. *Ibid.*, X, 51, 1-4.

88. *Ibid.*, I, 128, 2.

89. *Ibid.*, I, 128, 1.

90. *Rg.*, I, 13, 4.

91. *Ibid.*, I, 128, 1.

92. *Ibid.*, I, 36, 10.

93. *Ibid.*, VIII, 15, 5.

94. *Ibid.*, VIII, 10, 2.

95. *Ibid.*, VIII, 52, 1.

96. *Ibid.*, X, 14, 16; *Ath.*, XVIII, 2, 6 & 32. The explanation of Ehnī, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-157, based on his solar interpretation, does not seem to be satisfactory.

97. *Ibid.*, X, 52, 3.

98. *Ibid.*, X, 21, 5.

99. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, II, p. 620.

100. *Māhābhārata*, Sabhā, Paiva, 59.

101. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, I, pp. 10 and 13.

बाणोच्छिष्टं जगत्सर्वम् ।

गौरीप्रसाद चु. झाला

बाणभट्टस्य काव्यगुणसम्पदा हृतहृदयस्य सहृदयस्य कस्यचिद् 'बाणोच्छिष्टं जगत्सर्वम्' इत्युद्घोषयतो मनसि कविकाव्यनिर्मितिरेवासीदिति न विवादास्पदम् । बाणभट्ट-प्रशंसोक्तिरियमनुगामिभिः सहृदयैः प्रायः सर्वैः स्वाभिप्रायव्यञ्जकत्वेनोररीकृता । 'किं कवेस्तस्य काव्येन सर्ववृत्तान्तगामिनी । कथेव भारती यस्य न व्याप्नोति जगत्त्रयम् ॥' (हर्षचरित १. ९) इति स्वयं कवि-कर्तव्यमुत्प्रेक्षमाणस्य बाणस्य सकलं जगदपि काव्यव्यापारगोचरं कर्तुं समीहा स्यादिति न विस्मयास्पदम् । काव्यं च यद्यपि कविप्रतिभाविलासेनात्मानं लभते तथापि लोकशास्त्रकाव्यादीनामवेक्षणेनाभ्यासेन च प्रतिभाव्यापारेऽपि सामर्थ्य-मुपजायते । श्वेतद्वीपवासिन इव परिहृतलोकान्तरसम्पर्कस्यैकान्तमेवासवमानस्य कवेरनल्पापि कल्पनाशक्तिर्विषयविरहेण म्लायमानेव पाण्डुरतामुपैति । उडुयना-समर्थपक्षद्वयवतीव पक्षोत्क्षेपावक्षेपमात्रक्षमा च भवति । सर्वेषां हि महाकवीनां काव्येषु इदं लोकव्यवहारावेक्षणजनितं सामर्थ्यमुल्लसत्येव ॥

नैतच्च महाकवित्वेन लब्धप्रतिष्ठस्य बाणभट्टस्य विषयेऽचरितार्थम् । यत-स्तस्य लोकसम्पर्कः सर्वतोमुख आसीदिति तज्जीवननिरूपणात्प्रतीयते । विद्या-व्रतविभूषितद्विजकुले लब्धजन्मनो ब्राह्मणोचितविभवसम्पन्नस्य तस्योत्तममध्यमा-धमकोटिगता विद्वद्-वर्णकवि-प्राकृतकृद्-धन्दि-जाङ्गुलिक-ताम्बूलदायक-पुस्तकृद्-भिषक्पुत्र-हैरिक-चित्रकृद्-मार्दङ्गिक-गायन-वांशिक-संवाहक-आक्षिक-कितव-नर्तक-मन्त्रसाधकादयः स्त्रीपुरुषाः सुहृदः सहायाश्चासन् । एवमुच्चावचकोटीनां लोकव्यवहार-जनमनोवृत्त्यादीनामपरोक्षमनुभवमुपगच्छत-स्तस्यैतावलोकदर्शनं नालमितीव स्वगृहान्निर्गत्य राजकुलेषु, गुरुकुलेषु, गुणव-द्रोष्ठीषु, विदग्धमण्डलेषु च संचरन् स जगतः सर्वाङ्गीणमनुभवमधिगत्य परि-चयोच्छिष्टमिव विदधे । बाणभट्टस्य काव्ये विपुलविस्तारान्वितवर्णनप्रचुरास्वपि वाचोयुक्तिषु यत्सरसत्वं वरीवर्ति शुष्कपाण्डित्यजल्पनमविद्यमानकल्पं च प्रतिभाति तत्रायं गाढोऽपरोक्ष उच्चावचलोकसम्पर्क एव हेतुरिति स्पष्टमेव । बाणानन्तर-भाविनां तस्यैव वाचोयुक्तिच्छटा उपजीवतामनेकेषां कवीनां प्रबन्धेषु अक्षरडम्बरः सामर्थ्यविधुरविपुलपदावलीप्रयोगो विलासातिरेकेण च खेदनं वाण्या इत्यादयो दोषा दृष्टिगोचरा भवन्ति तेषामेवंविधस्यापरोक्षस्य जीवनानुभवस्याभाव एव मूलम् ॥

एवं परिगृहीतविपुललोकव्यवहारानुभवपाथेया स्वभावसंस्कारोभयजनि-तसामर्थ्या बाणभट्टस्य प्रतिभा त्रिलोकीं विचरितुं प्रतिष्ठते । विदिशो-ज्जयिन्यादीर्धनपतिनगरनिर्विशेषा नगरीः समवलोक्य अमनुष्याक्रान्तान् सौन्दर्यातिशयशुचीन् हिमवतः प्रदेशानाक्रम्य किंपुरुषवर्षाधिपतेश्चित्र-रथस्य गन्धर्वाधिपते राजधानीमुपसर्पति । महाकालेश्वरदर्शनपवित्रिता

निविडतरुण्डसंकुलां विविधवयःकलरवप्रतिनादितां विन्ध्याटवीमतिक्रम्य संजातखेदा मूर्तिमत्त्रिभुवनपुण्यराशाविवाच्छोदसरसि कृतावगाहलौकिक-भूमिभागे महादेवस्य दिव्याप्सरःकन्यकयोपवीण्यमानस्य दर्शनेन धन्यता-मनुभवति । शालमलीतरुकोटरान्तर्गता भीषणं मृगयासक्तं शबरसैन्यं पश्यति । चन्द्रापीडेन सह न केवलं मृगयाव्यापारे व्याप्रियते किन्तु शुकनासमुखेन तस्य राजकार्योपदेशं विधाय दिग्बलयत्रिजयाय तेन सार्धं प्रतिष्ठते । यक्षधूमपरिपूतं महर्षेर्जाबालेराश्रममध्युष्य जरह्विडाधिष्ठितं चण्डीदेवतायतनमुपगच्छति । श्रीहर्षवर्धनस्य सम्राजः सुविपुलां समृद्धिं साक्षात्कृत्य राजान्तरराजलक्ष्मीं द्रष्टु-कामेव सामन्तमण्डलमणिभूषणैरुद्भासितां शूद्रकस्य राजसभां प्रविशति । तारापीडस्य चान्तःपुरं द्वारपालानुमतप्रवेशा कञ्चुकिभिश्चोपदिश्यमानमार्गा प्रविशति । केयूरकेण पत्रलेखया च सह गमनागमनं कुर्वती मध्याह्नातपेन परि-श्रान्ता कादम्बरीभवने शिशिरोपचारनिरस्तसन्तापस्य हिमगृहस्यान्तर्विश्राम्यति । मङ्गलद्रीपावलिबिराजिते राजकुले प्रदोषसमयशोभामवलोकयति । ललिताङ्गनानां विविधानि रतिप्रसाधनानि त्रिलोक्य समुत्पन्नरागा जायते । सन्ध्याया रागवैभवं चन्द्रोदयमहोत्सवं च नैकवारं विलोक्य चक्रवाकमिथुनानां विरहविधुरमारट-नमाकर्ण्य विषादमुत्फुल्लकुमुदण्डश्रियं विलोक्याह्लादं चानुभवति । निसर्गसंजात विरहजनानुकम्पा कादम्बर्या विरहविवशतयोत्कण्ठातिशयोत्पन्नवेदनया च सखीवोद्वेगमधिकतरमनुभवति । दैवदुर्विलासोपरतप्रियजनायास्तपस्विन्या महा-श्वेतायाः समदुःखेव रोदिति । अनपत्यतादुःखेन परिदेवनपराया विलासवत्याः सानुक्रोशं सान्त्वनं विधायापत्यलाभाय तांस्तानुपायान् दिशति । शुक्रेण सह बाल्य एव दिवंगतमातापितृकतया दैन्यमनुभवति । एवमेवाङ्गनानां चन्द्रापीड-यौवनलुब्धहृदयानां प्रत्यवयवसौष्टवेन हृतहृदया तेषु तेषु परिहासवाक्येषु रमते । किं बहुना, कादम्बरीकथावस्तुनि प्रकृतः प्रसङ्गा लोकवृत्तिव्यवहारणां चांशा भूयांसो बाणेन वर्णनविषयतामुपनीताः । तथापि जाङ्गुलिक-धूतकार-मार्द-ङ्गिक-नर्तकादिभिरुपजातनिरन्तरपरिचयोऽपि बाणस्तेषां तेषां जीवनप्रकारान् यथावद्वेव वर्णयितुं नैवोपचक्रमे । वस्तुतः सकलमपि जगन्न स्वर्णमयम्, न सर्वाणि गृहाणि प्रासादाः न वा सर्वाः कुट्टिमभूमयो मणिमयाः । सर्वे जना न दाक्षिण्यादिगुणोदारः । विचित्ररूपाः खलु जनमनोवृत्तयो व्यापाराश्च । जगति हि स्वार्थ-दम्भ-असत्य-अनीति-अधर्म-च्छन्न-वञ्चनेर्ष्यादयो रजस्तमो-वृत्योर्लीलारूपा दोषा दृष्टिपथमायान्ति । एतद्दोषदुष्टदृष्टयो जना विपथमवगाहन्ते । अन्यच्च, दारिद्र्योपहतानां दीनानां कष्टं सहृदयः कविरिचोत्प्रेक्षितुं वर्णयितुं च प्रभ-वेत् । न त्वेवंरूपो जीवनप्रकारो बाणभट्टस्य काव्यस्योपादानतां गतः । राजकुलानां राजकुमाराणां महाप्रभावाणामृषीणाममानुषसौन्दर्यवतीनां युवतीनामन्येषां चैवंविधा-नामेव निरूपण विहितं तेन । एतावतांशेन ' बाणोच्छिष्टं जगत्सर्वम् ' इत्यस्य उक्तैर्यथार्थत्वं संशयपदमधिरोहति ॥

सत्यप्येवं दृष्टयन्तरेण्यमुक्तिरतिमात्रं चरितार्थैति शक्यते वक्तुम् । यतो बाणेनोपादत्तः सर्वोऽपि विषयः साङ्गोपाङ्गं सपरिष्कारमनेकोपमोत्प्रेक्षाचलङ्कारप्रप-ञ्चनेन तथा वर्णयते यथा तद्धर्षनमनाधेयातिशयमिव भवति । अनुदारः क्षुद्रोऽपि

वा विषयो द्वारपाल-वागुरिक-मन्दुरा-दूतागमन-सामन्तप्रणमन-ताम्बूलदान-स्नानविद्यादिः पारमार्थिकं रूपमजहदप्युदात्तालङ्कारसमायोजितः कामपि कमनीयतां वर्णयमानो याति । वस्तुतः, जन्मनः प्रभृति लक्ष्म्या परिगृहीतस्य राजानुग्रह-भाजनस्य बाणस्य सर्वमपि जगच्छ्रीमदूर्जितं च भाति । सर्वाः स्त्रियो ललिताङ्गयः सन्ति, ललिताङ्गयोऽपि कमलकर्णावतंसाः, कमलान्यपि सर्वाणि सौरभनिर्भराणि, सर्वाणि सौरभाणि च भ्रमरसंकुलानि । सर्वेऽपि हस्तिनो मदन्तुतः सर्वोऽपि मदोऽलिपटलसमाकुलश्च । नतोन्नतजीवनप्रदेशाः सर्वेऽपि बाणस्य प्रतिभाभास्वत्करैर्विचक्षुरिताः सुरधनुःसंकाशां कामपि कान्तिमधिगच्छन्ति । तथाहि-इन्द्रायुधनाम्नोऽश्वरत्नस्य वर्णनमुत्तमाश्वजात्यनुरूपमस्यैव । किन्तु यस्य कस्याप्यश्वस्य येन केनापि क्रियमाणं वर्णनमिन्द्रायुधवर्णनादतिरिक्तमपूर्वं वा भवितुं नैव पारयेत् । बाणेन हि अश्वस्य दर्शनं चेष्टाः खलीनान्यलङ्काराः श्वासोच्छ्वासाप्रकारः फेनपिण्डनिर्गलनं प्रोधुपुटादिखुरपर्यन्तावयवाश्चेति सर्वमपि वर्णितम् । एतावतापि तु बाणस्य हृदयं न सन्तोषमेति । तेनैकैकमप्यङ्गं महता कल्पनाप्रपञ्चेनोपमोत्प्रेक्षाश्लेषसहोक्ति-विरोधाभासादीनामलङ्काराणां प्रयोगेण च परमया श्रिया योजितं च । अन्यैव सरण्या राजामात्यकुमारद्वारपालयुवतीताम्बूलवाहिनीनगरवनसरःसन्ध्याचन्द्रोदयादीनां विषयाणां वर्णनानि नवनवोन्मेषशालिन्याः प्रौढायाः प्रतिभायाः सामर्थ्येन तथा निरवशेषसौन्दर्योऽज्ज्वलानि विहितानि यथा तं तं विषयमधिकृत्य 'बाणोच्छिष्टं जगत्सर्वम्' इत्युक्तेर्यथाार्थता सर्वथा स्वीकारमर्हति ॥

किञ्च बाणस्य व्युत्पत्तिरपि प्रायः सर्वशास्त्रपरिशीलननिबन्धनेति व्यक्तमेव । तत्तच्छास्त्रपरिचयनिबन्धनाः शतश उपमा उन्प्रेक्षाश्च दूरीदृश्यन्ते । अनेकाः पुराणान्तर्गताः कथास्तेन वर्णनेषूपनिबद्धाः । महाभारतरामायणबृहत्कथानामनेके प्रसङ्गा वर्णनप्रसङ्गेषु योजिताः । शुकनासोपदेश अर्थशास्त्रनिष्कर्ष उपनिबद्धः । सांख्य-पाण्डुपत-योग-बौद्ध-चार्वाकादीनां दर्शनानामप्यभ्युपगमानां केषांचित्काव्यप्रयोजनवशेन सूचनं नामग्राहमुखो वा कृतः । धर्मशास्त्रानुवर्तित्वं तु बाणस्य प्रबन्धस्य निबन्धनकल्पम् । एवमनेकशास्त्रपरिचयवता स्वकाव्ये शास्त्रोपपादितानामर्थानां यथोचितं प्रयोगं कुर्वता बाणेन शास्त्रीयं जगत्स्वतां नीतम् ॥

वैधसं जगद् बाणेन क्रियतांशेन कथं वा स्वानुभवगोचरं कृतं तदस्माभिरुपरि दृष्टम् । शारदं जगत्तेन सर्वथोच्छिष्टं कृतमित्यत्र न शङ्काया अवकाशः । खचिर-स्वरवर्णपदावलीविरचनाचतुरस्य गद्यस्वामिनो बाणस्य नासौ रसो न रीतिर्न गुणो नालङ्कारो यो न प्रयुक्तो यो वा प्रयुक्तो न चमत्कृत्यास्पदत्वं नीतः । उपमोत्प्रेक्षा-श्लेषविरोधाभासपरिसंख्यादिभिरलङ्कारैर्निशानभ इव तारागणैर्योतमानैर्बाणस्य काव्यमुज्ज्वलतामापाद्यते । ओजःप्रधानस्य बाणगद्यस्य गर्भे प्रसाद-माचुर्यादीनां गुणानामनेकत्रोल्लासो दृष्टिपथमवतरति । समासजटिलानामनेकानुषङ्गपरिकल्पितानां वाक्यानां सत्यपि प्राचुर्ये, पात्राणां स्वाभिप्रायाविष्कारेषु स्वहृदयव्यथादीनां भावानामभिव्यक्तिषु च द्वित्रपदात्मकान्यतीव स्वल्पानि वाक्यान्यपि परिस्फुटार्थानि बाणेन प्रयुक्तानि सन्ति । शब्दार्थयोः समगुम्फत्वेन व्याख्याता पाञ्चालीरीतिर्यद्यपि

बाणस्याभिमततरा तथापि भरक्तपद्मरागादिरत्नमयाया हारयष्टेरन्तरान्तराग्रथितानां स्फटिकमणीनां छायेव वैदर्भी रीतिरपि स्वप्रसादगुणेन तस्य गद्यं विच्छुरयति । अतिविपुलकायेऽपि वर्णनराशौ बाणस्यापुष्टार्थता अविद्यमानकल्पा । दूरकृष्ट-संभावनजटिलानि वर्णनान्यपि चतुरस्रौचित्यभाञ्जि भवन्ति । किञ्च धनपतेः कोश इव बाणस्यापि शब्दरत्नकोशोऽक्षय्यः । तथाहि ध्वनि-निनाद-रणित-शिञ्जित-ह्रंश्रुति-कोलाहल-कूजित-निःस्वन-कलकल-हुंश्रुतेत्यादीनि स्थूलतया पर्यायभूतानि पदान्यौचित्येनैकस्त्रिवेम वाक्ये तेन प्रयुक्तानि दृश्यन्ते । पशुपक्षितरुकुसुम-सूर्यचन्द्रादीनधिकृत्य वर्तमानाः कविसमयास्तस्य करतलगता इव भान्ति । किं बहूना, किं नु बाणेन न स्पृष्टं स्पृष्टं वा न विभूषितम् ।

सूर्यचन्द्रादिकं सर्वं जगच्छीतायते किल ।
उदात्तालङ्कृतां ह्यप्रा.सृष्टिं बाणस्य लज्जितम् ॥



‘ĀLĪ ‘ĀDIL SHĀH I OF BIJĀPŪR (1558-1580) AND
HIS RŌYĀL LIBRARIAN : TWO RUQ‘AS

By
P. M. JOSHI

Introductory :— The two documents reproduced in this paper were issued by a Council of Ministers of ‘ĀlĪ ‘Ādil Shāh I (1558-1580) of Bijāpūr and they refer to the appointment of a Librarian to be in charge of the Royal Library at the ‘Ādilshāhī capital. The importance of these documents lies in the fact that they are primary source material dealing with cultural matters. *Farāmin*, *Sanads* and *Parwānas* of administrative nature are available to students of mediaeval Deccan History.¹ But it is not often that we get interesting documents of the type reproduced here and I venture to place them before scholars as something out of the ordinary.

‘ĀlĪ ‘Ādil Shāh’s love of reading and his fondness for books is well known to students of Deccan Muslim History and is described by *Rafī‘-ud-Dīn Shīrāzī* in his *Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk*. Rafī‘-ud-Dīn was an officer under ‘ĀlĪ ‘Ādil Shāh I and often he used to be in close attendance upon the sultān. Rafī‘-ud-Dīn tells us that the sultān “had a great inclination towards the study of books and he had procured many books connected with every kind of knowledge, so that a coloured library had become full. Nearly sixty men, calligraphists, gilders of books, book-binders and illuminators were busy doing their work whole day in the library.”² Rafī‘-ud-Dīn further tells us that even when his Royal Master was touring the kingdom or was engaged in a military campaign he used to take boxes of books as part of his equipage and he gives an instance when the sultān was much annoyed as his boxes of books were separated from him during camp and were not readily available. “He (‘ĀlĪ ‘Ādil Shāh I) had selected books which filled four boxes which he kept with him in journey as well as in his palace. By chance in a journey when he reached the destination at the end of the day it began to rain heavily and the streams became so flooded that it became impossible to cross some of their passages (i.e. fordable places). In these circumstances the army became dispersed. When His Majesty reached the destination he was reminded of the boxes of books. After some investigation it was found that the boxes had gone with the Royal Treasury by some other road and people

1. The credit for bringing to light bulk of such documents goes to the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, Poona, and its devoted band of research workers.

2. TM, 111a, BS, 148.

(accompanying them) had stayed (at some other) place. At this he became very angry and said, 'I have told you thousand times that the boxes of books should not be separated from me in any case, but it has been of no avail.' At that very moment one of the nobles was sent to fetch the library and so long as the boxes did not arrive he remained much restless."³

It was to this Royal Library, no doubt augmented under 'Alī's successor, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, that Ferishta was given access by Sultān Ibrāhīm when thāt̄ historian was c̄ommissioned to compile his famous history.

The credit for locating the documents reproduced here goes to an indefatigable and enthusiastic scholar of Nanded in Marathwada, Shri Vishwanath Ambadas Kanole, and I am deeply beholden to him for having made them available to me. He came across them while rummaging through the documents belonging to the historic Shesh family of that town. The Librarian, Waman Pandit mentioned in these two very interesting and historically important finds, was also a member of a branch of the Nanded Shesh family settled for a time in the 'Ādilshāhī capital of Bijāpūr.⁴

Text of the Document :—I now give below my reading⁵ of the two *ruq'as*. The documents appear at first sight to be bilingual, but it may be noted that the Modi text is a mere transcription of the Persian text and not a translation.

Both the documents have at their head a seal with the "Nād-i-'Aliyā" prayer. This prayer indicates that the ruler of Bijāpūr, Sultān 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I, favoured the Shīa forms of worship.⁶

Ruq'a I

برہ تعین مشاہر باسم سیس وامن بن اننت حوالہ کنانجانہ [ہم] رکاب
چاکر دیوان اعلیٰ شہور سنہ ثمان ستین استقبال یازدم ماہ ربیع الاخر سنہ
۹۷۵ [سالینہ] یکہزار ہون ضمان نارو بن گنگادھر حاجب حوالہ

3. TM, 111a-111b. Both in this and the preceding passage I have given a literal translation of Rafī'ud-Din's account.

4. See "नादेडचे शेष घराणे" by V. A. Kanole in "Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. D. V. Potdar Commemoration Volume," 56-73 (Marathi Section). An abbreviated reading of *ruq'a* II will be found on p. 64 of this section.

5. In preparing this reading I have been most generously helped by my senior and learned friend Prof. B. D. Verma.

6. For the full text of this prayer see, "A'in-i-Akbarī" by Abul Faḡl. Tr. H. Blochman. Second edition revised by D. C. Phillott (Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta, 1939), I, 571. See also "Landmarks of the Deccan" by Syed Ali Asgar Bilgrami (Govt. Central Press, Hyderabad-Dn. 1927), for text facing 48 and translation on 124. Cf. "Islam in India or Qanun-i-Islam" by Ja'far Sharīf. Tr. G. A. Herklots (Oxford University Press, 1921), 254-255.

حسینخان میرپوش ۱۱ ماه ربیع الاخر سنه ۹۷۵ [پر] وانگی خان
اعظم شرزہ خان سرنوبت هو مهر شد بار شد

तैई मुसाहीर वहस्मे स्येस वामन विन अनं
त पंडित । हवाले कितेवखान हमरिकेबुचा
कर दीवाण अला सुहुर सन समान सीतै
नु तिसअमीय^८ ई ॥^९ छ ११ रबीलखर खम
सा सवैन^{१०} सालीन नख्त होनु १०००
रोखा बसीके हुदेदर मस्तुर अस्त ।

प ॥^{१२} खा ॥ सरजाखान सरनोयत

जमान नारो गंगाधर

हे जिय हवाला खा ॥ हुसेन

To the right of the text, horizontally, बागसुद

Ruq'a II

رقعه مقرر باسم سیس وامن پندت بن اندت حواله محل کتابخانه
[هم] رکاب چا کر دیوان اعلیٰ شہور سنہ خمس سبعین بموجب رقعہ پروانگی
نا صاد مبارک و رقعہ بسکہ مرتضیٰ مالک خان اعظم عالی شان مصطفیٰ خان
و مشہور الحضرت داسو پندت سرخیل و مجموع مالک مسطورست کہ نفر^{۱۱}
مشار الیہ قدیم رقعہ بخدمت حضرت نواب امدہ بنا بران مشاہرہ قدیم
مقرر کردہ از استقبال غرہ ماہ صفر سنہ ۹۸۳ سالینہ یکہزار ہون ضمان
منجن خان بن کشور خان محلدار ...
با صاد مبارک ہمایون مطلع شد فی التاریخ غرہ ماہ صفر سنہ ۹۸۳
پروانگی در صدر مسطورست

7. The title "Pandit" used here for Anant, the father of Wāman, is absent in the Persian text.

8. تمامہ (900), this word is understood in the Persian text. The Shuhūr San or year is 968. See f. n. 19 *infra* for Shuhūr San.

9. ई ॥ or इ ॥ abbreviation of استقبال (as from, in future) used in Marathi documents. छ indicates date, the letter itself standing for the crescent moon suggesting the date of a lunar month.

10. 75. Here the word तिसामया (900) to complete the figure of the Hijri year, is left out. The year is 975.

11. "The रोखा (رقعه) with the seals of officers is written." This line is not in the Persian text.

12. प ॥ - परवानगी (پروانگی), खा ॥ - खान (आझम).

12a. These two words نفر and ہمایون have been read by Shri Z. A. Desai of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India.

रुक मुकरर बो¹³ शेश¹⁴ वामन पंडित बिन अनंत
 हवाला किताबखाने चाकर दीवान आला सुहुर
 सने खमस सबईन तिसामेया¹⁵ बमोजिब रुके परवानगी
 बासादमुवारक व रुके बसीके खानअलीशां मु
 स्तफाखान व मोसूर अलहजरत दासो पंडित सरखै
 ल व मजमुल ममालिक मस्तुर की मसार
 इले वखिजमत हजरत नवाब आमदः
 बिनाबरां अज ई ॥ छ १ माहे सफर सलास समा¹⁶नीन
 सालीना हीन यक हजार मु ॥¹⁷ कदीम १०००५०
 जमान मंजनखान बिन किश्वरखान
 माइलदार हु ॥¹⁸ कतब वा सादमुवारक जामन
 प ॥ दर सदर मस्तुर अस्त

To the right of the text, horizontally, बरसुद

Translation of Ruq'as :—

I

بره تعین مشاھره باسم سیس وامن بن اننت حواله کتابخانه

By way of fixing the salary in the name of Shesh Wāman son of Anant for being in charge of the Library,

هم رکاب چاکر دیوان اعلیٰ

Companion of the stirrup, servant of the Supreme Court

13. In Marathi (Modi) documents the Persian word باسم (in the name of, by name) is sometimes abbreviated as बो

14. शेष is the correct orthography of the family name of Wāman bin Anant. In the Persian text of both the ruq'as the name is given as سیس سس and in the Modi transcript it is given as स्येस in I and as शेश in II. The correct name is, as indicated above, शेष See Kanole, *op. cit.*

15. Shuhūr year 975. See f. n. 8 *supra*.

16. 83 i.e. 983 A.H. See f. n. 10 *supra*, also f. n. 28 *infra* for full date.

17. मु ॥ कदीम - मुशहीरकदीम مشاھره قدیم as in Persian text. These words seem to be in a different hand. Their proper place, following the Persian text, is after बिनाबरां in the preceding line. The words مقرر کرده of the Persian text are also left out. This omission was possibly noticed by somebody as the scribe completed the Modi text and the words मु ॥ कदीम being important were added by him.

18. हुद्दार कतब (عہدہ دار کتب) Officer in charge of books. It seems Manjan Khān, along with this other *Manşabs*, had also the Library Department entrusted to his care.

شہور¹⁹ سنہ ثمان ستین (تسمایہ)

Shuhūr Year eight and sixty and (nine hundred)

استقبال یازدم ماه ربیع الآخر سنہ ۹۷۵²⁰

From the 11th of Rabī'-al-Akhar, year 975 (A.H.)

سالینہ یکہزار ہون²¹

One thousand *hūn* per annum.

ضمان نارو بن گنگادھر حاجب

The Security is Naro son of Gangādhar, Hājib (Chamberlain),

حوالہ حسینخان میر پوش²²

Through the reference of Husain Khān, Officer of the Wardrobe.

۱۱ ماہ ربیع الآخر سنہ ۹۷۵

11th of the month of Rabī'-al-Akhar year 975.

پروانگی خان اعظم شرزہ خان سر نوبت

Through the order of the great Khān Sharza Khān, Sar Naubat.

ہو مہر شد بار شد

It was sealed, it was registered.

19. This was a Solar year in use mainly in the Deccan. For a full note on it see "Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 49, Bijāpūr Inscriptions" by M. Nazim (Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1936), 93-95, "संशोधकाचा मित्र (पहिला भाग) by G. H. Khare (Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, Poona, 1951), 110-117. The word *تسمایہ* indicating the century (900) is not given in both the documents, but is understood. The Shuhūr year is 968.

20. 15th October, 1567.

21. A gold coin weighing about 53 grains originally issued by the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar and adopted by the Deccan Muslim Kingdoms (Ferishta I, 538). In 1567 Caesar Frederick gives its price in English money as 6s. 8d (Purchas X, 92) which works out at a little more than three rupees. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Asad Beg in his *Waqū'i* (ED, VI, 152) equals a *hūn* with three rupees and about thirty years later Abdul Ḥamid Lāhori in his *Bādshāhnāma* (I, ii, 178) says that a *hūn* was equal to four rupees. The rupee equivalent of a *hūn* at the time when these *ruq'as* were issued was 3½ rupees (Cf. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, 57) and the annual salary of the Librarian at this rate of exchange works out at Rs. 3,500. It may be mentioned in passing that the rupee of 1565 was equal to about Rs. 10 of today.

22. An alternative reading may be *میر پوش* Officer of the Leopards (i.e. in charge of the Royal Hunt).

II

رقعه معزور باسم سيس وامن²³ پنڈت بن اننت حواله محل کتابخانه

Memorandum (*ruq'a*) of confirmation in the name of Sesh Wāman Pandit, son of Anant in charge of the palace of Library.

هم رڪاب چا ڪر ديوان اعلى

Companion of the stirrup, servant of the Supreme Court.

شهور سنه خمس سبعين (تسعايه)

Shuhūr year five and seventy (and nine hundred)

بموجب رقه پروانگي با صاد²⁴ مبارك

In accordance with the memorandum (*ruq'a*) and the order with the auspicious Ṣād

ورقه بسکه مرتضى مالك خان اعظم²⁵ على شان مصطفى خان

and the memorandum with the seal of Murtazā Mamālik, the great Khān of high degree, Muṣṭafā Khān

و مشهور الحضرت داسو پنڈت سرخيل و مجموع²⁶ مالک

and Mashhūr al-Ḥazrat (of illustrious dignity) Daso Pandit, Sarkhail (general) and Auditor-general of the realm

مستورست که

it is big written that

23. Note the honorific "Pandit" پنڈت here which is absent in the earlier document of 968 A.H. From that date to 975 A.H., the date of this document, the librarian seems to have established his reputation as a scholar and he is consequently acknowledged as a "Pandit" by the 'Ādilshāhi Court.

24. صاد کردن means to inscribe an account with the letter ص Sād, implying that it has been sanctioned. In this document the phrase صاد مبارك means, I think, that Royal approval or sanction has been accorded to the order embodied in the ruqa. Cf. Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration* (4th ed. M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1952), 221-222.

25. A title meaning "Chosen of the Realm."

26. As an Indian phrase this may be rendered as "Auditor-general." In pure Persian the phrase means "Record Keeper of the Kingdom." Rafi'ud-Dīn Shīrāzī tells us that among the *manṣabs* of Dāso Pandit was that of *Mahāsib-nawīsī* (keeping of accounts). This leads me to accept "Auditor-general" in preference to "Record Keeper."

نفر مشار الیه قدیم رفته بخدمت حضرت²⁷ نواب امدہ
the above-mentioned person appointed in the past came to the
presence of Ḥazrat Nawāb

بنا بران مشاھرہ قدیم مقرر کردہ
and so the salary as of old was fixed

از استقبال غره ماه صفر سنہ ۹۸۳²⁸
from the 1st of the month of Ṣafar, year 983 (A.H.)

سالیہ یکھزار ہون
One thousand *hūn* per annum.

ضمان منجن²⁹ خان بن کشور خان
The security is Manjan Khān son of Kishwar Khān

مہلدار³⁰ با صاد مبارک ہمایون
Maḥaldār with the auspicious and royal Ṣād.

مطلع شد فی التاریخ غره ماه صفر سنہ ۹۸۳
was informed³¹ on the date 1st of Ṣafar year 983

27. This phrase حضرت نواب refers, I think, to prince Ibrāhīm, the nephew of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I who succeeded his uncle as Sulṭān Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II. Prince Ibrāhīm who must have been at this time about 4 years of age must have been declared heir-apparent sometimes early in 1575 and this reference to him in a state document is meant to indicate this fact. In an inscription of December 1585 — January 1586, recording a visit of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II to the sacred shrine of Gesu Darāz at Gulbarga in 1581, the Sulṭān who had ascended the Bijāpūr throne in 1580 is referred to as حضرت نواب. This leads me to believe that this term in the present document also refers to him.

See Inscription 13 in "Inscriptions in Gulbarga" by Major T. W. Haig, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1907-08.

28. 12th May, 1575.

29. For Manjan Khān see BS, 142. Rafī'-ud-Dīn Shīrāzī, a contemporary of Manjan Khān, quotes an account of the island of Pegu from a MS by Manjan Khān bin Kishwar Khān. TM 305a et seq. Rafī'-ud-Dīn says (TM, 43a) that Kishwar Khān (Manjan Khān's father) was raised to the position of Peshwā at the beginning of 'Alī's reign and Ferishta (II, 78-79) states that he was the most important grantee of Bijāpūr till his death in 977 A.H. (7569-1570).

30. *Maḥaldār* may be rendered as "in charge of a *Maḥal* or district, i.e. he was possibly an officer in charge of a *Pargana*. He was also, it seems, the Keeper of Royal Seals.

31. i.e. the memorandum or *ruq'a* was issued on. . .

پروانگی در صدر مسطورست

Written by the order of the Government.³²

Diplomatic of the Documents³³ and notes :— The documents under study are state documents called *ruq'as*. A *ruq'a* (رقعه) in modern terminology is a Government order or memorandum. Document II begins by stating that it is a “memorandum of confirmation etc.” Document I also is a *ruq'a* though the word does not appear at its beginning or in the body of its short Persian text. But its Modi transcript mentions the document as a *ruq'a* in the line “रोखा वसीके हुदेदर मस्तुर अस्त”

The language of the *ruq'as* is Persian and the script is *Nast'aliq* merging into *Shikasta* here and there. In case of both the documents the Persian text, which may be considered as the main or authorised text, is transcribed in the Modi script. But this is a mere transcription and not a Marathi translation. The Modi text is a good example of pre-Shivaji Modi script and it should be of interest to students of Modi palaeography.

The paper of the documents, most probably of local manufacture, is ordinary hand-made paper, simple but tough and durable and without any decoration like gold leaf etc., seen in royal *farmāns* of the seventeenth century. The few documents of 'Ālī's reign that I have seen (in the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, Poona) including *farmāns*, are on paper very similar to the paper of these *ruq'as*. The edges of the paper of the *ruq'as* are worn out at the folds (which can be easily seen in the photographic reproductions) and a few letters or words have thus disappeared. My conjectural reading of the missing letters or words is given in square brackets.

The seals affixed to both the *ruq'as* cannot be easily deciphered. The seal at the top of both is the *Shī'a* prayer³⁴ known as *Nād-i-'Aliyā* after its initial phrase. The second seal in *ruq'a* I stands by itself and I can make out only the words *Al-faqīr . . . bin Muḥammad*. Following as this seal does immediately after the *Nād-i-'Aliyā* prayer seal, it indicates that it belonged to the highest royal officer in 1567. It is possible that this is the seal of Kishwar Khān whom Ferishta calls Muḥammad Kishwar Khān who was the most important member of the 'Ādilshāhī Court till his death in 977 A.H. (1569-70).³⁵

32. صدر also means “Prime Minister,” but I prefer the meaning given above as the document is issued by a Council of Ministers.

33. For a general discussion of the diplomatic of 'Ādilshāhī and other contemporary state documents, see “शिवकालीन राजपत्रांची लेखनपद्धति” G. H. Khare “शिवाजी - निबंधावली. भाग २,” 64—96

34. See f.n. 6 *Supra*.

35. Ferishta II, 78-79, 257-259. BS, 118-123. See f.n. 29 *Supra*.

Then there are eight seals in a line. Reading from left to right seals 1, 3, 5 and 8 cannot be made out at all by me. I can decipher the following words on the other seals: On 2, *Al-'abd...ji 'Ādilshāhī*, on 4, *Al-mutawakkil 'alā Malik-al-Mulk*, on 6, in a square, portions of a Persian couplet, *Danī zi ki...na kard ba-tū wafā kunad*, and on seal 7...*Al-faqīr...bin 'Alī Amīn*.

Of the three seals in the lower line of seals, the middle one is undecipherable. The one on the left can be read as *Al Mutawakkil... 'Ādilshāhī...al-'abd Maloḡi bin Gangādhar* and I can make out the following legend on the last seal, *Al-wāthiq billāh al-'abd...bin..*

On *ruq'a* II there are seven seals besides the seal of the *Nād-i-'Aliyā prayer*. The first seal on the upper left is the seal of Khān-i-A'zam Muṣṭafā Khān and the following words can be easily deciphered on it, *Muṣṭafā Khān Ghulām-i-Shāh*. This nobleman famous in Deccan history as Muṣṭafā Khān Ardaṣṭānī, originally in Quṭbshāhī service at Golconda, had joined, as a grandee, the court of 'Ālī 'Ādil Shāh I in 1565 after the battle of Rakshas-tagdi and risen to great eminence in Bijapur. In 981 A.H. (1572-73) he was made *Vakil-us Sulṭanat* and *Amīr-i-Junla* by the 'Ādilshāh³⁶ and at the time when this *ruq'a* was issued (1576) he was vested with absolute authority by his royal master.³⁷

The seal below and touching Muṣṭafā Khān's seal, I assign to Dāso Pandit. It is octagonal in shape with a circle inside. In the outer segment the word *Daso* can be just deciphered I think. Dāso Pandit had achieved high position at the 'Ādilshāhī Court under 'Ālī's patronage. Rafī'-ud-Dīn tells us "Dāso Pandit had lived for a long time in great pomp and grandeur. He had five or six *mansabs* for himself" one of which was *Mahāsib Nawīsī* or the keeping of accounts. "At this time he is in the thread of the great nobles and had been honoured with the title Haibat Khān". The references to Dāso Pandit in high terms in the body of the *ruq'a* itself lend support to my reading of the seal.

In a line with Daso Pandit's seal but at a little distance to right are three seals. On the first of these I can decipher *Ghulām-i-Khas-i-'Ālī*. Inside the second seal is in an ornamental lozenge with the words 'Ādilshāhī. Above the lozenge is the word *bandah* and below, the words seem to me *Gangādhar* and *ji*. I am unable to reconstruct the reading of any of the words in the third seal. I am also unable to make out anything on the first in the last two seals. On the last seal I can make out *Al-wāthiq billāh al-'abd*.

36. Ferishta II, 80.

37. Ferishta II, 82-85.

Excluding the *Nād-i-'Aliyā* seal the first document bears twelve seals and the second seven. The persons represented by these seals were no doubt officers of high rank at the Bījāpūr Court as is evident from the seals of Muṣṭafā Khān and Dāso Pandit. But only three officers are mentioned in the first *ruqa* and three in the second. Though the names of other officers do not feature in the documents, the practice of issuing a memorandum of this type, it seems, required the officers concerned to affix their seals to such documents.³⁸ That is why I have made the suggestion that these *ruq'as* were issued by a Council of Ministers.

The remark مطلع شد indicates that the memorandum was issued for the information of the departments of the administration and the remark بار شد tells us that the document was registered in the register of documents. *Ruqa* I has a remark or cipher next to بار شد which I venture to read as هو مهر شد an Arabic phrase.³⁹ The phrase بروانگی etc., appearing at the end of both documents is generally common to all state documents including royal farmāns. A special feature of the documents under study seems to be the mention of a security (ضمان) The Royal Library being a repository of many valuable manuscripts, it was but natural that precautions should have been taken to safeguard this rich collection. Naro bin Gangādhār and Ḥusain Khān in 1567 and Manjan Khān in 1575, each with high position in the 'Ādilshāhī hierarchy, stood guarantee for the safety and careful preservation of the important charge entrusted to Wāman Pandit, the Librarian.

After the documents were written, signed, sealed and registered they were finally handed over to the Librarian Wāman Pandit bin Anant as his warrants of appointment. When the Shesh family migrated from Bījāpūr these two *ruq'as* went with them and finally came to rest in the Shesh family archives at Nanded.

It may be interesting in this connection to bring to the notice of scholars the general belief that Wāman Pandit the famous Marathi poet was a good scholar of Persian and in his youth he was a great favourite of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh (1627-1656) of Bījāpūr.⁴⁰ This poet Wāman was the grandson of our Wāman Pandit bin

38. Cf. *Ruqa* I, "रोखा वसीके हुदेदर मस्तुर अस्त"

39. The reading of this phrase and other difficult words in the documents are provisional and I place them before scholars for their consideration. I shall be most happy to get suggestions and corrections from them regarding my readings.

40. Cf. राजाराम प्रासादो, "श्रीभक्तमंजरीमाला, खंड दुसरा" अध्याय २९ (सत्क्रायतेजक समा, धुळें, १८५३ शके)

Anant, the Librarian.⁴¹ He is said to have left Bijāpūr as Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh wanted him to embrace Islām. From Bijāpūr the poet Wāmān made his way to Benares for higher studies in Sanskrit.⁴² Most probably the two *ruq'as* of this paper were taken by the poet, along with other family possessions, when he started on his pilgrimage to Benares, and were deposited by him in the family house at Nanded.

The *ruq'as* throw some interesting light on the court life at Bijāpūr under 'Ālī 'Ādil Shāh I. They tell us that 'Ādilshāhī aristocracy included both Hindū and Muslim officers and that the Modi script (and Marathi language) had a place of honour and importance at the 'Ādilshāhī Court.

Bibliographical Note

- BS. *Basātin-us-Salāṭin*, the well-known history of the 'Ādilshāhī dynasty of Bijāpūr. References are to the Hyderabad Lithographed edition. Ferishta Vol. II of the Bombay Persian Text (Lithographed) of 1831-32, edited by J. Briggs and Mir Khairāt 'Ālī Khān.
- TM. *Tazkirat-ul Muḥik* of Rāfi-ud-Dīn Shīrāzī, a courtier of 'Ālī Shāh I. A valuable contemporary chronicle completed in the first decade of the seventeenth century. References are to folios of the British Museum Manuscript (Add. 23, 883) a photographic copy of which is available in the Secretariat Record Office, Bombay.
- No bibliographical entries are made for Elliot and Dowson (ED), *History of India* etc., The *Bādshāhnāma* of 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhori (Bibliotheca Indica Series) and Purchas, His Pilgrims mentioned in footnote 21 as these have been used only once. Other references have been quoted in full.
- "An Indian Ephemeris" Vol. V by L. D. Swamikannu Pillai has been used to convert Hijri dates into English dates which are according to the Old Style.

41. See Genealogy in Kanole, *Op. Cit.*

42. "भक्तमंजरीमाला" *Op. Cit.*

ORIGINS OF FEUDALISM IN KASHMIR

By

D. D. KOSAMBI

Feudalism in India was so often a concomitant of Muslim rule that underlying causes are completely forgotten under the religious upheaval, or attributed to foreign domination. Kaśmīr, being a valley isolated from serious foreign intervention till long after feudalism had conquered, shows us that the change cannot be imputed either to theology or to the Mohammedan conquest. The natural course of events may be seen undisguised; in essence, the explanation applies to the rest of India also, allowing for minor details and particular variations due to local conditions. The need to import trade goods, especially salt and metals, difficult transport, lowering of grain prices with great increase in village settlements due to extensive water-works, meant concentration of wealth in a few hands for each small group of villages. A Kaśmīr village could not be as nearly self-sufficient as one in India, for the rigorous and more varied climate made it impossible to do without wool, which had to be produced for exchange against cereals as a commodity, as were grapes; this led to quicker development along the same road. In India, there arose a class armed of barons who expropriated the surplus for trade; in Kaśmīr, the man who had the surplus acquired more wealth by trade, took to arms, turned into a Dāmara. The caste system was never strong enough in Kaśmīr to prevent such direct change of class whenever economic advantage permitted. For that matter, it could not prevent this in India, but a formal change of caste had to be effected, which took far more time, and was not possible for individuals without great difficulty. The *agrahāra* grants made to brahmins did not prevent the rise of private (feudal) ownership of land, but rather served, in the trading environment, as model of the later *jāgīr*, whereas land in India proper continued to belong to the state till a later period. The conflict between king and Dāmara, feudal baron and central power, led ultimately to a Kaśmīrian Hindu king plundering temple property and melting down the images for profit, without change of religion or theological excuses, simply to maintain the army and a costly state apparatus. Because this could not continue forever, we have the ultimate victory of feudalism, and weakening of the central power.¹

1. The main source is M. A. Stein's translation "Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, a chronicle of the kings of Kaśmīr" (London 1900), to which all otherwise unspecified numbers in brackets refer, by book and verse. "Stein" refers to the able

The gold washed in small amounts from Kaśmīr rivers and a few precious or semi-precious stones found in the hills never balanced the imports needed for the Valley population. Hence, they could not have created private property in land, nor made it worthwhile to expropriate the surplus from cultivators. It is known that the food-producing lands were held in common under tribal and early central rule ; private enterprise is responsible for later specialized crops and conversely. Thus it was necessary to have a commodity that can be grown extensively on the land, particularly on the clayey lacustrine deposits (*uḍḍāra*, or *uḍar*) less productive with cereals; the commodity must be relatively high-priced, but still in great demand, easy to transport over the mountains to a large market, without giving rise to serious competition. These conditions are satisfied by the light and precious saffron (*Crocus sativus*) whose synonym *Kaśmīraja* proves the virtual monopoly over the Indian market enjoyed by Kaśmīr (because of its climate and soil) from a long time before the *Amarakośa* till the dominance of overseas trade. Chinese sources² show it being imported from its habitat Kaśmīr into China during the 3rd century A.D. whence it must have been exported to India from Kaśmīr at least that early. The original ritual use is reflected in the change of colour from *kāśāya* (the present Banāras *kattai* red) to saffron for a Buddhist monk's robes; the demand as medicine, cosmetic, pigment, and condiment expanded insatiably. Without the *Crocus* or some equivalent commodity, the internal history of Kaśmīr would have been far less turbulent, as may be seen by comparison with the small neighbouring Himalayan

translator's most useful notes. The author was the son of Caṅpaka, a hereditary brahmin court official writing under king Jayasiṃha (A.D. 1128-1149) ; the earlier part is legendary, but the legends are not pure myth, being associated with place-names. The edition of the text by Durgāprasād (2 vol., Bombay 1892, 1894) was used but not directly cited. A. Weber's valuable study, with long excerpts, of the *Lokaprakāśa* (*Indische Studien* XVIII, 1898, pp. 289-412) adds very little that might be of use here, particularly as that text needs critical edition; at least, the two MSS I have seen, namely 336 and 339 of 1875-6 in the Bombay Govt. collection at the BORI, Poona, differ too much in detail in the only common portion (the first section, as from an unspecified Kṣemendra's *Kathāsaritsāgara*, being all we find in the former MS ; even the second codex, in Sāradā script, is too incorrect). Whether words like *gañja* and *divira* are loan words from Persian or ghost-words needs more investigation, though the former view seems the more probable. The *Nilamata-purāna*, edited by K. de Vreese (Leiden, 1936), seems to contain nothing relevant beyond the information given by Stein in his footnotes.

2. B. Laufer : *Sino-Iranica* (Chicago 1919) pp. 309-323 : particularly p. 317. See also Stein II. p. 428 ; W. R. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir* (Oxford 1895), pp. 342-4.

valley Cambā, which shows relatively uneventful continuity of succession in the same dynasty, with people still worshipping images dedicated about 700 A.D. in temples standing over a thousand years.³ It is known that saffron does not grow elsewhere on the Indian sub-continent, but its role in the means and relations of production for Kaśmīr has escaped our historians.

1. **Caste and Class.** The enduring isolation of Kaśmīr, due to difficulties of forcing the passes with trifling rewards of conquest, justified Kalhaṇa's boast : " That country may be conquered by the force of spiritual merits but not by forces of soldiers " (1.39). Foreigners continued to enter as merchants, occasionally teachers and officials : even from Tibet, Lo-stonpa, (3.10) ; or Muktāpīḍa-Lalitāditya's chief minister (4.215 ff.) Caṅkuṇa (Tsian-kiun) from Chinese Turkestan. But the main influences cultivated or imported deliberately from outside the Valley were Indian, first Buddhism and then brahminism in its developed form. In 1.87, we have the first mention of an *agrahāra* being given to brahmins, by king Lava. Such donations are recorded by name throughout the eight books of the chronicle, indicating that brahmins were a main support of class-division, king, and state. Many of the priests were brought from outside; the Hun king Mihiragula bestowed land upon "Brahmans from Gandhāra, resembling himself in their habits and verily the lowest of the twice-born" (1307). The "wise king" Gopāditya bestowed the "Gopa-*agrahāras* on Brahmans born in Ārya-deśa. He removed those who ate garlic to Bhūkṣīravaṭikā, and transferred the Brahmans who had broken their rules of conduct to Khāsaṭā. Other Brahmans again of a holy life, whom he had brought from pure countries, he settled in Vaścikā and other *agrahāras*" (1.341-3). This incidentally shows that the notorious laxity of observances on the part of Kaśmīrian brahmins is of ancient standing.

The brahmins were not the only foreign ideological and priestly imports of use to the state. Buddhist monks are supposed to have become powerful from the time of king Jalauka (son of Aśoka) who is further credited with having introduced the four-caste class system, legal procedure, and a central administration headed by 18 officials (1.117-120) which continued as the standard form throughout Kaśmīrian history, with later modifications (4.141-3 etc.). The monks nearly extinguished the tribal Nāga cults (1.177-8) which would have obstructed any central rule unless wiped out or assim-

3. J. Ph. Vogel : *Antiquities of Chamba State* (Arch. Sur. India, New Imperial Series, 36, Calcutta, 1911) ; cf. also *Indian Antiquary*, XVII (1888), pp. 7-13.

lated by a state religion. The latter step was ultimately taken by brahmins who had been reduced to helplessness at the time of "the *bodhisattva*, Nāgārjuna". These priests gained a solid base among the people by writing the (still extant) *Nīlamata-purāna* (1.182-6) which gives official sanction to the Nāga cult ritual, readjusted conformably to standard brahmin practice and observances, with royal patronage from the time of Gonanda III. Free tribal elements continued in marginal localities, as for example Khaśa (= the present Khakha), while those absorbed may be reflected in the Kaśmīrian *Krām* names.

Apart from slackness in observances, the class behaviour of the brahmins forfeited their sanctity to a considerable extent. Most of them were landholders or government officials. Many fought on the battle-field, arms in hand, solely for personal advancement unconnected with any religious or theological question (cf. 8.2319-2330; 8.3018; over 600 years earlier than in India proper); the brahmin Rakka rose from a mere foot-soldier to the position of prime minister (5.424 ff.), participating in the usual court intrigues. Therefore the brahmins were not specially influenced in politics as a priesthood except for a brief period under the brahmin king Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-948). On occasion, even their fasting to death was looked upon with contempt, without moving the king's heart in the least (4.631-39). One of the results of this conduct was the relative absence of theological controversies in Kaśmīr. Kings like Lalitāditya, scholars like Kṣemendra, paid equal reverence to all sects, without feeling discord or incongruity. Buddhist monasteries continued side by side with Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples, primitive worship of the Mothers with occasional human sacrifice, and still older cults of various Nāgas.

The kings, too, were often of doubtful lineage—as happened in the rest of India, though much better disguised there with brahmin aid. Utpala, founder of a dynasty, was the son of a spirit-distiller (4.677-9); the preceding Kārkoṭa dynasty was of still lower tribal origin (Stein I.p. 86). Ministers of low birth were not uncommon (8. 181-5) while the *Khaśa* Tuṅga rose from a buffalo herdsman and letter-carrier to become favourite and minister of queen Diddā (6.318-321), virtually ruling the kingdom till his murder following a defeat outside Kaśmīr by Mahmūd of Ghazni about 1013 A.D. King Cakravarman (third reign A.D. 936-7) took a Ḍomb girl Haṃṣī as his chief queen (5.359-87) raising her low relatives to the highest power; the same king outraged a brahmin's wife (5.402-3), yet brahmins unhesitatingly accepted *agrahāras* from him, as from his unspeakably cruel successor Unmattāvanti (5.440-442).

Thus the caste system in Kaśmīr was, in contrast to the rest of India, too thin a disguise for that of classes. The *agrahāra* became a hereditary *jāgīr* form of private property in land, and as such Stein translates it. In 5.397-9 we have the village Helu given as *agrahāra* to the Ḍomb singer Raṅga and so recorded ; this is unprecedented, there being no record of such a grant made to a non-priest, let alone a Ḍomb, for any purpose whatever, in any of the numerous surviving Indian copper plates. In addition to land grants, there was a later system of income-earning funds (*gañja*) established for charity, and administered by separate officials.

2. **Development of irrigation.** Before turning to feudalism proper, we have to trace another of its root causes, besides the above-mentioned land-grants and investment foundations (*gañja*) for brahmins and religious institutions. This, curiously enough, is the action of the central government in controlling floods and promoting irrigation. The earliest legends relate to divine intervention, which made a river-valley out of what had been a lake spreading over most of Kaśmīr ; the existence of such a lake has some support in geology and varied deposits. The earliest mentioned irrigation canal, under king Suvarṇa (1.97), is identifiable and in use to this day. The later but still legendary king Dāmodara II was credited with building an irrigation dam, and several dykes for protection against floods (1.156-9). King Bālāditya's ministers built an embankment as well as a temple. The military achievements of king Muktāpiḍa-Lalitāditya (*circa* 699-736 A.D.), who overran most of India, and killed Yaśovarman of Kanauj, had a solid foundation in control and distribution of water in the Valley. Of course, his martial exploits distracted attention from the real achievement, which is mentioned in passing : "At Cakradhara, he made an arrangement for conducting the water of the *Vitastā* (Jhelum) and distributing it to various villages by the construction of a series of water-wheels (4.191) . . . This country (of Kaśmīr) always (before) gave small produce, as it was (liable to be) flooded by the waters of the Mahāpadma lake (Vūlūr), and was intersected by (many) streams. When the waters had been drained off somewhat, through the great exertions of king Lalitāditya, it became productive to a small extent. Under the feeble kings who succeeded after the death of Jayāpiḍa, the country was again, just (as before) overtaken by disastrous floods (5.68-70)".

The great name in Kaśmīrian history is that of Suyya, a Caṇḍāla who was minister under Avantivarman (A.D. 855-883). He cleared the bed of the *Vitastā* after building a temporary dam ; protected with embankments the spots regularly threatened by floods ;

arranged a new confluence for the Jhelum with the Indus and made a complete irrigation scheme. The performance left an indelible impression upon Kaśmīr, and its chronicler :

“He made the different streams with their waters, which are (like) the quivering tongues (of snakes), move about according to his will, just as a conjurer (does with) the snakes (5.102) Having thus raised the land from the water like another primeval Boar (Viṣṇu), he founded various villages which were filled with a multitude of people. Keeping out the water by means of (circular) dykes, he gave to these villages the appearance of round bowls (*kuṇḍa*). (Hence) the people called these (villages), which are amply provided with all (kinds of) foodstuffs, by the name of Kuṇḍāla (5.105) After examining the different classes of land, he procured a supply of river water for the villages, which thus were no (longer) dependent only on the rainfall. After watering all the villages (lands), he took from (each) village (some) soil, and ascertained, by (observing) the time it took to dry up, the period within which irrigation would be required (for each soil respectively). He then arranged (accordingly) on a permanent basis for the size and distribution of the watercourse for each village ; and by (using for irrigation) the Anūlā and other streams, embellished all regions with an abundance of irrigated fields which were distinguished for excellent produce (5.109-112) On the lands which he raised from the water, thousands of villages such as Jayasthala etc. were founded by Avantivarman and others (5.121)”. Naturally, Kalhaṇa appraises Suyya’s work as above that of the mythical Kaśyapa and Saṃkarṣaṇa, equating it to the achievements of four complete incarnations of Viṣṇu (5.113-5).

We do not hear of later kings doing anything beyond bare maintenance work at best. These sweeping, well-planned, scientifically tested, and carefully executed waterworks remain unique in Kaśmīr, without taking second place elsewhere in India even to grandiose projects like Bhoja’s lake at Bhopāl (*JA.* 17, 1888, p. 348-352).

The waterworks caused an increase of surplus which enabled new temples to be built and endowed with their own lands; fresh *agrahāras* were granted to brahmins ; kings patronized learned scholars and poets ; occasionally, military adventures were attempted outside Kaśmīr, not always with success. However, the Śāhī kings of Udabhāṇḍa remained closely related to Kaśmīr ruling princes. The army, bureaucracy, and taste for luxury were additional powerful factors in future decline. The most important result of the

irrigation and drainage works, whereof all the others were concomitants, and ultimately also the cause of internal dissensions which made invasion a triviality, was the following : "There, where previously from the beginning of things the purchase price of *khārī* (= 177 lbs.) of rice was 200 *dinnāras* in times of great abundance, in that very land of Kaśmīr henceforth—O wonder !—the *khārī* of rice came to be bought for 36 *dinnāras*" (5.116-7). This abundance disturbed the price structure, and balance of payments against imports, so as to accelerate greatly the tendencies that led to feudal dissensions and decay, tendencies that had remained latent and been counteracted hitherto by royal force. Administration of the new villages would strain the older state resources while increase in the number of clerical (*kāyastha*) officials for revenue collection would be disproportionately costly ; the more so because most of the tribute collected from the peasantry disappeared into the pockets of the officials, without reaching the royal treasury. The traditional number—perhaps a legend of this period—of 66,063 Kaśmīr villages had shrunk to 2,870 with a total population of 814,000 according to the 1891 *Census*, while in 1835 a great famine had left only about 200,000 survivors.

3. **The Damaras.** The word *Ḍāmara* is peculiar to pre-Muslim Kaśmīr, meaning a local chief with some military power. After the time of Suyya, the quarrel between *Ḍāmaras* and king constitutes the principal motif of Kaśmīrian history. These chieftains made and unmade kings, fought battles with the central power and among themselves. In a word, they formed the equivalent of feudal barons far more than the *sāmantas* mentioned on occasion, who cannot have been tributary kings as elsewhere in classical Sanskrit, but were barons created by the court as counterpoise to the *Ḍāmaras*, as perhaps were the titular *Ṭhakkuras*. The question, then, is : what made a *Ḍāmara* ? There is no possibility of these people being a separate caste, or tribal chiefs surviving from ancient times, or army captains settled on the land to become local counts. The name has no tribal meaning like that of the *khaśas*, does not survive as a *krām* today, though (Stein II. p. 306) many of them in the eastern *Maḍavarājya* portion of the Valley were recruited from the Lavanya group (7.1229). The *Ḍāmaras* were *invariably* to be found in the most fertile cultivated portions of Kaśmīr (Stein II. p. 307).

Lalitāditya is supposed to have left in his testament the following advice to his successors :

"Those who wish to be powerful in this land must always

guard against internal dissensions. . . . Those who dwell there in the (mountains) difficult of access should be punished, even if they give no offence ; because, sheltered by their fastnesses, they are difficult to break up if they have (once) accumulated wealth. Every care should be taken that there should not be left with the villagers more food supply than required for one year's consumption, nor more oxen than wanted for (the tillage of) their fields. Because if they should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year very formidable Ḍāmaras and strong enough to neglect the commands of the king. When once the villagers obtain clothes, women, woollen blankets, food, ornaments, horses, houses, such as are fit for the town ; when the kings in their madness neglect the strong places which ought to be guarded ; when their servants show want of discrimination ; when the keep of the troops is raised from a single district ; when the officials are closely drawn together by bonds of intermarriage ; when the kings look into their own affairs as if they were clerks (*kāyastha*),—then a change for the worse in the subjects' fortune may be known for certain." (4.345-352).

The essential question is : were the Ḍāmaras feudal lords ? Did they hold land as feudal property ? The answer is fairly clear, in the affirmative. We must remember that rebellion at that time meant refusal to pay dues. Town merchants existed with great wealth, but without armed forces were never regarded as rivals to the king's power. King Durlabhaka-Pratāpāditya II fell in love with a very rich foreign (Punjabi) merchant's wife, who was ceded to him willingly by the husband (4.17-38) to become the chief queen Narendraprabhā. The Ḍāmaras were armed, owned villages, had their own fortified strongholds (7.1171-3, 1266-7). Such an establishment could not be maintained without collecting some dues from the villagers ; there would have been no conflict with the center if a reasonable share had been passed on. But a powerful Ḍāmara like Dhanva (5.48-58) could usurp villages granted to the leading temple of Śiva Bhūteśa. The later books of the *Rājatarangīṇī* are filled with details of the struggles, not only between the king and Ḍāmaras but between factions of Ḍāmaras, some of which might side with the king or set up their own king. To disarm villagers completely was out of the question in Kaśmīr, for hunting was always a useful supplement to farming, while the central power could not move rapidly enough to protect distant places against tribal or robber attack. Given a certain access of wealth, Ḍāmara power followed inevitably as the kings were never rich enough to maintain regularly paid, and regularly supplied, strong local garrisons,

Kalhaṇa reports that contemporary Ḍāmaras about Śrīnagar were "more like cultivators though they carry arms" (8.709). Thus the Ḍāmaras maintained a class of privilege⁴ above the ordinary cultivator, that of bearing arms. In 7.494-5, we are told of one Jayyaka, "who was the clever son of a householder at Selyapura, called Mayana, had gradually attained the position of a Ḍāmara (*kramād ḍāmaratvam agāt*). By the revenue of his land, and by selling victuals as a trader to far-off regions, this greedy person accumulated wealth and became in the course of time a rival to the lord of wealth (Kubera)". This shows how a trading householder could become a Ḍāmara which thus denotes a status, not a caste. The confiscation of Jayyaka's wealth by king Kalaśa (7.499) solved the king's financial problems for life, but also converted that king into a very shrewd businessman (7.507-514), looking very profitably after his own trade and investments. For the position of trade and the traders in this connection, 4.712 tells us: "Nara and other merchants who were in possession of spotless horses and owned villages, ruled Ḍārvābhisāra and the neighbouring regions, setting up (their own) thrones (in the early 9th century)". Under Pārtha (A.D. 906-921), "the king's ministers and the Tantrins (Pretorians) became wealthy, as they amassed riches by selling stores of rice at a high prices (in times of famine)" (5.274). This proves that land was effectively in private ownership to a considerable extent, and that surplus could be traded either against imported goods, or held over for internal trade in times of famine, to increase accumulation of wealth. Combined with the right to bear arms exercised by all castes in Kaśmīr (even Caṇḍālas were armed as village, palace, and camp watchmen) this gives us the complete genesis of the Ḍāmaras, remembering that with an individual, his immediate relatives also became Ḍāmaras.

The low prices for grain would by themselves be of great help in forming accumulation in times of plenty. The Kaśmīrian *dinnāra* was 3.64 grains of copper (Stein II. p. 315 seq.). Food prices in Kaśmīr rose (Stein II. p. 325) in famine times under Harṣa (1089-1101 A.D.) only to 500 *dinnāras* per *khārī* (177 lbs.) of rice. The normal price under Zainu'l-ābidin (A.D. 1420-70)

4. There seems to have been a special type of hair-dressing characteristic of the Ḍāmaras, though the reference does n't make it clear whether it was as feudal barons or as Lavanyas that the hair was piled up. "While he (king Harṣa) was killing the Lavanyas, he left in Maḍavarājya not even a Brahman alive if he wore his hair dressed high and was of prominent appearance" (7.1229). The *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* of Vidyākara, stanza 817 (by Viddūka) describes the owl pecking out of his trunk-hollow at evening as *ḍamarita-śiras*, and this may be connected with the *ḍāmara* hairdress.

was 300, in times of famine 1500 dīnnāras per *khārī*. Under Akbar, the normal price had risen to 2900 dīnnāras per *khārī*, as the result of incorporation into the Mughal empire. So Suyya's vast reclamation and irrigation works increased the population and the number of villages, but left Kaśmīr with an increasingly difficult situation as regards payments against imports; a few people managed to control the surplus for sale outside. It also complicated the administrative problem for the kings, as started earlier. We may note that with the progress of Muslim trade, saffron was imported more and more into India from the Levant and other countries, by sea.

One feature of feudalism, the *corvée*, appears under a peculiar form in Kaśmīr because of local conditions. Transport was unusually difficult, road-building very costly, maintenance almost impossible. Moreover, assessment, payment of dues, and even of salaries was generally in terms of grain, as it continued to be till the Settlement of the late 19th century. Thus regular portage was essential to maintain supplies for the central power. The transport as required service (*rūḍha-bhāroḍhi*) must have existed from much older times, but king Śaṃkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) is credited with organizing and enforcing it (5.172-174) on a strict, regular basis. The purely local Dāmaras might be counterbalanced by court *sāmantas*, and Ṭhakkuras with undefined powers and holdings. But this ultimately increased the number of feudal lords while the Dāmaras who sided with the successful king (e.g. Cakravarman, A.D. 936; 5.306-340) in a given struggle certainly could not be reduced in power, wealth, or privilege for their help.

4. **Iconoclasm without theology.** The breaking of images and violation of temple property appears in Kaśmīr for what it actually was, the expropriation of accumulated wealth by the central power to pay for its expenses in the struggle against local chiefs. Even under Jayāpīḍa (8th century), such measures had been taken, in spite of the king's having a copper mine (4.617) 'at his disposal. He had a costly army and costlier tastes inherited from his illustrious predecessor Lalitāditya. His *kāyasthas* pointed out to him the greater profits to be extracted from his own kingdom, without the risk and hardships of a foreign expedition (4.621); the advice was willingly accepted, with great profit to the king but far greater to the revenue officials (4.622). He began by taking the whole harvest, including the cultivator's share, for three years (4.628), which not only betokens cruelty and greed but proves desperate circumstances for the autocrat. "With his mind merged in greed, the king took for friends the officials (*kāyasthas*) who

carried off all property (of the subjects), while delivering only the smallest fraction of what they realized." Even making all due allowance for the brahmin Kalhaṇa's dislike of the *kāyastha* officials, this shows the failure of the only alternative to feudalism, namely honest and efficient central administration. Thereafter, Jayāpīḍa rapidly took over brahmin *agrahāra* lands, desisting only when many of the priests died (apparently by fasting to death) while great numbers emigrated (4.631-3 ; 638-9) ; none of the rescinded lands were returned. King Śaṃkaravarman (883-902 A.D.) established two new taxes, one on markets (*aṭṭapatibhāga*) the other on domestic affairs (*gṛhakarṭya*) but these did not suffice (5.167). "He took from the temples the profits arising from the sale of incense, sandalwood, and other (articles of worship) under the pretext that they were the (king's legal) share of the selling price. Then again he plundered straightway 64 temples, through special officers (placed over them) under the pretext of (exercising) supervision. The king resumed villages which belonged to the temples, against a compensatory assignment (*pratikara*), and (then) cultivated the land himself as (if he were) an agriculturist" (5.168-170). The king reduced weights but charged full weights for the enforced portage corvée which he first organised, and levied even from temples. As temple lands were granted free of taxes, dues, and supervision, these measures helped convert them into feudal holdings. Special dues were levied in good feudal style for the payment of village officials (Skandakas, Grāmakāyasthas), while the regulation of weight by the *gṛhakarṭya* office was another source of additional revenue (5.171-176). This meant changing the old official set-up, with the appointment of five secretaries (*divira*) with a special treasurer (*gañjavara* ; 5.177). The words are supposed to be of Persian origin and may indicate some foreign inspiration.

At least, Śaṃkaravarman granted some compensation for resumed temple lands, thus recognising property rights in land. The logical culmination of this confiscatory scheme came under Harṣa (1089-1101 A.D.) who fought, but ultimately lost, a war of extermination against the Dāmaras. He began by a fortuitous confiscation of treasures belonging to the deserted Bhīmakeśava temple founded (near Mārtāṇḍa) by Bhīma Sāhī ; while the priests were quarrelling among themselves, the idol's silver armour had been stolen from the locked temple. However, the members of the *purohita pārīṣadya* fasted till the king exempted them from the 'forced carrying of loads (*rūḍhabhāroḍhi* corvée)' in compensation (7.1080-1088). Thereafter, king Harṣa resorted to direct action against the

other temples, "as he was addicted to extravagant expenditure upon various corps of his army" (7.1089). "Then the greedy-minded (king) plundered from all temples their wonderful treasures which former kings had bestowed there. In order to get hold of the statues of gods, too, when the treasure (of the temples) had been carried off, he appointed Udayarāja 'prefect for the overthrow of divine images (*devotpāṭana-nāyaka*).' In order to defile the statues of gods, he had excrement and urine poured over their faces by naked mendicants whose noses, feet, and hands had rotted away (? lepers)" (7.1090-1092). "There was not one temple in a village, town, or in the City which was not despoiled of its images by that *Turuṣka*, king Harṣa. Only two chief divine images were respected by him, the illustrious Raṇasvāmin in the City and Mārtāṇḍa (among the images) in townships. Among colossal images, two statues of Buddha were saved...." (7.1095-8). Yet the king was not a convert to Islam, like some of his foreign mercenaries, the term *turuṣka* being applied to him here only in hatred: "While continually supporting the *Turuṣka* captains of hundreds with money, this perverse-minded (king) ate domesticated pigs until his death" (7.1149). His ideas on incest agreed with those of Caligula (7.1147-8), but unlike the Roman emperor Harṣa claimed no divinity for himself. The confiscation of sacred property was one of many (7.1100-1107) straightforward fiscal measures under the *arthanāyaka*, unconnected with any theological persecution of the brahmins, change of religion, or establishment of new cults. The king was a man of great culture, poet, composer, patron of learning (7.933-44).

The Mohammedan conquest of Kaśmīr took place, virtually without striking a blow, in A. D. 1339 when the condottiere Shah Mir deposed queen Koṭā (widow of the last Hindu ruler) to found his own dynasty. Islam made its way into Kaśmīr by gradual conversion, being quite peacefully adopted by the great majority during the latter half of the 14th century, without the accompaniment of catastrophic upheavals; the ground had long been prepared by the influx of foreign adventures in royal service. The traditional brahmin officials continued in office, many as landlords; Sanskrit remained in use for administration, and is found even on Mohammedan gravestones (Stein I, p. 131, footnote); the *Loka-prakāśa* shows an administrative jargon compounded from Sanskrit, with Arabic and Persian words (e.g. *suratrāṇa* and *surasthāna* for sultan) in use for land-grants, *huṇḍikā* scrips etc., as late as the time of Shah Jehan. Of the Muslim rulers, only one tried idol smashing; his successor Zainu-l-ābidin (1420-1470) not only pat-

ronized Sanskritists and brahmins, but went on some of the traditional Hindu pilgrimages. The final conquest under Akbar consummated the trend, leaving Kaśmīr a beautiful poverty-stricken appendage of India, with vast undeveloped resources in mineral wealth and hydro-power, increasingly severe famines, steadily dwindling population. The real struggle had been fought out centuries earlier between king and Dāmaras.

The importance of Kaśmīr to the historian lies in that it shows the true motive force of Indian feudalism, the need to increase commodity production by local concentration of surplus, whose extraction was heightened by force in the hands of the nobles.

LAY WOMEN IN EARLY BUDDHISM

By

B. C. LAW

INTRODUCTION : Nārī or woman occurring in the *Ṛgveda* (V. 11 20, 5; 55, 8; V, III, 77, 8; X. 18, 7; 86, 10, 11; Cf. *Atharvaveda*, XIV, 2.13; *Vājasaneyisaṃhitā*, XIII, 36; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, III, 34) seems to have a distinct reference to a woman as a wife. Women in the *Ṛgvedic* society show themselves freely before the public in popular feasts, dances and on similar occasions. In Vedic India the greater part of a woman's life was taken up in her marriage and marital relations. The *Ṛgveda* does not refer to the seclusion of women. In the *Upaniṣads* we read of women who could take part in disputations on philosophical topics.¹ According to the *Ṛgveda* (1, 24, 1; VII, 101, 3; Cf. *Vājasaneyisaṃhitā*, XIII, 21; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, II, 6) *Mātṛ* is a regular word for mother, who appears to have been interested in the fate of her children as in the story of the sale of *Śuṅhaśepa* for adoption by *Viśvāmitra* in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, (VII, 18 ff.).

The ideal married life is based upon mutual fidelity ending in death. The wife shares as far as possible in her husband's religious life. In the early period married women shared with their husbands not only in religious rites but also in philosophical discussions. Women are to be honoured by fathers and brothers, husbands and brothers-in-law. Where they are honoured, the gods rejoice; where they are not honoured, all religious rites are of no avail. Where women grieve, the family perishes; where they do not grieve, it flourishes.² If a slave commits adultery with an Aryan woman, he is to be executed. But if an Aryan commits adultery with a slave woman, he is to be banished. Buddhism held a peculiar position with regard to women. Women are reviled as being "torches that light the way to hell".³

Women played an important part in the early history of Buddhism. The Buddha was never tired of describing the defects and vices of women and warning the monks to guard against them. In the *Aṅguttaranikāya* similar warnings are given to women as regards the wickedness of men (Vol. IV, 196-197). It was the custom for certain classes of women to wander about from place to place and challenge even men to enter into controversy with them,

1. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, ii, 4, 1 ff.; IV, 5, 2 ff.; iii, 6, 1; 8, 1.

2. *Manusaṃhitā*, III, 55 ff.; Cf. *Mahābhārata*, 13, 46, 5 ff.; Hopkins, *Ethics of India*, p. 125.

3. Hopkins, *Ethics of India*, p. 162.

apparently without any sense of impropriety on their part or of condemnation in the minds of others. In the Buddha's time a woman is contemptuously spoken of as a creature with two-finger-breadth knowledge (*dvaṅgulaṭṭhā*). In the Pāli story of Viṣākḥā a woman is compared to an article of trade which often goes to the highest bidder. She is generally regarded as fickle-minded, voluptuous, incapable of keeping secret and is inclined to prove faithless to the nuptial bed, if she gets any opportunity for it. Thus she is viewed with distrust, and the seclusion of women in royal harems (*avarodhana*) was partly an outcome of suspicion about their fidelity. The ways of women are secret and not open (*mālugāṃ ṭṭicchanṇo vahaṭi no vivaṭo*).⁴

Women are angry (*kodhano*), jealous (*issukī*), avaricious (*maccharī*) and foolish (*duppañño*). This is the reason why women do not take their seats in the assembly, do not engage themselves in business, and do not obtain the essence of the deed (*kammojaṃ*).⁵ All women work iniquity when opportunity is given (*sabbitthiyo kaṇe pāpam labhamānā nivātake*). The *Aṇḍabhūta Jātaka*⁶ may be cited in this connection, which relates that the girl-wife of a chaplain who was kept under strict vigilance secretly came in contact with a young lover who with the help of her woman-attendant enjoyed her and he thus succeeded in wrecking her virtue.

The *Aṇḍabhūta Jātaka* mentions the sale of daughter. There is a specific injunction in the *Mahābhārata* (XIII, 45, 18) that a man goes to hell if he sells his daughter.

The ways of women cannot be understood easily. They are very perplexing.⁷ They are insensible to parents' love and ties of brotherhood. They are ever ready to violate the law of right. They follow the dictates of their own mind in all their deeds.⁸ They harass unstable mind. The speech, smiles, dance and song are their weapons (*naccagītabhaṇitamihitāvudhā*).⁹ They are as deadly as black serpent's head and as ravenous as fire.¹⁰ They are deceitful and they never tell the truth as truth amongst them is very rare (*saccaṃ sudullabhaṇi*). They hold truth for falsehood and falsehood for truth (*Musā tāsani yathā saccaṃ saccaṇi tāsani yathā*

4. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I, p. 282.

5. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 82-83.

6. *Jātaka*, I, p. 290 ff.

7. *Jātaka*, I, p. 290.

8. *Ibid.*, V, p. 94.

9. *Ibid.*, V, p. 445.

10. *Ibid.*, V, 452.

11. *Ibid.*, V, 446 *Ghatāsanasamā h'etū kaṇhasappasirūṭṭamā*.

musā).¹² In a speech they make no distinction between truth and falsehood.¹³ They are unrestrained in lust.¹⁴ Those women who have no heart at all are hard and cannot feel ; they desire to be in woe when their husbands are in woe.¹⁵

The *Vessantara Jātaka* gives a description of women bedecked with lovely dress, gold chains and ornaments.¹⁶ In the pre-vedic period women used girdles, ear-rings and anklets. A vedic wife desires to please her husband, displaying her charm, 'by becoming attire', 'well dressed', putting on 'elegant garments'. The *R̥gveda* speaks of embroidered garments (*peśas*) of a female dancer.¹⁷ In one of the *Jātakas* we find the Bodhisatta saying thus, "Woman is the canker of chastity. Do not approach me unseasonably".¹⁸ The Buddha honoured those women who did not neglect the care of the home.¹⁹ A king who indulged especially in hunting, drinking, women, and gambling, might use his discretion in these matters; they are condemned, if indulged in too freely. According to the *Āpastamba* (2, 25, 13, ff.) and the *Mahābhārata* (12, 140, 26) addiction to them is culpable. A king should not consult a woman and take her advice.²⁰

IDEAL WOMAN : An ideal woman is described by the Buddha himself in the *Mahāsudassana Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. The Buddha says that the woman who is handsome, beautiful in appearance, pleasing in manners, and of the finest complexion, neither too tall nor too short, nor too thin nor too fat, nor too dark, nor too fair, surpassing human complexion and possessing divine beauty is a jewel among women.²¹

WIDOW : Widowhood is terrible.²² A widow is a naked thing, even if she has ten brothers. It is just like a kingdom without a

12. *Ibid.*, I, p. 295 ; Cf. *Ibid.*, V, p. 94.

13. *Ibid.*, V, p. 448.

14. *Ibid.*, V, 435, 448 (*asāññatāsu*).

15. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 508.

16. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 503.

17. *Indo-Aryan*, I, p. 168.

18. *Jātaka*, VI, 520 "इत्थी च नाम ब्रह्मचरियस्स मलं...अकाले मम संतिकं मा आगच्छाहीति."

19. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Gotama the man*, p. 31; Cf. *Dhammapada Commy.* V. 53 on verses 345 and 346 ; Cf. *Jātaka* II, 139 ff.

20. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, 3, 150, 44.

21. *Dīgha*, II, p. 175; इत्थि-रत्नं पातुर् अहोसि, अभिरूपा दस्सनीया पासदिका परमाय वण्ण-पोक्खरताय समन्नागता, नातिदीघा, नातिरस्सा नातिकिसा नातिथला नातिकाली नाच्योदाता, अतिकंता मानुसं रण्णं अप्पत्ता दिब्बं वण्णं. Cf. *Lalitavistara*, 17.

22. *Jātaka*, VI, p. 508.

king, rivers without water. One is happy as he has no widow having seven daughters (*Vidhavā sattadhītarō*).²³

PARENTS : The families where mother and father are worshipped in the house, are worthy of offerings (*sāhuneyyakāni*). The families where mother and father are worshipped in the house, are equal with Brahmā (*sabrahmakāni*). The reason is that mother and father do much for children, they bring them up, nourish and show them to the world (*Bahukārā bhikkhave mātāpitaro puttānaṃ āpādakā, posakā imassa lokassa dassētāro*).²⁴ If one having a lease of life of one hundred years, should carry his mother on one shoulder and his father on the other, attain one hundred years by so doing, he should serve (*patijaggeyya*) them by anointing them with unguents, giving baths, rubbing their limbs (*sambāhanena*) etc. and they should emit their excrements (*muttakarīsam cajeyyum*) upon him, even so he cannot repay his parents (*na tveva... mātāpitunnaṃ kataṃ vā hoti patikataṃ vā*). If he should establish his parents in the absolute rule of this mighty earth, having seven treasures in abundance (*pahūta sattaratanāya*), he cannot repay his parents by so doing. The reason is the same as stated before. He who urges (*samādapeti*) his unbelieving parents, settles and places them in the faith; he who urges his immoral parents, settles and places them in morality; he who urges his miserly parents, settles and places them in liberality, and he who urges his foolish parents, settles and places them in wisdom, by so doing he can repay his parents.²⁵ Mother and father are regarded as the sacrificial fire. Sons, wives, servants, female slaves or workers are also regarded as the sacred fire maintained by a householder.²⁶ A woman whose parents give food, being desirous of welfare and compassionate, becomes a faithful servant, a good servant, pleasing and affable.²⁷ He who has much wealth and who does not support his mother or father in old age, should also be known as an outcast. He who strikes or by speech annoys his mother or father or brother or sister or mother-in-law should also be known as an outcast.²⁸ In the *Sīṅgālovādasuttanta* of the *Dīghanikāya* (III, 191-192) the Buddha said, "Mother and father belong to the eastern quarters (*pubbādisā*) . . . wife and children belong to the western quarters (*pacchādisā*) . . . servants and workers remain below (*hetthā*); brahmins and recluses live overhead (*uddham*). These quarters

23. *Sāmyutta*, I, p. 170.

24. *Āṅguttara*, I, p. 132.

25. *Āṅguttara*, I, pp. 61-62.

26. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 45.

27. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 265.

28. *Suttanīpāta*, verses 123-125.

should be worshipped by the householder in the true sense of the term".²⁹

WIFE : A wife should not be held in common with another.³⁰ A wife who shares her husband's lot, be it rich or be it poor, gods do praise her fame.³¹ An unmarried girl is the foremost among wives (*Kumārī setthā bhariyānaṃ*).³² The wives were graded as those who could behave with their husbands like a mother, sister, comrade (*sakhī*), slave (*dāsī*), noble lady (*ayyā*), thief (*corī*), and murderer (*vadhakā*).³³ A good wife can support her children and keep the household after the death of her husband by spinning the cotton and scraping the woman's platted hair (*Kappāsaṃ kantitum veṇiṃ olikkhitum*). A good wife leading a godly life with her husband for 16 years will never go to another man after the death of her husband. She will keep the virtues in full.³⁴ A good wife is one who abstains from life-slaughter, theft, falsehood, misdeed, and drinking liquor, fermented and distilled, which causes sloth. She is virtuous, of a lovely nature and does not abuse recluses and brahmins. She lives at home with a heart free from stinginess. She has faith (*saddhāsampanno*), sacrifice (*cāgasampanno*) and wisdom (*paññāsampanno*).³⁵ A good husband is like a good wife.³⁶ A husband is an ornament of his wife, her refuge, her object of pleasure, her protector and her greatest deity.³⁷

When a young wife is first brought to her husband either by day or night, she at first feels great fear and bashfulness (*tibbam hirottappaṃ*) in the presence of her mother-in-law, father-in-law, husband and even before servants. But after living together for sometime and acquiring intimacy she addresses her mother-in-law, father-in-law and husband thus, 'Go away, what do you know?'³⁸

SEVEN TYPES OF WIFE : The *Āṅguttara Nikāya* mentions seven types of wife : (1) wife who is always angry, hot-tempered, wishing ill of her husband, who is attached to others, and who is ever ready to kill her husband, if opportunity arises; (2) she who steals the earnings of her husband; (3) she who is lazy, does not mind to work, is rough, uses harsh words, wants to lord over the remaining

29. *Dīgha*, III, pp. 191-92.

30. *Jātaka*, VI, p. 286.

31. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 508.

32. *Samyutta*, I, p. 6.

33. *Āṅguttara*, IV, 92 ff.; *Jātaka*, II, 347 ff.

34. *Ibid.*, III, 295 ff.

35. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 272-73.

36. *Ibid.*, II, p. 58.

37. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, XII, 145.3.

38. *Āṅguttara*, II, p. 78.

members of the family including her husband; (4) she who is kind to her husband, always protects her husband and also protects his earnings; (5) she who is devoted to her husband, always bashful and behaves with her husband as an elder sister does towards her younger sister; (6) she who finds delight in seeing her husband after a long time and who upholds the tradition of the family (*holeyyakā*); (7) she who is not angry in any sphere of life, even if beaten and oppressed by her husband, who always pardons her husband with a loving heart, and who is always devoted to her husband like a maid-servant devoted to her master.³⁹

SEVEN KINDS OF WIFE ACCORDING TO THE JĀTAKA : In the *Sujāta Jātaka*⁴⁰ the Buddha himself classifies wives into seven kinds : (1) A wife who is bad-hearted, relentless to the good, hates her husband, but loves others and who is a destroyer of everything obtained at the cost borne by her husband, is called a destroyer-wife. (2) A wife who steals something which her husband procures for her by trade or skilled profession or the farmer's spade, is called a thief-wife. (3) A wife who is lazy, passionate, covetous, foul-mouthed, full of anger and extreme hatred, careless of duty and oppressive to her subordinates, is called a high and mighty wife. (4) A wife who sympathises with the good, takes a motherly care of her husband and guards her husband's belongings, is called a motherly wife. (5) A wife who is modest, obedient to her husband and respects her husband as a younger sister respects her elder sisters, is called a sisterly wife. (6) A wife who is virtuous, comes of a respectable family, takes such a pleasure in seeing her husband, as a friend takes in seeing his friend after a long absence, and depends entirely upon her husband, is called a friendly wife. (7) A wife who is patient, passionate, true to her heart, quiet when abused, afraid of violence and submissive to her husband's will, is called a slavish wife.

TEN KINDS OF WIFE ACCORDING TO THE VINAYAPIṬAKA : According to the *Vinayapiṭaka* (III, 139-140) there are ten kinds of wives (*bhariyā*) : (1) those bought for money, (2) those living together voluntarily, (3) those who are enjoyed or made use of occasionally (*bhogavāsini*), (4) those who have given cloth, (5) those who provide the house with a bowl of water, (6) those who have put up a turban in order to carry vessels on their head, (7) those who are slaves and wives, (8) those who are artisans and wives, (9) those who have brought banners and (10) those who are temporary wives (*muhuttikā*).⁴¹

39. *Anguttara*, IV, pp. 92-93.

40. *Jātaka*, II, p. 347 ff.

41. See also Horner, *Women under primitive Buddhism*, p. 43.

GOOD QUALITIES OF A WOMAN : The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* mentions the following qualities which every woman should possess. She must be obedient to her husband, must use sweet words to him, must act according to his liking, should honour and worship her husband's superiors, should welcome guests and look after their comforts. She should be skilled in spinning and weaving and must not be lazy in performing household duties and must be intelligent enough to manage household affairs. She must look after the work of menial servants and employees in the house, must make arrangements for their treatment in case of illness, must preserve the earnings of her husband and must not steal them. She must not waste money by drinking wine or by other bad means and must not deceive her husband. She must take refuge in the three gems, must observe five precepts, must be charitable, liberal and not stingy. These are the qualities of a dutiful housewife.⁴² The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (IV, p. 270) refers to four qualities which enable a woman to obtain victory in the next life (*Paralokaviṃṣayā paṭipanno hoti*). They are as follows : (1) *Skill in household duties* : she must be able to spin yarn and weave cloth from wool and cotton. She must know the time of performing different household duties. (2) *Capacity to look after members of the family* : she must take care of her husband's servants, maid-servants, and other employees. She must look to the performance of their duties properly. She must supply proper food to them. They must not be neglected, if ill. (3) *Capacity of doing everything to the liking of her husband* : she must not do anything unliked by her husband, even at the sacrifice of her life. (4) *Thrift* : she must save wealth, gold, silver, corn etc. earned by her husband. She must not steal and waste them for drinking, gambling and other purposes. A woman possessed of these virtues and devoted to the three gems, observer of precepts, charitable and wise, must be happy in the next world.⁴³ The *Samyuttanikāya* (Vol. I. p. 37) points out that good housewives are always devoted and dutiful to their husbands. They are always ready to undergo all sorts of misery for their beloved husbands. They are known as the highest comrades (*Bhāriyā paramā sakhā*). Husband is, on the other hand, a woman's emblem and sign (*Bhattāpaññānaṃ itthiyāti*).⁴⁴

DEVOTED WIFE : It is interesting to record here an exemplary character of a devoted wife. The husband was attacked with leprosy, left the city and came to a forest. The devoted wife followed him to the wilderness to wait upon him. She nursed her diseased husband. Daily she used to rise early in the morning, clean her

42. *Aṅguttara*, IV, pp. 268-69.

43. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 269-71.

44. *Samyutta*, I. p. 42.

abode, keep water for her husband to drink, furnish him with tooth-stick and water to rinse his mouth. She used to grind medicinal herbs and anoint his sores. Daily she went into the forest with a basket, a spade and a hook to collect wild fruits and herbs. In this way she took care of her husband in the forest till the latter was cured of leprosy. But the ungrateful husband on returning home, took pleasure with other women and neglected his devoted wife who felt this dishonour keenly. The true devotion which this woman cherished for her husband was expressed when she said in grief : "A woman may be in splendid dress, but if she be an unloved wife, she should put an end to her life by fixing a rope". The devoted wife regained her former position of honour from her husband at the intervention of an ascetic.⁴⁵ The *Kakkaṭṭa Jātaka*⁴⁶ gives us another instance of real devotion to husband. A good, virtuous and devoted wife who was charming and beautiful, was wanted by a robber chief by killing her husband. She, however, succeeded in saving herself and her husband. Further instances of virtuous women may be collected from the *Jātakas*. Sujātā, a faithful, virtuous and dutiful girl properly performed her duty to her husband and parents-in-law.⁴⁷ Asitābhū who was a good and beautiful wife was neglected by her husband with the result that she embraced a religious life and in course of time became a saint.⁴⁸ Rāhula's mother was also a devoted wife. She embraced religious life with her husband.⁴⁹ Kosaladevī died of love for her husband who was deprived of his life by his own son.⁵⁰

DEVOTED HUSBAND : A striking example of husband's devotion to his wife is found in the case of king Muṇḍa. When the queen Bhaddā, the dear and beloved wife of king Muṇḍa died, the king neither bathed nor anointed himself nor partook of any food nor concerned himself with any affairs but day and night clung in grief to her body.⁵¹

WICKED WOMAN : The Pāli Canon mentions good and bad wives. There are various ways in which a wicked woman is to be known. She praises her husband's absence from home; she is not pleased at his return. She blames him, does him injury and does what ought not to be done, and never does what ought to be done. She goes to bed with her clothes on and lies with her face turned

45. *Jātaka*, V, pp. 88 ff.

46. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 341 ff.

47. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 121 ff.

48. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 229 ff.

49. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 392 ff.

50. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 237 ff.

51. *Aṅguttara*, III, pp. 57 ff.

away from him. She changes her side frequently, sighs a long-drawn sigh, feels pain, solicits nature at frequent intervals, acts perversely and lends her ear to a stranger's voice. She wastes her husband's goods, picks up an intimacy with her neighbours, wanders abroad, walks on the streets, disrespects her husband, she is guilty of adultery, exposes herself shamelessly to passers by, and standing at the door, she often looks around with a confused mind.⁵²

A woman is to be blamed if she is fond of frequenting pleasure-gardens, river-banks, houses of relatives or of strangers, if she dresses herself smartly, if she is addicted to strong drink, if she stares with idle looks or stands before her door. A wicked woman hates her husband, if he be poor or sick or old or a habitual drunkard or reckless or dull or overworked by his cares of business or disobliging.⁵³ One should be known as an outcast if he is seen among the wives of friends or relations either by force or with their consent (*sahasā sampiyena vā*).⁵⁴

Wicked wives are not satisfied with their lot. They are very exacting. Somehow or other they will have the thing which they are in need of. Husband's poverty is no consideration to them.⁵⁵ A wicked woman feigns sickness and does not do any household duty.⁵⁶ Young wives do not like to take care of old mothers-in-law, but they try to poison their husbands' ears against them.⁵⁷ A wife was so very wicked as to devise a plan to kill her husband. She fell in love with a stranger. She took her husband to the top of a mountain and somehow managed to hurl him down the precipice.⁵⁸ The *Vinaya Piṭaka* refers to a wife's infidelity. A certain woman, while her husband was away from home, became pregnant as a result of her intrigues with a paramour. She had a premature delivery.⁵⁹

Wise men of old could not guard their own daughters who escaped with their paramours without their fathers' knowledge.⁶⁰ A woman went wrong in spite of the strong guard.⁶¹ A girl corrupted herself and took to various tricks to prove her innocence.⁶² A bride while carried in a closed carriage, accompanied by a large escort,

52. *Jātaka*, V, p. 434.

53. *Jātaka*, V, p. 433.

54. *Suttanipāta*, V. 125.

55. *Jātaka*, I, pp. 499 ff.

56. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 463 ff.

57. *Jātaka*, III, 422 ff.; *Ibid.*, IV, 43 ff.

58. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 115 ff.

59. *Vinaya, Texts*, III, p. 345; *Vinayacullavagga*, X. I. 613.

60. *Jātaka*, II, p. 323.

61. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 90, 187.

62. *Jātaka*, I, pp. 289-95; Cf. *Jātaka* No. 199.

misconducted herself with a king.⁶³ It is mentioned in a *Jātaka* (Vol I, p. 288) that woman is profligacy incarnate (*itthiyo asātā nāma*).⁶⁴

ROYAL HAREM : The royal harem was sometimes secretly dishonoured by wicked persons. Once a minister in attendance on the king of Benares, misconducted himself in the royal harem. He was banished for this heinous offence.⁶⁵ A woman misconducted herself even with a lame pilot in a ship in mid-stream.⁶⁶ The misconduct of queen Piṅgiyānī with a royal groom is an instance of a woman's infidelity. Every night when the king was asleep, she misconducted herself with the groom.⁶⁷

A wife cannot be trusted, if she has borne ten children.⁶⁸ (*na viṣṣase itthī dasanna mātaraṃ*). Women desire rich lovers but they can hardly stick to one man.⁶⁹ They even go so far as to cause defilement in sanctified souls by their feminine charms and passionate poses.⁷⁰

WOMAN ADOPTING MANY WAYS TO ENTICE A MAN : There are many ways in which a woman makes up to a man. She appeals to him with dance, song and music; she shakes her dress, moves her loin-cloth, exposes her leg, bosom, arm-pit, etc. She scratches the ground with a stick, places one foot on the other etc.⁷¹ A clever woman, a beautiful woman, a neighbour's wife, a woman who is admired by many men, and a woman who seeks a man of wealth for mate, should be shunned.⁷² A famous, wise or respected man will lose his glory, if he happens to come under a woman's sway.⁷³ We have thus found how women disregarding their social status and pecuniary circumstances in which they were put in, used to commit sin and trick their husbands. Sinful women, when detected, had to undergo punishment for their clandestine corruption which deserved death, imprisonment, mutilation or cleaving asunder.⁷⁴

FEMALE CHASTITY : Female chastity finds a very important place in the Pāli Canon. The *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* of the *Digha Nikāya* points out that violation of chastity was a serious

63. *Jātaka*, V, 439; I, pp. 437 ff.

64. Cf. *Jātaka*, I, pp. 285-88.

65. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 13 ff.

66. *Ibid.*, V, 440 ff.

67. *Ibid.*, V, 444.

68. *Ibid.*, V, 448, 450.

69. *Ibid.*, I, 295; *Ibid.*, IV, 468 ff.

70. *Ibid.*, I, 295 ff.; II, 328 ff.; IV, 468 ff.; V, 152 ff.

71. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 433-34.

72. *Ibid.*, V, p. 446.

73. *Ibid.*, V, 453.

74. *Ibid.*, V, p. 444.

offence. The punishment for a woman who broke her marriage-vow was so very severe that the husband could with impunity take away her life. The *Aṇḍabhūta Jātaka*⁷⁵ refers to the ordeal of fire to prove chastity. The *Mahāummagga Jātaka* (No. 546) tells us that a bridegroom married the bride after testing her chastity. The *Madulakkhaṇa Jātaka* (No. 66) furnishes us with an account of ready wit and intelligence of a woman in preserving her chastity.

The Licchavis appear to have a high idea of female chastity. The violation of chastity was a serious offence amongst them. The Buddha himself says that no women or girls belonging to their clans are detained among them by force or abduction (*okkassa pasayha*).⁷⁶ A Licchavirājā was enamoured of the beauty of a married woman whose husband he engaged as an officer under him; he wanted to gain her love, but all his attempts were foiled.⁷⁷

ADULTERY : An adulterous woman could save herself from punishment by becoming a nun.⁷⁸ Two sons of a Kosalan king committed adultery.⁷⁹ A Licchavi wife committed adultery. Her husband warned her several times, but she heeded not. He informed the *Licchavigaṇa* that his wife had committed adultery and he was determined to kill her. He then asked the *gaṇa* or the corporation to select a suitable wife for him. The adulterous lady somehow managed to become a nun and escaped punishment. Thus it is clear that the cases of adultery were tried by the *Licchavigaṇa*.⁸⁰

FELLOW WIVES : In almost all cases fellow-wives quarrelled with one another and disturbed domestic peace. A woman could not tolerate that her husband should ignore her very existence and would take pleasure with other women.⁸¹ A wife of a Savatthian householder named Mattā was childless; hence her husband took another wife named Tissā. Being jealous of the rival wife Mattā heaped together the sweepings and threw them on the head of her co-wife. Tissā endured humiliation and bad behaviour of her fellow-wife.⁸² Isidāsī describes how she was being driven from post to pillar, being unable to please her successive husbands or their people in spite of her best efforts to do so. Her father was a virtuous banker of the excellent city of Ujjayinī. She was his only daughter,

75. *Ibid.*, I, p. 294.

76. *Buddhist Suttas*, SBE., Vol. XI, pp. 3-4; *Dīgha*, II, p. 74.

77. *Petavatthu Commy.*, Sinhalese Ed., pp. 154-56.

78. *Vinayaṭīkā*, Vol. IV, pp. 225-26.

79. Cf. *Petavatthu Commy.*—*Kumārapeta*, P.T.S. 194 ff.; Law, *The Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, 2nd Ed., pp. 69-70.

80. *Bhikkhuṇṇivibhaṅga Saṅghādisesa*, *Vinaya*, Vol. II, p. 225.

81. *Jātaka*, V, 95.

82. *Petavatthu Commy.*, pp. 82-89.

beloved and pleasing. She was given in marriage to one belonging to a respectable and rich family of Sāketa. She saluted her mother-in-law and father-in-law and bowed down before them every morning and evening as instructed. She once seeing her husband's sister, brother and other relatives gave them seats, proper food and drink. She entered into her room and approached her husband with folded hands after having washed her hands and feet. She herself decorated her husband bringing unguents, comb, soap and mirror. She boiled rice and washed pots and pans. She served her husband as a mother does towards her only son, considering service to be the foremost among wives.⁸³ She used to rise early and was never lazy. The husband told his parents that he would not live with Isidāsī. His parents spoke highly of her as diligent, wise and experienced and could not understand why he had disliked her. Isidāsī had to return twice to her father's house having been turned out of the house by successive husbands because she was not agreeable to any one.⁸⁴

SLAVE-WOMEN : *Dāsīs* or slave-women were found in the household. Maddī who was a bright and fair lady had 16,000 attendant women.⁸⁵ Slave-woman had to pound rice besides her other household duties.⁸⁶ A slave-woman could obtain freedom if she could prove herself worthy of it.⁸⁷ Maid-servants being of low birth were naturally uncultured and of low spirits. Some of them were in the habit of stealing coins and articles.⁸⁸ The *Brahmajāla Sutta* of the *Digha Nikāya*⁸⁹ states that the recluse Gotama refused to accept bond-women (*dāsī-dāsa paṭiggahaṇā paṭivirato samaṇo Gotamo*). Maid-servants were found to be of religious temperament. They observed the precepts.⁹⁰ As the master had the full control over his female-slaves, his consent was necessary for their marriage. Pasenadi, king of Kosala, had to secure the consent of the master before he could marry Mallikā, the daughter of a slave-woman of a leading Śākya chief named Mahānāman.

The position of female slaves was indeed very pitiful. A slave woman like Roman slave girls was the property of her master who had every control over her. The treatment of her master or mistress

83. *Samyutta*, I, p. 6 — *Sussūsā seṭṭhā bhariyānaṃ*.

84. *Therīgāthā* vs. 405 ff.; Cf. *Therīgāthā Commy.*, pp. 262 ff.

85. *Jātaka*, VI, 486.

86. *Ibid.*, I, 248; Cf. *Dhammapada Commy.* III, 321, on verse 226 of the *Dhammapada*.

87. *Therīgāthā Commy.* 199 ff. on verse 3 of the *Therīgāthā*.

88. Cf. *Dhammapada Commy.* I, 208 ff.

89. *Digha*, I, p. 5.

90. Cf. *Vimānavatthu Commy.*, 91-92.

towards her was sometimes most unsatisfactory. She was ill-treated in the majority of cases. The *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, 125) gives us a painful instance of ill-treatment by the mistress of a house. A woman named Kālī was the maid-servant of a householder's wife named Vedehikā, living at Sāvattthī. She was very skilful and capable of doing her duties properly. She was never lazy. Kālī in order to find out whether the fame of her mistress was due to her or not, once rose late in the morning, but her mistress was dissatisfied. On the second day she rose up late and was rebuked. On the third day she rose up still very late and was beaten. There were many other cases of ill-treatment towards female-slaves.⁹¹

NURSES : Besides slave women, good nurses were then available.⁹² King Bimbisāra of Magadha suffered from fistula. Five hundred nurses served him during his illness. They were all discharged when he was cured of the disease.⁹³

DANCING GIRLS : The *Jātakas* refer to dancing girls who were accomplished in dancing and music (*Naccagītavāditakusalā*).⁹⁴ As many as sixteen thousand dancing girls were kept in harems by kings for royal amusement.⁹⁵ A dancing girl was engaged by a king to allure his only son who was indifferent to the enjoyment of pleasures and who had no desire for the kingdom and who had never had any dealings whatsoever with women. She allured the prince by singing a sweet song. The prince listened to her captivating song, and desire gradually arose in him. He knew the joy of love. He deeply fell in love with the dancing girl. The king had to banish from the city the prince along with the girl.⁹⁶ Similar allurements were offered to Gotama during his adolescence. Dancing girls were employed to keep the prince in hilarity. They played upon their musical instruments, danced and sang delightfully.⁹⁷

COURTESANS AND PROSTITUTES : During the Ṛgvedic age⁹⁸ there was no grand system of courtesans as it existed at Vaiśālī during the days of the Buddha. It is quite certain that prostitution existed in Ṛgvedic times, but its extent is disputed. Brotherless girls were frequently found to be prostitutes according to the *Atharvaveda* (i. 17.1). The putting away of an illegitimate child is referred to in the *Ṛgveda* (ii. 29.1). The terms *Puṃścālī* and *Mahānagnī* oc-

91. Cf. *Vimānavatthu Commy.* 206-209.

92. *Vinayamahāvagga*, viii, I, 3-4.

93. *Vinayapiṭaka*, I, p. 273.

94. *Jātaka* II, 328; V, p. 249.

95. *Ibid.*, I, 437.

96. *Ibid.*, II, 328 ff.

97. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth-stories*, Revised Ed., p. 171.

98. *Ṛgveda* viii, 31; Cf. Pischel & Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, I, xxv.

curing in the *Atharvaveda* (xv. 2) and *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (i. 27) mean a harlot. There are other clear references to prostitution in the *R̥gveda* (i. 167, 4; viii, 17, 7). The *Vājasaneyisaṃhitā* (xxx. 15) seems to recognise prostitution as a profession. According to the *Mamasāṃhitā* a brahmin is forbidden to touch food given by a harlot. The same prohibition applies to food given by an unchaste woman, and libations of water are not to be offered to women who through lust live with many men.

Courtesans used to attract men by their tempting figure and voice, scents, perfumes and touch, and by their dalliance in stratagems. They were like robbers with braided locks, like a poisoned drink, evil-tongued like snakes, like all-devouring flame, all-sweeping river, etc.⁹⁹ They used to court the man whom they disliked just in the same manner as the man whom they adored.¹⁰⁰ Being moved by their greed or carnal appetite they consumed the rich man in whom they were interested.¹⁰¹ They often assumed different poses to lure weak-minded people. They ruined their character, wealth and everything by their evil ways. They went so far as to take away the lives of persons who used to visit them every night with handsome fees.¹⁰² Some courtesans appeared to have altered the despicable course of their life through the influence of the Buddha's *Dhamma* (Norm). Their character as courtesans even in the prime of their blooming youth, yielded place to saintly character in the later stage of their life.

Some of the leading courtesans made a 'profitable trade of prostitution by maintaining a regular brothel, containing as many as five hundred prostitutes. In a brothel where out of 1,000 pieces of money received, 500 were taken by the prostitutes and the remaining 500 were spent to buy clothes, perfumes and garlands. Men who visited the houses of ill-fame received garments to clothe themselves in and stayed the night there; then next day they put off the garments they had received and put on those they had brought and went away.

There was a law at Vaiśālī by which the most handsome girl born in the family was not allowed to marry but was reserved for the pleasures of the people.¹⁰³

SOME DISTINGUISHED COURTESANS : In the Buddha's time there were famous courtesans, Ambapālī, Padumavatī, Sālavatī Sirimā, Sāmā, Sulasā and Aḍḍhakāsī. Ambapālī of Vaiśālī was beautiful,

99. *Jātaka*, V, p. 425.

100. *Ibid.*, V, p. 448.

101. *Ibid.*, V, p. 452.

102. *Ibid.*, III, 59 ff.

103. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*. p. 64.

graceful, pleasant, full of faith (*pāsādikā*), and gifted with the highest beauty of complexion,¹⁰⁴ well-versed in dancing, singing and lute-playing. Vaiśālī became more and more flourishing through her.¹⁰⁵ She was much visited by desirous people. She used to take 50 *kahāpaṇas* for one night. King Bimbisāra of Magadha visited her at Vaiśālī and remained with her for 7 days. She was with child by him and bore him a son, later known as Abhaya. She invited the Buddha to take food in her house. The Master was fed sumptuously by the courtesan.¹⁰⁶ She fully realised the transitoriness of every phenomenon of the universe and adopted a religious life. Padumavatī was a courtesan of Ujjain. King Bimbisāra heard of her beauty and spent one night with her. She had a son by him. In course of time she thoroughly grasped the Buddha's Dhamma in form and meaning and became a saint. The incidents in the life of Padumavatī resembled those in the life of Ambapālī. Sālavatī was a handsome and exquisitely beautiful courtesan of Rājagriha. She was an expert in dancing and lute-playing. Her fee was 100 *kahāpaṇas* for one night. She became pregnant and during her pregnancy she gave strict orders to her door-keeper not to allow anybody to see her saying that she was sick. A son was born to her who was thrown on a dust-heap. The child was brought to the palace by the order of the prince and was brought up by nurses. This child was named Jīvaka who became the most renowned physician of his time.¹⁰⁷ Sirimā was the daughter of the courtesan Sālavatī.¹⁰⁸ She was a courtesan of great beauty. This courtesan listened to the discourses delivered by the Buddha. The *Vimānavatthu Commentary* (p. 75; Cf. *Vimānavatthu*, p. 2), says that Sirimā fell ill and died.¹⁰⁹ Sāmā was a courtesan of Benares. Her fee was 1,000 pieces of money per night. She was a favourite of the kings and had a suite of 500 female slaves. She was the cause of the death of a young merchant who was enamoured of her beauty.¹¹⁰ Sulasā was a beautiful woman of the city of Benares. She had a train of 500 courtesans, and her fee was 1,000 pieces a night. She fell in love with a robber. She was the cause of his death.¹¹¹ Aḍḍhakāsī became a courtesan and later on adopted a religious life.¹¹²

104. Cf. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, I, p. 268.

105. *Vinayamahāvagga*, viii, 1, 2.

106. *Vinaya Texts*, II, p. 171; *Vinaya Piṭaka*, viii, 1, 2.

107. *Vinaya Texts*, II, 172-74; *Vinayamahāvagga*, viii, 1, 3-1.

108. *Suttanipāta Commy.*, I, 244.

109. Cf. *Dhammapada Commy.*, III, 106-9.

110. *Jātaka*, III, 59 ff.

111. *Ibid.*, III, 435 ff.; *Petavatthu Commy.*, p. 4.

112. *Vinaya Texts*, III, 360-61; *Vinaya-Cullavagga*, X, 22, 1.

Some women in the days of the Buddha were not behind their male brothers in education. The verses in the *Therīgāthā* are attributed in the tradition of the Pāli Canon to some saintly sisters. The religious harangue of Sukkā and the philosophical discussions of Khemā and Dhammādinā may be cited as instances of the attainments of Indian women. Khemā attained pre-eminence as a person of great wisdom and understanding with rare capacity to grasp and unveil the true significance of the Buddha's *Dhamma*. Dhammādinā acquired great skill in answering satisfactorily the questions relating to any aspect of Buddha's *Dhamma*. Uppalavaṇṇā occupied the foremost rank among those who excelled in great supernormal faculties. The *Therīgāthā* refers to the fact that in the Buddha's days women who broke the fetters of worldly life, sang *extempore* learned verses on many occasions, especially when Māra the Buddhist Satan tried in vain his level best to lead astray the saintly sisters sometimes by lewd temptations and sometimes by frightful sights. The verses uttered by women and the record of the educational career of some individual ladies, bear testimony to the fact that education must have been in vogue among females in the days of the Buddha. Ambapālī's verses bring out well how men cared for the youthful beauty and not for the 'man' in the man or woman.¹¹³ The *Samyuttanikāya* (I. pp. 212-13) mentions a woman who had the power of oratory. It says that a nun named Sukkā delivered a religious sermon to a great audience at Rājagriha. A demon listened to it and declared in the streets of Rājagriha that Sukkā was distributing honey and the wise should go and drink it. Khemā was learned, intelligent, vastly read, eloquent and full of ready wit. King Prasenajit of Kośala went to her, saluted and questioned her whether a being after death is reborn or not. Khemā replied, "it is not answered by the Buddha." The king asked her the cause of not answering the question. The nun asked the king whether he had anybody who could count the sand of the Ganges and drops of water in the sea. The king answered in the negative. The nun said 'If any being is free from attachment of five *Khandhas*, it becomes immeasurable and fathomless like a big sea. Hence rebirth of such a being after death is beyond conception'. The king was pleased with her for her answer and left her.¹¹⁴ Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā went to learned persons and learnt their methods of knowledge. There was no one equal to her in debate except Sāriputta by whom she was defeated in argument.¹¹⁵ The *Majjhima Nikāya*

113. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Gotama the man*, p. 149; Cf. *Psalms of the Sisters* (PTS. Tr. series) LXVI.

114. *Samyutta*, IV 374-80.

115. *Therīgāthā Commy.* p. 99.

(Pt. I, 299 ff.) refers to Dhammadinnā, a learned woman, well versed in Buddhist philosophy. Dhammadinnā mastered Vinaya well.¹¹⁶ There was an educated maid named Latā who was the daughter of a Sāvattthian lay disciple. She was learned, wise, and intelligent.¹¹⁷ Nanduttarā was versed in *vijjā* (higher knowledge, science) and *sippa* (art, craft).¹¹⁸ Paṭācārā mastered Vinaya Piṭaka.¹¹⁹ She attained pre-eminence as a repository of the Vinaya tradition and was a specialist in the Vinaya lore.

MARRIAGEABLE AGE OF GIRLS : In the days of the Buddha girls were sometimes seen to have been married at the age of 16.¹²⁰ The marriage of princess Vajirā with king Ajātaśatru of Magadha, the son of her father's sister, is an illustration of cousin marriage. Magha, a Magadhan householder, married his maternal uncle's daughter named Sujātā.¹²¹ Ānanda was enamoured of the beauty of his father's sister's daughter, Uppalavaṇṇā, and wanted to marry her.¹²² The *Jātaka* (No. 262)¹²³ relates that a king had a daughter and a nephew who were in love with each other. The king wanted to marry his daughter with the prince of some other kingdom. But the king's intention was not fulfilled. He gave his daughter in marriage to his nephew.

THREE FORMS OF MARRIAGE : Marriage was of three forms : (1) marriage arranged by the guardians of both parties, (2) *sayamvara* marriage and (3) *gandharva* marriage. The first form of marriage was akin to the *prājāpatya* form of marriage current among the Hindus. Equality of birth and not of wealth was a matter of primary consideration before the marriage settlement. Migāra, a Sāvattthian banker, considered the equality of birth before he agreed to the proposal made by the banker Dhanañjaya of Sāketa for the marriage of his daughter Visākhā with Migāra's son.¹²⁴ A Sāvattthian girl was married to a husband of the same caste in

116. Cf. *Dīpavamsa*, Ch. XVIII, vs. 9 & 10.

117. *Vimānav, Commy.* 131.

118. *Therīgāthā Commy.*, p. 87 — In later Pali phraseology the three terms *vijjā*, *sippa* and *kalā* comprehend together with the three Vedas the whole of learning, theoretical and practical. In earlier nomenclature the two terms *vijjā* and *sippa* were considered sufficient for the purpose (B. C. Law, *India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, pp. 248 ff.).

119. *Āṅguttara*, I, p. 25.

120. *Jātaka*, I, 456 — *Soḷasikavassudesikabhāvam patvā*; Cf. *Dhammapāda*

Commy., II, p. 217.

121. *Dhammapāda Commy.*, I, 265 ff.

122. *Ibid.*, II, p. 49.

123. Cf. *Jātaka* I, pp. 455 ff.

124. *Dhammapāda Commy.*, I, 390.

another village.¹²⁵ Isidāsī, the daughter of a virtuous and wealthy merchant, was married to a merchant's son of equal position.¹²⁶ The usual practice in this form of marriage was that the bridegroom used to come to the bride's house for marriage. The bridegroom and his party were received with great honour and they were provided with both lodgings and requisites, garlands, perfumes, garments, and the rest. King Prasenajit of Kośala, while intending to establish a connection with the Buddha's family by marriage, was deceived by the Śākya who gave in marriage to him the daughter of a slave woman. This deception was avenged by his son Viḍū-ḍabha.¹²⁷ The marriage of Kisāgotamī, the daughter of a poverty stricken family, who showed the notable example of wearing a beggarly dress, with the son of a rich merchant, was not preceded by any consideration of a caste or rank.¹²⁸ Equality of birth, family, and wealth had to be sacrificed by the parents of Kuṇḍalakesī in marrying her with a thief.¹²⁹ Cāpā, a daughter of a chief hunter, was given to an ascetic as his wife.¹³⁰ The second form of marriage was *sayambara* or a girl publicly choosing her husband for herself from a number of suitors assembled for the purpose. The *Kuṇḍala Jātaka* (No. 536) refers to the marriage of Princess Kaṇhā who was allowed to have five men as her husbands. This is evidently a reminiscence of the *sayambara* marriage of Draupadī in the *Mahābhārata*. The *Nacca Jātaka* (No. 32) refers to this kind of marriage. Princes from all countries assembled. The king sent for his daughter and asked her to choose her husband. The girl appeared before the assembly and selected one for her life-mate. The selected husband was then found to be wanting in modesty and was therefore disapproved by the king. The *Dhammapada Commentary* records another instance of *sayambara* marriage (Vol. I, pp. 278-79). The third form of marriage was the *gandharva* marriage in which the bride and the bridegroom used to make their own choice without the knowledge of their guardians and were married without rites or ceremonies. The *Kaṭṭhahāri Jātaka* (*Jāt.* No. 7) relates that a king went to his pleasure garden and saw a woman merrily singing songs. The king fell in love with her at first sight and became intimate with her. The woman told the king that she would become a mother. The king gave her the signet-ring from his finger and said " If it be a girl, spend the ring on her nurture,

125. *Jātaka*, I, 477 ff.; *Ibid.*, I, 257.

126. *Therīgāthā Commy.*, p. 260.

127. Introduction to the *Kaṭṭhahāri Jātaka* No. 7: Cf. *Dhammapada Commy.*, I, pp. 345 ff.

128. *Dhammapada Commy.*, II, p. 270.

129. *Ibid.*, p. 217.

130. *Therīgāthā Commy.*, 220 ff. on vs. 291-311 of the *Therīgāthā*.

and if it be a boy, bring the ring and the child to me." In course of time a boy was born. After great difficulty the boy was proved to be the son of the king, and was made viceroy and his mother, the queen-consort. This fact reminds us of the well-known union of Śakuntalā with king Duṣyanta in the *Abhijñāna-Sakuntalanī* of Kālidāsa.

MATCH-MAKERS : The match-makers used to approach the bride first and they had not made the proposal to her people before they sounded her and got her assent, as we find in the Pali account of Visākhā's marriage.¹³¹

CASES OF ELOPEMENT : In the Buddha's days there were cases of elopement. Eloped women were sometimes married and sometimes they used to pass off as wives without going through any matrimonial rite.¹³² Paṭācārā the daughter of a rich banker of Sāvattthī fell in love with her own page. She eloped with her lover and took shelter in a distant place. They spent their days as husband and wife.¹³³ A king of Kośala after slaying the king of Benares, bore off his queen to be his own wife.¹³⁴ Elopement and preservation of chastity *inter alia* contributed largely to the observance of *purdah* by the tender sex before and after marriage. But there are exceptions. Visākhā, while going to her father-in-law's house just after her marriage, entered the city of Sāvattthī not under the *purdah* but standing in a chariot uncovered showing herself to all.¹³⁵ Daughters of respectable families who did not ordinarily stir out, used to go on foot during a festival with their own retinue.¹³⁶

AUSPICIOUS DAYS FOR MARRIAGE : Auspicious days were selected for marriage in which the bride or bridegroom was brought home or sent forth.¹³⁷ The bridegroom did not come to the bride's house for marriage knowing the day fixed to be inauspicious.¹³⁸

RULES FOR THE MARRIAGE OF VAIŚĀLĪ GIRLS : There were rules restricting the marriage of all girls born at Vaiśālī to that city alone. The people of Vaiśālī had made a law that a daughter born in the first district could marry only in the first district, and not in the second or third ; that one born in the middle district could marry only in the first and second ; but that one born in the last

131. *Dhammapada Commy.*, I, Pt. II, 388 ff. on v. 53 of the *Dhammapada*.

132. *Dhammapada Commy.*, I, 191 ff.

133. *Therīgāthā Commy.* 108 on vs. 112 ff.; *Dhammapada Commy.* II, 260.

134. *Jātaka*, I, 409.

135. *Dhammapada Commy.*, I, 384 ff.

136. *Ibid.*, I, 190-191 and 388.

137. *Dīgha*, I, p. 11.

138. *Jātaka*, I, 257 ff.

district could marry in any one of the three ; moreover that no marriage was to be contracted outside Vaiśālī.¹³⁹ A Licchavi who wanted to marry, could ask the corporation or the *Licchavigaṇa* to select a suitable bride for him.¹⁴⁰

DOWRY : As regards dowry a Sāvattian banker named Migāra on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Visākhā, gave her as dowry, 500 carts filled with money, 500 carts filled with gold vessels, 500 carts filled with silver vessels, 500 carts filled with copper vessels, 500 carts filled with silk garments, 500 carts filled with clarified butter, 500 carts filled with rice, husked and winnowed, and 500 carts filled with ploughs, ploughshares and farm implements, 60,000 powerful bulls, 60,000 milch cows and some powerful bull-calves.¹⁴¹

BATH AND PERFUME MONEY : The marriage of girls was celebrated with bath-money given by the father to his daughter. Mahā-kosala, father of Pasenadi, king of Kosala, gave his daughter Kosaladevī in marriage to king Bimbisāra of Magadha and gave her a village in Kāsī for her bath and perfume-money.¹⁴² Vajirā, the daughter of Pasenadi of Kosala, was given in marriage to Ajātaśatru of Magadha, and Kāśīgrāma was given to her by her father as her bath and perfume-money.¹⁴³

ADMONITIONS GIVEN TO A GIRL AFTER MARRIAGE WHILE BEING SENT TO FATHER-IN-LAW'S HOUSE : Some admonitions were given to the girl after marriage, while she was being sent to her father-in-law's house. The private conversation of the mother-in-law or other female members was not to be communicated to the slaves. The conversations of the slaves and servants were not to be communicated to persons inside the household. Poor relatives and friends should be helped without considering their means of repayment. A wife should stand up and not remain sitting, while seeing her mother-in-law or father-in-law. A wife should eat after her mother-in-law, father-in-law and husband have taken their meals. She should perform all household duties before going to sleep. A monk must be given whatever food there was in the house as soon as he would come to the door of the house.

POLYANDRY : Polyandry is not Vedic. There is no passage containing any clear reference to such a custom. In the *R̥gveda* (X, 85, 37, 38) and the *Atharvaveda* (XIV, 1, 44, 52.61 ; 2.14, 27)

139. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 62.

140. *Vinayapīṭaka*, Vol. IV, p. 225.

141. *Dhammapada Commy.* I, pp. 395-96.

142. *Jātaka*, II, 237 ff. and 403 ff.

143. Cf. *Dhammapada Commy.*, III, 266.

verses are occasionally found in which husbands are mentioned in relation to a single wife.¹⁴⁴ Polyandry existed in the Buddha's time.¹⁴⁵ A woman could not marry more than one man at a time, nor could she as a general rule marry twice in her life, though there were exceptions.¹⁴⁶ A bride was given in marriage to another bridegroom on the failure of the selected bridegroom's coming to the bride's house on the appointed day.¹⁴⁷ It was not the custom for a wedded wife to take another mate, even if she was not loved by her husband.¹⁴⁸ A barren wife told her husband to marry her sister and the husband did so. A husband took another wife on account of the delay on part of his first wife in returning to her husband's house from her father's house.¹⁴⁹ A husband sent his naughty and deceitful wife away and took a second wife.¹⁵⁰ In some of the *Jātakas* (Nos. 514, 538) we find that some kings had as many as 16,000 wives. Thus we see that while a wife does not generally appear to have taken more than one husband, a man appears to have married more than one woman. A Vedic Indian could have more than one wife.¹⁵¹

DIVORCE AND RE-MARRIAGE : Divorce was allowed but without any formal decree.¹⁵² Re-marriage of women was not unknown in the Buddha's time.¹⁵³

144. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 479.

145. *Jātaka*, V, 412 ff.

146. *Ibid.*, V, 412 ff.

147. *Ibid.*, I, 257 ff.

148. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 35.

149. *Ibid.*, I, 477 ff.

150. *Ibid.*, II, 115; Cf. *Ibid.*, II, 158.

151. *Rgveda*, I, 62, 11; 71, 1; 104, 3; 105, 8; 112, 19; 186, 7; VI, 53, 4; *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 478.

152. *Therīgāthā Commy.* p. 260.

153. *Jātaka*, I, 306 ff.

STUDY OF INDIAN HISTORY

By

R. C. MAJUMDAR

The achievement of independence has brought a new consciousness of the importance of Indian history and the proper method of its study. It is rightly felt that we must make a fresh approach to the study of Indian history without any bias and prejudice such as coloured the views of European writers. They could not shake off the superiority-complex and racial arrogance which generally characterised European attitude towards non-Europeans. In addition, the English writers could hardly forget that they were divinely ordained to rule over the Indians whose abject dependence to a small country, and the circumstances which so easily brought it about, formed the proper measure of their attainments and abilities. Besides, the impediments, due to political exigencies, which stood in the way of finding out and recording the facts of the British period, being removed, we should be in a position to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

The emphasis on the study of Indian history does not form merely an academic question. Its roots lie deep in a recognition of the fact that a correct knowledge of Indian history in its different aspects is bound to be a formative force, of no little significance, in the growth and development of the new era of progress and greatness which is just dawning before us.

So far there is a general agreement. But all that has been said merely constitutes the negative aspect of the problem, and hints at the pitfalls we are to avoid. Far more difficult is the positive approach to the subject, laying down broad principles upon which we should proceed to expound or reconstruct the history. The difficulty is not a little increased by the fact that we are now turning more and more to history for sustaining or supporting our newly awakened national consciousness and pride. Another factor of considerable importance is the tacit assumption, made by every educated Indian, that the interpretation of Indian history is his birth-right. He may have as little knowledge or training in history as, say, in economics and physics, but while he would not venture to express any opinion on the problem of foreign exchange or the construction of an electric plant, he would glibly talk of the characteristic phases of Indian culture, the main currents of Indian history, influence of caste upon Indian politics and economy, racial and communal relations in the past, etc. etc.

To such a man historical inferences rest more upon intuition than a careful study of data, patiently collected from many sources,

and a proper assessment of their value by a critical and scientific process of reasoning. For all these require training in mental discipline as well as industry which few are willing or able to undergo, while intuition is a mental luxury which none is willing to forego.

Last, but by no means of least importance, is the legacy of historical catchwords and shibboleths that we have inherited from the period of our political agitation against the British. During that period assumptions favourable to our political ideals and demands were freely treated as history, without any scrutiny, and, by constant repetition over a long period, these have been tacitly accepted as historical facts.

The three factors noted above are mainly responsible for the many ills from which Indian history is suffering now and is likely to suffer more in future. This may be illustrated by a few concrete instances.

There are now loud talks about the proper integration of Indian history and culture. Now this 'integration' is one of those much-abused catch-words and slogans which many use, but few understand, or care to explain. It is a ready device to uphold loose thinking and vague generalisations without any basis of ascertained facts and a proper understanding of their relations. It is all very well to say of integration of different forces and factors in Indian history. It appeals to our head and heart, and at once raises the study of Indian history to a high and distinguished level. But the one fly in the ointment is our ignorance, or at least very limited knowledge, of many of those forces and factors which we are supposed to integrate. Undaunted by this difficulty, and led by the false analogy of European history, of which we possess an abundant store of ascertained facts, the supporters of integration theory loudly assert that history is not a chronicle but an interpretation and integration of events. This is a truism which nobody can deny; but the truth of the matter is that so long as there is no chronicle of events, based on an accurate study of sufficient data, interpretation would be misleading, and any attempt at integration would be a mere waste of time. It is perhaps not a mere accident that one, who is lacking in a knowledge of basic factors, and is either unwilling or unable to acquire it, seeks to gain cheap popularity as a great historian by uttering a number of platitudes and substituting, for true historical generalisations, the so-called integration of a number of unrelated facts derived by psychological and intuitional processes working in his own mind. He bypasses the long and tedious road, chalked out by history, in order to avoid a toilsome journey, and hopes to make a short cut through the pleasant wood that skirts it on both sides. But soon he loses his way amidst the thick forest and, unable

to reach his destination, draws a mental vision of what his eyes fail to see. There is alas ! no royal road to history.

A chronicle of basic facts, undiluted with any theory, must form the foundation on which the historical study of any great movement must rest. Otherwise history would be, both literally and figuratively, a mere castle in the air, or a floating balloon which dazzles the spectator for some moments and then either vanishes in the sky or crashes on the ground. It does not matter what sort of super-structure you desire, a chronicle of facts must be the foundation on which it can be built.

It is a sign of the times that in many matters, particularly social, religious, and to some extent, even political, we claim to be guided more by historical precedent, than by abstract reasoning. In case of social reforms, or legislation for the same, both sides strain their utmost to quote passages from our ancient literature in support of their respective standpoints. Sometimes both seem to make a good case, to the utter bewilderment of the lay public. It serves as a good illustration of the danger involved in the process of integration based on an insufficient study of the available data.

One of the most familiar expressions now-a-days is the genius of Indian culture, to which, it is desired, that every progress must conform, in respect of education, society, religion, political and economic system, art, literature, and what not. This may be taken as the unanimous and insistent demand of free India. But while everybody uses this worn-out phrase, in season and out of season, no one stops to examine it in a detached spirit or explain what it really means. Most often each takes his own pre-conceived idea on the subject as truly representing the genius of Indian culture. A very remarkable instance is furnished by the speeches at the Peace Conference which occasionally meets to preach the gospel of non-violence to the extent of eschewing all wars in future. It is a laudable object, and the eloquent speakers certainly mean well, though they are hardly likely to affect in any way the race for armaments heralding the next global war. But one turns aghast when Indian delegates, one after another, claim on behalf of their country that it has always preached and practised the cult of peace and non-violence. A greater perversion of Indian history and culture it is difficult to imagine. Since the dawn of Indian history, its course has run through war and bloodshed. Any king who felt powerful enough was enjoined upon by Kautilya to invade his neighbour's territory. That this theory was fully carried into practice is testified to by all the facts so far known to us on the unimpeachable testimony of contemporary inscriptions. The founders of the Maurya and Gupta Empires, on which India justly looks back with pride and glory, were votaries

of the blood and iron policy of relentless war, and hundreds and thousands of lesser monarchs in India followed in their footsteps. With the single exception of Aśoka, we do not know of any Indian ruler who showed any aversion to war on ethical grounds.

If from practice we turn to precept, Hinduism is the only culture that has raised war to the level of a high meritorious and dignified form of activity. All the scriptures regard it as a pious duty for members of a high class in society to learn the art of war from their childhood and engage in fight whenever occasion arises. But Indian culture goes much further, and provides an ethical background of the war. If there is any single text which may be said to enjoy the same rank among the Hindus as the *Bible* among the Christians and the *Qurān* among the Muslims, it is the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. It has gained a very high prestige and popularity among the Hindus of all sects and shades of opinion during the last two thousand years. In this sacred poem, Lord Kṛṣṇa, regarded as the full incarnation of God, urged the unwilling Arjuna to fight against his own kinsmen, by propounding the philosophy which has formed the web of Indian life ever since.

It is true that saints like Gautama Buddha and Mahāvira preached *Ahimsā* or non-violence. But while their teachings led to vegetarian diet on a large scale, they had no effect on political ideas. The Jaina and Buddhist rulers did not show the least aversion to war and bloodshed, and their followers of the same persuasion never lagged behind.

In the face of all these facts one might think that only a perverted mind and intellect can find support for the cult of peace, as preached in the Peace Conference, in the genius of Indian culture. But the real explanation seems to be that those who advocate this view have no sufficient knowledge of facts about the general course of Indian history, and support a pre-conceived view by merely bringing together such data as are in their favour. With them the teachings of Gautama Buddha and Mahāvira at one end, and those of Mahatma Gandhi at the other, mark the beginning and end of a fixed even tenor of Indian culture without any deviation on the right or on the left. They are not troubled by the multitude of facts which are in conflict with this view, partly because they do not know most of them, and partly because they cannot bring upon this or any other question, on which they have formed a definite or fixed view, that detached attitude which takes into consideration both the *pros* and *cons*. They are out to maintain an ideal which appeals to them, and cite some facts of Indian history only to delude themselves and others into the belief that the ideal advocated by them is fully in consonance with the spirit of Indian culture.

Instances are not wanting to show how a similar attitude of mind is responsible for misinterpretation, if not complete perversion, of Indian history, even when the facts are only too well-known. The most interesting example is the view, vigorously maintained and sedulously propagated by the Congress party, that India achieved her freedom from the British yoke by purely non-violent means. Nothing can be more erroneous than this extreme view. Nobody denies that the Passive Resistance, Non-violent Non-Cooperation, or Civil Disobedience movement, initiated by Mahatma Gandhi, and above all his saintly character, wonderful personality and wide humane outlook soaring high above all racial and geographical limitations, were invaluable contributions to the moral and political uplift of India at one of the greatest crises of her destiny. But no student of history will readily admit that all this alone could or did force the Englishmen to 'quit India'. It is only necessary to remember a few well-known facts. The non-violent agitation had done its best (or worst from the British point of view) by 1942, and ere long became a spent-up force causing no serious anxiety to the British. Yet even in those critical days of 1942, when the fate of the British Empire hung in the balance on account of the rapid advance of the Japanese, the British did not grant that freedom to India which they conceded five years later, when they were in a much stronger position to combat the Congress campaign. There must, therefore, be something more than the non-violent campaign of the Congress which proved to be the deciding factor in granting freedom to India. In this connection a student of Indian history cannot and should not overlook certain coincidence of events during the Second World War. At the beginning of that War the British Government paid no heed to the request of the Congress to declare whether their war-aims included the elimination of imperialism in India. The brilliant victorious campaign of Hitler in Europe was followed by the Viceroy's statement of August 8, 1940. On March 8, 1942, the Japanese troops entered Rangoon. Three days later was announced the mission of Cripps who offered Dominion Status. The Azad Hind force, formed by Netaji, advanced with Japanese troops towards India in 1943. In May 1944, Gandhiji was released from prison before his full term was over. On February 18, 1946, the ratings of the Royal Indian Navy rose in open mutiny, and the very next day the Cabinet Mission was announced. These coincidences are certainly very striking. In the absence of the secret documents of the British Government which are not likely to be released soon, it is, of course, unwise to pass a definite opinion on the motives which induced the British to grant freedom to India, or to make a proper estimate of the influences which forced them to do so. But

it is impossible to ignore either the effect of hammering blows inflicted by Germany and Japan which shattered the power and prestige of England and made her a satellite of U.S.A., or the revolt of the Indian army and navy which sapped the very foundation on which British Imperialism stood in India. In any case, though final judgment must be reserved till more facts are available, one can hardly feel any doubt that the stage for the ultimate success of Mahatma Gandhi, the apostle of non-violence, was really set by the violent measures of men like Hitler and Subhas Bose.

The theory that India achieved her independence by non-violent means alone, is not only historically untrue, but is a snare and a delusion to which unwary people may easily fall a victim. It is urged, even by eminent Indians, that in non-violent campaign of Gandhiji India has revealed a new method for curing all the ills from which the world is suffering today. Whether even the present Indian leaders, who were closest associates of the Mahatma, and even now swear by his name, really believe in the potent effect of the new weapon forged by Mahatma Gandhi, may be seriously doubted. At least it is quite clear that they have no faith in its practical application to present politics. If, as is claimed, Mahatma Gandhi, by wielding the weapon of non-violence alone, did really bring down the mighty British Empire to its knees, is it not very strange that his successors would not resort to it in taming a small power like Pakistan, for her activities in Kashmir, or even a still smaller power like the Nizam of Hyderabad? In both the cases, the chief disciples and political heirs of Gandhiji used naked brute force without even a thought of Satyagraha or less violent means. We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion that there is no historical basis for the claim that India has demonstrated, by successful operation, that non-violent passive resistance is more efficacious than military force.

It is not a little curious that the very men, who abjure violence, sometimes grow enthusiastic over deeds of violence when they appeal to their patriotic feelings. Here, again, they are not particularly careful about historical accuracy, and are guided mainly by sentiments or pre-conceived notions. An apt illustration is afforded by the great outbreak of 1857. In the days of our political struggle against the British, the Sepoy Mutiny was construed as a National War of Independence in order to infuse courage and confidence into the minds of fighters by holding out a great historical precedent before them. But, unfortunately, though the need has ceased, the old ideas still continue. It is now almost an article of faith with many Indians, particularly political thinkers and active political workers of the Congress Party, that what took place in 1857 was an organised war of independence on a national basis,

and the leaders of this movement, particularly Nana Sahib, Bahadur Shah, Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi, Tantia Topi and Kunwar Singh, are regarded as great martyrs for the cause of the country. Unfortunately, there has been no patient investigation of historical facts to show how far this view can be maintained. It now behoves the students of Indian history to consider dispassionately the facts that are known to us, and to judge how far the movement can be called a National War of Independence. It is not possible within the short compass of this paper to judge the question in all its details, but attention may be drawn to the proper line of investigation, which would incidentally show the shallowness of the views so widely held in this country. In order to find out whether it was a National War of Independence, it is necessary to investigate, first whether there was a widespread national feeling in India at the time ; secondly, whether there was an organised conspiracy on a wide basis before the outbreak ; and thirdly, whether there was a well concerted plan of fighting against the British. Unfortunately, so far as the available evidence goes, all these three questions have to be answered in the negative.

Again, it must be pointed out that all the great leaders mentioned above had their own personal grudge against the British. Nana Sahib lost his pension, Lakshmibai her state, and Bahadur Shah his honour and prestige and the hope of succession for his favoured son. Tantia Topi, being an adherent of Nana Sahib, naturally fell in with him and need not be separately considered. Kunwar Singh also had his grudge against the British, who failed to help him in times of need, in spite of lifelong loyal services to them. It is also to be remembered that all these leaders, far from joining the sepoys when they rebelled against the British, were strongly attached to the British for some time, until, for some reason or other, they joined the movement. This can be definitely proved in the case of Nana Sahib and the Rani of Jhansi, both of whom offered to help the English at the outbreak of the movement, and the Rani was so far trusted by the British that even after the open mutiny of the sepoys at Jhansi, the Rani was appointed to administer the state on behalf of the British. Nana Sahib's offer of help was actually accepted by the British and he sent his own troops to guard the British treasury against the mutinous soldiers. Bahadur Shah was practically forced to join the movement when the rebel sepoys actually entered the Red Fort in Delhi. As regards Kunwar Singh, a recent writer has stated that he organised the mutiny of the sepoys at Dinapore; but the statement made by one of the closest associates of Kunwar Singh, recently brought to light by Dr. K. K. Dutta, shows that when the mutinous sepoys of Dinapore arrived at

Arrah, they held out a threat to the officers or servants of Kunwar Singh that if the latter refused to join them, they will march on to his native place Jagadishpore. These are all revealing circumstances and prove how little foundation there is for claiming these persons as leaders of a great national movement.

The conduct of these leaders after they joined the movement is also worth consideration. Nana Sahib is credited with having sent emissaries to different parts of India with a view to organising a combined resistance. The evidence in favour of this is, however, very scanty, and cannot be regarded as of much value. But even if he did so, his attempts did not meet with any success. His conduct during the movement is certainly not praiseworthy in any way. He betrayed the British by going back upon his promise of helping them with his troops. He also betrayed Bahadur Shah and the cause of the sepoy when he dissuaded those of Kanpur from marching to Delhi to join the other mutineers from different parts of India, who had assembled there. Further, he declared himself Peshwa and assumed that dignity with pomp and grandeur. He never exerted himself to relieve Delhi, though it was obvious to the meanest intellect that the fate of Delhi would decide the fate of the movement. He showed the greatest incapacity for military operations, and brought eternal disgrace upon the fair name of India by his cruel massacre of the English women and children at Kanpur.

Bahadur Shah's impotence either as a ruler or as an individual is too well known to be referred to in detail. He played an insignificant part in the whole course of the movement. His attempt to save his own life, when the movement failed, by denying all knowledge of, or active participation in it was mean and ignoble. Besides, we have positive evidence that, even after accepting the leadership of the sepoy, and while they were shedding their blood for the defence of Delhi, Bahadur Shah was secretly carrying on intrigues against them with the British.

The three other persons, namely Rani of Jhansi, Tantia Topi and Kunwar Singh, undoubtedly shed lustre on the whole movement by their bravery and brilliant military strategy. For this they are worthy of being remembered and honoured by posterity; but none of them can claim to be a leader of the movement, nor is there any reason to suppose that any of them fought and died for the liberation of India.

The above conclusions must be regarded as only provisional, because the full materials are not yet available to us. It is gratifying to note that the Government of India have made arrangements for writing a comprehensive History of the Great Movement of 1857,

and we must all patiently wait till the publication of this book before forming a final judgment. But it would appear from what has been said above that there is very little ground for the opinion, now so widely held, that there was a great War of National Independence in 1857, or that Nana Sahib and the other persons mentioned above were great martyrs. However painful it may be, it is now the plain duty of a student of Indian history to read dispassionately the history of those times in the light of all available evidence, and if need be, to debunk the heroes from the high pedestal which they have occupied for nearly half a century.

The instances cited above would point to some of the potential dangers from which the study of Indian history is likely to suffer in free India, viz. passions or prejudices created by political exigencies, or attachment to or association with political parties. The Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Communists, each try to interpret the history and culture of India more in consonance with their political faiths than in accordance with reasonable deductions from ascertained facts. Sometimes the process involves an artificial reconstruction of the history of India for a thousand years. The Congress view of Hindu-Muslim fraternity and equality may be cited as a classic example. It was perhaps originally intended merely as a handy weapon to combat the 'Divide and Rule' policy of the British. But even eminent nationalist leaders like Lajpat Rai re-interpreted the whole of medieval history of India in order to support the Congress view. Things came to such a pass that even when the political exigency was over, the old shibboleth passed as history, and even now many eminent persons hold that the Hindus did not lose their independence before the advent of the British and enjoyed equal political right with the Muslims. The name of Akbar is triumphantly brought out as the apostle of harmony. The fact that he was disowned, in this respect, by the entire Muslim community, save a few sycophants, is ignored, and the intolerance of Alauddin Khalji, Sikandar Lodi, Aurangzeb and others is clearly forgotten. Nor does it occur as strange to any protagonist of this Hindu-Muslim fraternity, that no Hindu ever sat on the throne of Delhi during the six hundred years that intervened between the Muslim and British conquests. Of course, it would be idle to expect that these persons would care much for the feelings and beliefs of the contemporary Hindus in this respect. An Indian ruler who defeated the Muslims shortly after their initial conquest openly boasted that he had once more made Āryāvarta true to its name (abode of Āryas) by killing the Muslims. In the nineteenth century Ram Mohan Roy referred to the end of injury and insult of Muslim rule of nine hundred years.

A bulky Report published by the Congress in 1930 (or thereabouts) is a still more curious specimen of such perversion of Indian history. In order to support the Congress view of Hindu-Muslim fraternity, the plain facts of the Muslim intolerance and persecution of the Hindus, vouched for by the Muslims themselves, have been rewritten in such a perverted form as would excite today only ridicule and contempt. But the Congress is not alone to blame in this respect. The Communist historian of our struggle for freedom attaches little value to the work of all eminent political leaders from Ram Mohan Roy to Gokhale and Tilak, and regards the mass of industrial workers as the chief pivot in the struggle. The Hindu Mahasabha judges every phase of Indian history and culture by the sole test of its own conception of *Sanātana Dharma* (Eternal Law) of India, which is purely a creation of its own imagination.

It is high time to turn our serious attention to these new dangers and pitfalls of Indian history which are likely to take the place of the old. We have heard of Fascism, Nazism, and Bolshevism re-writing history to suit their own political creeds. India must avoid this great danger by keeping steadily in view the scientific method of studying history which we should ever regard as a priceless heritage from the West. Any relaxation from this high standard, for political exigencies or party politics, would have serious consequences, in future, on our intellectual life. The widely expressed desire for re-orientation of Indian history by the free Indians is laudable as an ideal, but the execution of the plan is neither easy nor free from danger. Constant vigilance is needed to ensure that the ardour and enthusiasm of Free India to write a new history flows through the academic channel alone in steady current, and is not diverted by a dam to irrigate political passions and prejudices. We certainly must have a new history, but it should not only be new, but history as well. Such a history should rest on the solid foundation of a careful analysis of reliable data, and must not be allowed to degenerate into a political pamphlet, or party propaganda, based on vague generalisation or so-called interpretation and integration of doubtful facts, mixed with myths, fancies, and shibboleths of all kinds.

The above discussion also establishes clearly the necessity of ascertaining facts, on the basis of sufficient data, before we proceed to integrate them into a general picture. Our present position in respect of such collection of data varies according to different subjects and different periods in Indian history. In respect of the ancient period with which we are vitally concerned in interpreting or integrating Indian culture, our knowledge of the data of political history is so very meagre that it is not possible even to prepare a

true chronicle of events. But desperate as the position seems to be, it is not really so. For if we compare our present state of knowledge with that a century and a half ago, we are more likely to be amazed at the rate of our progress than feel despondent for the future. As regards social and religious topics we are undoubtedly in a much better position. But even though we possess quite a large number of texts containing valuable data, the lack of our knowledge about the date or even a relative chronological order of these compositions stands in the way of forming general conclusions. So we are yet confined to the stage of collecting data and writing chronicles so far as ancient India is concerned. In other words we are bound to be more or less in the dark in respect of our past history and culture, and the remedy lies in the patient collection of data.

The task of collecting material was begun more than one and half a century ago, and this society, of which the *Sārḍha-Satābāī* was celebrated a few years ago, symbolises a great achievement in this direction. But the process must continue for many more years before the foundation is well and truly laid for a proper reconstruction of the history and culture of the Indian people. The much despised chronicle is bound to remain, till then, the sole substitute for a proper history.

Should we then, one might ask, make no attempt towards interpretation and integration of Indian history? No such self-denying ordinance is necessary. But it is well to remember that for the present the collection of facts and data and the critical assessment of their value must remain the principal task of historians in India, and everything else is to be regarded as of secondary importance. In the second place, we must never forget that for the present generalisation, interpretation or integration in Indian history can seldom claim more than a speculative value. It is, at the very best, a hypothesis, and at the worst, an intellectual gymnastic,—but nothing more.

In conclusion it is necessary to say a few words about interpretation, generalisation, integration and establishment of causal relation. It will be hardly an exaggeration to say that Toynbee's epoch-making book, *The study of history*, has almost revolutionized our entire idea on this subject. His brilliant analysis of the known facts of world-history serves to show what little value is to be attached to many of the so-called general principles of history which we have hitherto been inclined to regard as almost axiomatic truths. Toynbee's limited knowledge of Indian history has led him into some errors in detail, both of omission and commission. But the results of his general test of abstract principles, in the light of actual events

all over the world, would prove as interesting and instructive in the case of Indian history as in that of any other country or people.

Toynbee's great contribution to the study of history is his insistence on a comparative study of the results of similar situations at different ages, and in distant parts of the world, before drawing any general conclusion. How this theory works in Indian history may be illustrated by a few examples. It is generally believed that the Vedic culture owes its distinctive characteristics to the physical features of the region where the Aryans first settled in India. The wide rivers and vast plains are supposed to be responsible for the contemplative turn of mind which is reflected in their literature. But there were other peoples who settled in these lands before the Aryans, and there are equally big rivers elsewhere in the world, such as the Rhine, and the Amazon, where no such culture flourished. Nor can it be said that the racial factor played the leading part. For though the Iranians belonged to the same race as the Aryans they developed a very different type of culture. As Toynbee remarks, "the same race or the same environment appears to be fruitful in one instance and sterile in another". The natural inference from this seems to be that no single factor such as race or environment produced a definite result, but these and other possible factors must be taken into consideration in explaining the development of Indian history and culture, or of any particular phase of it such as the caste, the *ahimsā* doctrine, fusion of races, strong conservative social instincts, emphasis on spiritual rather than material aspect of life, etc. But apart from the difficulty of collecting all such data in the case of Indian history, we must not persuade ourselves to think that even such a collection would finally solve the problem. We may again quote Toynbee: "Even if we were exactly acquainted with all the racial, environmental and other data that are capable of being formulated scientifically, we should not be able to predict the outcome of the interaction between the forces which these data represent". Toynbee explains his idea by two illustrations. Even if one is fully acquainted with every detail of the equipment, training, and resources of two opposing armies in a battlefield, it is not easy to predict the result of a battle. Similarly a knowledge of all the cards held by four bridge-players round a table does not always enable one to correctly forecast the result. That the result often varies widely in such cases is proved by the Duplicate Bridge Competition. In all these cases, Toynbee concludes, 'there is one thing which must remain an unknown quantity — the reaction of the actors to the ordeal when it actually comes'.

This should give serious food for reflection to those students of Indian history who sniff at dry details and dull facts of chronicles

and would substitute in their place generalisation, interpretation and integration which form the essence of history. The merciless critical analysis of Toynbee ought to open their eyes to the fact that however desirable or welcome these essential features of history might be—and no one disputes this point—the time for them is not yet, so far at least as Indian history is concerned. This does not mean that all attempts in these lines should be completely given up, but that their role in the present state of our knowledge should be clearly realised and accurately defined. The study of any historical movement in India should first concern itself with the collection of facts, and generalisation, interpretation and integration, which would necessarily follow, should be strictly limited to obvious deductions from them. The generalisation etc. would increase *pari passu* with the collection of data, but should follow and not precede it.

NORTH-WESTERN (AND WESTERN) INFLUENCE ON THE MYSORE EDICTS OF AŚOKA

By

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In a paper published in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, 1, 240-44 (1951-52), I expressed a view that the exceptional forms which occur in the separate edicts of Aśoka at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa and which do not occur in the remaining versions of the major rock edicts at these two places suggest that the two separate edicts were issued from a place other than the east. As the exceptional forms in the two separate edicts show affinity with the north-western dialect of the Aśokan inscriptions, I further suggested that the two separate edicts were probably first drafted in the north-western dialect and then translated into the eastern one. Such an assumption would satisfactorily explain the presence of some north-western features in the two separate edicts.

Such an assumption would further lead to a hypothesis that not all the edicts of Aśoka were first drafted in the eastern dialect, as was hitherto believed. This hypothesis is now borne out by the study of the dialect found in the versions of the minor rock edict at Brahmagiri, Siddāpura, and Jaṅṅa-Rāmeśvara in the Mysore State.¹ These records resemble in contents the versions of the minor rock edict found at Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāṭ, Maski, Kopbāḷ and Yerraguḍi but they also add to it a second edict² as it were, describing the king's instruction in morality (*dhamma*). The Mysore versions have another distinct feature viz. that they contain at the end of the edict the name of the scribe, and that whereas the whole edict is written from left to right in the Brāhmī script, only the last word *lipikareṇa* 'by the writer' is inscribed from right to left in the Kharoṣṭhī characters. As the Kharoṣṭhī script is other-

1. For a description of the places, the text (with plates), and the translation of the versions, see HULTZSCH, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, CII, 1. xxvi-vii, 175-180 Oxford 1925. The readings and the translations given in this paper are, unless otherwise stated, those adopted by HULTZSCH.

The following abbreviations are used in this paper:--

D — Dhauli version	major edicts
J — Jaugaḍa	d — Dhauli separate edicts
K — Kālsi	j — Jaugaḍa
S — Shāhbāzgarhi	br — Brahmagiri minor rock edict
M — Mānsehrā	sd — Siddāpur
G — Girmār	jtr — Jaṅṅa—Rāmeśvara

2. The second edict at Jaṅṅa-Rāmeśvara appears to be longer than the one at Brahmagiri and Siddāpura. The Jaṅṅa-Rāmeśvara version, however, as a whole is in a much damaged condition. The enlarged version of the added second edict is better preserved in the Yerraguḍi edict. (ed. by B. M. BARUA, *IHQ* 13.132-6, 1937, and by J. BLOCH, *Les Inscriptions d'Asoka*, Paris, 1950).

wise used only in the north-western inscriptions of Aśoka at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā, a single word in this script in the south tends to show the north-western origin of these inscriptions.³ As will be shown below this supposition based on a small piece of palaeographic evidence is amply supported by the linguistic facts preserved in these records.⁴

In a recent book, *Beobachtungen Über Die Sprache Des Buddhistischen Urkanons*⁵ by LÜDERS, edited from the Nachlass by E. WALDSCHMIDT, the editor makes a reference to the paper referred to above on the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa separate edicts and observes in his *Zum Geleit* (p. 6, f. n. 1), "M. A. Mehendale hat... einige sprachliche Eigentümlichkeiten, durch die sich die 'Separat-Edikte' von den übrigen in Dhauli und Jaugaḍa gefundenen Felsen-inschriften unterscheiden, als nordwestlich nachzuweisen versucht. Er vermutet, dass Aśoka diese Separat-Edikte auf einer Reise im Nordwesten in der dortigen Sprache erlassen habe, und dass sie vor ihrer Einmeisselung in den Ostdialekt übersetzt worden seien. Eine Überprüfung dieser rein linguistisch fundierten Annahme auf inhaltliche und historische Wahrscheinlichkeit scheint erwünscht." I am thankful to the editor for these observations, in respect of which I may be permitted to state the following facts taken from the inscriptions which show that Aśoka had issued the minor rock edict and the separate edicts while he was away from the capital. (These facts make no reference to the place from where they were issued, nor to the language in which they were originally drafted).

(1) In the version of the minor rock edict itself it is expressly stated that the proclamation was issued by the king while he was

3. On the presence of the Kharoṣṭhī letters in the Mysore versions, BÜHLER (*EI* 3.135, 1894-95) already observes, "Finally, I have to point out that the Northern or Kharoṣṭhī letters exactly agree with those of the Mansehra and Shāhbāzgarhī inscriptions... The use of the two alphabets probably indicates that Paḍa (now read by HULTZSCH as Capaḍa) was proud of, and wished to exhibit, his accomplishments... The use of the Northern characters may further be taken to indicate that Paḍa once served in Northern India, where the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet prevailed." HULTZSCH supports this view when he observes (*op. cit.* p. xlii), "The three Mysore edicts were drafted by one of this class (i.e. the class of writers), who wrote at the end of his signature the instrumental case *lipikareṇa* in Kharoṣṭhī characters, showing thereby that he had been transferred from North-Western India." As noted above, to me it seems to mean much more than this, viz. that the edicts themselves were first drafted in the north-west.

4. It will be shown in a separate paper that the other versions of the minor rock edict found at Rūpnāth etc. also support this view. (The paper has now been published in the *Bulletin of the Deccan College*, Vol. XVII, No. 2, Sept. 1955).

5. *Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprache, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrgang 1952, Nr. 10, Berlin, 1954.*

on tour. In the Brahmagiri version⁶ we read (line 8)—*iyam ca sāvaṇe sāvāpīte vyuthena* 'And this proclamation was issued by me on tour.'⁷

6. Similar statement is found also in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Yerraguḍi versions of the minor rock edict.

7. HULTZSCH (op. cit. Corrigenda, p. 259), however, gives up the meaning 'tour' assigned to *vyuṣṭa* and expresses his conviction that the word means 'having spent the night (in prayer)'. Accordingly he corrects his translation of the relevant section (J) of the Sahasrām edict as follows—'And this proclamation (was issued) by (me after I had) spent the night (in prayer)'. In support of this view HULTZSCH refers to the Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra IV. 5.30 (also cf. KIELHORN *JRAS* 1904. 364f., FLEET *JRAS* 1911. 1106). It is not possible to enter here into a detailed discussion of the much-discussed word *vyuṣṭa*. For our present purposes it is sufficient to note that *vivāsā* occurring in the Rūpnāth version is clearly connected with *viṣvas* 'to stay away from home, to be on journey' as in *prabodhayati māvijñāni vyuṣite śokakarṣitā* 'She enlightens me, who am ignorant, and she is harrassed with grief when I am gone on journey' (Bhāg. Pur. 4.28.20) or *priyaṃ priyeva vyuṣitaṃ viṣamā* 'as the dejected beloved (longs to see) her husband who has gone on journey' (Bhāg. Pur. 6.11.26). Accordingly the section K of the Sahasrām version should be translated as 'For two hundred and fifty-six nights I have stayed away from home' and not as HULTZSCH suggests in his Corrigenda—'Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent (in prayer)'. This translation is not possible also because in the minor edict itself (cf. Rūpnāth, sections B-D) Aśoka says—'Two and a half years and somewhat more (have passed) since I am openly a *Sākya*. But (I had) not been zealous. But a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited the *Samgha* and have been very zealous.' Thus according to this statement Aśoka had been 'very zealous' in his observance of morality for more than one year when he issued the minor rock edict. This statement would contradict with the new translation proposed by HULTZSCH which purports to say that Aśoka had spent only 256 nights in prayer which is much less than a year. That Aśoka missed some nights of prayer even during that period of more than one year when he was 'very zealous' would be difficult to believe. It is thus clear that *vivāsā* cannot mean 'spending nights in prayer'. It only shows that while issuing the edict Aśoka was on tour. The purpose of mentioning 256 nights may have been just to give proof of the king's great zealousness by showing how long he had been away from home while he was on his religious tour (*dhammayātā*). For the view *vyuṣṭa* = tour cf. F. W. THOMAS *IA* 37.22 (1908), *JA* (10; 15.517-18 (1910), *JRAS* 1916.117; also cf. K. A. Nilkantha SASTRI, *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute* 1.93ff. (1943). The same meaning is assigned to *vyuṣṭa* by J. FILLIOZAT (*JA* 237. p. 148, 1949) and by J. BLOCH (*Les Inscriptions d'Asoka*, p. 149, and p. 150, f. n. 14). BLOCH'S translation of the relevant passage runs as—*Cette proclamation a été faite (respy. proclamée) après tournée; deux cent cinquante-six nuits ont été passées en tournée.* The translation of *vyuṣṭena* as 'après tournée' is not happy, because *viṣvas* means 'to be on journey' and not 'to return from journey'. Probably the expression was so translated because the author believed that the edict was issued by Aśoka from his capital when he returned to it during the monsoon period after having spent 256 days outside his capital in pious tour. For a new interpretation of the no. 256, see the article of FILLIOZAT referred to above.

(2) In the third major rock edict the king records that he has ordered his officers to go on tours every five years to carry out state business and to instruct the people in morality. The details about the instruction in morality to be given to the people as mentioned in this edict viz. obedience to the parents, liberality to friends and relatives, abstention from killing animals, etc., are practically the same as those mentioned in the additional portion of the edict as represented in the Mysore versions. The similarity of this instruction contained in the Mysore versions with the one mentioned above which the officers were expected to give while on tour leads one to believe that the instruction contained in the minor rock edict was also the one which the king himself gave on tour and which he asked to be recorded for the benefit of his officers.

(3) In the eighth major rock edict we are told that Aśoka took pleasure in undertaking tours of morality since he was anointed ten years. Among the things done on such tours of morality were instructing the people in morality and enquiring with them about morality. Once in such enquiries the king seems to have found out that there was a misunderstanding prevailing among his subjects, especially among those who were away from the capital, as regards the people who could acquire heaven. These people believed that only those that were highly placed, and not others, were able to attain heaven as a fruit of religious merit. It is true the king had stated in his tenth rock edict that "It is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this (i.e. religious merit) without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim). This is indeed difficult to accomplish for a high (person)."⁸ The misunderstanding, therefore, seems to have arisen because in this edict the king has only emphasized how difficult it is to obtain religious merit; and a reference to the highly placed persons alone in the end seems to have left the impression that this difficult task was well-nigh impossible for the lowly persons. In order to remove this serious misunderstanding which he came to know while on religious

8. The translation of the last section (F) given above differs from the one adopted by HULTZSCH. He translates *eta tu kho usaṣena dukaram* (Girnār) as 'But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish for a high (person)'. But *eta* can mean only 'this' and not 'among these (two)'. BLOCH (op. cit. p. 119) translates—Mais c'est difficile surtout aux grandes. The Jaugaḍa version which is nearer to the capital has *usaṣena cu dukalatale* which means 'This is more difficult for a highly placed'. As the Kālsī version shows, *usaṣeneva* at Mānsehrā is to be read as *usaṣena va*. BLOCH (op. cit. p. 119, line 20) reads only *usaṣen* for the M version.

tour the king possibly immediately issued the minor rock edict⁹ which contained the following words — “ (H) For this cannot be reached by (a person) of high rank alone, but indeed even a lowly (person) can at liberty attain the great heaven if he is zealous. (I) For the following purpose has this proclamation been issued, [that both the lowly] and those of high rank may be zealous in this manner, and (that even) my borderers may know it”¹⁰ It is important to note that in the Rūpnāth version the king asks his officers to go on tour within their districts with the text of the minor rock edict obviously to remove the misunderstanding from the minds of the people in those districts. (cf. BLOCH’S translation of the section L, p. 149. For a different interpretation of *vayajanenā* see HULTZSCH, p. 169).

(4) A word may now be said about the opening words of the separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada which give proof to show that they were issued by the king from outside his capital. (This point was not noted while dealing with the separate edicts in the article referred to above).

9. This shows that the minor rock edict was issued after the major rock edicts — a point, as will be shown below, well supported by the linguistic evidence. This, however, goes against the view of HULTZSCH who maintains that the minor rock edicts are the first ones (see pp. xliv, liv, and also 1) among the Aśokan inscriptions. The arguments given by him (p. xliv), however, are inconclusive. What is stated in the minor rock edict about inscribing the edicts on stones and pillars applies to that edict alone (cf. the words *iya ca aṭhe* and *ima ca aṭham* at Rūp. and Sah. respectively), and it does not apply to the general activity of inscribing records on rocks and pillars. The summary of the king’s views about *dhammā* is given in the minor rock edict to show to the people how easy and simple it is to acquire morality even for lowly placed persons, and to demonstrate to the officers how they should instruct the people in morality. J. FILLIOZAT (Les Deva D’Asoka, JA 237, p. 232 ff., 1949) contends that the *dhammayātā* referred to in the rock-edict VIII by Aśoka is the one that lasted for 256 nights and which is referred to in the minor rock edict. This would mean that the minor rock edict was issued before the major rock edicts. But there is nothing to show that the *dhammayātā* of rock-edict VIII is identical with the *vivāsā* of the minor edict; and further it would be more reasonable to interpret *dhammayātā* (sg) as standing for a type of tours which Aśoka contrasts with the *vihārayātā* of the former kings. The use of singular does not show that Aśoka undertook only one such tour viz. the one referred to in the minor rock edict (FILLIOZAT, op. cit. p. 233, f.n. 1).

10. Line 4 — (H) *no hiyaṃ sakyē mahātpeneva pāpotave kāmaṃ tu khudakena pi*

Line 5 — *pakami . . . neṇa vipule svage sakyē ārādhetave* (I) *etāyaṭhāya iyaṃ sāvaṇe sāvāpīte [yathā khudakā*

Line 6 — *ca] mahātpā ca imaṃ pakameyu ti aṃtā ca me jāneyu . . .*
(Brahmagiri version; lacunae in square brackets filled up from the Siddāpur version).

(a) The first separate edict at Dhauli opens thus —

Line 1 — (A) *Devānāṃpiyasa vacanena Tosaliyaṃ mahāmāta nagalaviyohālakā vataviya* 'At the word of Devānāṃpriya, the *Mahāmātras* at Tōsalī, (who are) the judicial officers of the city, have to be told this.'

The second separate edict at Dhauli also opens in a similar manner except that it has *kumāle mahāmātā ca* for *mahāmāta nagalaviyohālakā* of the first edict.

The first separate edict at Jaugaḍa open as —

Line 1 — (A) *Devānāṃpiye hevaṃ āhā* (B) *Samāpāyaṃ mahāmātā nagalaviyohālakā hevaṃ vataviyā* 'Devānāṃpriya speaks thus. The *Mahāmātras* as Samāpā, (who are) judicial officers of the city, have to be told this.'

The second separate edict at Jaugaḍa also opens in the same way as above but it adds the word *lājavacanika* which means 'The *Mahāmātras* have to be told at the word of the king.'

The commencement of the Dhauli separate edicts which is so markedly different from that of the other major edicts gives an impression that these edicts were not issued directly by the king from the capital to his officers at Tōsalī. It rather suggests that the text of these edicts was being conveyed to these officers by some other officers while the king was on tour. If the king had addressed himself directly from the capital to the officers at Tōsalī, as has been suggested by HULTZSCH (p. 177, f.n. 5), he would have begun his letter, though perhaps less modestly, somewhat like the one found at Calcutta-Bairāt in which the king addresses the *Samgha*.¹¹ As the king was not in the capital while issuing these edicts, he could not send these to the officers at Tōsalī in the usual manner. Hence in order to give them authority it was found necessary to say expressly at the commencement of the inscriptions that the *Mahāmātras* were being instructed at the instance of the king (*Devānāṃpiyasa vacanena*).¹² These words are not to be found in the first separate edict at Jaugaḍa received by the *Mahāmātras* at Samāpā, but the second edict there contains the word *lājavacanika* 'at the word of the king' which serves the same purpose as the opening words in the Dhauli version.

11. Here the text commences as—*Priyadasi lājā Māgadhe samghaṃ abhivādetūnaṃ āhā apābādhatam ca phāsuviḥālatam cā* 'The Māgadha king Priyadarśin, having saluted the *Samgha*, hopes they are well and comfortable.'

12. Similar expression is found also in the so-called Queen's edict (*devānāṃpiyaṣā vacanēnā savata mahamatā vataviyā*) where the queen seems to register her request; but authority is sought to be given to the edict by saying that the instruction was being conveyed at the instance of the king.

All these facts would supply internal evidence offered by the contents of the Aśokan inscriptions to show that the two separate edicts and the minor rock edict were issued from outside the capital. It has been already shown that the linguistic evidence given by the separate edicts tends to point out that these edicts were issued from the north-west. In FLEET'S opinion¹³ the Mysore edicts were issued from Suvarṇagiri, the head quarters of Aśoka's southern province, by Aśoka himself. But the opening lines of these edicts clearly go against this view. They show that the officers of the king at Suvarṇagiri received the edict from the king from outside which they were now forwarding to the subordinate officers at Isila. Hence they say¹⁴—*Suvarṇagirīte ayaṣputasa mahāmātāyaṁ ca vacanena Isilasi mahāmātā ārogiyaṁ vataviyā hevaṁ ca vataviyā/Devānāmpīye āṇapayati* 'From Suvarṇagiri, at the word of the prince (*ārya-putra*) and of the *Mahāmātras*, the *Mahāmātras* at Isila must (better 'may') be wished good health and be told this : Devānāmpriya commands (as follows)'. As will be seen from the linguistic analysis below, the Mysore edicts reveal certain north-western features which enable us to draw the conclusion that they were issued neither from Suvarṇagiri in the south, nor from Magadha in the east but from some place in the north-west. A casual reading of the Mysore versions will easily point out that though the edict was issued originally in the north-western dialect and script, its versions, before being inscribed, were rewritten in a more or less standard western dialect, and in the Brāhmī script (witness the use of a single dental sibilant, the absence of the change $j > y$, and that of the consonant clusters). But though north-western (and western) in phonology, the language of the Mysore edicts shows apparent affinity with the eastern dialect in morphology (witness the nom. sg. mas. and neut. in *-e* instead of *-o* and *-a (ṁ)*, and the loc. sg. mas. in *-si* instead of *-e* or *-mhi*). An explanation of this affinity with the eastern dialect will be given below. Here we may first take up the detailed linguistic analysis of these versions to see in what respects they agree with the north-western dialect of the Aśokan edicts.

The north-western features in the Mysore inscriptions : 7

- (1) The vowel γ : In words of relationship, the eastern form favoured *-i* < *-\gamma*, while the north-western form favoured

13. *JRAS* 1909.998 ; 1911.1108.

14. This is according to the Brahmagiri version. The Siddāpur version substantially agrees with this, except that it has *āha* for *āṇapayati*. The Jaṅṅga-Rāmeśvara version is very much defaced.

-u < -ṛ.¹⁵ cf. *piti* (*pitṛ*) and *bhāti* (*bhrāṅṛ*) in D, J, while *pitu* and *bhratu* in S, M. Among the Mysore edicts' jtr gives the north-western form *pitu*, but br gives the eastern one *piti*. The original draft therefore possibly contained *piti* owing to the influence of the king's speech. While this was rightly replaced by the non-eastern *pitu* in jtr, it was allowed to remain in br.

In br line 9, HULTZSCH reads *prāṇesu drahyitavyam* and translates 'firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals.' He derives (p. cxxviii) *drahyitavya* from √*dṛh* and regards that in this form the vowel ṛ > ra.¹⁰ According to WOOLNER (*Asoka Glossary*, Calcutta, 1924) *dra* here represents *dar*¹⁷ as he considers the form to be gerundive of **darhyati* (from the same root √*dṛh*). In any case the form can be regarded as north-western, because in S we have instances showing both the tendencies : Thus we have *grahatha* (*grhastha*), showing ṛ > ra, and *draśana* (*darśana*), *drasayitu* (*darśayitvā*) showing transposition of ṛ.¹⁸

15. The same tendency is witnessed in the Niya Prākṛta, cf. *pitu*, *bhratu*, *madu*, etc. BURROW, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan* (Cambridge, 1937) § 68, § 72, BURROW, however, does not notice this treatment under -ṛ, § 5. The later Tor Dherai Kharoṣṭhī inscription (of about 200 A.D.), however, gives *-pitṛinam* as the language of this inscription is highly Sanskritized. See KONOW, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, (CII, Vol. 2, part 1, Calcutta, 1929), No. 92. Pāli has the vowel *u* as can be seen from the forms of *pītar* and *mātar* given by GEIGER § 91 (for exceptional occurrence of the *piti* and *māti* in Pāli cf. GEIGER § 12, § 77). In later Pkts forms with *u* are more common, though *i* forms occur in Amg. and JM (PISCHEL § 55 § 391). As regards *piti* in br. it may also be observed that the form had already come to the north through the Kālsi versions of the Aśokan edicts. The D version once (IV. 4) gives *pitu* which may be due to assimilation cf. the form *m[ā]t[i]-pitu-susūsā*.

16. In the Niya Prākṛta, however, the regular treatment of ṛ is ṛ > ṛ, *ri*, but not *ra* (BURROW § 5). With this we can compare the Aśokan *driḍha* etc. in S. Both *ra* and *ri* treatments are, however, found in the later Kharoṣṭhī inscr. cf. MEHENDALE, *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits* (Poona, 1948) § 500.

17. Similar transposition of ṛ is practically absent in the later Kharoṣṭhī documents (BURROW § 39), but it is found in the Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada. cf. *drugati*, *pravata*, etc. BURROW BSOS 8.428.

18. It may, however, be observed that the explanation of the form from √*dṛh* is not very satisfactory, as the use of this verb with *prāṇesu* would be unusual. Generally in such contexts we find the use of *anāraṁbha* or *anāraṁbha* 'abstention from killing' (Rock Edicts 3, 4, 11, Pillar Edict 7). Once we have also *sayamo* 'gentleness' (better 'self-restraint') (Rock Edict 9), and once *pāna-dakḥinā* 'boon of life' (Pillar Edict 2). The idea to be conveyed in such expressions is that no violence should be done to the animals, and this is hardly brought out by √*dṛh* 'to be firm etc.' with the locative *prāṇesu*. BLOCH (p. 150 and f.n. 16) also derives the text word from √*dṛmḥ*, and compares with this expression the use of *samyama* in the rock edict IX noted above. He translates — (II faut) se contraindre à l'égard des êtres vivants.

- (2) The vowel *u* : In the word *guru*, we get the vowel *u* in the eastern form *gulu* in D, J. The vowel *u* also occurs in the west and the north-west due to eastern influence, cf. *guru* in G, S, M. But the form, proper to the west and the north-west,¹⁹ is *garu* with the vowel *a* as is shown by the examples in G, S (and *galu* in K). It is, therefore, worthwhile to note that in the Mysore group we have *garu*.
- (3) The semi-vowel *y* initially. It is well-known that the initial *y* of the relative pronouns and the indeclinables is preserved in the western and north-western inscriptions of Aśoka, but it is dropped in the eastern inscriptions.²⁰ The Mysore edicts also preserve *y* in *yathā*, *yathārahaṃ*, *ya* and *yam*. The presence of *am* and *atha* in the Yerraguḍi version, however, suggests that these eastern forms were present in the original draft, as they were known in the north-west due to their occurrence in the M version. While the alteration was carried out in the other non-eastern versions of the minor rock edict, this was not done in yr.

In the Mysore version we find a peculiar form *uḥpayīta* (< *uḥpa* + *īta*) which shows the development of the semi-vowel *y* to break the hiatus. This may be attributed to a north-western tendency to pronounce *y* before the vowel *i* which has been noted by BURROW

At the moment I am inclined to read *dru* in the place of *dra* (*druhyitavyam*) due to the extension of the wavy line of *r* by a perpendicular stroke below for *u* (cf. *pru* in *bhūtapruvam* in G 5 and *sru* in *sruṇāru* G 12). If this reading is correct then the form can be derived from √ *druḥi* 'to hurt, to seek to harm' which is used also with the locative. But this will give the intended meaning only if we suppose that a word like *no* 'not' was in mistake omitted in writing — *prāṇesu* (*no*) *druhyitavyam* 'violence should not be done to the animals.' It appears that as the original draft containing *prāṇesu druhyitavyam* gave quite the contrary meaning, the writer at Yerraguḍi changed the expression to *prāṇesu dayitaviye* (IHQ 13, 134, line 18) 'compassion must be shown to the animals'. SIRCAR'S view (IHQ 7.739, f. n. 2) that the plates given by HULTZSCH support the reading *dayitavyam* for the Mysore version also does not seem to be correct.

19. The word is not available in the later Kharoṣṭhī records. However, Pāli has *garu* (GEIGER §34), Māhārāṣṭrī and Sauraseni also have *garu*, while Ardhamāgadhī and Jainā Māhārāṣṭrī give both *garu* and *guru* (PISCHEL §123).

20. MEHENDALE, §31 (2). The same tendency is witnessed in the Nīya Prakṛta, cf. *ya* (*yat*), *yava* (*yāvat*), *yatha* (*yathā*) (BURROW §85, §92 §130). The later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions also preserve *y* initially (cf. KONOW, Index Verborum). According to J. BLOCH (p.52) and J. VEKERDI (AO 3.324, 1953) this absence of initial *y* is not a phonetic phenomenon. In the opinion of VEKERDI these forms are better explained as due to contamination with the corresponding forms of the demonstrative pronoun, since in other words like *yaso*, *yāti*, etc. no loss of initial *y*- is to be observed.

(§ 32) for the Niya Prākṛta, cf. such forms as *yīyo* = *iyam*, *yīma* = *ime*. I am now inclined to give up the explanation of *diyadha* or *diyadhīya*, which occurs in M, K and the versions of the minor rock edict including those at Mysore, as coming directly from *dvyardha*,²¹ but regard it as a simple combination of *di* (< *dvi*) and *a(d)dha* (< *ardha*) with the analogical appearance of the initial *y* before the vowel *a* in *a(d)dha*. That this analogy was not complete is shown by *diadha* which occurs in S, M and also in the two separate edicts. As *diyadha* and *diadha* occur in the thirteenth rock edict which is not found at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, it is not possible to say what the eastern equivalent of *diyadha* was. But the Ardha-māgadhī form, which occurs as a borrowing also in Pāli by the side of the local form (GEIGER § 46), shows that it would have been *divaḍha*.²²

(4) Clusters *ty* and *ts*: In the Mysore versions both these are palatalised as in the west and the north-west. Thus *br* and *jtr* give *saca* (*satya*),²³ with which we may compare *ācāyika* (*ātyayika*) in G and *acayika* in S, M, but *atīyūyika* in D, J. Similarly we have *savachara* or *saṁvachara* (*saṁvatsara*)²⁴ in *br*, *sd*, with which we may compare *cikīchā* (*cikitsā*) in G, but *cikisā* in D, J. In this respect the S, M versions also give *cikisa* as a borrowing from the east. *Savachala* (instead of *savasala*) occurs in the eastern Sahasrām version also. As the instances are few it is difficult to say whether the Sahasrām form is a loan from the original draft or whether this form was current in the east also.

21. As suggested by TURNER, *The Gavimath and Pālki-guṇḍu Inscriptions of Aśoka* (Calcutta, 1932), p. 11, f. n. 2, and adopted by me in *Hist. Gr. of Inscr. Pkts.*, p. 11, f. n. 25. This (*diyadha* < *dvyardha*) is also the view of LÜDERS, *Beobachtungen*, p. 78, f. n. 2. HULTZSCH's (op. cit. p. lxxi) derivation from **dvikārdha* is rejected by LÜDERS (op. cit.). The change of monosyllabic *dvi* > *di* in the compound form *di-guna* in the Niya Prākṛta, which also gives the ordinal *biti*. See BURROW § 43, § 89. Pāli also has *diguṇa*, though *dutiya* (GEIGER § 114, § 118).

22. The Sahasrām version of the minor rock edict, which is in the east, is expected to give the form *divaḍhiyam*. But it also gives *diyadhīyam* as a loan from the north-western dialect of the original draft. PISCHEL's (§ 230, § 450) explanation of *divaḍha* from **dvikārdha* is rejected by LÜDERS (op. cit. p. 72, f. n. 2). He regards it as a mixed form from *diyaddha* (< *di* + *addha*) and *duvaddha* (< *du* + *addha*).

23. This is, however, the general tendency in Pāli (GEIGER § 55) and later Prākṛtas (PISCHEL § 280). For Niya Prākṛta cf. BURROW § 41, and later Kharoṣṭhī inscr., MEHENDALE § 515.

24. In the Niya Prākṛta *ts* is preserved in *saṁvatsara* (BURROW § 48), but also assimilated due to eastern influence in *osuka* (*autsukya*). In the later Khar. inscr. we have *saṁvatsāra* (MEHENDALE § 515e). In Pāli *ts* > *cch* (GEIGER § 57) as also in later Prākṛtas except Māgadhī which shows *ts* > *śc* (PISCHEL § 32).

(5) In Mysore versions we find the retention of the cerebral η as in the west and north-west,²⁵ and not its change to n as in the D, J versions of the Aśokan edicts. Thus we have *porāṇā*, *sāvane*, *dhammaguṇā* etc. The cerebralisation can be seen in the terminations as well. cf. *lipikareṇa*, *mahāmātānam*²⁶ and *devāṇampiya*.²⁷ In *vasāni*, however, we find the dental *-n-* as is also the case in the north-western terminations (HULTZSCH, p. lxxxv) which have η only in *Devanāpriye*. It may also be noted that η in term. occurs in *savenā* in the second Jaugaḍa separate edict and is also possible in *pālalokikeṇa* in the same edict.

(6) As in the standard western Prākṛta, the Mysore versions have only the single dental sibilant and in this respect they agree also with the eastern dialect of Aśokan inscriptions. cf. *vasa* (*varṣa*), *amisa* (*amiśra*), $\sqrt{\text{susūsa-}}$ ($\sqrt{\text{śusrūṣa-}}$) etc. But in the Mysore versions ś appears for *s* in three instances. This fact betrays the writer's incomplete knowledge of the distinction between the two sibilants and his consequent attempt at what may be described as hyper-north-westernisation.²⁸ The instances where ś occurs are as follows:—

(i) In sd *śa[ca]m* (*satya*) appears, while the correct form *sacām* appears in br and jtr.

(ii) In jtr one ś has been noted in the transcript of HULTZSCH (p. 180, line 19). The jtr version contains some portion more than the corresponding br and sd versions, for which it may be compared with the concluding portion of the Yerraguḍi version. HULTZSCH reads some of the letters following this palatal sibilant in jtr as *śa . . . e . ā . . [ca] ya* A comparison with Yerraguḍi version (IHQ 13.134, line 22) will show that this portion in jtr is to be restored to — *śa [va] [m] e ā [paca] ya [nā] . . .* If the restora-

25. Among the later Kharoṣṭhī inscr., the earlier ones also have η (and η and n in term.), but the later ones show $\eta > n$, cf. MEHENDALE § 510C. With regard to this KONOW observes (pp. ciii-iv), "The impression left by this state of affairs is that intervocalic η and n had the same sound at least over the greater part of the territory, and that the sound was probably a cerebral." One may not agree with this view; it is possible that the n sound had really begun to appear, as can be seen from the Paisācī tendency to change η to n (PISCHEL § 225). So far as the Niyā Prākṛta is concerned η and n are confused, the tendency being to change the cerebral to the dental (BURROW § 34). In the Dhammapada, however, η appears quite often *anātva* < *anātma* etc. cf. BAILEY BSOS 11.499 ff., Glossary. In terminations, the Niyā Prākṛta has the dentals, while the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions show both η and n .

26. In jtr. we have *mahāmātāna* with the dental *-n-*.

27. In jtr. line 2, *devāna* is rather doubtful. In line 20 we have *-ṇ-*.

28. The north-western inscriptions of Aśoka (MEHENDALE § 35), the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions (MEHENDALE § 514), and the Niyā Prākṛta (BURROW § 33) maintain the distinction between the three sibilants. For the treatment of the sibilants in the Kālsī version see HULTZSCH p. lxxii.

tion suggested here is correct, the jtr *śava*²⁹ will stand for *sarva*.

(iii) The third instance also occurs in the additional portion of jtr (line 18) where in the gen. sg.³⁰ we have *śa* (*sya*) in *ācariyaśa*.

(7) Consonant Clusters : With regard to the clusters we may only note some peculiar clusters like those with *y*, *r*, and *m*.

(a) Clusters with *y*³¹ are normally assimilated in the north-west and the west, but dissolved in the east (except when such clusters are formed with the sibilants.)³² Accordingly the Mysore versions show assimilation in *saka* (*śakya*) in sd, but the clusters *ky* and *hy* are preserved in br, cf. *sakya* and *drahyitavya*.³³ Now the preservation of the clusters with *y* may have also been a north-western tendency (though instances are not normally found in the Aśokan inscriptions) because such clusters are occasionally preserved in the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. With regard to *ky* itself it may be noted that both the tendencies of the Mysore group are available in the later inscriptions, cf. *śakamuni* and *śakyamuni* (MEHENDALE § 522). In the Niya Prākṛta we witness again both the tendencies viz. assimilation and preservation of clusters with *y* (BURROW § 41, § 42). It may be added here that a few instances of the preservation of such clusters are also found in the separate edicts which, as has been suggested, seem to have been issued from the north-west. cf. *mokhya* in d, but *mokhiya* in j ; perhaps *ālasya* in j, but *ālasiya* in d.

(b) The clusters with *r* are assimilated as in the east. Thus *tr* > *t(t)* in *ayaputa* (*āryaputra*). But the preservation of *r*-clusters as in the north-west³⁴ is witnessed in two instances viz. *prakanta* (*prakrānta*) and *prāṇa* in br.³⁵

29. Both *śava* and *ṣava* occur in the Kālsī version (XII 31).

30. It may be noted that the similar wrong use of the sibilant is noted in the gen. sg. *taśa* and *taṣa* in the Kālsī version. The *sya* of the gen. sg. is modified as a fricative *s(r)a* or *s(y)a* in the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions (MEHENDALE § 514). In the Niya Prākṛta *sy* > *s* i.e. *z* (BURROW § 22, and TURNER *JRAS* 1927. 232-34. In Khotanese the group *sy* is preserved, cf. BURROW *BSOS* 8.431). I am afraid we cannot bring *ś* of the gen. sg. in relationship with the later Māgadhī *-aśśa*, as the collective inscriptional evidence goes against it.

31. For the treatment of the cluster *vy* (and *gy*) see below.

32. Cf. MEHENDALE § 43.

33. This portion is more or less defaced in sd and jtr. Still *hy* is clear in jtr. and possible in sd.

34. Cf. MEHENDALE § 44 ; for later Kharoṣṭhī material cf. BURROW § 36, § 37, and MEHENDALE § 523. For the more archaic nature of the Niya Prākṛta than that of the Aśokan inscriptions in the matter of preserving clusters, see BURROW, The Dialectical Position of the Niya Prakrit, *BSOS* 8.422.

35. Instead of *prakanta*, BÜHLER reads *pakanta* in line 2. In line 3 even HULTZSCH reads *pakanta*, and *pakama* (*prakrama*) in line 4.

(c) The cluster $tm > t\phi$ in the Mysore versions under the influence of the standard western Prākṛta as can be seen from the Gīrnar instances. Thus we have *mahātṣpā* (*mahātmānaḥ*) in br, sd ; *ātṣpā* (*ātman*) and *catṣpāro* (*catvāraḥ*) in G ; but *atva*³⁶ and *ata* (*ātman*) in M, and *ata* and *catvure* (*catvāraḥ*) in S. The forms *ata* and *catvure* in the north-western versions of Aśoka are clearly due to the eastern influence.³⁷ That the proper local treatment for the north-west was *tv* is shown by the Mānsehrā instance given above and by the later Kharoṣṭhī documents. These documents also show that in later times $tv > \phi$ under the influence of the standard western $t\phi$.³⁸

(8) In morphology also the Mysore versions agree with the non-eastern dialect in certain respects as follows :—

(a) The dat. sg. forms *etāya* and *aṭhāya* end in *-ya* and not *-ye* as in the east. In this case even the north-western versions have the borrowed forms *etaye*, *taye*, *aṭhaye* etc., but G has *etāya*, *tāya*, *athāya*, etc. In the Niya Prākṛta the endings are both *-e* and *-ya*. But as BURROW observes the dative is rare except in the infinitives and that it had died out in the popular speech (§ 52, §55). In later inscriptions we have mostly the continuation of the borrowed *-e*, though *-ya* and *-(y)a* are found in two instances (MEHENDALE § 529).

(b) The nom. sg. neut. forms *vataviyaṃ* and *sacaṃ* have the non-eastern ending *-a(m)* and not the *-e* of the east. The eastern ending is of course seen in the other forms like *phale* etc. (For the explanation of eastern endings see below).

(c) In pronoun forms the inst. sg. of the first personal pronoun *maya* is north-western. The eastern forms as given in D, J versions are *mamayā* (and *me*). In later Kharoṣṭhī we have *maya*

36. Instead of *atva*, BÜHLER reads *atma*. But cf. HULTZSCH p. 81, l.n.3.

37. *ata* also occurs in K, the separate edicts, and the Pillar edicts.

38. In the Niya Prākṛta we have the treatment $tm > tv$ or ϕ (BURROW § 44). In the Dhammapada we have $tm > tv$ cf. *ajātva < adhyātma*, etc., BAILEY, BSOS. 11.498 Glossary. In the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions we get four forms viz. *atmaṇa-*, *atvaṇa-*, *apana-*, and *ata-* (MEHENDALE § 528). Of these, *atmaṇa* is clearly a Sanskritised form, and *ata-* is the continuation of the old borrowing from the east found in the S, M versions. Thus the proper north-western treatment (tv and ϕ) is shown by the remaining two instances. That *ata* in S, M and the later Kharoṣṭhī versions cannot be regarded as due to assimilation of $tv > t$ is shown by the fact that in the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions (MEHENDALE § 524a) and in the Niya Prākṛta (BURROW § 43) tv is either preserved or assimilated to ϕ and not to t , except in the absolute suffix. The non-eastern treatments leading towards assimilation to ϕ , and the eastern treatment leading towards assimilation to t can also be seen from the later Prākṛtaṣ (PISCHEL § 277),

in the Niya Prākṛta (BURROW § 78), but *me*, owing to confusion with the gen., in the inscriptions (MEHENDALE § 536).

The instr. sg. of the demonstrative is *iminā* in the Mysore version which agrees with the form in the Girnar version and the one in Pāli (GEIGER § 108). The eastern form given by the J version is *imena*. The north-western Aśokan forms are not available. (For the other forms of the demonstrative see below).

(d) The ending *-yu* is the non-eastern and *-vu* the eastern in the optative forms. The Mysore forms *jāneyu*, *pakameyu* are thus non-eastern. In the Niya Prākṛta, however, the optative has always the primary endings, thus for 3rd per. pl. *-eyanti* (BURROW § 100); the same is the case in the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions (MEHENDALE § 542).

(e) In br once we have *samvachareṃ*, where the anusvāra at the end may have been due to its being confused for loc. sg. An anusvāra at the end of a loc. sg. form appears in a later Kharoṣṭhī inscription, cf. *divaseṃ* (MEHENDALE § 529a, p. 317). It is interesting to note that a similar anusvāra at the end of a loc. pl. form is found in *sahasasunī* in the Dhauli separate edict I, line 4. Or these anusvāras may have been due to the north-western tendency to put an anusvāra where it does not properly belong and which has been noted in the Niya Prākṛta (BURROW § 47).³⁹

(f) In the Mysore version we have a form of the present participle *paka [m] i. .na* which HULTZSCH proposes to read as *pakamamīna*. If this is correct we may compare with this the Shāh. pres. part in *-mina*, viz. *karamina*. The other Aśokan forms in *-mīna* are *samṣaṭipajamīna* and *vipaṭipādayamīna* which occur in the Dhauli separate edict. Further, in view of the absence of the middle present participles in the D, J versions, we may also attribute the Mysore form *samāna* (from √ *as*) to the north-western influence, though the actually recorded form in the north-western version is *samta*. It may be noted that *samāna* occurs in Pāli, Ardhamāgadhi and Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī also. In the literary Prākṛts, though the present participles Parasmaipada are available, a tendency to generalise the middle forms in *-māna* is noted especially frequently in Ardhamāgadhi. In Ardhamāgadhi we have also forms with the ending *-mīna* (cf. PISCHEL § 561, § 562). In Pāli also GEIGER (§ 191) gives instances of the middle forms from the active bases. In the Niya Prākṛta, the instances of present participles are rare. But a tendency to use *-māna* freely has been noted by BURROW § 101.

39. With this we may also compare *paṃkīti* (*prakṛti*) of the Mysore versions. This reading is adopted by WOOLNER in his *Aśokan Glossary*. HULTZSCH reads the word without the anusvāra in all the Mysore versions.

In the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, the instances are not available. Among the later Brāhmī inscriptions the use of *-māna* is found in the Nāsik in the west and in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍā in the south (cf. MEHENDALE § 207, § 259). There is thus reason to regard the middle participles in *-māna* or *-mīna* as originally non-eastern.

It has been suggested in f.n. 9 that on the basis of the contents of the inscriptions the minor rock edict seems to have been issued after the major rock edicts. If this suggestion is correct it will show that the affinity of the Mysore version with the east in certain cases can be explained to be due to certain elements borrowed from the east in the north-western versions of Aśoka's major rock edicts, and which were thus known in the north-west when the minor rock edict was issued from there.

(1) The semi-vowel *y* is changed to *v* in *dīghāvusa*¹⁰ in the Mysore versions. This is an eastern tendency as the change *y > v* is seen in the optative terminations in D, J. cf. *vasevū*, *nikhamāvū*, etc. As against this the non-eastern tendency is to preserve *-yu*.¹¹ cf. *vaseyu* S,M,G, *śruṇeyu* S, M, etc. The presence of *v* in *viṣava* (*viṣaya*) in S, (but *viṣaya* in M and *visaya* in G) is therefore to be attributed to the eastern influence. The *v* in *dīghāvusa* is thus due to the influence of borrowed words like *viṣava* in the north-western versions. It is interesting to note here that among the separate edicts the Dhauli version gives optatives with the eastern *-vu* (*asvasevu* etc.) while the Jaugaḍa version gives the same forms with the non-eastern *-yu* (*asvaseyu* etc.)

(2) The cluster *vy* is normally dissolved in the eastern versions (*vy > viy*), but assimilated in the north-west (*vy > vv*), and preserved in the west.¹² In respect of this cluster the Mysore versions show a mixture of the eastern and the non-eastern tendencies. Thus the cluster is dissolved,¹³ as in the east, in such instances as *susūsitaviya* (*śuśrūṣitavya*), *vataviya* (*vaktavya*), and *pavatitaviya* (*pravartitavya*). Now though the assimilation of this cluster is noted as the normal north-western tendency above, we find a few

40. Pāli also has *dīghāyu* (GEIGER § 101), though in Pāli instances where *y > v* are also to be found (GEIGER § 46). For the preservation of *y* in *āyu* and *visaya* in the later south Indian copper-plate grants cf. PISCHEL § 253. The change of *y > v* in a few forms is noted by PISCHEL § 254 for Ardhamāgadhī Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, Apabhraṁśa and secondarily for Pāisāci.

41. The change of *y* to *v* is not noted either in the Nīya Prākṛta or in the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

42. MEHENDALE § 43 (4).

43. The cluster *gy* is also dissolved in *ārogiya* (*ārogya*) in br, sd. Later Kharoṣṭhī has the normal assimilation in the case of this word, cf. *aroga* (KONOW, Nos. 27, 35, etc.) and *arogi* (BURROW § 9).

instances also of dissolution as in the east in the north-western versions of the major rock edicts. cf. *viyapaṭa* or *viyapraṭa* (*vyāpṛta*), *pūjetaviya* (*pūjayitavya*), *kaṭaviya* (*kaṭavya*), etc. Therefore the instances from the Mysore group showing *vy* > *viy* are to be attributed to the borrowed eastern elements in the north-west.

The preservation of this cluster, as in the west, is found in two instances in the Mysore group, viz. *vyūtha* (*vyuṣṭa*) and *drahyitavya*. It is possible that this was the standard western tendency in Aśokan times.⁴¹

(3) The borrowing of the eastern trait through north-west is more evident in the treatment of the cluster *kṣ*. In the Mysore versions *kṣ* is assimilated to the guttural *kh* as in the east and not to the palatal *ch* as in (the north-west and) the west.⁴⁵ Thus we have in the Mysore version *khudaka* (*kṣudraka*). Now in the case of this very word it is interesting to note that even the north-western versions show the eastern form with the guttural. cf. *khudaka* D, J; *khuda* or *khudaka* M, *khudraka* S; but the Girnār version gives the proper non-eastern form *chuda* or *chudaka*. In my opinion this evidence shows that *khudaka* happened to be in the original draft as by the time the minor rock edict was issued, the major edicts were already inscribed in the north-west and the borrowed eastern form with *kh*- had gained some currency there.

(4) In the Mysore version the cluster *jñ* > *ñ* as in the north-

44. As mentioned above though instances of the preservation of this cluster are not found in the north-western versions of the Aśokan edicts, this may have been a local tendency. cf. *divya* in the Kālsī version and the instances in the Niya Prākṛta *dadavo* and *dadavya*, BURROW § 9, § 41. The continuation of the borrowed eastern tendency of dissolution is also seen in the Niya Prākṛta, cf. *viyala* (*vyāla*), BURROW § 42 and word-index. It is again worth while to observe that the separate edicts furnish one instance of the preservation, possibly as a north-western characteristic. cf. *samcalitavya* in j, but *samcaḷitaviya* in d. In the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, however, we have only the proper north-western tendency of assimilation, cf. MEHENDALE § 522 (xvi).

45. Cf. MEHENDALE § 57 (1, iii). According to HULTZSCH (p. lxxxviii) *kṣ* remains in the S version. On p. 55, f.n. 5, however, he observes—"In order to distinguish this sign (i.e., the one where it corresponds to sk. *kṣ*) from the real *chh* (i.e. where it corresponds to skt. *ch*), I transcribe it by *ksh*, but do not want to imply thereby that it was actually spoken like that." (brackets mine). Later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions show the continuation of the eastern influence as they show *kh* (MEHENDALE § 526 b), but Niya Prākṛta shows *ch*, while the Kharoṣṭhī Dh. has *ch* (BURROW § 48). For *kṣ* > *kh* as a borrowing in the Dhammapada cf. BURROW BSOS 8.425. For *kṣ* in Gāndhārī cf. BAILEY, BSOS 11.770-75.

west and the west, and not *n* as in the east.⁴⁶ cf. Mysore *ñātika* (*jñātika*) with *ñāti* or *ñātika* G,S,M, but *nāti* in D, J.

But the cluster *jñ* in $\sqrt{ājñapa}$ - has an interesting story. It shows the normal non-eastern treatment (palatal) noted above in G in $\sqrt{āñapa}$, and the normal eastern treatment (dental) in D, J in $\sqrt{ānapa}$. But among the major edicts the S, M versions show the cerebral $\sqrt{āṇapa}$ -, which is nothing but the borrowed *n* treatment from the east with further north-western cerebralisation of the dental nasal.⁴⁷ Now this $\sqrt{āṇapa}$ is found also in the Mysore version, which shows that this minor rock edict was issued from the north-west only after this word had been already familiar there due to the versions of the major rock edicts.⁴⁸

(5) Cerebralisation of dentals in combination with *r* (*ṛ*) or *s*: This is normally the eastern characteristic, whereas in the west the dentals are preserved (in the north-west cerebralisation is observed due to eastern influence).⁴⁹ The Mysore versions show a mixture of both these tendencies, thereby again pointing to the fact that this edict was issued after the major edicts were inscribed at S, M which show sometimes the eastern influence in this regard. Thus we see the dental in *pavalitaviya* (*pravarlitavya*) and *pakiti* (*prakṛti*) in the Mysore group. But in *kaṭaviya* (*kartavya*) we have the cerebral of the east. Now it may be noted that *kaṭaviya* is found in M as a complete borrowing from the east (cf. the same form in D, J), as *kaṭava* in S, but *katavya* in G.

Similarly *rth* > *ṭh* in the Mysore versions, as in the east, cf. *aṭha* (*artha*). The same word is also found in the major edicts and it is represented as *aṭha* D, J, S, *aṭhra* S, *athra* S, M, *atha* G. Thus it will be seen that though the north-western versions show the proper dental treatment, they also show sometimes the cerebral,

46. Cf. MEHENDALE § 48 (1); for the same treatment of the cluster in later Kharoṣṭhī material cf. MEHENDALE § 515d, BURROW § 44. In Pāli too the normal treatment in *ññ*, (GEIGER § 53), in Paisācī *ññ*, in Ardhamāgadhī both *ṇṇ* and *ṇṇ*, and in the other Prākṛtas *ṇṇ* (PISCHEL § 276).

47. cf. similar cerebralisation of *n* in $\sqrt{prāpṇa}$ - (*pra-√āp-nu*) in G, S, $\sqrt{maṇa}$ ($\sqrt{man-ya}$) and *aṇa* (*anya*) in M.

48. The same exceptional treatment in the case of $\sqrt{ājñapa}$ is found in the Niya *anati* (*ājñapti*), BURROW § 44. (For confusion between *n* and *ṇ* see above l.n. 25). For *ānata* in Khotanese cf. BAILEY, BSOS 11.779. Pāli also gives $\sqrt{āṇāpa}$ -, but has *aññā* (*ājñā*) 'perfect knowledge' also (GEIGER § 53). A later Kharoṣṭhī inscription, however, gives the proper local form *aña* (*ājñā*) (KONOW Nos. 11,14).

49. In later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions also dentals with *r* are preserved or assimilated to the dentals; only a few instances of cerebralisation are found (MEHENDALE § 520b, § 516). The same tendency is found in the Niya Prākṛta (BURROW § 37 which also gives *kaṭavo*).

borrowed from the east. *aṭha* in the Mysore versions is therefore to be attributed to *aṭha* or *aṭhra* in S.⁵⁰

In the Mysore versions the cerebral is also seen in *ṭhitika* (*sthitika*), which is to be attributed to the presence of a similar eastern form twice in the Mānsehrā version in the north-west. cf. *ṭhitika* M, *ṭhitika* D, J, but *thitika* S (*ṣṭita* G).⁵¹

Here may also be noted the treatments of *rdh* and *ṣṭ*.

The cluster *rdh* > *ḍh* in *vaḍhisiti*, *diyadhya* etc. in the Mysore group in keeping with the north-western and western borrowings from the east. Thus the forms of $\sqrt{\text{vardha}}$ > $\sqrt{\text{vadha}}$ are found in S, M, G, as well as in D, J (though the dental is seen in some forms at G).⁵²

The absence of the cerebral in *vyūtha* (*vyuṣṭa*) in br is obviously due to mistake (for a similar mistaken dot in the circle see *va* in *heneva* in line 9 br) unless we attribute it to the presence of the dentals in the west (and the north-west) as against the cerebrals in the east. But in the case of *ṣṭ* we find *ṭh* in the northern version in *aṭha* (*aṣṭa*) K, and *aṭhamī* (*aṣṭamī*) in two pillar edicts.⁵³ I am therefore more in favour of regarding *ṭh* as a mistake for *ṭh* in *vyūtha*.

(6) It has been said above that the Mysore versions agree with the eastern dialect in morphology in certain important respects as nom. sg. in *-e* and loc. sg. in *-si*. But even these agreements possibly show that the Mysore versions were issued after these Magadhisms were known in the north-west through the versions of the major rock edicts.

50. In the Nīya Prākṛta, the cluster *rth* is preserved or changed to *ṭh* of doubtful value (BURROW § 36, § 37, § 49), but in my opinion probably a continuation of the eastern borrowed cerebral *th*. In the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions *rth* is preserved (MEHENDALE § 520b). In the Dhammapada *rth* > *th*, cf. *anatha* < *anartha*, BAILEY, BSOS 11.499, Glossary.

51. In the Nīya Prākṛta also the forms of $\sqrt{\text{stihā}}$ show *st* or *th*, or rarely *ṭh* of doubtful value. The cerebral is found only in *aṭhi* (*aṣṭhi*), cf. BURROW § 49. The same is also true of the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, cf. MEHENDALE § 520 iii, iv, § 516b. For the treatment in the later Prākṛtas cf. PISCHEL § 307, § 308.

52. In the Nīya Prākṛta, *rdh* is mostly preserved, though *dh* and *ḍh* are found once each (BURROW § 36). Similarly *rdh* is preserved in the later inscriptions, though *ḍh* is found in proper names and *dh* in *vudha* < *vṛddha* (MEHENDALE § 520b iv, § 516d, § 500c).

53. *aṭha* in S, M is doubtful. But the change *ṣṭ* > *ṭh* in the north-west is shown by the later Kharoṣṭhī documents, cf. BURROW 49, and MEHENDALE 519a. The change of this *ṭh* > *ḍh* is found in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription (KONOW No. 11) cf. *aḍha* (*aṣṭa*). For a similar change in the Aśokan inscriptions cf. HULTZSCH, p. 135, f.n. 1, 2. In Khotanese, the group *ṣṭ* is preserved, BURROW BSOS 8.431.

(a) The non. sg. mas. in the Mysore version ends in *-e* as in the east, cf. *aṭhe*, *devāṇāmpīye* etc. Though the proper north-western term. is *-o*, we find some forms in *-e* already in the S version like *jane*, *vivade* etc., and in the M version the *-e* ending is almost the exclusive one.⁵⁴

(b) The nom. sg. neut. in the Mysore version ends in *-e* as in the east, cf. *phale* etc. The proper north-western term. is *-am*, but the Māgadha forms with *-e* are quite frequent in those versions, cf. *dane*, *draśane*, etc.⁵⁵

(c) The loc. sg. of *-a* bases ends in *-si* as in the east, cf. *Isilasi*, *Jambudīpasi*. Now the north-western termination is *-spi* or *-e*. But the eastern termination is already seen in the north-western versions in such instances as *apakaraṇasi*, *uṭhanasi*, etc.⁵⁶

(d) The neuter form *se* of the base *ta* occurs in the Mysore versions as in the east. But its use in the north-west is already witnessed in the M version. The nom. pl. mas. of this base is given as *se* for the Mysore group by HULTZSCH (p. cxxx); here, however, the north-western form is *te* and eastern *se*. In the Niya Prākṛta also (BURROW § 80) *te* occurs. In view of this evidence I am inclined to regard *se* in the Mysore group not as nom. pl. mas., but as the nom. sg. neut. used as the beginning of the sentence.

(e) The demonstrative base *idam* gives once the nom. sg. mas. *iyam*. But this may not be regarded as an eastern mas. form. It is rather to be explained as arising out of confusion with the neuter form *iyam* because both the nom. sg. mas. (*aṭhe*) and the

54. For the agreement of the Niya Prākṛta with the M version in this respect cf. BURROW *BSOS* 8.420-21, 424. For both *-o* and *-e* terminations in the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions see MEHENDALE § 529. In the Dhammapada the ending *-e* is absent, BURROW *BSOS* 8.428.

55. In later inscriptions we have *śivathale* (KONOW No. 26). Otherwise the normal ending is *-am* or *-a* (MEHENDALE § 529). For the Niya Prākṛta ending *-a* < *-am*, cf. BURROW § 52, § 53.

56. In later Kharoṣṭhī material, the term. is usually *-mī* (or *-mī*), and *-e* (see BURROW § 58, MEHENDALE § 529, pp. 316-17). In one case, however, we have *si* in *hasisa* written for *hasasi* (KONOW, No. 31). Perhaps this *-si*, confused with gen *-sa*, occurs in the Dhammapada, BURROW *BSOS* 8.429.

57. cf. for instance *se* in *se hevaṃ devāṇāmpīye āha* (lines 8-9) with *se* in *se ime dhammaguṇā pavatitaviyā* (line 10) in the br version. The *se* in the second instance is dropped in the sd version and just likely in the jtr. version. This second *se* does not correspond to Skt. *te* as nom. pl. mas. and agree with *ime dhammaguṇā*, but it corresponds to the neuter *tad* used as a conjunctive. The passage is therefore to be translated as 'that these moral virtues should be practised' and not as HULTZSCH does 'these same moral virtues must be practised.' Similarly *se hevaṃ devāṇāmpīye āha* should be translated as 'that Devānāmpriya speaks thus' and not as HULTZSCH does 'Moreover, Devānāmpriya speaks thus.'

nom. sg. neut. (*phale, sāvane*) with which it occurs end in *-e*. This *iyam* as neut. occurs in the Mysore versions quite often. It is an eastern form which is found already in the north-western versions together with *idam* which is the proper form there.⁵³

(7) There remain only two cases in respect of which the Mysore versions agree with the east and for which instances are not available in the north-western versions. Thus the tendency to add *h* at the beginning of a word with an initial vowel,⁵⁰ cf. *hevam* (*evam*) in the Mysore versions as also in D, J where we get such other words as *hida, hedisa*, etc., for which in the western and north-western versions we have *evam, idha, ediśa*, etc.

Similarly the nom. sg. of the first personal pronoun in the Mysore versions is *hakam*⁵⁰ which agrees with the form in the D, J versions but which disagrees with the western and north-western *aham*. In the later Niya Prākṛta and the Dhammapada also we have *ahu* (BURROW §78, BAILEY, The Khotan Dhammapada, BSOS 11. 488ff. Index). Therefore *hakam* is clearly the eastern form with which the later Māgadhī *hage* may be compared.

Perhaps the explanation that can be given for these two eastern words *hevam* and *hakam* in the Mysore versions and for which parallels are not to be found in the north-western versions is that they are reminiscent of the language of the Maurya king who dictated the edict. This may be especially true about *hakam* as it refers to king Aśoka himself.

In the end we may note a point with regard to the separate edicts which goes to show that these two edicts were issued from the north-west. This point was not noticed in the article dealing with the two separate edicts referred to above at the beginning of this paper.

The north-western versions no doubt use the word *jana* as the other versions do. But in the tenth rock edict in section D, *jana*, which appears in G, is substituted by the word *vagra* in S, M (and by *vaga* in K). This use of *vagra* i.e. *varga* for *jana* witnessed in the north-west is again found only in the separate edicts. Thus in the first separate edict, sections AA, at Dhauli we read *Ujenite*

58. For later Prākṛta forms cf. PISCHEL § 429, § 430 and for Pāli cf. GEIGER § 108.

59. In the Niya Prākṛta, BURROW § 28 finds considerable irregularity in the treatment of *h*, owing to its absence in the native language. But a possible instance of the above type is noticed in *heḍi* = *eḍā* (sheep). In later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions such instances are absent, cf. KONOW, Word Index. For the instability of *h* in the Gāndhārī cf. BAILEY BSOS 11.791-93.

60. HULTZSCH (p. lxxviii) follows PISCHEL (§ 417) and refers to Pāṇini 5.3.71 in explaining *hakam* from " *ahakam*."

pi ca kumāle etāye va aṭhāye nikhāmayisa . . . hedisameva vagam 'But from Ujjayinī also the prince (governor) will send out for the same purpose . . . a person (*vagam*) of the same description.' The corresponding Jaugada version is unfortunately defaced. But in the first separate edict, section L, in Jaugada we read — *tata hoti akasmā ti tena badhanamtika anye ca vage bahuke vedayati* 'In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him accidentally, while many other people (*vage*) (continue to suffer).' Here in the corresponding section K of the Dhauli version, however, we have *jane*.⁶¹ This correspondence between *jana* and *varga* which pertains to vocabulary is an important piece of evidence to show that the two separate edicts were issued from the north-west.

61. HULTZSCH has already drawn attention to these substitutions (p. 40, f.n. 2), but without noticing that *vagra* or *vaga* is the north-western substitution for the eastern *jana*, which reappears as a borrowed word in the separate edicts.

A NOTE ON THE BHILSĀ INSCRIPTION OF VĀCASPATI

By

V. V. MIRASHI

This inscription was first noticed by Dr. F. E. Hall who published a transcript of it in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXI (1862), p. 111, n. 1. The stone bearing it was found built into the outer wall of a modern house at Bhilsā in Madhya Pradesh. It was subsequently lost sight of as appears from a note of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year 1913-14, p. 59. I discussed the contents of it in my article on the Bargaon Temple Inscription of Śabara published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXV, pp. 278 ff. The Bhilsā inscription states *inter alia* that Kauṇḍinya Vācaspati, the chief minister of a king named Kṛṣṇa, defeated a king of Cedi and killed a Śabara chief named Siṃha. I have shown in my article that the king Kṛṣṇa whom Vācaspati was serving was the Candella prince Kṛṣṇa or Kṛṣṇapa, the younger brother of Dhaṅga, who was ruling over the Dudahi-Bhilsā territory in *circa* A.D. 960-985, that the Cedi king defeated by Vācaspati was probably Śaṅkaragaṇa II of Tripurī and that the Śabara chief whom Vācaspati exterminated was the same as he who is mentioned in the Bargaon temple inscription. Recently Mr. Venkataramayya of Ootacamund has discussed the identification of Vācaspati and Kṛṣṇa in an article¹ published in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XXII, pp. 56 f. He thinks that Vācaspati of the Bhilsā inscription was a minister of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III and that he was the son of the minister Nārāyaṇa alias Gajāṅkuśa, who also served the same Rāṣṭrakūṭa king. His identifications of the Cedi king and the Śabara chief are also different. As this question has an important bearing on the history of three ancient dynasties of India, viz., Candella, Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Kalacuri, I propose to discuss it at some length here.

The transcript of the Bhilsā inscription as given by Dr. Hall is reproduced below for ready reference :—

१. - - - - - श्रियमयमपि नन्वाश्रितानाश्रितास्य
२. गेहं मे वेत्रवत्या नियमितजनताक्षोभमस्याप्यजसम् ।
३. तेजो मय्यत्र चोच्चैर्व्विततमिति त्रिदित्वादरेणात्मतुल्यं
४. भाइह्लस्वामिनामा रविरवतु भुवः स्वामिनं कृष्णराजम् ॥ १ ॥
५. चेदीशं समरे विजित्य शवरं संहृत्य सिंहाह्वयं
६. रालामण्डलोदपाद्यवनिपौ भूम्यां प्रतिष्ठाप्य च ।

1. He has also discussed this question in his article on the Māser inscription of a Śulki chief in *Ep. Ind.* XXIX, 18 f.

७. देवं द्रष्टुमिहागतो रचितवां (वान्) स्तोत्रं पवित्रं परं
८. श्रीमत्कृष्णनृपैकमन्त्रिपदभाक् कौण्डिन्यवाचस्पतिः ॥ २ ॥
९. सुचिरमियं कृतिरास्तां रुचिरा श्रीमद्गजांकुशेयस्य ।
१०. काकूकेन विलिखिता कायस्थशे

The inscription has in the beginning a verse which invokes the blessings of the Sun-god Bhāillasvāmin for a king named Kṛṣṇa. The second verse states that the Chief Minister of the illustrious king Kṛṣṇa, named Kauṇḍinya Vācaspati defeated a king of Cedi in battle, exterminated a Sabara chief named Sirṁha and placed on their thrones the chiefs of Rālā-maṇḍala and Rodapādi. He then repaired to Bhilsā to see the god (Bhāillasvāmin) and composed a *stotra* in praise of him. The last verse expresses the hope that this beautiful composition of Gajāṅkuṣeya, written by the Kāyastha Kākūka, would endure for a long time.

Mr. Venkataramayya thinks that these three verses form a sort of colophon to the holy *stotra* composed by Vācaspati in praise of the god Bhāilleśa and that a large portion of the inscription at the beginning which is now lost must have contained this very *stotra*. Further, he identifies Gajāṅkuṣeya mentioned at the end as the author of the *praśasti* with the minister Kauṇḍinya Vācaspati himself. A close study of the inscription does not bear out these conclusions. In the first verse which invokes the blessings of the god Bhāillasvāmin, there is a comparison based on *double entendre* between the god and the king Kṛṣṇa. The god is supposed to say to himself, "Like me, this king also shares his *śrī* (splendour, wealth) with those who take refuge with him ; as my dwelling is protected by the river Vetravati (*i.e.* the Betwā which flows by Bhilsā), even so is his palace constantly guarded by a female door-keeper (lit. cane-bearer); like me this king has high *tejas* (lutsre, valour)." The poet prays that out of regard for the king Kṛṣṇa who thus resembles the god, the latter would protect him (for ever). It will be noticed that this verse is of the usual type which occurs in the beginning of a copper-plate grant or a stone inscription. It is not likely to have formed the concluding portion of a *stotra*. The next verse states the object of the *praśasti*. It enumerates briefly the exploits of the minister Vācaspati of the Kauṇḍinya *gotra* and states that after having won these victories, he repaired to Bhilsā to have *darśana* of the god Bhāillasvāmin and there composed a *stotra* in praise of the god. The *stotra* is not, however, given here. Nor is this verse likely to have been composed by Vācaspati who is spoken of therein in the third person. Finally, the last verse records the names of Gajāṅkuṣeya who composed the *praśasti* and the scribe Kāyastha Kākūka who wrote it on the stone. In this verse

also there is no indication that the valiant minister himself composed it.

Mr. Venkataramayya, who thought that the minister Vācaspati was identical with Gajāñkuṣeya, understood the latter name in the sense of a son of Gajāñkuṣa. Further, he has very ingeniously suggested that this Gajāñkuṣa, the father of Vācaspati, was the same as Nārāyaṇa *alias* Gajāñkuṣa of the Kauṇḍinya *gotra*, the Chief Minister and Sandhivigrahin of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III, known from the Salotgi pillar inscription.² On the basis of these identifications Mr. Venkataramayya has come to the conclusion that the king Kṛṣṇa whom Vācaspati was serving must be identical with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III. The Bhilsā inscription mentions a victory of Vācaspati over the contemporary lord of Cedi. This must have occurred during the northern campaign of Kṛṣṇa III. Kṛṣṇa was no doubt matrimonially connected with the Kalacuris, but his relations with them had, in this period, become hostile ; for (i) verse 25 of the Karhād plates states that Kṛṣṇa III defeated, while he was *Yuvarāja*, Sahasrārjuna who was an elderly relative of his mother and wife³ and who can be none other than the Kalacuri king Yuvarājadeva I ; and (ii) Kṛṣṇa III caused a stone inscription to be incised at Jurā in the Kalacuri territory, evidently in the course of his campaign against the Kalacuris. This campaign must have occurred late in his reign. One of the causes of it was probably the encroachment made by the Kalacuri king Lakṣmaṇarāja, who, setting at nought the authority of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas over Malwa and Lāṭa, marched across these territories as far as Somanātha-Pāṭan in Saurashtra, evidently at the instigation of the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler. The victories mentioned in the Bhilsā inscription were won by Vācaspati, the Supreme Commander of Kṛṣṇa III's troops.

Mr. Venkataramayya has very ingeniously constructed his theory, by weaving together the scattered threads of historical information ; but a closer examination reveals its weak points. I shall state them briefly below.

(1) As shown above, Vācaspati was probably not the author of the Bhilsā *praśasti*. If he had composed it himself, he would have inserted his personal name, rather than his patronymic, in the last verse. Gajāñkuṣeya, notwithstanding its apparent patronymic look, was probably the personal name of the poet, who, as shown above, was clearly different from the minister Vācaspati.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 57 f. :

3. रामहतसहस्रभुजो भुजद्वयाकलितसमदरामेण ।
जननीपत्नीगुरुरपि येन सहस्रार्जुनो विजितः ॥

(2) The old view that Kṛṣṇa III defeated a Kalacuri king was based on a wrong interpretation of verse 25 of the Karhād plates.⁴ As Prof. Nilakanta Sastri has shown, the verse suggests by means of *double entendre*, that Kṛṣṇa III excelled Sahasrārjuna, the eponymous hero from whom the Kalacuris claimed descent. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Kalacuris were matrimonially connected for several generations. Baddiga-Amoghavarṣa III, the father of Kṛṣṇa III, was the son-in-law of the Kalacuri king Yuvarājadeva I. He was staying for a long time at the Kalacuri capital Tripurī, where he is known to have performed the marriage of his daughter Revakanimmaḍī with the Gaṅga prince Permādi Būtuga II. Kṛṣṇa III had himself married a Kalacuri princess who may have been a grand-daughter of Yuvarājadeva I. From the *Viddhasālabhañjikā* of Rājaśekhara, a court-poet of Yuvarājadeva I—Keyūrarvarṣa, we learn that the Kalacuri king espoused the cause of one *Virapāla*, the king of Kuntala, who had been dethroned by his kinsmen, and sent an army under his general Śrīvatsa, which fought with a confederacy of kings on the bank of the Payoṣṇī, defeated it and placed *Virapāla* on the throne of Kuntala. This *Virapāla* is probably none else than Baddiga-Amoghavarṣa III. The matter is now placed beyond doubt by the following passage⁵ from the commentary (*pañjikā*) of the Śaiva Ācārya Brahmaśambhu on an unpublished Śaiva work —

गतवति शककाले मङ्गलेष्वष्टसंख्ये शरदि विशदपक्षे चाश्विने शुक्रवारे । उडुनि सुरपतीशे योग
आयुष्मतीयं तिथिरपि च गतानां पञ्चमी यत्र शुद्धा ॥ चेदिकुलराजधान्यां गतवति श्रीवन्द्यगे
निहत्यारीन् । तच्छासनेन वसुधां परिरक्षति कृष्णराजेऽपि ॥ राष्ट्रकुट्टराजधान्यां राजकुलान्तः-
स्थितेन लिखिताऽपि । दामोदरेण निपुणं भक्तिमता रुद्रपुत्रेण ॥

The date mentioned in this passage, viz. Friday, Āśvina śu. di. 5, regularly corresponds to the 23rd September A.D. 936, which was a Friday as stated. This leaves no room for doubt about the genuineness of the MS. and the correctness of the statements made therein. This passage shows that after obtaining the throne Bad-

4. In an article published more than twenty-five years ago in *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 361 f., I identified this *Virapāla* with some other claimant for the Rāṣṭrakūṭa throne than Baddiga-Amoghavarṣa III mainly on the ground that Rājaśekhara's play represents Yuvarājadeva I as marrying *Virapāla*'s daughter after the battle of the Payoṣṇī. This would have been impossible if *Virapāla* had represented Baddiga-Amoghavarṣa III. Since then I have carefully considered all evidence bearing on this question and have now come to the conclusion that *Virapāla* was none other than Baddiga. As for Yuvarājadeva's marriage with *Virapāla*'s daughter, Rājaśekhara seems to have introduced the incident to complicate the love affairs in the play as observed by Dr. Altekar.

5. I owe this interesting passage to the courtesy of Dr. S. N. Sen, Keeper of the Nepal Museum, who sent me a long extract from this work several years ago.

diga, who was a man of quiet and saintly nature, returned to the Kalacuri capital, while his son Kṛṣṇa III consolidated his power and carried on the administration of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominion from Mānyakheta. During the reign of Baddiga the relations of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Kalacuris evidently continued to be as cordial as before. We have no reason to suppose that they were embittered later when Kṛṣṇa III ascended the throne.

(3) The Jurā inscription⁶ records Kṛṣṇa III's victory over the Cola king, but makes no mention of any defeat of the Kalacuris. Kṛṣṇa III appears to have got it incised on his way to the north in the course of his military campaign which was evidently directed against the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Mr. N. L. Rao conjecturally assigns the date A.D. 963-64 to this inscription. It falls in the reign of Lakṣmaṇarāja II, the son of Yuvarājadeva I. There is no evidence to show that the relations of the Kalacuris and Rāṣṭrakūṭas became hostile during the reign of this Kalacuri king. He not only did not ally himself with the Gurjara-Pratihāras, but even inflicted a defeat on them as stated in the Goharwa⁷ and other inscriptions. He may have attained this victory in the course of his western campaign, when he carried his arms as far as Somanātha-Pāṭan in Saurashtra.⁸ From the Pratāpgaḍh inscription⁹ dated V. 1003 (A.D. 946), we know that Malwa, which lay between Cedi and Saurashtra, was included in the dominion of the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Mahendrapāla II. This western campaign of Lakṣmaṇarāja II must therefore have been directed against the Gurjara-Pratihāras in furtherance of the policy of Kṛṣṇa III. Malwa, which was conquered from the Pratihāras, appears therefore to have been made over to the Paramāras, who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It is noteworthy that Śaṅkaragaṇa III, the son of Lakṣmaṇarāja II, carried on the struggle against the Pratihāras. The recently discovered Jabalpur stone inscription,¹⁰ which I have edited in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, states that Śaṅkaragaṇa III defeated with ease a Gurjara king, who is probably the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Vijayapāla known from the Rājorgaḍh inscription dated V. 1016 (A.D. 959).

The foregoing discussion must have made it plain that the king Kṛṣṇa whose minister Vācaspati defeated a Cedi king in battle could not have been Kṛṣṇa III of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. He must therefore be identified with Kṛṣṇa or Kṛṣṇapa, the brother of the

6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 287 f.

7. *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, 139 f.

8. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 268.

9. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 180.

10. *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 23 f.

Candella king Dhaṅga, who was ruling over the territory round Dudahi,¹¹ about 75 miles north by east of Bhilsā. From the Khajuraho inscription of Dhaṅga, dated V. 1011, we learn that the Candella kingdom in this period extended to Bhāsvat or Bhilsā in the south. It is therefore not surprising that Vācaspati, the minister of the Candella Kṛṣṇa, repaired to Bhilsā to have *darśana* of the Sun-god there and composed a *stotra* in his praise by way of thanksgiving.

The Candellas and the Kalacuris, whose kingdoms were contiguous, were often at war with each other. In the Khajuraho inscription¹² dated V. 1011 the Candella king Yaśovarman is said to have vanquished in battle a Cedi king who can be none other than Yuvarājadeva I. The hostilities continued in the reign of Dhaṅga. Kṛṣṇa, the brother of Dhaṅga, waged war with the Kalacuris. In the course of this war Vācaspati, his minister, inflicted a defeat on the Kalacuri king who was probably Śaṅkaragaṇa III as shown elsewhere,¹³ and exterminated his feudatory, the Sabara chief Siṃha. Another chief who sided with the Candellas in this was Nara-siṃha who belonged to the Sulki family of Central India. The Māser stone inscription recently edited by Mr. Venkataramayya¹⁴ states that at the command of Kṛṣṇarāja, he initiated the wives of a Kalacuri king into widowhood. Mr. Venkataramayya has identified this Kṛṣṇarāja with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III, but in this case also his view seems to be incorrect. I have dealt with this question elsewhere.¹⁵

11. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII, pp. 236-37.

12. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 1271.

13. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 289.

14. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 18 f.

15. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 105 f.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST STAGE IN THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM

By
UMESHA MISHRA

INTRODUCTION

History of Buddhist Philosophy evolved out of the experiences and discourses of Gotama, better known as the Buddha. Gotama was moved at the sight of sufferings all around him and being unable to bear them any more, he kicked all his royal comforts in order to find out a permanent remedy of sufferings and attain peace of mind and happiness. His meritorious deeds of the past lives, his sincere and austere penances and meditations brought success to him. He became Jivanmukta and decided to save all his countrymen, nay, the world at large, from sufferings and miseries which beset every one in this world with the help of his own experiences. He taught to the world all that he had himself realised directly 'Sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā' (*Dīgha-Nikāya*, PTS. III. p. 76). There was nothing in his teachings of the nature of mere speculation and not directly realised. It is, therefore, necessary to deal briefly with the life history of Gotama before proceeding with the details of his own and also his followers' contributions to the world of knowledge.

Life-history of Gotama : First Stage (624-544 B.C.)

Gotama was born in 624 B.C. (R. Spense Hardy records 624 B.C. as his birth date in his *Eastern Monachism*, p. 1) in a park attached to the village of Lumbinī or Lūmīnī, which lay close to Kapilavastu, the capital of the Śākya kingdom, while his mother was journeying from her father's house to Kapilavastu, on the full moon night of Vaiśākha. His father, whose name was Śuddhodana, was the head of the Śākyas and he ruled over the western tract lying at the foot of the Himalayas. Gotama's mother was named Māyā who died only seven days after his birth, and he was then brought up by his step-mother. He was married at the early age of sixteen with Yaśodharā, daughter of Suprabuddha, a kṣatriya prince who ruled over Koli, and had also a son, named Rāhula, who later became Gotama's disciple.

Early in the childhood certain peculiar signs were seen on his person which enabled the foretellers to predict that at the sight of four signs, namely, decrepitude, sickness, a dead body and a recluse, he would be induced to abandon family-life and become a mendicant. Having full faith in this prediction, his father commanded that those objects should always be kept away from places to which Gau-

tama usually resorted, but all this proved entirely futile. One day, when he was out in his chariot he happened to see an old and feeble man walking with great difficulty with the aid of his stick. The charioteer, on being asked about the condition of the man, told Gotama by way of reply that the man had grown old and weak and being of no use to the family any more, had been forsaken by his relations and that no one in this world would ever escape it. Another day, again, the prince saw a sick man quivering with high fever and abandoned by his relations, as his life was to leave his body soon. Next day, the prince, again, saw a dead body surrounded by his relations weeping and crying, because they would never see him again. On another day, the prince saw a recluse who had abandoned his comforts of life and was moving about in search of the Truth. The prince having been greatly moved by these scenes of distress and realising that he too would not escape the miseries of the world, determined to find out a remedy for the removal of human sufferings.

We know that being the son of a great kṣatriya Rājā and living amidst all possible luxuries Gotama had no occasion to experience lack of any worldly comfort, and consequently, there was very little chance for him to experience miseries like other common people. Besides, his father had taken special care not to give him any opportunity to be moved at the sight of sufferings of others. But who could know the mysterious functioning of the law of karman? So, in spite of all this, as the force of his past karmic energy would have it, he was very sensitive from his very childhood and would not bear even a very ordinary pain, which as a human being, born on the surface of the earth, he had to face. His psychical faculties were too weak to endure the distress of others even, what to speak of his own.

It is needless to say that there is pain in this world and that no one ever likes it whether he be a human being fully equipped with the faculties of reasoning and capable of discriminating between right and wrong and apt to maintain well-balanced and sober mind, or a lower creature engaged in eating and drinking that which brings to it good taste. Every one hates it. In fact, as has been made clear elsewhere, every activity of our life, mental or physical, proceeds with the feelings of pain, and those who experience such feelings try every moment to get rid of them. Had there been no pain in the world, perhaps there would have been no activity at all. And according to one's means and capacity, temporary or permanent, remedy is also sought after by every one, and it is also a fact that until and unless a radical and permanent remedy is found there is no cessation of our activities

and it is for this very reason that one has to take birth after birth till the goal is reached.

Some living along with their relations, looking after all their day-to-day duties and believing that the performance of one's own duty is also a means to redress these sufferings, pass their days without much hue and cry, mutually sharing sufferings and helping one another and trying to get rid of their sufferings; while there are others who too sensitive to endure even a slight pain, not only their own but even that of others, do not care for their regular duties, abandon their home and society and run away to some secluded place, thinking that cutting off relations with the society and the family will bring some relief to their sufferings, and continue their efforts to find out some permanent remedy for the removal of their own sufferings and also of pain from the world.

Gotama was like these too sensitive to put up with the afflictions even of others. He could not see his way out of these sufferings while engaged in the duties of a householder. So tormented by the miseries of the world, unable to do anything to lessen them, Gotama could not stay any more in his house, deserted it at mid-night at the age of 29 (*Ekūnatimso vayasā Subbhadda yaṃ pabbajī kiṃ kusalanuesī—Mahāparinibbānasutta*, 221), to find out a sure cure of sufferings. Before leaving the palace for good he peeped into the chamber of his wife who was lying asleep with her arm around the newly born babe and caught a glimpse of his only child. He reached a convenient place in the forest of Uruwelā, assumed the form of a recluse and began practising austere penance.

Gotama ran away from his home not because he did not like it, nor because he hated the society or the social order of the age, nor again, because he disliked the family life, nor because he found his own life burdensome, nor because he hated the world, but because he could not face the miseries of the world, and thought that he would be able to get hold of some permanent remedy of miseries by going to some secluded place. Thus, it is quite clear that the only cause of his leaving the life of a householder was his not being able to bear the sight of sufferings. He thought and believed that his efforts would certainly bring peace and comfort to the distressed.

Gotama first became a disciple of a sage named Ālāḍa Kālām in Vaiśālī in Mithilā, but he was not satisfied with his teachings and consequently left for Magadha to practise penance on the bank of the river Nairājanā, also called Phalgu. So he had to depend exclusively upon himself for laying out the plan of his future work. But for a really sincere seeker after the truth the Guru is always to be found within his ownself. In fact, the thoughts of an honest

Sādhaka are really and essentially the thoughts of his guru who is always awake within himself. So Gotama under the guidance of his guru within him rightly thought that in order to realise the highest aim of life, to have the clear vision of the Eternal Light, discipline of body and mind was the most essential factor. Nothing could a man achieve successfully without first being fully qualified by having full control over his body and mind. A human being is by nature beset with the defects of malice, love, hatred etc. towards others and so long as these are not removed from the mind and the inner sense-organ is not completely purified, Truth can never be achieved and the highest aim will ever remain unrealised. So Gotama began to purify his body and mind first through austere penance. This continued for full six years. But not finding any success till then Gotama became restless and left the place and sought shelter under a *pippala* tree in the same forest. He did not realise that the time had come when he was to have the clear vision of the Eternal Light. The austere penances performed under the rigid discipline of body and mind had completely rooted out the five well-known defects (Vide *Pātāñjala Yogasūtra*, II. 3) from his mind together with the very root cause of these, namely, *tṛṣṇā* or *vāsanā* for the worldly objects and had purified his inner-self to receive the Perfect Knowledge which alone could permanently put an end to his sufferings. Then there was no delay even for a single moment. His changing of place and taking shelter under the pippala tree was only an indication to show that the *karmakṣetra* is quite different from the *jñānakṣetra* though both have to be cultivated for the realisation of the truth. At once the Knowledge manifested itself within him and he thus became the Buddha, the Enlightened One, at the age of 35.

There was a harmonious synthesis of Action and Knowledge in him. Action having prepared the ground for removing the dirt (malas) from the antaḥkaraṇa, led to the manifestation of the Supreme Knowledge. Since then not only the Buddha came to be honoured and worshipped by all lovers of Perfect Knowledge, but even the very tree under which he got the clear vision of the Eternal Light became a symbol of Knowledge and people worshipped it with great respect. '

We know that the Buddha had left his home to find out the radical and permanent remedy of sufferings and he was quite successful in his attempts. Buddha knew that every being in this world was tortured with afflictions and he thought that it was his duty to move from place to place in order to preach his experiences to all and show them the Path which had brought to him the Eternal Light and the permanent peace of mind. Thus the Buddha did not like to put an end to his life soon after the realisation of the truth.

He did not interfere with the natural working of the Prārabdhakarman, and continued his physical existence till the day of the Mahānibbāna. Though he had nothing to do for himself, yet like so many other world-teachers, the Buddha decided to preach to the world at large the true Message of Peace as directly experienced by him. This attitude of the Buddha was also a sort of Grace of that Almighty Power which moved him to feel compassionate towards his fellow-beings and show them also the same path which had brought to him permanent peace of mind. So it is clear that the Buddha started for his new adventure, being afflicted with sufferings, found out the true remedy, achieved perfect happiness and peace of mind, felt pity for others and preached the Message of true happiness and peace to the world. This is all that the Buddha did.

It will not be out of place to make it clear at this stage that believing in the chronological order amongst the Vedic Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads followed by the *Bhagavadgītā* which are all believed to be pre-Buddha works, we can easily and confidently assert that the Age when the Buddha was born was the Age of Jñāna and Bhakti. The Age of the Saṁhitās, specially that of the *Yajurveda*, which had taught performance of sacrifices as one of the means of removing pain through directly communing with the higher powers, was far separated from the time when the Buddha flourished in the country. The Upaniṣads had taught that though Action was very essential for the achievement of the highest aim of life, yet its main purpose was to purify the inner sense-organ, make the communion with divine powers easy and ultimately lead to the Highest Truth, Perfect Knowledge, which could be realised directly through Knowledge alone. The teachings of the *Gītā*, on the other hand, had emphasised another aspect, that is, perfect devotion, which was equally essential for the manifestation of Perfect Knowledge as has been well illustrated in the actions of Arjuna and Lord Kṛṣṇa. So the atmosphere of the then Hindu society was quite calm and peaceful. There was ordinarily no talk of any bloody sacrificial rituals. Due to the influence of the teachings of the Upaniṣads and the *Gītā*, the performance of sacrifices was not so prominent and frequent. But it must be kept in mind that even during the period of the Vedic Saṁhitās the performance of sacrifices was never obligatory. It was never meant to be a *nitya-karman*, the performance of which alone was binding. It was *kāmya-karman*, an action to be performed only when a man wanted to fulfil certain ambitions of his own and not otherwise. Thus it is a fact that every body did not perform sacrifice. Moreover, even those who had decided to perform sacrifices had to undergo rigid discipline and had to take a good deal of trouble to collect materials for the performance of a sacrifice and

had also to follow the rules very rigidly and carefully in order to make the sacrifice a success. As the Śruti says — “ A defective sound either due to svāra or varṇa, and used wrongly, does not yield the proper result. It, on the other hand, becomes an adamant (vajra) in the form of a word and destroys the *yajamāna* (the main performer of the sacrifice) as was the case with the word — *indraśatruḥ*, due to the defect in the svāra.” Hence there seems no justification in such statements as — “ Hence cruel rites with which worship was accompanied shocked the conscience of Buddha ” (S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 1, p. 354); “ The bloody sacrificial rituals were the marks of the period.” (B. C. Law — *Buddhistic Studies*, p. 113); “ The authority of the Vedas having been discarded etc.” (Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya — *Basic Conception of Buddhism*, pp. 7-8). It should never be forgotten that neither during the period of the Upaniṣads, nor that of the *Gītā*, nor that of the Buddha, the authority of the Vedas was discarded. The teachings of the Vedas and their allied literatures all were never obligatory so as to lead to any revolt against them. What the Vedas preached was mainly devotional prayers and other similar forms of worship including sacrifices and meditation which were all non-obligatory in general, though obligatory for those alone who were ambitious. But it is needless to say that all were never ambitious, and so the performance of sacrificial rites where killing of animals was obligatory was not common but very rare, for only a few could manage to perform such rites. As regards the haters of the Vedas, it would not be at all improper to say that in all ages, even during the days of the *Yajurveda* itself, there were non-believers who spoke against the Vedas. It is all but natural. We find similar things even about the Buddha himself. We are told that just after his death when the Bhikkhus were weeping and lamenting over the death of the Master, one Subhadda, whom the Buddha himself had converted as his disciple, said to other Bhikkhus — “ Enough Sirs, weep not, neither lament ! We are well rid of the Great Samaṇa. We used to be annoyed by being told — This beseems you, this beseems you not. — But now we shall be able to do whatever we like ; and what we do not like, that we shall not have to do ” (*Vinayaṭīkā*, XI. 1.1; *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, 273). Again, from the dialogue of the Buddha with Māluṅkhyāputta it seems that the latter was not a sincere believer in what the Buddha preached. So there was nothing unusual in the days of the Buddha to cause revolt against the orthodox culture of the age. ‘

Really speaking the age of the Upaniṣads was a period of rational thinking. Reasoning was not considered a crime at all, rather it was encouraged, by the sages and the wise. The Upaniṣads are full of reasonings and contain all sorts of argu-

ments, both orthodox and heterodox. As a matter of fact, there was a general injunction that no truth should be accepted unless it had been critically examined and verified. So says the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* — “The Ātman, O Maitreyī! should be realised (through the process of realisation as given below); it should be heard of; should be critically examined and should be verified. By the realisation of the Ātman through hearing (śravaṇa), critical reasoning (manana) and verification through meditation (nididhyāsana), all this is known” (II. iv. 5). There was perfect freedom of thought, though all thoughts were not necessarily valid from the point of view of One Absolute Truth. We find that the teachers of the Upaniṣads warned their pupils against the imitation of all their (teachers’) actions. So says the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* — “Follow flawless actions of ours and no other” (I. 11). So when we read the dialogue of the Buddha with Kālāmas where the former is reported to have said, “This I have said to you, O Kālāmas! but you may accept it not because it is a report, not because it is a tradition, not because it is so said in the past. . . . nor because your preceptor is a recluse, but if, you yourselves understand that this is as meritorious and blameless, and when accepted, is for benefit and happiness, then you may accept it” (*Āṅguttara Nikāya*, PTS. III. 653), we do not feel astonished in the least. It is nothing more than what the Upaniṣads had already taught.

Thus we find the line which the Buddha followed for his Enlightenment and what he preached was all on the lines of the Upaniṣads, or we may say, on the lines of the orthodox Sanātānists. So when the Buddha began to preach his teachings for the first time, people did not feel restless. They all received him and his teachings well. There might have been possibly another reason which helped the Buddha more in gaining public favour. Till then no proper systematisation of any philosophical thoughts had begun. These thoughts were still confined in the Upaniṣads and were not easily available and also easily intelligible to the common people. They did not know the thoughts contained in the Upaniṣads before the advent of the Buddha in any connected form. It was for the first time that the Buddha preached the means of realising the ultimate truth in a connected form. Again, the Upaniṣads being written in Sanskrit, could not be easily understood by them, while the Buddha preached the same thought in the language of the people; so they felt happy to learn all about the truth from him, who had personal experience of all that he preached. It was because of this that the people installed him as one of the ten incarnations of the Almighty Lord. They respected his knowledge so much that since he had the vision of the Eternal Light sitting under pippala tree, it (the pippala tree) came to be recognised as the

symbol of Knowledge and people worshipped it even when they went on pilgrimage to Gayā to perform the śrāddha of their deceased relations, which would not have been ever possible had the Buddha been a reactionary and had preached against the Vedic culture. This may be well supported by the fact that the Buddha always kept perfect silence when debatable questions, such as, "the world is eternal; the world is not eternal; the world is finite; the world is not finite; soul is different from body; soul exists after death; it does not exist after death" and so on, were put to him. Amongst the various reasons put forth in support of his silence there was one, which is this: — Buddha did not speak on such questions because "he had sufficient ground for thinking that there was every possibility of his answer, if given, being not properly understood, or being misunderstood by the enquiries." (Bhattacharya — *Basic Conception of Buddhism*, p. 15). So his silence did not interrupt the thoughts of people. In order to avoid clash amongst the people and being himself called partial, the Buddha took up the Middle Path (*Madhyama Pratipada*), that is, the avoidance of the two extremes, such as, 'it is' and 'it is not', 'it is eternal' and 'it is not eternal,' etc. (*Mūlamādhyamakakārikā*, XV. 7).

To return then to the state of Enlightenment of Gotama, it is said that he, in his ecstatic mood, uttered the following well-known lines just after getting the eternal vision —

"Anekajātisamsāraṃ sandhāvissaṃ anibbisaṃ
Gahakārakaṃ gavesanto dukkhā jāti punappunaraṃ.
Gahakāraka ! diṭṭho'si puna gehaṃ na kāhasi
Sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā gahakūṭaṃ visaṅkhitaṃ.
Visaṅkhāragataṃ cittaṃ taṇhānaṃ khayamajjhagā."

(*Dhammapada*, 153-54)

(Translation — Many a birth and transmigration wandering o'er in ceaseless round,

Seeking for the house's builder, painful births I have found,

O house-builder! thou art found out, house thou shalt not build again,

All thy rafters lo! are broken, and the roof-peak split amain,

Reaching dissolution my heart doth here end of thirst attain."

(Yamakami Sogen — *Systems of Buddhist thought*).

After having achieved his aim, the Buddha, desirous of preaching his experiences to the world at large, first came to Sāranātha near Banaras and preached his first famous sermon on the 'Four Noble Truths' and 'The Noble Eightfold Path' and thus moved the first 'Turning of the wheel of the Laws' (Dharmacakra-pravartana).

From the lines of the *Dhammapada* quoted above it is clear that by the word 'geha' is meant 'body' and by 'gahakāraka'

the builder of the house, that is, desire (tṛṣṇā). It is due to this tṛṣṇā itself that one has to undergo births and rebirths. So the Buddha was able to cast off this tṛṣṇā once for all and there was no more possibility of its recurrence.

Now the question is — What is the cause of this tṛṣṇā itself?

In reply to this the Buddhist holds that through the series of causes and effects ultimately, ignorance (avidyā) is found to be the cause of all our sufferings. And this chain of causes and effects is evolved out of the Noble Truths taught by the Buddha himself. Thus the following is the twelve-linked Chain of Causation (Nidānas) as found in the *Abhidhammakosa* (III, 21-24):

- (1) From ignorance (avidyā) proceeds the Conformation (Saṃskāra),
- (2) From Conformation proceeds Consciousness (vijñāna),
- (3) From Consciousness proceed Name and Form (nāma-rūpa),
- (4) From Name and Form proceed Six organs of sense (Ṣaḍāyatana),
- (5) From Six organs of sense proceeds Contact (sparśa),
- (6) From Contact proceeds Sensation (vedanā),
- (7) From Sensation proceeds Desires (tṛṣṇā),
- (8) From Desire proceeds Attachment (upādāna),
- (9) From Attachment proceeds Existence (bhāva),
- (10) From Existence proceeds Birth (jāti),
- (11) From Birth proceeds Old Age (Jarā), and
- (12) From Old Age proceeds Death (maraṇa).

It has to be kept in mind that Jarā and Maraṇa are put together as one effect.

After carefully analysing the nature of all these twelve Nidānas it will be clear that these are evolved out of the Four Noble Truths of the Buddha. Now, dividing these twelve Nidānas into two groups, namely, of (1) *Past Cause and Present Effect*, and (2) *Present Cause and Future Effect*, it is found that the first two nidānas, namely, avidyā and saṃskāra are evolved out of the Second Truth, that is, the Cause of Suffering (duḥkha-samudaya) dealing with the present life. These two nidānas constitute the two causes which exist in the past and which give birth to five effects in the present, each and all of which represent the first Truth, that is, Suffering in the present life. The five effects are — Vijñāna, Nāma-rūpa, Ṣaḍāyatana, Sparśa and Vedanā. Each of these is associated with suffering. The seven nidānas from avidyā to vedanā represent the two causes in the past and the five effects produced by them in the present. The remaining nidānas from Tṛṣṇā downwards represent the three causes in the present and their two effects in the

future. The three causes are : Desire, Attachment and Existence. Desire and Attachment are kleśas, while Existence is karman and these three represent the second Truth. These three causes existing in the present produce three effects in future, namely, Birth, Old Age and Death which represent the first Noble Truth.

This Twelve-linked Chain of Causation is called *Paticca-samuppāda* (*Pratītyasamutpāda*), one of the most vital problems of Buddhism. It is also known as the *Bhavacakra*. So has been said by Vasubandhu in his *Abhidhammakōśa* (III. 20) —

Sa pratītyasamutpādo dvādaśāṅgas trikāṇḍakah
Pūrvā'parāntayordve dve madhye'sṭau pariṇāṇaḥ.

According to the *Abhidhammakōśa* (III. 26) kleśas are of three types — ignorance (avidyā), desire (trṣṇā) and attachment (upādāna), while conformation (saṃskāra) and existence (bhava) represent karman ; consciousness, name and form, six organs of sense, contact, sensation, birth and old age and death are the substrata (āśraya = vastu) of kleśa and karma and the same seven āśrayas are the effects. Kleśa leads to kleśa, just as desire leads to Attachment ; and from kleśa is produced karma also, just as Attachment leads to bhava (existence) and ignorance leads to conformation (saṃskāra). Karma also produces vastu (substratum), just as conformations lead to consciousness (vijñāna) and existence leads to birth ; again, vastu leads to another vastu, just as consciousness leads to name and form ; Name and form lead to the six organs of sense, contact leads to sensation, while birth leads to old age and death ; Vastu also produces kleśas, just as from Sensation proceeds Desire.

This is how the various factors (nidānas) of the bhavacakra that is, the *Dependent Origination* (Pratītyasamutpāda), function. In other words, the first and the second, namely, ignorance and conformation representing the cause, represent samutpāda ; the effect (phala), namely, the eleventh and the twelfth (jāti and Jarāmaraṇa), has come to exist having depended upon the cause ; while the ten middle factors are both causes and effects *Abhidhammakōśa*, III, 26-28).

From the above we can understand how kleśa and karma are at the root of all our miseries. So in order to get rid of sufferings it is most essential to put an end to these two causes of our afflictions. Thus, effort is made in Buddhism to get rid of these, and accordingly, there are three stages during which kleśas and upakleśas are removed before one achieves Buddhahood. The three stages of such a seeker after truth are — the stage of Srāvaka, of Pratyeka-Buddha and of Bodhisattva.

(1) *The stage of Srāvaka*, also called Sramaṇa, is that which is attained by one who has freed himself from all the defilements

(kleśas) ; (2) the *stage of Pratyeka-buddha* is one which is acquired by one who has got rid of kleśas and also a few upakleśas (An upakleśa is one of the five anuśayas and it includes all kleśas, though all upakleśas are not kleśas — *Abhidhammakōśa*, V. 41, 46, 52. It is generally translated as 'flavours of habit perfumed by the kleśas) ; (3) *the stage of Bodhisattva* is that which is acquired by one who has freed himself from all the principal kleśas and all the upakleśas. It is the same as the stage of Arhantaship of the Hīnayāna Buddhism. This is the stage which precedes the stage of Buddhahood, or Nirvāṇa. Hence, it is called the Path of Nirvāṇa.

The Path of Nirvāṇa is divided into four stages, each of which again, is subdivided into lower and higher states, called Mārga and Phala respectively. The higher state is to be achieved only when the next lower has been attained. The first stage is that of the *Sotāpanna Sādhaka* who has entered into the stream (srota) leading to Nirvāṇa. He has freed himself from the kleśas and the three *Samyojanas* (Fetters of human passions), namely, *Saṅkhāradṛṣṭi* (error of individuality also called *Diṭṭhi*), *Vicikitsā* (perplexity) and *Śīlavrataparāmāṣa* (practice of rites and rituals). So it is said — the doors of the gate of torments (apāya) are shut for him. There are so many classes of Sotāpannas, the lowest of which is named *Saptakṛdbhavaparama*, one who will be reborn seven times while the highest of which is called *Kulamukta*, who will be reborn only twice or thrice.

The second stage is that of *Sakṛdāgāmin*, that is, one who is reborn only once in this world. He is free from all the kleśas. He has also got rid of the three above mentioned Samyojanas along with rāga, dveṣa and moha.

The third stage is that of the *Anāgāmin*, one who is not reborn in this phenomenal world at all. He is free from all the ten Samyojanas (fetters), namely, (1) lust after life in the kāmaloḥka (kāmarāgasamyojana), (2) lust after life in the rūpaloka (rūparāga), (3) lust after life in the arūpaloka (arūparāga), (4) aversion (paṭigha), (5) conceit (mānasamyojana), (6) error (diṭṭhi), (7) practice of rites and rituals (śīlabbataparāmāsa), (8) perplexity (vicikicchā), (9) distraction (uddhaccasamyojana) and (10) ignorance (avijjāsamyojana) — *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaho*, VII. 10-11. He may be born in the Devaloka once more after which he will enter into the stage of Arhat, the last stage wherefrom he will be never reborn.

We know, as has been made clear before, that pain is at the root of all our physical and mental activities. That there is pain all round us cannot be denied. There is pain during existence ; there is pain in death ; there is pain in birth ; painful is the separation from beloveds and painful is the union with objects causing

hatred. In other words, desire which is also an activity of our mental faculty is also caused by the feelings of pain, and when there is desire (trṣṇā), then again, there is pain. Again, it is not something eternal. It has its own cause, and consequently, there will be cessation of it also. It is also therefore, true that there is the means to the cessation of sufferings. So the Buddha is said to have preached the Four Noble Truths—“cattāri ariya saccāni sammappaññāya passati/dukkhaṃ dukkhasamuppādaṃ dukkhassa ca atikkamaṃ... dukkhūpasamagāmināṃ” — (*Dhammapada*, 191-92, *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, Section 48). In other words, the Buddha convinced people of the reality of the Four Noble Truths, namely, (1) Dukkha — suffering, which is universal ; (2) Dukkhasamudaya, meaning, cause of suffering, that is suffering has its origin ; (3) Dukkhanirodha, meaning cessation of suffering, that is, there is cessation of suffering and (4) Dukkhanirodhagāminīpratipad, meaning, the path leading to the cessation of suffering, that is, there is a path which leads to the cessation of suffering. So the Buddha is said to have preached —

“Catunnaṃ ariya saccānaṃ yathābhūtaṃ adassanā
 Saṃsāritaṃ dīghamaddhānaṃ tāsū tāsveva jātisu /
 Tāni etāni diṭṭhāni bhava netti samūhatā
 Ucchinnāṃ mūlaṃ dukkhassa natthi dāni punabbhavo'ti //
 (*Mahāparinibbānasutta*, II, 49)

Translation — If one has not realised the four noble truths one has to wander through so many various births. When they are realised, on the other hand, the cause of existence is destroyed, the suffering is uprooted and then follows the cessation of birth.

Having taught these four Noble Truths to the disciples the Buddha told them that they were all in dark as to the real nature of the world which is full of miseries. People in their ignorance thought of pleasures of life, while in reality, there was none. He also explained to them how in every walk of life there were sufferings and that they should not consider themselves happy unless and until those sufferings were permanently removed. So it was very essential, said the Buddha, to find out permanent remedy for the removal of sufferings.

Naturally then arose the obvious question of finding out the means to get the afflictions removed. To this it may be pointed out by way of reply that whatever was taught by the Buddha was based exclusively on his own experiences. He had seen in his life that salvation from miseries was possible through one's own efforts for which perfect physical, moral, and mental discipline was most essential. Besides, sacrifice of all personal comforts, performance of austere penances, prayers and meditations alone could help one to realise the desired aim. It was, therefore, necessary, the Buddha

preached, to follow the sort of life which he had himself led to get rid of miseries.

It should be made clear that though the Buddha might not have directly taught any one to lead the life of a recluse and run away from his relations, yet being almost sure of the fact that without being a recluse the aim could not be easily achieved, the followers of the Buddha decided to become mendicants and follow the example of the Buddha himself who had become a mendicant and had run away from his relations to find out the remedy of sufferings.

So he explained further the fourth Noble Truth, that is, sufferings by referring to the noble eightfold path, known as '*aṭṭhaṅgikāṇi maggaṃ*' (*aṣṭāṅga-mārga*) (*Dhammapada*, 191). To avoid ambiguity, I put down here in *verbatim* the translation of an extract from a sermon on it attributed to the Buddha, which is to be found in the *Majjhimanikāya* :

" Now, what is the noble truth concerning the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering ? This is the Noble Eightfold Path, viz.— (i) Right views (*Sammādiṭṭhi—samyagdr̥ṣṭi*); (ii) Right Aspiration (*Sammāsaṅkappa-Samyak-saṅkalpa*); (iii) Right speech (*Sammāvācā-Samyagvācā*); (iv) Right conduct (*Sammā-kammanta-Samyakkarmānta*); (v) Right means of livelihood (*Sammā-ājīva-Samyagājīva*); (vi) Right exertion (*Sammāvāyāma-Samyagvyāyāma*); (vii) Right mindfulness (*Sammāsati-Samyaksmṛti*); (viii) and Right meditation (*Sammā-samādhi-Samyaksamādhi*)".

Just a short explanation of these will not be uncalled for.

(1) By '*Right views*' is meant knowledge concerning suffering, the cessation of suffering, and the path leading to the cessation of suffering.

(2) Renouncing of ill-feeling and of harm-doing are called '*Right aspirations*'.

(3) Abstaining from speaking lies, from slander, from the use of unkind words, from indulging in frivolous talk is called '*Right speech*'.

(4) Abstention from destroying life, from taking away what is not given, from wrongful satisfaction of the senses, all this is known as '*Right conduct*'.

(5) A well-born layman renounces bad livelihood and accepts a good one — this is what is known as '*Right livelihood*'.

(6) A Bhikkhu makes a strong and manly effort by preparing his mind thereto — for putting a stop to the rise of evil and sinful states of mind which have not arisen; for the continuance,

realization, repetition, extension, meditation, and fulfilment of good states of mind that have already arisen ; all this is what is called ' *Right exertion* '.

(7) A Bhikkhu lives zealously, consciously, mindfully, subduing covetousness and despondency in this world and regarding the body as body, sensations as sensations, mind as mind and mental states as mental states. All this is called ' *Right mindfulness* '.

(8) It is the attainment of the four stages of intent meditation (jhāna) one after the other, to wit—the first intent meditation which arises on one's separating oneself from passions and evil states of mind, which is conjoint with application, initial (*vitakka-vitarka*) and sustained (*vicāra*), which arises from seclusion and is coupled with pleasure and joy ; the second intent meditation which arises on the cessation of application, initial and sustained, is conducive to inward peace, is characterised by concentration of mind, dissociated from application, initial and sustained, originating from samādhi coupled with pleasure and joy ; the third intent meditation which involves indifference to pleasure is associated with mindfulness and knowledge and connected with the bodily feelings of joy ; and the fourth intent meditation which involves the purification of mindfulness coupled with indifference, freedom from sorrow and joy consequent on the renunciation of either and the previous cessation of joy and sorrow. This is what is called ' *Right samādhi* '.

This is in brief the substance of the *Eightfold Noble Path* which the Buddha preached to his disciples.

It will be interesting to note here that the four Noble Truths of the Buddha are the same as the four sections of the Indian medical science applied to the removal of pain from the organism and are not different from the four means applied to the practice of yoga as found in the *Yogabhāṣya* of Vyāsadeva (II.15). So says the *Bhāṣya* : ' Yathā cikitsāśāstraṁ caturvyūhaṁ — rogo, rogaheturā-rogyaṁ, bhaiṣajyamiti, evamidamapi śāstraṁ caturvyūhameva. Tad yathā saṁsāraḥ, saṁsāraheturmokṣo, mokṣopāya eveti '.

Translation — As the medical science has four sections, *viz.*, disease, cause of disease, removal of disease, and medicine (remedy) even so this science, that is, the *Yogaśāstra* has four sections, *viz.*, saṁsāra, cause of saṁsāra, Final Emancipation, and the means to Final Emancipation.

The same idea we find in the *Nyāya-bhāṣya* of Vātsyāyana who says : ' Heyaṁ, tasya nirvartakaṁ, hānaṁ ātyantikaṁ, tasyopāyaḥ adhigantavya ityetāni catvāryarthapadāni samyagbuddhvā niḥśreya-sam adhigacchati '.

Translation— The highest Good is attained when one has rightly understood the real nature of the following four objects : (a) that which is fit to be discarded (*viz.* pain) along with its cause (that is, ignorance and desire ; merit and demerit, as leading to pain), (b) that which is absolutely destructive of pain, (that is, true knowledge), (c) the means of its (pain's) destruction (that is, the scientific treatises), and (d) the goal to be realized (that is, the Highest Good) (I. i. 1.).

This should be kept here in mind that Vātsyāyana has joined the first two truths of the Buddha under one and has added one more to it, *viz.*, 'the goal to be realized'. The last one which though implied in the truths of the Buddha, is a new addition in the *Nyāyabhāṣya*.

This is the first sermon which the Buddha delivered to his disciples. Those five persons who were sent by the Buddha's father to follow the Buddha in the forest of Uruvelā were his first disciples. Besides these teachings, the Buddha is said to have delivered some of the farewell speeches handed down in the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* to his disciples before his passing away. Even there we find what the Buddha preached was quite consistent with his above mentioned teaching of discipline of body and mind. There is nothing which may be said to be in any way differing from the old Upaniṣadic teachings. He had also established an order of the Buddhist monks, his followers, who were about 500 in number, and laid down rules of conduct for them, known as *dasasikkhā*.¹ The last words of the Buddha to his disciples were :— 'Behold now, Bhikkus ! I exhort you : Decay is inherent in all component things ! Work out your salvation with diligence .' (*Handa dāni Bhikkave ! āmantayāmi vo veyadhammā saṅkhārā appamādena sampādetthā — Mahāparinibbānsutta*, 235).

Thus having preached all such moral and intellectual lessons to his disciples and having prevented them against indulgence into

¹ The ten commandments are : (1) I will observe the precept, or ordinance that forbids the taking of life. (2) I will observe the precept, or ordinance, that forbids the taking of that which has not been given. (3) I will observe the precept, or ordinance, that forbids sexual intercourse. (4) I will observe the precept, or ordinance that forbids the saying of that which is not true. (5) I will observe the precept or ordinance that forbids the use of intoxicating drinks, that lead to indifference towards religion. (6) I will observe the precept, or ordinance, that forbids that eating of food after mid-day. (7) I will observe the precept or ordinance, that forbids attendance at dancing, singing, music and masks. (8) I will observe the precept, or ordinance, that forbids the adorning of the body with flowers, and the use of perfumes and unguents. (9) I will observe the precept, or ordinance that forbids the use of high or honourable seats or couches. (10) I will observe the precept, or ordinance that forbids the receiving of gold or silver (R. S. Hardy -- *Eastern Monachism*, pp. 23-4.)

problems not at all conducive to good and not in the least helpful in removing their pain, the Buddha gradually, at the age of eighty (asītiko me vayo vattatī—*Mahāparinibbānasutta*, section 77) attained *Mahānibbāna*, lying in the midst of his dear disciples, at Kuśinārā, a village in the district of Gorakhpur, in 483 B.C.

These are in brief, the life and teachings of the Buddha himself. There was a good deal of confusion even amongst the very disciples of the Buddha as to the actual extent of the Buddha's teachings. It is a fact that no teachings of the Master were ever recorded during his life time. After his death his disciples made several efforts to correctly record them. But that there was no unanimity amongst the disciples would be clear from the pages of history. Here for the purpose of this account I fully depend upon what Winternitz has said in his *History of Indian Literature* Vol. II, which has been shared by others as well. He writes—“It is true that in the Tripiṭaka, the Pali canon of the Buddhists, most of the speeches and sayings are placed in the mouth of Buddha himself; it is even related exactly and circumstantially where and on what occasion the master delivered a speech or made an utterance. How much out of all this, should really be attributed to Buddha, will probably never be decided; for Gotama Buddha has not left behind him any written matter, even as little as Yājñavalkya, Sāṅḍilya, or Śaunaka. However, as much of the contents of the speeches and utterances of these sages has probably been handed down in the Upaniṣads, so, doubtless, many speeches and utterances of Buddha were faithfully preserved in the memory of his disciples and handed down to posterity. We may, without laying ourselves open to the charge of credulousness, regard as originating with Buddha himself, speeches such as the famous sermon of Benaras on the ‘four noble truths’ and the ‘noble eightfold path,’ which recurs always in the same wording, not only in many parts of the Pali canon, but also in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts, some of the farewell speeches handed down in the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, which the master is supposed to have addressed to his disciples before his passing, and some of the verses and short utterances handed down as ‘words of the Buddha’ in the *Dhammapada*, in the *Udāna*, in the *Itivuttaka* and in more or less the same form also in Sanskrit texts of Nepal, as well as in Tibetan and Chinese translations. Gotama Buddha, however, did not only preach his new doctrine of suffering, but also founded a monastic order; he gathered around himself a community of disciples who, according to strict precepts, led a holy life in the way of the master, in order to reach the end of suffering—the much praised Nirvāṇa. And some of the rules and laws for this monastic community probably originated with Buddha himself, above all ‘the ten commandments for mendicant monks’ (dasasikkhāpadāni). perhaps the list

of the transgressions (pātimokkha), though in an easier and shorter form than that in which we have it now" (pp. 2-3).

These are the main ideas of Buddhism during the first stage of its history. This period is a period of the peaceful teachings of Buddhism from the mouth of the Buddha himself. It did not produce any clash with the traditional line of the Upaniṣads. No reaction of any kind is found to have taken place during this period. People liked the teachings of the Buddha mainly for the following reasons : (1) The teachings were the outcome of the direct experience of one who was one of them and was living the same life which he preached himself to his disciples. (2) He did not conceal anything from his disciples, so he himself said, "Ānanda ! The Tathāgata has no such thing as closed fist of a teacher" (*ācariya muṭṭhi* — *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, 77). (3) He did not preach anything which was against the Upaniṣadic or the Vedic teachings. (4) He put the ways and means of realizing the highest aim of life and philosophy, viz., permanent cessation of sufferings, in a systematized form. (5) And all this was preached and explained personally through personal experience and through the language of the people. (6) Besides, he was kind, truthful and honest in his behaviour towards his disciples. Here ends the first stage of the history of Buddhism.

ANCIENT INDIAN EDUCATION FROM INSCRIPTIONS

By

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI

The purpose of this Paper is to bring together select and typical epigraphic references to the subject of Ancient Indian Education.

The first source of this epigraphic evidence is the body of the inscriptions of Asoka. They do not, of course, deal with the subject of education as such, but contain some references which indicate the system of education that was developed in Ancient India. In his Minor Rock Edict II occurs the word *antevāsī* which points to the educational system under which the pupil had to reside with his preceptor in his home as a member of his family to whom as his *Āchārya* the resident pupil must show proper reverence (*Āchāriye apachāyitaviye*). Indeed, the pupil's duty of showing proper respect to his teacher is insisted on in several edicts. For instance, R.E. IX contains the expression : *Gulunā apachiti*. In fact, proper treatment of the teacher is repeated by Asoka as one of the obligations of his Dharma. This subject of the relations between the pupil and his preceptor called Guru or *Āchārya* in the inscriptions has been rather elaborated in a unique passage contained in the Yerragudi Minor Rock Edict in which the term *Brāhmaṇa* is applied to teachers as a class. This edict instructs the teachers that they should admonish (*nivesayātha*) their pupils (*antevāsini*) that they should in accordance with the traditional rule of conduct (*Porānā Pakili*) observe the following duties : (1) that the teacher (*Āchārya*) be obeyed (*sususitaviye*) (by them) ; (2) full (*sarva*) service (*apachāyanā = pūjā*) of the teacher (*Āchāryasya*) by pupils (*Antevāsinaḥ*) as his worthy disciples (*yathāchārīna āchāriyasa*) ; (3) that they (the pupils) should similarly behave towards their kinsmen.

The inscription further states : " This time-honoured principle of dedication of pupils to the service (*apachāyanā*) of their teachers should be duly (*yatharaha*) established (*pavatitaviye*) among them, in accordance with the traditional rules (of *Brahmacharya*).

" Likewise should ye (teachers) admonish (*ānaṣayātha*) and instruct (*nivesayātha*) the student population that they be steadfast (*ānoke = dṛḍhāḥ*) in their pursuit of these traditional rules of studentship."

This Edict may be taken to have a veiled reference to the conditions of indiscipline then prevailing among the youth of the country, its student population, and, therefore, it shows the king's anxiety that the students, as the citizens of the future, should be trained in disciplined life by the teachers concerned. It seems that the students

were wanting in full obedience to the teacher, and in the spirit of loyal and devoted service to him. They were wanting in proper adherence to the principles of Brahmacharya in which they were not firmly (driḍha) established. Asoka, therefore, proposes in this Edict that while the preaching of his Dharma will be extended to both the civil and military classes by the administrative officers especially appointed for the purpose, such as the Rājūkas, the Rāshṭrikas and the Mahāmātras in general, his message should be carried also to the youth of the country by the teachers enlisted for the purpose of working in a field which is their own, viz. the students who should be built up in disciplined life under the rules of Brahmacharya.

His R.E. VIII refers to the institution of public lectures or discourses on Dharma or moral life, especially among the people of the countryside. In the matter of the use of this particular agency of public instruction, Asoka first set the example as indicated in this edict. It refers to his innovation of instituting *Dharmayātrās* replacing the usual *Vihārayātrās* of the kings of old. Asoka's religious tour was carefully planned for the promotion of the welfare of the neglected rural population. Its programme included (1) visits to the holy men of the village whether Brāhmaṇas, or Śramaṇas, followed by appropriate gifts to them; (2) inspection of the conditions of the aged and infirm in the village, for whom appropriate financial provision was made (*hiraṇya-paṭividhane*); and (3) visits to the people of the countryside in general for the purpose of holding religious discourses followed by interrogations on morality (*janapadaśa cha janasa draśana dhramamuśasti cha dhramapariprucchā cha*). This passage shows the value that was attached to the spread of education among the masses by the method which was possessed of a special appeal to the popular mind, the method of rousing interest among the audience by provoking in them queries and questions which gave the clue to the lecturer as to the choice of the topics in which they are interested, so that the lecturer may keep to the point, instead of talking in the air or shooting over their heads. It was the good old educational method of instruction by means of dialogues, questions, and answers, which was so effectively utilized in the discourses of the Upanishads, and the Buddha, and was later associated with the Greek philosopher Socrates.

Intellectual and spiritual life centred in the Vihāras and Saṅghas (Sarnath P.E.) under the leadership of various ascetic sects who renounced the world to devote themselves to the total pursuit and practice of religion and learning (*shavam palitiditu*). The Edicts mention four such ascetic orders, Brāhmaṇas, Śramaṇas, Ājivikas and Nirgranthas (P.E.VII). Asoka in his Edicts repeats his injunction that these ascetics be liberally supported and properly

treated (*dāna* and *saṃpratipatti*) by the people in their unselfish life of learning and religion (R.E. III, VIII, IX, and XI). The growth of asceticism, of self-sacrifice in the whole-hearted pursuit of Truth, is a compliment to the moral progress of the country.

These Vihāras and Saṅghas functioned as the residential schools of those days, governed by strict regulations as to habits and discipline. One of the primary measures of discipline was to prevent any kind of disunion in the Saṅgha by which the school itself might be broken up. The monk or nun who tries to split the Saṅgha is called a *Saṅghabhedaka*. The disciplinary measure that is adopted against such offenders against the unity of the academic corporation was nothing short of expulsion from the school, with the added punishment in the case of the religious student that he or she should be disrobed, deprived of the student's uniform, and made to wear white garments, so that they might not gain admission to any other Vihāra (*āvāsa*) but must live in other places (*anāvāsa*) meant for the general people. It may be noted that the evil of disunion among the students of these schools was due to the primary fact that the schools had on their rolls very large numbers of students naturally prone to discuss among themselves controversial topics and exhibit differences of opinion. These differences ultimately led to splits and schisms which the authorities were anxious to prevent by all kinds of disciplinary measures including the extreme penalty of expulsion.

Asoka took care that the multiplicity of sects in the country did not produce strife among them. Special measures were adopted by him for the promotion of religious toleration by proper education. The first of these was that different sects should study each other's doctrines and texts so as to create a class of religious leaders who would be *Bahuśrutas*, with a catholic religious outlook, a breadth of views (*bahukā*). The second measure was to train people in religious toleration by holding Parliaments of Religions (*Samavāya*) where votaries of different sects were brought together to participate in religious discussion regulated by restraint of speech and acrimonious criticism (*Vachaguti*) under the *Bahuśrutas*, scholars who were proficient in the *Śrutis* or texts of different religions, and appreciative of their unity in essentials (*sāra*), their common truths.

The success of education in Asoka's time is seen in the abundance of leaders of thought who devoted themselves to the task of spreading India's ideal and message to foreign countries. There were Indian missionaries at work "in the country of the Yona" (*Mahāvamsa* XII 6), which comprised the five Hellenistic countries of Syria, Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia, and Epirus (R.E.XIII). Asoka's own son and daughter also consecrated their whole life to the spread of Buddhism in Tāmraparṇi or Ceylon. (R.E. II and XIII). Accord-

ing to texts like *Mahāvamsa* and *Samantapāsādikā*, Asoka found trained missionaries to work in several countries or States like Kashmir, Gandhāra, Himālaya, Aparāntaka, Mahārāshtra, Mahishamaṇḍala, Vanavāsi, Suvarṇabhūmi, Laṅkā, besides Yavana or Greek country.

After Asoka there is an interesting educational scene in one of the Bharhut sculptures of 2nd century B.C. bearing the inscription "*Dīghatapasi sise anusāsati*;" "the teacher given to long-continued austerities is instructing his pupils." It is implied that the teacher has qualified himself by his practice of asceticism and penance.

The next group of inscriptions throwing light upon education is the body of Gupta inscriptions. A praiseworthy feature of education in those days was the custom of offering worship to the teachers and founders of religions whose images and statues were installed in shrines appropriately called *Gurvāyatana*, as stated in the Mathura Pillar Inscription of the time of Chandra Gupta II. It will be noted in this connexion that the Chinese traveller, Fa-hien, also saw several Buddhist texts being worshipped in shrines specially constructed for the purpose.

Some of the Gupta inscriptions refer to endowments of land and building in aid of learning and religion such as an Agrahāra. For instance, the Gunaigarh Inscription of Vainya Gupta records an educational endowment to provide for the inmates of an Āsrama supply of their *Chīvara* (clothing), *Piṇḍapāta* (food), *Sayana* (bedding), *Āsana* (seat), and medicine.

Teachers are mentioned in Gupta inscriptions by the titles of *Āchārya* and *Upādhyāya* and the pupils were called *Śishyas*. The *Upādhyāya* is a sub-teacher who is well up only in a part of the Veda or in grammar and in the other *Vedāṅgas* (see Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, Nos. 56,61,71). Besides *Śishyas*, disciples were also called *Brahmachāris* (Nos. 22,23,39, and 60).

Learned Brahmin teachers were honoured by the title of Bhaṭṭa (Nos. 12,39, and 81). Villages consecrated to the use of religious students (*Brahmachāris*) were called *Agrahāras* (No. 60). Religious students were grouped under *Sākhās* and *Charaṇas* (No. 55). These were names of Vedic Schools following particular recensions of one of the Vedas.

All the Gupta inscriptions are written in Sanskrit, replacing Prakrit or Pali of the earlier inscriptions. In those days, probably the people at large read Prakrit which in the time of the Guptas was replaced by Sanskrit as the popular language.

The spread of Sanskrit learning was mainly due to its patronage by kings, some of whom were themselves distinguished Sanskritists. For instance, Samudra Gupta was himself a poet, the author of a

large volume of poetry (*Bahukavitā*) who was known by the revived title of *Kavirāja*, 'the prince of poets'. He was also well-versed in religious and philosophical literature, in Vedas and Sāstras, 'a path-finder' in the study of Ṛigvedic hymns (*Sūkta-mārga*).

A singular contribution that Samudra Gupta made to learning was by upholding its standard. He used to convene Conferences of literary critics (*budha-guṇita*) to judge of true poetry (*satkāvyā*) and weed out (*āhata*) that which would violate (*viruddha*) its quality (*Śrī*).

But the king was also a patron of fine arts. He was like a Nārada and Tumburu in choral skill and musical accomplishments (*gandharva-lalita*). His lyrist type of coinage celebrates his skill in instrumental music and playing on the *Viṇā* (Allahabad Pillar Inscription).

A minister (*sachiva*) of Chandra Gupta II named Śāba Virasena was at once a poet (Kavi) and also proficient in scientific subjects like Śabdārtha (etymology), Nyāya (logic), and Loka (Statecraft) (No. 6 of Fleet).

Learning in the Gupta age seems to have been widely spread. For instance, No. 18 of Fleet describes how even the members of an industrial guild, a Guild of silk-weavers (*Paṭṭavāya-Śreṇī*), showed great aptitude for general cultural subjects, along with technical topics. Some acquired proficiency in Military Science (*Dhanurvedyā*), some in stories (*Kathāvids*) and some in Astrology (*Jyotiṣha*).

The learning of the times was dominated by the Vedas. The Gupta inscriptions name various Vedic schools or recensions such as Aupamanyava (No. 91) Bahvṛicha (Nos. 40 and 60), Chhāndoga-Kauthuma (No. 23), Kaṭha (No. 22), Maitrāyaṇīya (Nos. 19 and 36), Rāṇyāyaṇīya (No. 16), Taittirīya (No. 56), Vājasaneyā (Nos. 22, 40, and 41), Vājasaneyā-Mādhyandina (Nos. 21, 26, and 81), and Vājasaneyā-Kaṇva (No. 38).

A Vedic scholar proficient in all the four Vedas is called *Chaturvedin* (No. 16, 39, and 55). There may be also a specialist in one Veda such as *Sāmavedī*. A specialist in Vedic glossary and citations is called a *Naigama* (No. 35).

There were also other subjects of study besides the Vedas. There is a reference to 14 Vidyās (No. 25) comprising 4 Vedas, 6 Vedāṅgas, the Purāṇas, Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya, and Dharma or Law; to Sanskrit and Prakrit poets (No. 33); to the grammar of Pāṇini called Śālāturiya (No. 39); to Atharva-veda in which there was specialized study (No. 80); to Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vedas, and son of Parāśara (No. 31); to the *Mahābhārata* (Nos. 26, 27, 28, and 31) and to its *Śatasāhasrī-saṁhitā* (edition of 100,000 *ślokas*) [ibid].

Vedic learning included as its part the performance of Vedic rituals or sacrifices upon which great stress was laid as the means of its complete comprehension. The sacrifices performed in those days included Agnishṭoma, Aptoryāma, Ukthya, Shoḍaśin, Atirātra, Vājapeya, Bṛihaspatisava, and Sadyaskra (Nos. 55 and 56). The inscriptions also refer to the performance of other Vedic sacrifices like Agnihotra and the Pañcha-mahāyajñas (Nos. 16, 25, 39, 40, and 80). Ambitious and aggressive kings performed Aśvamedha. Thus, for instance, Prabhāvatī Guptā, the daughter of Chandra Gupta II, describes Samudra Gupta as the performer of many a horse-sacrifice, while the same fact is confirmed by his Aśvamedha type of coins, which bears the inscription “*Prthivīm vijitya divaṁ jaya-tyāhṛitavājimedhaḥ*”. Some Vākāṭaka kings are stated in their inscriptions (Nos. 55 and 56) to have performed 4 and 10 horse sacrifices.

The next important epigraphic record in educational history is furnished by what is known as the University of Nālandā. The technical name for a University is mentioned in an inscription which runs as follows: *Śrī-Nālandā-Mahāvihārīyārya-bhikshu-saṅghasya*. This expression shows that the governing body of the University or *Mahāvihāra* of Nālandā was constituted by the body of monks called *Ārya-bhikshu Saṅgha*. This inscription occurs on the academic seals issued by the University. The subordinate or affiliated institutions or colleges are called simply *Vihāras* with their governing bodies described as *Saṅghas*. These seals name the following colleges or *Saṅghas* among others, which were functioning within the territory of the University, viz. (1) *Śrī-Nālandā-Mūlanavakammavārika-bhikshūṇām*, (2) *Śrī-Nālandā cha (or va) Krare-Vārika-bhikshūṇām*, (3) *Śrī-Nālandā-Mahāvihāra (Guṇākara) Bauddhabhikshūṇām*. Thus these three classes of seals were issued by three distinct *Vihāras* or colleges belonging to different sects of monks known as (1) *Mūlanavakammavārika*, (2) *Vārika-bhikshu* and (3) *Guṇākara-bhikshu*. They were all affiliated to Śrī-Nālandā-Mahāvihāra. (4) *Śrī-Nālandā-chatur-bhagavadāsana-vārika-bhikshūṇām*, the *Samavārika Bhikshus* in charge of the *Sattras* or alms-houses of the college of the *Vārika Bhikshus*; (5) *Śrī-Nālandāyām Śrī-Bālāditya Gandhakuṭi Vārika-bhikshūṇām*, ‘the Bālāditya College for *Vārika Monks*’; (6) *Śrī-Nālandā Chatu (rddīśika-Samavāri) ka bhikshu-Saṅghasya*, ‘the college of the *Samavārika Monks*’; (7) *Śrī-Nālandā-Satraka-Samavārika-bhikshūṇām*, ‘the college of the *Samavārika Bhikshus* in charge of the *Sattras* or alms-houses of the University’; (8) *Śrī Devapāla-Gandhakuṭyām (tyām)*, the *Devapāla royal college* called *Gandhakuṭi*; (9) *Śrī-Nālandā-Mahāvihārīya (Chaturddīśa) Vṛiddha-bhikshūṇām*, ‘the college of the senior

monks as a separate institution"; (10) *Śrī Nālandā-Chīvara-Koshṭhi-K-āyāt ā (rya) -bhikshu-saṅghasya*. This probably refers to the particular Saṅgha or college which was in charge of the department of the University dealing with the storehouse (*koshṭha*) and distribution of robes (*chīvara*) among the monks.

It will appear that these Vihāras or Saṅghas as residential institutions corresponded to the modern College which means a 'Unit of Residence'. But some of these also functioned as units of administration in charge of different interests of academic and collective life of the University.

It is interesting to note that the Shahpur Stone Image Inscription (found at Bihar) of the Harsha year 66 (= 672 A.D.) records the installation by General (*Balādhikṛita*) Śālapaksha in the reign of Ādityasenadeva of an image at Nālandā-Mahāgrahāra which counted as a seat of Brahminical learning and religion.

There are again certain seals pointing to the existence of several Mahāvihāras within the University city of Nālandā. These are named: (1) *Śrī-Kara (jña)-Mahāvi(hā)ra*, (2) *Śrī-Śakrāditya-Kārita-āhāra*. This refers to the *Āhāra* or *Vihāra* which was the gift of king Śakrāditya (= Mahendrāditya Kumāra Gupta I); (3) *Śrī Harivarman-Mahāvihāra*. This refers to the great Vihāra attributed to king Harivarman. (4) *Śrī-Somaṣāla-Kārita-Dhammo-yika-Vihāriya-bhikshusaṅghasya*, the Vihāra constructed by Śrī Somaṣāla for the Dhammo-yika monks; (5) *Śrī-Prathama-Śivapura-Mahāvihāriya-ārya-bhikshu-saṅgha*, "of the revered Community of Monks belonging to the first monastery at Śivapura; (6) *Śrī Nā. Dharmapāladeva-Gandha-kuṭi-vāsika-bhikshūṇām*, "of the monks in residence at the Gandha kuṭi or the royal college of Dharmapāladeva at the famous monastery at Nālandā". This inscription shows that apart from a Vihāra, a Gandhakuṭi was functioning as a separate Hall and a unit of residence for monks.

It will thus appear that Nālandā was a vast educational complex made up of several Mahāvihāras and Vihāras. It was a true centre of learning in those days by attracting to its site the various educational institutions of the country.

An inscription of the Maukhari king Yaśovarmadeva of A.D. 927-43 pays a compliment to Nālandā scholars who were well-versed in the knowledge of the *āgamas* and *kalās*, sacred texts, and arts and crafts, and also refers to its numerous Vihāras (*Vihārāvalī*) the row of whose summits (*Śikhara-śreṇī*) kissed the clouds (*ambudharāvalehī*). It is also stated that this *praśasti* was composed by two monks of Nālandā named Śilabhadra and Svāmidatta under the orders of the Saṅgha.

An inscription of the time of the Pāla king Devapāladeva found at Ghosrawa relates an interesting story relating to Nālandā. At Nagarahāra in Uttarāpatha (also called Udīchīpatha) lived Indragupta and Rajjekā to whom was born a son named Virādeva who became a monk (*pravrajyā*) and joined the Kanishka Mahāvihāra under Sarvajñāśānti as his teacher. He then visited Mahabōdhi and, thence, the Vihāra of Yaśovarmmapura to see there the monks of his own province. There, the king of that region (*bhuvanādhipa*), Devapāla, treated him with all reverence, while the Assembly of Monks of Nālandā appointed him (*Saṅghasthiter mah sthitah*) as Administrator (*Nālandā-paripālanāya niyatah*) of that great institution decorated by a ring of famous Vihāras (*Śrīmad Vihāra-parihara-vibhūshita*) in succession to monk Satyabodhi, his bosom friend (*ātmasama suhṛit*).

We thus see from this record how Buddhist learning was quite flourishing in a region beyond the north-west frontier from which hailed a monk who was good enough to be elected as the Master of Nālandā Mahāvihāra, while it also included Vihāras established for foreign scholars.

Another such college for foreign scholars is also mentioned in an inscription on a copper-plate issued by king Devapāladeva in his 39th regnal year (c. A.D. 854). It states that Mahārāja Bālaputrādeva of the Śailendra dynasty, ruler of Suvarṇadvīpa (Java-Sumatra), sent a request to king Devapāladeva through his ambassador (*dūtaka*) named Bala-varmṇā, chief (*adhipati*) of the *Maṇḍala* or circle named Vyāghrataṭī (which belonged to the Puṇḍravardhana Bhukti of the Pāla empire). At his request, Devapāladeva made a grant of 5 villages in aid of a Vihāra which had been already established by Bālaputrādeva (*mayā Śrī-Nālandāyāni vihāraḥ kūrītaḥ*). It is also stated that four of these villages belonged to the *Vishaya* or district of Rājagriha and the fifth to Gayā *Vishaya*. The purpose of this endowment was to make provision for the supply of the necessaries of the monks of this Vihāra such as "offerings (*bali*), oblations (*charu*), shelter (*satra*), robes (*chivara*), alms (*pinda-pāta*), beds (*śayanāsana*), requisites for the sick such as medicines and the like (*glāna-pratyaya-bhesajyādi*), for the writing of religious texts (*dharmaratnasya lekhanādi*), and for the upkeep and repairs of the Vihāra." This College of Java was a centre of Tāntrika Buddhism. The inscription describes its governing body or *Āryabhikshu-saṅgha* as *Tāntrika-Bodhisattvagaṇa*.

The provision of *bali* and *charu* which were Vedic ritualistic offerings shows that the college admitted not merely students of Buddhism but also of Vedism. Both Buddhist and non-Buddhist students were freely admitted at Nālandā.

An inscription of the year 35 of Devapāladeva refers to a teacher of Nālandā Mahāvihāra named Śrī Mañjuśrīdeva and described as a *bahuśruta*, 'one who is a master of the Śrutis or texts of different religions'.

An inscription of the twelfth century A.D. states that an ascetic named Vipula Śrī Mitra erected at Nālandā a Vihāra which is 'an ornament of the world surpassing the palace of Indra'.

An inscription of king Bhoja of Malwa of V.S. 1091 (= 1034 A.D.) describes how the king named Bhoja Narendra-chandra who was a great patron of learning founded at his capital Dhārā a College appropriately located in a temple of *Vāgdevī*, Goddess of learning, whose image in stone enshrined in that temple is a masterpiece of Brahminical art. The inscription also mentions, along with the name of the king, the name of the court-sculptor, Manthala, son of Sūtradhara (craftsman) Sahira, as also the name of the writer of the inscription, Śivadeva. The inscription shows to the right of the image the figures of a bearded rishi, his disciple, the donor, and to the left, the mother of Vāgdevī, Durgā on lion.

Some of the South Indian inscriptions are rich records of educational achievement. These are noticed in the old series of *Madras Epigraphy Reports* issued annually. They show how colleges were very often endowed by temple charities. An inscription (*E.I.* IV. 60) records how Nārāyaṇa, a minister of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor, Kṛishna III, founded a temple of the Trayī Purusha in a part of which was accommodated a Sanskrit College. The college very soon became so famous that it had to build as many as 27 hostels for residence of its students hailing from different provinces (*nānā-janapadabhavāḥ*). There was a special endowment for the provision of lights for the hostels (in the shape of 60 acres of land), while another endowment (in the shape of about 2400 acres of land) was created to provide for free boarding of at least 200 students. The Principal of the college received his remuneration in the shape of a grant of land amounting to about 290 acres. This college was situated at a village called Śalotgi in Bijapur district. The village supported the college by a commendable arrangement that each villager should contribute to its funds five coins at each marriage, 2 coins at each *Upanayana*, and 1½ coins at each *Chūdā-karana* ceremony, while at every social feast he was to invite its students and teachers.

An inscription of the time of Emperor Rājendra Chola I (of c. 1023 A.D.) (No. 333 of 1917) records the endowment made by a village of certain charities which included the establishment of a Vedic College at Ennayiram in South Arcot District, providing for the free board and tuition of 340 students, distributed as follows

among the different subjects of study : 75 for *Ṛigveda*, 75 for *Yajurveda*, 20 for Chhāndoga Sāman, 20 for Talavakāra Sāman, 20 for Vājasaneyā, 10 for *Atharvaveda*, 10 for the *Baudhāyāniya Gṛihya*, *Kalpa*, and *Gaṇa*, 40 for *Rūpāvatāra*, 25 for Vyākaraṇa, 35 for Prābhākara Mīmāṃsā and 10 for Vedānta. The college was manned by 16 teachers, three for each of two Vedas taught, two for Mīmāṃsā, and one for each of the other subjects taught.

The inscription records some further details in the working of this college. It was maintained by an endowment of 45 *Velis* of land (= about 300 acres). Each student of Veda was given a ration of 6 *nālis* (= $\frac{3}{4}$ *Karuṇi*) of paddy and the pocket money of $\frac{1}{2}$ *Kalanju* of gold (= 25 grains = Rs. 2/-) per year. Advanced students of subjects like Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta, and Vyākaraṇa were given an additional allowance of 66%. A teacher was given a daily allowance of 1 *Kālam* (= 12 *Karuṇi*) of paddy, while the cost of a daily meal was only $\frac{3}{4}$ *Karuṇi*. Thus we have given the cost of food for 16 persons per day. He was also granted a bonus of $\frac{1}{2}$ *Kalanju* of gold per year.

Inscription No. 343 of 1917 shows how a temple maintained out of its funds a hostel where were daily fed 506 learned scholars including 340 regular students of the college attached to the temple. Further provision for education was made by the whole village in daily supply of firewood for the hostel, while the temple authorities made over to the hostel all surpluses of food like ghee, milk, and curds left over after worship.

Inscription No. 176 of 1919 (of c. 1048 A.D.) records the endowment of another residential Sanskrit College which had a staff of 12 teachers instructing 190 students. The college had also a separate Department of Śāstra with a staff of 7 teachers to preach subjects like Vedānta, Vyākaraṇa, Rūpāvatāra, *Śrī-Bhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa Manu-Sūtra*, and *Vaikhānasa-Sūtra*. Thus each of these 7 teachers was a specialist in his own subject.

A most interesting educational document is Inscription No. 202 of 1912 recording the endowment of a School of Grammar at Tiruvorrayur. The endowment comprised 60 *Velis* of land (= about 410 acres) earmarked for the construction of a separate hall called *Vyākaraṇa-dānavyākhyāna-maṇḍapa* devoted to the teaching of Pāṇini's grammar and to the worship of god *Vyākaraṇadāna-Perumāl* (Śiva) in the temple. This School of Grammar became very famous and attracted further donations recorded in Inscriptions Nos. 110, 201, and 120 of 1912.

Inscription No. 182 of 1915 of A.D. 1062 records the gift of a Vaiśya, by which were established the following institutions : (1) A College for teaching the Vedas, Śāstras, Rūpāvatāra (perhaps a

grammatical work), (2) a hostel for its students and (3) a hospital. The students were given free food and light. The hospital provided 15 beds and a staff comprising one physician, one surgeon, 2 servants for fetching drugs, fuel, and for other work for the hospital, 2 maid-servants to serve as nurses, and 1 general servant for the whole establishment. The hospital was also equipped with a store of medicines such as *haritaki* of different kinds, varieties of *taila* or oils, and special medicines like *Bilvādighṛita*, *Vajra-kalpa*, and *Kalyāṇa-lavaṇa*.

The Inscription on a pillar at Malkapuram in Guntur Taluk records a unique endowment by which was established a number of religious, educational, and related institutions, a temple, a monastery, a feeding-house, colonies of Brahmins, schools of students specialising in the study of Śaiva Purāṇas, a hospital, and a maternity home, making a self-sufficient academic settlement. The staff of all these institutions included (a) 3 teachers for teaching the three Vedas (b) 5 for teaching logic, literature, and the Āgamas (c) 1 doctor, (d) 1 accountant (*Kāyastha*), (e) 6 Brāhmaṇa servants for working in the attached *Maṭha* and Feeding-house, (f) Village Guards (*Vīra-bhadras*), (g) Village craftsmen called *Vīra-muṣṭhis* to serve as goldsmith, coppersmith, mason, bamboo-worker, blacksmith, potter, architect, carpenter, barber and artisan. In the Feeding-house were fed at all hours men of all castes from Brāhmaṇa to Cāṇḍāla — a remarkable example of Śaiva catholicity.

The Inscription also mentions the scale of wages allowed to each class of these workers, teachers, craftsmen and others.

An Inscription of A.D. 1068 (*E.I.* XXI No. 185 of 1915) records the foundation of the triple institution of a college, a hospital, and a hostel. The college gave free board and lodging to 60 students who studied subjects like the Vedas, Grammar, Pañcharātra, Philosophy, Śaivāgama, and the like. Seven seats were reserved in the hostel for Vānaprasthas and Sannyāsins.

The scales of salary show that the teacher of Grammar was paid at double the rate at which Vedic teachers were paid, indicating that Grammar was a difficult subject to study and teach.

There were also higher educational institutions for advanced learning and research and pursuit and practice of religion through life. These were learned settlements or cultured colonies made up of households of pious and scholarly persons. Thus Inscription No. 99 of Vol. II, Part V, of *South Indian Inscriptions* records the gift of a whole village where were settled 308 learned scholars proficient in the Vedas and Smṛitis, "Chaturvedin, Trivedin, Somayājīn, Śhaḍaṅavid, Bhaṭṭa, Kramavid (with special knowledge of Kramapāṭha of *Rigveda*), Sarvakratuyājīn, Vājapeyin, etc.". There

were thus specialists in the Vedas and also in the practice of rituals or *yajñas* of different kinds as their occupation through life. Similar cultured colonies are recorded in Inscription like No. 7 of 1912 and 277 of 1913 which mention provision for the necessities of life for members of the colony and a library called *Sarasvatī-Bhāṇḍāra*.

Inscription No. 198 of 1919 mentions a unique institution. It shows how advantage was taken of these learned settlements to judge of literary work by a special *Sabhā* created for the purpose from among them. It mentions how such a *Sabhā* or literary tribunal met under a royal order and heard the work of a poet recited. On its verdict the poet was granted land as a reward of his merit.

Some of the Mysore Inscriptions show how that State was abounding in much wider cultural institutions which were of three classes called *Ghaṭikā*, *Agrahāra*, and *Brahmapura*. A typical centre of such institutions was Belgaum which was the capital of the Banavase 12,000 province (the figure indicating its revenue) which contained 3 *Puras*, 5 *Maṭhas*, 7 *Brahmapurīs*, scores of *Agrahāras*, temples, Jain and Buddhist *Bastis* and *Vihāras*. The evolution of this place as a centre of culture is recorded in its different stages in several inscriptions from 1st Century A.D., inscriptions like SK. 263 (of "*Epigraphica Carnatica*", Vol. VII), SK. 177, 178, 185 telling of an *Agrahāra* owning as many as 144 villages given by the Kadamba king Mayūraśarman. SK. 14-18 refer to grants made to 1300 Brāhmaṇas of Begur in Northern Edenat 70 of Banavase 12,000.

The Inscriptions describe the subjects of study to comprise "the four Vedas with their Aṅgas and Upāṅgas, Mīmāṃsā, Lokāyata, Baudha, Sāṃkhya, Purāṇas, Kāvya, and Nāṭakas."

SK. 92 and 96 mention the learned head of the Kōdiya Maṭha at Belgami, named Vāmāśakti described as a Pāṇini in Grammar, Bharata in Drama and Music, Subandhu or Māgha in poetry and Nakulīśvara in Siddhānta, quite an encyclopaedia of learning, a versatile genius.

According to SL 277 of A.D. 1158, Belgame possessed three medical dispensaries, while SK 102 refers to an out-door hospital attached to the Kōdiya Maṭha for the treatment of destitute and diseased persons.

Maṭhas in those days functioned like an affiliating or federal University. We find in inscriptions several examples of a central organisation to which were affiliated different and distant centres of culture and religious life, religious brotherhoods of different localities, regulated and controlled by a common authority located at their headquarters. The best example of such a federal educational organisation is the Golaki Maṭha of which accounts are given in a series of inscriptions of the Kurnool District, which are dated to

thirteenth century A.D. These show how this particular Maṭha grew up and exercised its spiritual authority over as many as 3 lacs of villages under a succession of its famous pontiffs and teachers. There were also numerous Śaiva Maṭhas under the Chola kings and these shaped the religious life and culture of Tamilnad to a very large extent, The Maṭhas of Śivayogins or Māheśvaras were also great cultural influences in those days. (Nos. 164, 177, 402, and 583 of 1908). No. 465 of 1909 testifies to a similar Vaiṣṇava Maṭha constituted by learned Brāhmaṇas from 18 Vaiṣṇava countries represented on it.

The Patna (Orissa) Inscription, written about A.D. 1222, furnishes some interesting literary information. It mentions the well-known astronomer Bhāskarāchārya, and his father Maheśvara. It tells us that Bhāskarāchārya's son Lakshmīdhara was made chief paṇḍita by the Yādava king Jaitugi I, and that Lakshmīdhara's son Chaṅgadeva was the chief astrologer of Siṅghaṇa. It also records that Chaṅgadeva founded a college for the study of the *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi* and other works written by his grandfather and other unnamed relations.

IDENTITY AND DATE OF PRAVARASENA, THE AUTHOR OF THE *SETUBANDHA*

By

A. D. PUSALKER

The *Setubandha*, variously called the *Rāvaṇavaho*, *Daśa-muhavaho*, or *Rāmasetu* in MSS., is a Kāvya in Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit dealing with the epic story of Rāma beginning with his advance against Rāvaṇa and the building of a bridge of stone to Laṅkā and concluding with his triumphal return to Ayodhyā after exterminating the demon king. Divided into fifteen cantos called *āśvāsas*, the work contains 1362 stanzas. It gives no information about its authorship. The variety of colophons at the end of the different MSS. as also at the end of different cantos in the same MS. clearly indicates that the colophons did not originate from the author.

In MITRA'S *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* and the *Descriptive Catalogues of Sanskrit Manuscripts* of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (now Asiatic Society), etc., where colophons have been given, we find Pravarasena, Pravarasena and Kālidāsa, and Kālidāsa mentioned as authors. These colophons, however, have no evidentiary value regarding authorship, and their statistical evaluation counts for nothing. It may be observed that most of the MSS. record only Pravarasena as the author.

There are two printed editions of the text, and these present divergent versions. Unfortunately, the later edition has not referred to the earlier one. The Bombay edition by ŚIVADATTA and PARAB gives Pravarasena as the author in Cantos I-II, and Pravarasena and Kālidāsa in Cantos III-XV. The Strassburg edition by GOLDSCHMIDT has Pravarasena in Cantos I, IV, VI, VIII, IX, XII and XIV, Pravarasena and Kālidāsa in Cantos II, III and XV, while no author is mentioned in the remaining cantos. This evidence also is not helpful in settling authorship. In the text itself, as stated earlier, there is nothing to indicate authorship.

Internal evidence being thus silent we have to turn to external evidence with regard to the authorship of the *Setubandha*. The earliest reference is in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*¹ where it is stated that by means of this *setu* (i.e. *Setubandha*) the fame of Pravarasena crossed the ocean as the army of monkeys had done before by means

1. I. 15 :

कीर्तिः प्रवरसेनस्य प्रयाता कुमुदोज्ज्वला ।
सागरस्य परं पारं करिसेनेव सेतुना ॥

of (Rāma's) bridge. Then comes Ānandavardhana who, in his *Dhvanyāloka*,² highly eulogises the section of the *Setubandha* describing Sītā's grief at the sight of the illusory head of Rāma. Kṣemendra ascribes the work to Pravarasena in his *Aucilyavicāracarcā*.³ Kṛṣṇa in the *Bharatacarita*⁴ refers the *Setubandha* to Kuntaleśa. Daṇḍin, while praising the work as a mine of gems in the form of good sayings, indicates that the work originated in Mahārāṣṭra.⁵

If we turn to the several commentators of the *Setubandha* who refer to its authorship we find that Śrī Kṛṣṇa Vipra, Kulanātha, Paśupati and Govindaśiṣya, among others, mention Pravarasena alone as the author of the *Setubandha*. Rāmadāsa, however, states that the work was composed by Kālidāsa at the instance of Vikramāditya and ascribed to Pravarasena.⁶

The external evidence is thus found to establish definite connection of Pravarasena with the composition of the *Setubandha*, while the commentator Rāmadāsa and a few others credit Kālidāsa with the authorship. From Kṛṣṇa (*Bharatacarita*) and Daṇḍin (*Kāvya-darśa*) we get the further particulars that the author was Kuntaleśa and that the work was a product of Mahārāṣṭra.

As regards the authorship of Kālidāsa, suggested by Rāmadāsa and some others, it may be observed that now nobody seriously takes that view. The *Setubandha* is highly imaginative and is composed in an artistic style with the use of puns, alliterations, exaggeration, and long compounds. The metres employed are not classical, most of the stanzas being in the Āryā Gīti. In contrast to this, Kālidāsa employs Vaidarbhī style and has command over classical metres. He portrays the beautiful rather than the colossal aspects of the theme. His works, further, do not evidence his command over Prakrit. Thus the *Setubandha* and Kālidāsa differ with regard to thought, language and metre, rendering Kālidāsa's authorship of the work improbable. This does not, of course, rule out the possibility of his rendering help to the author as indicated in some traditions.

2. NSP Ed., 1911, p. 148.

3. *KM*, I.

4. I. 4 :

जडाशयस्यान्तरगाधमार्गमलब्धरन्ध्रं गिरिचौर्यवृत्त्या ।
लोकेष्वलंकांतमपूर्वसेतुं बबन्ध कीर्त्या सह कुन्तलेशः ॥

5. *Kāvya-darśa*, I. 34 :

महाराष्ट्राश्रयां भाषां प्रकृष्टं प्राकृतं विदुः ।
सागरः सूक्तिरत्नानां सेतुबन्धादि यन्मयम् ॥

6. *Setubandha*, p. 3 :

इह तावन्महाराजप्रवरसेननिमित्तं महाराजाधिराजविक्रमादित्येनाज्ञतो
निखिलकविचक्रचूडामणिः कालिदासमहाशयः सेतुबन्धप्रबन्धं चिकीर्षुः...

Kālidāsa's authorship thus being out of question we are left with the consideration of the problem of the identity of Pravarasena, the reputed author of the *Setubandha*, and of the part played by Kālidāsa in the composition of the work.

With regard to the identity of Pravarasena, relying on Kalhaṇa's statement that Pravarasena built a bridge of boats on the Vitastā,⁷ PETERSON, MACDONELL, KEITH, H. P. SASTRI and others⁸ believe Pravarasena of Kashmir to be the author of the *Setubandha*. There is no agreement among the supporters of the Kashmir theory with regard to the date of Pravarasena, which, according to individual view, ranges between the third and the sixth century A.D. But Kalhaṇa is entirely silent about the authorship of the *Setubandha*. The mention of Kuntaleśa as an additional characteristic of Pravarasena, the author of the *Setubandha*, definitely rules out Pravarasena of Kashmir, for under no circumstances can the Kashmirian Pravarasena be brought in association with Kuntala. Daṇḍin's statement points to Mahārāṣṭra as the land of origin of the work which also runs counter to the Kashmir theory. DASGUPTA and DE, however, have upheld the Kashmir theory in their *History of Sanskrit Literature*⁹ recently published.

Further, taking Yaśodharman to be Harṣa Vikramāditya mentioned by Kalhaṇa some scholars identify Mātṛgupta with Kālidāsa and regard Pravarasena, who ascended the throne after Mātṛgupta's abdication, as the author of the *Setubandha*, which is said to have been composed by Kālidāsa at the instance of Vikramāditya. This view however, is not tenable, because Kalhaṇa never mentions Vikramāditya as the title of Yaśodharman, nor does he identify Mātṛgupta with Kālidāsa. Again, as stated above, there is no reference to the *Setubandha* in the *Rājataranṅinī*. Pravarasena and Vikramāditya, moreover, were on inimical terms according to Kalhaṇa, so that there is no possibility of Vikramāditya asking Kālidāsa to write the Kāvya. According to Kalhaṇa, immediately after Pravarasena's accession, Mātṛgupta did not stay in Kashmir but went to Banaras and embraced Saṁnyāsa. Thus he cannot be brought in connection with Pravarasena's literary pursuits. The contrary evidence of Kṛṣṇa and Daṇḍin, as stated in the last paragraph, also goes against the connection between Kashmir and the *Setubandha*.

7. *Rājataranṅinī*, III. 354 :

वितस्तायां स भूपालो बृहत्सेतुमकल्पयत् ।

ख्याता ततः प्रभृत्येषा तादृङ्गनौसेतुकल्पना ॥

8. Cf. *Subhāṣitāvalī*, s. v. Pravarasena ; *HSL*, s. v. Pravarasena ; *Des. Cat of Skt. MSS ; Notices of Skt. MSS*.

9. Pp. CXV, 119.

There is another Pravarasena, Pravarasena II of the Vākāṭakas, who is held as the author of the *Setubandha*, especially on account of his connection with Kālidāsa. It is undisputed that the Vākāṭakas ruled over Vidarbha, which cultivated Māhārāṣṭrī at the time of Pravarasena, so that Daṇḍin's description is applicable to him. There is a difference of opinion among scholars as to the exact connotation of the term "Kuntaleśa" as will be presently indicated. With regard to "Kuntaleśa" being credited with the authorship of the *Setubandha*, it may be noted that no one besides Kṛṣṇa, the author of the *Bharatacarita*, mentions it; and the basis for the statement is not known. Not much reliance, therefore, can be placed on this uncorroborated statement. We have, however, considered the point in brief in order to deal with all aspects of the problem.

In this connection we have to examine two different traditions with regard to the relation of Pravarasena (? Kuntaleśa or Kuntaleśvara), Vikramāditya and Kālidāsa. One, which connects Vikramāditya, Kālidāsa and Kuntaleśvara and represents Kālidāsa as staying at the court of Kuntaleśvara as the ambassador of Vikramāditya, is referred to by Kṣemendra, Rājaśekhara and Bhoja.¹⁰ The tradition has no connection with the authorship of the *Setubandha*, but is concerned with the *Kuntaleśvaradautya* ascribed to Kālidāsa and the relationship between Kuntaleśvara, Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya. The Gupta emperor, Candragupta II Vikramāditya, as is well known, was the patron of Kālidāsa, and was the maternal grandfather of Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II, who has been regarded as Kuntaleśvara by most scholars including S. K. AIYANGAR, A. R. SARASWATI, K. S. RAMASWAMI,¹¹ etc. MM. MIRASHI also held this view,¹² but he has recently changed it on the discovery of inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura and a reconsideration of the problem. According to these scholars, Pravarasena's ancestor, Pṛthvīsenā, conquered Kuntala so that the title Kuntaleśvara descended to Pravarasena as Kuntala comprised part of his dominions also.

Recent researches of MM. MIRASHI, however, have shown that the Vākāṭakas did not call themselves Kuntaleśa and though some of them raided the Kuntala country, their rule does not seem to have extended to it which was, at the time of Pravarasena, under the rule of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura. Kuntaleśa, according to MM.

10. *Aucityavicāracarcā*, KM, I. 139-40; *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, pp. 61-62; *Saṅgavati Kaṅṭhābharaṇa*, NSP, p. 168; *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, intr., p. XXII, Chs. XXII-XXIV.

11. Cf. Select Bibliography at the end of the paper for the articles of these scholars.

12. *Kālidāsa* (in Marathi).

MIRASHI, may have been perhaps Devarāja of this family.¹³ HERAS¹⁴ and MORAES¹⁵ have identified Kuntaleśa with the Kadamba Bhāgīratha, which does not seem to be correct. RAGHAVAN rightly concludes that further evidences and fresh discoveries are necessary on the subject to say anything more of *Kuntaleśvardautya* of Kālidāsa¹⁶ (and also about the identity of Kuntaleśvara and his connection with the *Setubandha*).

The other tradition maintains that Kālidāsa helped Pravarasena in composing the *Setubandha* at the instance of Vikramāditya. MM. MIRASHI is certainly correct when he states that the fact that the Kuntaleśvara tradition has no bearing on Vākāṭaka history does not invalidate this second tradition.¹⁷ Pravarasena II, as already indicated, was the son of Prabhāvatīguptā, daughter of the famous Gupta king Candragupta II-Vikramāditya. From historical material it appears that Candragupta II was living during the initial years of the reign of Pravarasena, his grandson. After the early death of her husband, Rudrasena, Prabhāvatīguptā administered the Vākāṭaka kingdom for her minor son Divākarasena, and after his death, for another son Dāmodarasena who took up reins of administration in c. A.D. 410 under the coronation name of Pravarasena II.¹⁸ It is possible that her father Candragupta sent some trusted administrators and generals to Vidarbha to assist Prabhāvatīguptā in governing the kingdom. It is also reasonable to assume that Kālidāsa was one of those who stayed at the Vākāṭaka capital, and under the orders of his patron Candragupta helped the young ruler in the composition of the work *Setubandha*. This implies some sort of literary help and not merely the work of a copyist as is maintained by R. UPADHYAYA, who ascribes the authorship to Pravarasena, but discredits the literary tradition and regards Kālidāsa as a mere scribe.¹⁹

This inference about receiving help from some one is corroborated by a stanza in the *Setubandha*,²⁰ which states that it was begun by a

13. *ABORI*, XXV, 45.

14. *ABORI*, XII, 458.

15. *Kadamba Kula*, 19-22.

16. *B. C. Law Vol. II*, 197.

17. *IHQ*, XXIV, 154.

18. MIRASHI's date about the accession of Pravarasena runs counter to his suggestion that Candragupta may have asked Kālidāsa "to help his grandson in composing the *Kāvya*", because Candragupta was not living at that date.

19. *OC*, XV, Summary of Papers, p. 85.

20. I 9 :

अहिणवराआरद्धा चुक्कखल्लिएसु विहडिअपरिद्धविआ ।
 मेत्तिव्व पमुहरसिआ निव्वोद्धुं होइ दुक्करं कव्वकहा ॥
 [अभिनवराजारब्धा न्युतस्खल्लितेषु विघटितपरिस्थापिता ।
 मैत्रीव प्रमुखरसिका निर्वाद्धुं भवति दुष्करं काव्यकथा ॥]

newly-installed monarch who occasionally found it difficult to carry on. At such times he may have received help in critical revision from Kālidāsa.

Thus we find that Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II was the author of the *Setubandha*, and that he may have received occasional help from Kālidāsa. The argument that Pravarasena could not have been the author of the *Setubandha* as he was a Parama-Māheśvara, does not appear to be sound. It is to be noted in this connection that during his early days when this work was composed, Pravarasena was under the influence of his mother Prabhāvatīguptā who was a devotee of Viṣṇu. Further, being a Māheśvara does not preclude a person from treating of a subject in glorification of Rāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

As regards date, Bāṇa (seventh century A.D.) supplies the lower limit. The work being composed in the early part of Pravarasena's rule, the first decade of the fifth century may be taken as the date of the work.

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BHAVABHÜTI AND THE VEDA

By

V. RAGHAVAN

In *JRAS* 1914, pp. 729-31, Keith has a brief note on the above subject. Referring us to Bhavabhüti's information in the prologue to his *Mahāvīracarita* (*MVC*) about his belonging to a family of great Vedic scholars, Keith says that this 'connection should show itself in his poems, and as a matter of fact, there are *here and there traces* (italics ours) of his familiarity with the language of the sacrifice.' Keith cites two instances from the *MVC* (IV. 58 and VI. 7) but adds that these are however of little importance. He then cites two more instances from *MVC*, V. 15/16 and III. 18 — 'two Vedic reminiscences' to which he says 'more interest attaches.' (*ibid.* p. 729). The former of the two last mentioned instances is Bhavabhüti's description of the Prasravaṇa mountain. The latter is a verse on the safety of a kingdom looked after by a learned Purohita, the second half of which is taken from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* VIII. 25 (*i.e.* XL.3).

MVC III. 18 runs :

न तस्य राज्यं व्यथते न भ्रश्यति न जीर्यति ।
त्वं विद्वान् ब्राह्मणो यस्य राष्ट्रगोपः पुरोहितः ॥

Cf. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa VIII. 25 (XL. 2) :

क्षत्रेण क्षत्रं जयति बलेन बलमश्रुते ।
यस्यैवं विद्वान् ब्राह्मणो राष्ट्रगोपः पुरोहितः ।
तस्मै विशाः संजानते सम्मुखा एकमनसः ।
यस्यैवं विद्वान् ब्राह्मणो राष्ट्रगोपः पुरोहितः ॥

The refrain, the second line, occurs also in the prose passage that precedes these two verses in the *Brāhmaṇa*.

अयुवमार्यस्य राष्ट्रं भवति नैनं पुराऽऽयुषः प्राणो जहात्याजरसं जीवति सर्वमायुरेति न पुनर्घ्नियते यस्यैवं विद्वान् ब्राह्मणो राष्ट्रगोपः पुरोहितः । (*ĀSS.* pt. 2, p. 958)

These two verses are repeated a little later, XL.4 (*ibid.* p. 963).

Keith observes on this coincidence that 'there can be no doubt of the ultimate source of the half-verse in III. 18 (*MVC*)' but immediately adds 'of course, it is not possible to be sure that *Bhavabhüti really used the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.' (italics ours). He seems to cast a doubt as to the real position of these lines in the *Brāhmaṇa* and remarks that it is 'the sort of verse which may easily have been a popular tag.'¹ (p. 730).

1. See his translation of the *Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas* in *HOS.* which he prepared in 1914-15; these verses are found there.

Regarding the Prasravaṇa described by Bhavabhūti, Keith says that 'it is clearly the Plakṣa Prasravaṇa' of Vedic literature. Keith confuses here the Prasravaṇa hill in South India described by Bhavabhūti with Plakṣa Prasravaṇa, the source of the Sarasvatī river which later disappeared. What connection this latter Plakṣa Prasravaṇa, which is mentioned in the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* (XXX. 10.16), the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* (IV. 26.12) and the Ṛgveda Sūtras has with the hill Prasravaṇa in Janasthāna, one is not able to see.

The Vedic saturation of Bhavabhūti is however too palpable, if we take into consideration some other contexts in the *MVC* itself and also his other play, the *Uttararāmacarita (URC)*. There are of course many echoes of the Upaniṣads which may be reserved for another occasion.

Whether the above cited verse on Kṣatra and Brāhmaṇa and Rāṣṭra and Purohita proves Bhavabhūti's use of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa or not, there is another verse of our poet which clearly shows him using the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.² In his *URC*, Act V, with reference to the haughty and challenging words of the guards of the Aśvamedha horse of Rāma, Lava remarks to Candraketu :

ऋषयो राक्षसीमाहुर्वीचमुन्मत्तदस्योः ।
सा योनिः सर्ववैराणां सा हि लोकस्य निर्ऋतिः ।

Now this on the insolent and violent kind of speech, stigmatised as demoniac speech, 'rākṣasī vāk', is nothing but a versification of a passage in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VI. 7.7, p. 173, ASS) :

योऽयं राक्षसीं वाचं वदति स इति, यां वै दसो वदति
यामुन्मत्तः सा वै राक्षसी वाक् । इति

Lava prefaces his verse with the following on Rāma, who was the embodiment of self-control and in whose regime or realm, an insolent speaker was an anomaly. 'स किल नात्मना दृष्यति नाप्यस्य प्रजा वादसा जायन्ते ।' This again is from *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* where, close upon the above cited passage, we read : 'नात्मना दृष्यति नास्य प्रजायां दस आ जायते य एवं वेद ।' ASS. I. p. 173.

Some more passages may be cited : In *URC* II, we have the verse (no. 12)

यत्रानन्दाश्च मोदाश्च यत्र पुण्याश्च संपदः ।
वैराजा नाम ते लोकाः तैजसाः सन्तु ते शिवाः ॥

2. Though the poet's Sākhā was Taittiriya, he was a *Pāṅktipāvana* which is a status one attained to by reason of his mastery of all the Vedas and Sākhās.

अग्न्याः सर्वेषु वेदेषु सर्वप्रवचनेषु च ।

श्रोत्रियान्वयजाश्रवै विशेयाः पङ्क्तिपावनाः ॥ Manu III. 184.

This, as Kane has pointed out in his notes,³ echoes *RV. IX. 113. 11*. Regarding the attribute of the lokas referred to as Vairāja and Tairāja, see a little above in the same Sūkta, verses 7 and 9, यत्र ज्योतिरजसम् and लोका यत्र ज्योतिष्मन्तः.

In Bhavabhūti's description of the Aśvamedha horse (*URC II*), one is reminded of the relevant passages of the Śatapatha and Taittirīya Brāhmaṇas, attention to which again has been drawn by Kane.⁴ Similarly the reference later to Paśusamāmnāya and Sārngāmika with reference to the same Aśvamedha horse (*IV. 25/26*) is, as the commentator Vīrarāghava⁵ also points out, to Vedic and ancillary literature.

In *URC IV. 18* :

आविर्भूतज्योतिषां ब्राह्मणानां ये व्याहारास्तेषु मा संशयोऽभूत् ।

भद्रा ह्येषां वाचि लक्ष्मीर्निषक्ता नैते वाचं विप्रुतार्था वदन्ति ॥

the latter half incorporates a well-known verse of the *RV X. 71. 2*, भद्रेषां लक्ष्मीर्निहिताधि वाचि । The commentator Vīrarāghava also points this out.

Immediately after the verse on Rākṣasī vāk (*URC V. 29*) already referred to, Bhavabhūti contrasts it with the pleasing word, Sūnṛtā Vāk, which is praised thus :

कामं दुग्धे विप्रकर्षत्यलक्ष्मीं कीर्तिं सूते दुर्हृदो निष्प्रलान्ति ।

शुद्धां शान्तां मातरं मङ्गलानां धेनुं धीराः सूतृतां वाचमाहुः ॥ V. 30

In this characterisation of the gentle pleasing Vāk as Sūnṛtā and Dhenu, echoes of *RV I. 3. 11* and *VIII. 100. 10* धेनुर्वाग्मानुपसुष्टुतैतु cannot be missed. In fact, in the observation that Sumantra makes on these words of Lava, the poet himself refers to their bearing the Vedic impress : वदत्ययमभिसंपन्नमार्षेण संस्करणे ।

In *URC VI. 22*, we have Rāma embracing his son and saying 'अङ्गादङ्गात्सूत इव' which is after the well-known mantra relating to one's offspring found in more than one Brāhmaṇa, Gṛhya and Mantrapāṭha text :

अङ्गादङ्गात्संभवसि हृदयादधिजायसे ।

आत्मा वै पुत्रनामासि त्वं जीव शरदः शतम् ॥

In *MVC II. 24*, the poet compares Paraśurāma, with his Brāhmanic yet violent aspect to the *Atharva Veda*, the repository of rites for benevolent as well as malevolent purposes (śāntika, pauṣṭika and ābhicārika).

3. *Uttararāmācarita* with Ghanaśyāma's commentary, P. V. Kane, 3rd ed., Bombay, 1929, Notes, p. 35.

4. *ibid.* Notes, p. 62.

5. His commentary is printed in the N. S. Press ed. of the play.

पुण्योऽपि भीमकर्मो निधिर्ब्रतानां चकास्त्यमितशक्तिः ।
मूर्तिमभिरामघोरां बिभ्रदिवाथर्वणो निगमः ॥

The diction of the Ākhyāna portions of the Brāhmaṇas is imitated, for example in *MVC* I. 26/27, where the story of Ahalyā is given. *URC* V. 27 देवस्त्वां सविता पुनातु could be compared to Vedic utterances like देवस्त्वा सवितोऽपुनातु and the comparison of the venerable Arundhatī to Uṣas (जगद्धन्यां देवीमुषसमिव वन्दे भगवतीम्) would occur only to one soaked in the Veda. See also the descriptions of the Kṣatriya-Brahmacārin (in *MVC* I. 18 and *URC* IV. 20), of the reception and courtesies offered when sages and other venerable guests arrive (in *URC* IV, prologue). All these proclaim Bhavabhūti as one whose expression shows that he is saturated with the atmosphere, ideas and diction of the Veda and its ancillary literature.

रघुवंशपरामर्शः ।

कुञ्जन् राजः

रघुवंशपरामर्शाहासेऽर्पयतः पदम् ।
मानसं मे चोदयतु कालिदासकवीश्वरः ॥ १ ॥
रघुवंशाभिधं काव्यं कालिदासेन निर्मितम् ।
पूर्णमेकोनविंशत्या सर्गाणामद्य भासते ॥ २ ॥
दिलीप आद्यस्तत्पुत्रो रघुस्तस्य सुतोऽप्यजः ।
पते नृपाला वर्ण्यन्ते मुख्ये सर्गाष्टके त्रयः ॥ ३ ॥
ततो रामायणकथाप्याख्याता सर्गसप्तके ।
कुशो रामसुतस्तस्यातिथिः पुत्रश्च वर्णितौ ॥ ४ ॥
सर्गद्वये ; ततः केचित् सर्गे तद्वंशगाः परे ।
संख्याताः ; चरमे सर्गे चाग्निवर्णोऽपि वर्णितः ॥ ५ ॥
व्याधिग्रस्तश्चाग्निवर्णो मृतस्तन्महिषी ततः ।
स्वयं सिंहासनं भर्तुरन्तर्वत्नी समारूढत् ॥ ६ ॥
स्वाभाविकी समाप्तिस्तु काव्यस्यैषा न लक्ष्यते ।
अस्थाने काव्यमेवं च संभ्रमं लभ्यतेऽधुना ॥ ७ ॥
किंनिमित्तं कालिदासः काव्यरत्नमिदं निजम् ।
निराश्रयं चासमाप्तमकाण्डेऽत्र विसृष्टवान् ॥ ८ ॥
काव्यस्यास्य समग्रस्य लभ्यते नैकनायकः ।
अतश्चैकात्मता भग्ना वस्तुनः प्रतिपादने ॥ ९ ॥
यदि श्रीराम एवात्र गृह्यते मुख्यनायकः ।
प्रतिहैवं कृता नात्र ; रघूणामन्वये हि सा ॥ १० ॥
आगाग्निनो राघवस्य सूत्रना च कदापि वा ।
सर्गेष्वष्टासु मुख्येषु न दृष्टा कविना कृता ॥ ११ ॥
श्लोको यत्रैकवारं तु दशकण्ठारिरितः ।
ग्रस्तः सोऽयं काव्यदोषैः प्रक्षिप्त इव भासते ॥ १२ ॥
रघुं प्रधानमाश्रित्य सर्गाणामष्टकं कृतम् ।
दृष्टमाद्यम् ; रघुः पश्चाद् भ्रष्टो दृष्टिपथाद्भूत् ॥ १३ ॥
सर्गे तृतीये जननं रघोर्विद्यार्जनं ततः ।
बहूनि वीरकर्माणि वर्णितानि ; ततः पितुः ॥

वनयात्रा दिलीपस्य सर्गान्ते प्रतिपादिता ।
 अजस्य जननं सर्गे पञ्चमे समुदीरितम् ॥ १४, १५ ॥
 विवाहायास्य यात्रा च सर्गेऽस्मिन्नेव वर्णिता ।
 विवाहस्तस्य षष्ठे च सप्तमे च सविस्तरम् ॥ १६ ॥
 रघोस्ततोऽष्टमे चोक्तं निर्याणं तपसे बहिः ।
 सप्तमे वाष्टमे सर्गे सुतोऽजस्य न वर्णितः ॥ १७ ॥
 सिंहासनस्थापितोऽसौ सर्गान्ते दर्शितो मनाक् ।
 चिन्तार्हमीदृग्वैजात्यं सन्दर्भेऽस्मिन्नुपस्थितम् ॥ १८ ॥
 गुणा आजन्मशुद्धानामित्युपक्रम्य षोडश ।
 प्रतिज्ञाताश्च ते सर्वे वर्णने संगता रघोः ॥ १९ ॥
 ऋषिशापः पूर्ववृत्तः स्पष्टं श्रीरामजन्मनः ।
 वर्णितो नवमे सर्गे प्रतिज्ञां बाधतेतराम् ॥ २० ॥
 अमङ्गलेतरत्वं च नैव तत्र प्रसाधितम् ।
 आचारे रामतातस्य मुनिशापानुवर्णने ॥ २१ ॥
 श्रुतवन्तो रजोमग्ना अर्पयन्त्यपथे पदम् ।
 इत्येवं गर्ह्यते कर्म नृपस्य विशयं विना ॥ २२ ॥
 इन्दुमत्याः कथायां तु मुनिशापोऽवतारितः ।
 अगर्हणीयता चास्य वसिष्ठेनोपपादिता ॥ २३ ॥
 सर्गेऽन्तिमेऽग्निवर्णस्य वर्णनं च सविस्तरम् ।
 आद्यां प्रतिज्ञामालूनविशीर्णां कुरुतेऽखिलाम् ॥ २४ ॥
 प्रतिज्ञातगुणोपेतान् वर्णयित्वा नृपान् बहून् ।
 उरुचैर्धर्मपथाद्भ्रष्टानन्यान् नीचनराधिपान् ।
 वंशावसानजातांश्च व्यतिरेकेण कानपि ।
 कालिदासो वर्णयति—पक्षोऽयं नैव शोभनः ॥ २५-२६ ॥
 ये ये गुणाः प्रतिज्ञाता वंशासाधारणा इमे ।
 वंश्येषु व्यतिरेकस्य सन्दर्भो नैव दृश्यते ॥ २७ ॥
 काव्यान्तिमोऽग्निवर्णोऽत्र प्रतिज्ञां विरुणद्धतः ।
 एवंपविरोधस्य चिन्तामर्हति कारणम् ॥ २८ ॥

२०. आजन्मशुद्धानां इति प्रतिज्ञाम् ।

२२. अपथे पदमर्पयन्ति हि श्रुतवन्तोऽपि रजोनिमीलिताः । (९.७४)

गजहननायोद्योगः वस्तुतो मुनिकुमारस्य हननं इत्येतत् सर्वं मुनिशापस्य पूर्ववृत्तमपि रामजननात् प्रागगुभकूटे संघटनीयम् ।

२३. भगवन् .परवानयं जनः प्रतिकूलाचरितं क्षमस्व मे ।

इति चोपनतां क्षितिस्पृशं कृतवाना सुरपुष्पदर्शनात् । (८.८२) अत्र शापविषये नायिकाया निरपराधता साधिता ।

एवंरूपविरोधाश्च विद्यन्ते बहवोऽपरे ।
 आद्यसर्गाष्टकस्यान्त्यसर्गैकादशकस्य च ॥ २९ ॥
 स्वयं शक्रमुपस्थातुं दिलीपस्तु कदाचन ।
 इतो लोकाश्चाकलोकमनायासेन गच्छति ॥ ३० ॥
 सिंहं दृष्ट्वा समीपस्थं न तस्य हृद्वेपत ।
 अपायकारिणं हन्तुं तं सज्जमकरोद्धनुः ॥ ३१ ॥
 रघुर्बालोऽपि तत्सूनुरनुधावन् सुराधिपम् ।
 युद्धयन् पराक्रमात्तस्मिन् जनयामास विस्मयम् ॥ ३२ ॥
 स सिंहास्रनमारुह्य विजयाय दिशां रघुः ।
 प्रतस्थेऽथ दिशो जित्वा नगरीं स्वां न्यवर्तत ॥ ३३ ॥
 यात्रायां च विचाहार्थं रघुसूनुरजः पुनः ।
 मदोद्धतं स्वबाणेन दमयामास वारणम् ॥ ३४ ॥
 विवाहानन्तरं मध्येमार्गं सर्वान् नराधिपान् ।
 रणोद्यतानेकवीरः स चकार पराजितान् ॥ ३५ ॥
 तस्य सूनुर्दशरथो रामं दृष्ट्वा तु भार्गवम् ।
 वेपमानो भयादर्थैः प्रसादयितुमैच्छत ॥ ३६ ॥
 दिलीपस्य रघोर्ये वा गुणा उक्ता अजस्य च ।
 तेषामनुगुणा एव तदाचाराश्च वर्णिताः ॥ ३७ ॥
 स्कन्देन तुल्यमिन्द्रेण यमेन वरुणेन च ।
 वर्णयित्वा दशरथमुक्तान्ते तस्य भीरुता ॥ ३८ ॥
 यतमानस्योदयाय योषा वा मृगयापि वा ।
 नाभद्रप्रतिबन्धोऽस्येत्युक्त्वा पूर्वं कविः पुनः ॥
 कैकेयीप्रीतये रामं स राज्यान्निरवासयत् ।
 मृगयायां गजवधायोद्युक्त इति चोक्तवान् ॥ ३९, ४० ॥
 सर्गे चतुर्थे च शरद्वर्णिता ; वर्णने पुनः ।
 श्लोकाः सर्वे रघौ चापि दृष्टाः संयोजिता इह ॥ ४१ ॥

३६. अर्थमर्थमितिवादिनं नृपम् । ११. ६९

३९. न मृगयाभिरतिर्न दुरोदरं
 न च शनिप्रतिमाभरणं मधु ।
 तमुदयाय न वा नवयौवना
 प्रियतमा यतमानमपाहरत् ॥ ९. ७ ॥

४०. तस्याभिषेकसंभारं कल्पितं कूरनिश्चया ।
 दृष्टयामास कैकेयी शोकोष्णैः पार्थिवाश्रुभिः ॥ १२. ४ ॥
 तयोश्चतुर्दशैकेन रामं प्रात्राजयत् समाः । १२. ६
 नृपतेः प्रतिषिद्धमेव तत् कृतवान् पङ्क्तिरथो विलङ्घ्य यत् । ९. ७४

वसन्तो नवमे सर्गे विस्तरेणैव वर्णितः ।
 नैव दृष्टो दशरथः कुत्राप्यत्र तु नायकः ॥ ४२ ॥
 वसन्तवर्णनं चात्र प्रसक्तं न यथार्थतः ।
 काले वसन्त आगत्य पश्चान्निरगमत् ; ततः ॥
 मृगयायां रतिं चक्रे नृप ; इत्थं प्रसञ्जितम् ।
 वसन्तवर्णनं सर्गे नवमे सर्गकारिणा ॥ ४३, ४४ ॥
 काव्यदोषो महानेतत् प्रसक्तेतरवर्णनम् ।
 सविस्तरं वसन्तस्य हठादुत्सार्य नायकम् ॥ ४५ ॥
 शरदो वर्णनं पूर्वं प्रसक्तं विजयार्थिनम् ।
 यात्रायै चोदयामास या शक्तेः प्रथमं रघुम् ॥ ४६ ॥
 धर्मार्थकामत्रितयमध्ये दृष्टास्त्रयो नृपाः ।
 दिलीपादय एकैकप्रधाना वर्णिताः क्रमात् ॥ ४७ ॥
 मुख्यधर्मस्थापनाय वीरकर्माणि कानिचित् ।
 उच्चित्योच्चित्य कविना वर्णितानि यथोचितम् ॥ ४८ ॥
 धर्मोऽर्थो वा दशरथे कामो वा कविना भवेत् ।
 अभिप्रेतो गुणो मुख्य इत्येतन्न तु सुस्थितम् ॥ ४९ ॥
 रामायणकथा सर्वा वाल्मीकिमनुरुध्य च ।
 काथिता ; तत्र न त्यागस्वीकारादिविवेचनम् ॥ ५० ॥
 पूर्वसूरिपदेनादौ वाल्मीक्यादय ईरिताः ।
 व्याख्यातृणां मते, चेदं काव्यं रामायणाश्रितम् ॥ ५१ ॥
 नृपाणामनुसंख्याने वाल्मीकिं नानुगच्छति ।
 रामस्य पूर्वगाणां तु कांक्षत्येतद्विचिन्तनम् ॥ ५२ ॥
 सन्त्यन्यान्यपि वैजात्यान्युभयोर्भागयोर्मिथः ।
 सर्गैरष्टाभिरप्येकादशभिर्गुणयोरिह ॥ ५३ ॥
 एकस्यैव हि काव्यस्य विभागद्वितये पुनः ।
 कथं वा कविकेश्चेद्विभिन्न इव लक्ष्यताम् ॥ ५४ ॥
 स्यादप्येतत्—कालिदास आद्ये सर्गाष्टके गते ।
 इदं समापयामास काव्यं रघ्वेकनायकम् ॥ ५५ ॥
 पिता दिलीपः सूनुश्चाप्यजस्तदनुपङ्गतः ।
 काव्यादाववसाने चाप्रधानौ द्वौ प्रवेशितौ ॥ ५६ ॥

४६. सरितः कुर्वती गांधाः पथश्चाश्यानकर्दमान् ।

यात्रायै चोदयामास तं शक्तेः प्रथमं शरत् ॥ ४.२४

४७,४८. दिलीपस्य धर्मद्योतकानि अपदानानि प्राधान्येन उपात्तानि, रघौ अर्थद्योतकानि, अजे कामद्योतकानि इति स्थितिः । तथापि इतरयोर्द्वयोः त्रिष्वपि नृपेषु नोपेक्षा इत्यप्यवधार्यम् ।

५१. अथवा कृतवाग्द्वारे वंशेऽस्मिन् पूर्वसूरिभिः । १.४

अनन्तरं कविः कश्चिदतृप्तोऽत्र समापने ।
 इतरानपि तद्वंश्यान् काव्यशेषेऽन्ववर्णयत् ॥ ५७ ॥
 प्रतिज्ञाय रघोर्वंशं वर्णितः केवलो रघुः ।
 भवेत् प्रयोजकं चैतत् काव्यशेषस्य पूरणे ॥ ५८ ॥
 वैकल्यमेतन्निर्माण्यो वंशानुवर्णने ।
 उद्युक्तस्तत्परमपीत्येतत् संभाव्यमेव नु ॥ ५९ ॥
 रघूणामन्वयं वक्ष्ये — इत्येवं प्रतिजानतः ।
 कवेः किं स्यादभिप्राय इत्यत्रैतद्विचार्यते ॥ ६० ॥
 नृपाणां रघुवंश्यानां काव्ये स्याद्धानुवर्णनम् ।
 अधिभूत्य रघोर्वंशं काव्यं वा रचितं भवेत् ॥ ६१ ॥
 पक्षे द्वितीये वंशस्योत्पत्तिः कर्ता रघुस्तथा ।
 अपदानानि तस्यापि काव्येऽस्मिन् वस्तु संभवेत् ॥ ६२ ॥
 रघूणामिति पूजार्थं बहूक्तिश्चेति गृह्यताम् ।
 लक्षणाग्रहणं चापि पक्षेऽस्मिन्ननपेक्षितम् ॥ ६३ ॥
 बहूक्तेरुपपत्त्यर्थं लक्षणाश्रयणाद्वरम् ।
 रघूणामिति पूजार्थं बहूक्तिग्रहणं ध्रुवम् ॥ ६४ ॥
 वंशे वा वंशजातेषु लक्षणेत्यप्यनिश्चितम् ।
 वाक्यान्वयस्तूभयत्र पक्षे भवति दुर्घटः ॥ ६५ ॥
 एवंगुणसमेतस्य रघोर्वक्ष्येऽहमन्वयम् ।
 इत्यन्वयोऽतिसरलः श्लोके विशयवर्जितः ॥ ६६ ॥
 पक्षपातः कवेरत्र रघुवंशेषु राजसु ।
 विद्यमानो महान् कश्चित् काव्याद्यार्थं न दृश्यते ॥ ६७ ॥
 रघोस्तु वंशकर्तृत्वं नैकत्र प्रतिपादितम् ।
 पक्षपातं रघावेव कवेः सूचयति स्फुटम् ॥ ६८ ॥
 ततो वंशस्य कर्तारमुपवर्णय रघुं कविः ।
 पूर्णप्रतिज्ञः काव्यस्य समार्तिं च समानयत् ॥ ६९ ॥
 रघोः कथाप्रसङ्गेन प्रवेशितमजं कविः ।
 कान्तया संगतं नाके स्थापयामास ; तत्सुतः ॥

६०. १.९

६३. रघूणामन्वयं वक्ष्ये इत्यत्र बहुवचनप्रयोगे लक्षणया तद्व्यतिरिक्त्यन्ते इति प्रायो व्याख्यातृणामभिप्रायः ।

६५. रघूणामन्वयं तद्विषयप्रबन्धम् इत्येव मन्निनाथः । The word in the text means "The solar race, Raghu family" इत्याधुनिकस्य कस्यापि टिप्पणिः । उभयथापि क्लेशः । लक्षणया रघुवंशजानां वंश इति वा रघुवंशस्य वंश इति वा नैकेमपि पक्षः सम्यग्वदते ।

प्रजानां रक्षणविधौ कुमारस्तदनन्तरम् ।
 विनीतः सन् समादिष्टः ; कथा चैवं समापिता ॥ ७०, ७१ ॥
 कालिदासीयसत्काव्यरघुवंशसमापनम् ।
 यदि सर्गाष्टकान्ते स्यात् लाभोऽस्माकं महान् भवेत् ॥ ७२ ॥
 नायकोऽप्येक एवात्र; वस्तुवैकात्म्यं च सुस्थितम् ।
 शुभं स्यादवसानं च काव्ये स्वाभाविकं तथा ॥ ७३ ॥
 लीलागारेष्वरमत नन्दनाभ्यन्तरेष्वसौ ।
 इत्येवं विरते काव्ये रम्ये सर्गाष्टके शुभम् ॥
 तीर्थे तोयव्यतिकरभवे देहं त्यजन्नजः ।
 पूर्वाधिकरुचा युक्तः संगतः कान्तया पुनः ॥
 आकांक्षायां निवृत्तायां पुनः पितुरनन्तरम् ।
 इत्यारम्भो ममाभाति समाप्तपुनरात्तवत् ॥ ७४, ७५, ७६ ॥
 कुमारसंभवं काव्यं सर्गैरष्टाभिरादिमैः ।
 समाप्तमिति सर्वेषामभिप्रायः पुरातनः ॥ ७७ ॥
 सर्गास्ततः परं चान्ये स्वयं निर्माय केचन ।
 अर्वाचीनेन कविना प्रक्षिप्तास्तत्र केनचित् ॥ ७८ ॥
 व्याख्यातुभिर्मल्लिनाथमुखैस्तेभ्यः पराङ्मुखैः ।
 अन्ते सर्गस्याष्टमस्य कृतं व्याख्यासमापनम् ॥ ७९ ॥
 सर्गेऽष्टमे किन्तु काव्यं समाप्तं नैव भासते ।
 निराश्रयं कथावस्तु साकांक्षमवतिष्ठते ॥ ८० ॥
 शम्भुः सङ्गी दिवा नक्तं क्रीडन् गिरिजया सह ।
 ऋतूनां च शते याते च्छिन्नतृष्णो बभूव न ॥ ८१ ॥

७१. सम्यग्विनीतमथ वर्महरं कुमार—
 मादिश्य रक्षणविधौ नृपतिः प्रजानाम् । ८. ९४
७२. सत्काव्यशब्देन प्रक्षिप्ताद्यमलितत्वमभिप्रेतम् ।
७४. ७५. तीर्थे तोयव्यतिकरभवे जहुकन्यासरय्योः
 देहत्यागादमरणनालेख्यमासाद्य सद्यः ।
 पूर्वाकाराधिकतररुचा संगतः कान्तयासौ
 लीलागारेष्वरमत पुनर्नन्दनाभ्यन्तरेषु ॥ ८. ९५
७६. पितुरनन्तरमुत्तरकोसलान् समधिगम्य समाधितेन्द्रियः ।
 दशरथः प्रशशास महारथो यमव्रतामवतां च धुरि स्थितः ॥ ९. १
८१. समदिवसनिशीथं सङ्घिनस्तस्यशम्भोः
 शतमगमदतूलां साप्रमेका निशेव ।
 न तु सुरतसुखेभ्यश्छिन्नतृष्णो बभूव
 ज्वलन इव समुद्रान्तर्गतस्ताज्जलैर्धैः ॥ ८. ९

पंवरूपसमाप्तिश्च तृप्त्यै सहृदयस्य न ।
 काव्यशेषं पूरयितुमभूद्भूतं कवेर्मतिः ॥ ८२ ॥
 कारणेन तु केनापि काव्यसर्गाष्टको पुनः ।
 उत्सृष्टोऽभूदपूर्णश्च—स्थितिरेषेति भासते ॥ ८३ ॥
 रघुवंशं पुनः काव्यं सर्गाणां प्राक्तनैरपि ।
 पूर्णमेकोनविंशत्या स्वीकृतं नान्यथैव तु ॥ ८४ ॥
 विद्वत्प्रसिद्धिरैतिह्यमभिप्रायोऽपि नूतनः ।
 व्याख्यातृणां वचश्चालंकारिकाणां च सम्मतिः ॥
 सर्वाण्येतान्यैकरूप्यमालम्ब्योद्धोषयन्त्यपि ।
 स्वरूपं रघुवंशस्य यथैतदुपलभ्यते ॥ ८५, ८६ ॥
 नाटकान्यपि काव्यानि परिशील्य पुनः पुनः ।
 सर्वाणि कालिदासस्य सावधानं विमृश्य च ।
 आरभ्य नवमात् सर्गाद्रघुवंशोऽपि केनचित् ।
 अर्वाचीनेन रचितो भाग इत्येव मे मतिः ॥ ८७, ८८ ॥
 शङ्का चेत् कार्यं एव स्याद्विचारस्तन्नित्तये ।
 आप्तवाक्याद्यभावेन तां नैवोपेक्षते बुधः ॥ ८९ ॥
 शीतो वा वह्निष्णो वा सति श्रुतिशतेऽपि च ।
 इति शङ्कां न वादत्ते निरस्यानुभवं निजम् ॥ ९० ॥
 कोटिद्वयं समीक्ष्यैव वस्तु सर्वं विमृश्य च ।
 शङ्कैवास्ति न वेत्येतन्निश्चिन्वन्तु बुधाः स्वयम् ॥ ९१ ॥
 विमर्शाहोणि वस्तूनि सन्त्यन्यानि बह्वन्यपि ।
 अवतारयितुं शङ्कां दर्शितान्यत्र कानिचित् ॥ ९२ ॥
 निर्मत्सराः सहृदया विद्वांसोऽभिनवामिमाम् ।
 संशोधयन्तु शङ्का मे साहसं मर्षयन्तु च ॥ ९३ ॥

EXCAVATIONS AT MAHESHWAR AND NEVASA AND THEIR POSSIBLE BEARING ON THE PURANIC HISTORY

By

H. D. SANKALIA

In the lecture that I had the privilege to deliver at the 150th anniversary of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, I spoke on the Excavations at Maheshwar^a and Puranic Tradition.

Immediately afterwards we excavated at Nevāsā.^b These two as well as our previous dig at Nāsik^c indicate the possible development of man and his material culture in the Narmadā-Godāvarī basins, from the Early Stone Age right upto the Muslim rule. The beginnings of the intervening so-called "early historical" period is well attested at all the three sites stratigraphically and culturally by early coins, and the characteristic black-and-red pottery. At all the three sites again, the end of this period is marked by the disappearance of this ware and the appearance of a Red Polished Ware, a part of which is definitely of "Roman" origin (at least at Nāsik and Nevāsā). So the "pre-early historic" character of the culture, we propose to discuss, is undoubted.

With a view to having a clearer idea, the sequences are sketched in the Table.

Of these periods we are not so much concerned here with the Periods I, II and Period IV (and its sub-divisions), as with Period III.

It is now evident from the excavations at Nāsik, Jorwe, Nāvda Toli and Nevāsā, as well as from explorations in the Godāvarī-Pravarā valleys and on the Narmadā, Chambal and other smaller rivers of Malwa in Madhya Bharat that this period signifies the colonization or the first settlement by a man more civilized than his predecessor.¹ The latter was in a purely food-gathering stage. He was a hunter primarily using implements of stone only and lived

a. For a preliminary account of this excavation see SANKALIA, H. D., SUBBA RAO B., and DEO, S. B., "The Archaeological Sequence of Central India" in the *South-Western Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 9, 1953, pp. 343-356.

b. Here I was ably assisted by my former pupil and colleague, Dr. S. B. DEO, and Shaikh Zainuddin Ansari and four junior pupils. The excavations were organised by the Deccan College, under the auspices of the Poona University, which as well as the Government of Bombay helped financially, while the Collector of Ahmadnagar, local officials and a few prominent persons rendered considerable assistance. To all these I am deeply obliged, and thank them.

c. See SANKALIA, H. D., and DEO, S. B., *Excavations at Nāsik and Jorwe*, (Poona, 1955).

on the banks of the rivers mentioned above when they were aggrading, that is, filling up their beds, owing perhaps to decreasing rainfall.

On these aggraded gravel beds was formed a thick layer of brownish sandy silt ; under what climatic conditions it is not yet positively ascertained. Neither exploration (nor partial excavation as at Nevāsā) of this silt has so far yielded any artifacts. It must, therefore, be presumed that man was absent at this period.

Over this brownish silt grew up a layer of black soil. It is neither uniformly thick nor the same in colour and content everywhere. In colour it varies from dark black to brown, and forms fissures when dry. The formation of this surface soil from Malwa to Dharwad is attributed to the heavy vegetation and the weathering of the trap rock under humid conditions. Its colloidal content makes it a very rich soil for cultivation, provided water is available.

The first settlers^d thus had to cut down huge forests and make their way gradually. What was their equipment for this and how did they live ?

The available data suggest that these people lived in huts raised on timber posts, the floors of which were carefully made by (i) mixing lime with gravel or (ii) using burnt black soil with lime as a sort of hydraulic lime mortar. The use of lime they definitely knew, as at Nevāsā were found pits sunk into the black soil for making lime. (The raw material for this was readily available from the underlying brownish sandy silt and its kankary nodules are even used today for making lime). These houses were lighted by a large, oval-shaped terra-cotta lamp, having a central groove for the wick. Ninety-nine per cent of their tools (and weapons) were made of delicately made chalcedony blades, though it appears that they knew and used copper or bronze tools such as flat axes, chisels, fish hooks, and ornaments like barrel-shaped bead and simple bangles.

These people also made heavier tools, and weapons such as a mace-head of quartzite perfectly round and smooth stone balls of quartz, and polished pointed butt-axes on trap, and used large boat-shaped querns for grinding.

d. Here I am leaving out the question of the proto-microlithic (Upper Palaeolithic) stage of which stratified industries occur at Maheshwar and Nevāsā. At the former site these tools were mostly found in the black soil, while in the latter, none was found in this soil, but a large number was found in the upper and middle gravel, while the lowest yielded large palaeoliths on trap. So the problem of their age and character is complicated, and best left out at present.

But above all they made fine clay vessels of extremely well levigated clay, and fired them at uniformly high temperature. These were coated with a fine red (or sometimes as in Malwa with a white or cream) slip and painted with designs in black. In the Godāvarī Valley these are uniformly of geometric type (triangles, squares, rhomboids) *except for one faithful representation of a dog or dog-like animal* (see Fig. 12), whereas in the Narmadā, besides these geometric motifs are also found a few stylized floral and animal motifs.

The pottery types also differ, though one particular bowl-type with simple oblique line decoration on the concave rim and fine thin walls is common to both the valleys. The Godāvarī-Pravarā people specialized in fine, thin-walled vessels with small or large flaring angular rims and bellies, whereas in the Narmadā the shapes are more varied (See Figs. 2 and 13) and *they include, besides dishes and bowls with high, solid or hollow stand*. This latter — with the exception of a solitary specimen from Nevāsā — is completely, so far, absent in the Godāvarī Valley.

Now the question is “who are these first colonizers on the black soil?” We have no direct evidence hitherto to say anything about them, it must be remembered. Whatever is said here is based on a circumstantial evidence of a kind, and said more with a view to foster more research (excavation), rather than to advocate a particular point of view or theory.

There are several possibilities, which we shall discuss one by one.

First. It may be said that the black soil inhabitants represent the pre-Aryan or non-Aryan tribes which lived in the Deccan, Central India and Central Provinces.

If a local habitation and a name is necessary, one might mention the “pre-dynastic” Andhras, Pulindas, Śavaras, and Niṣādas, who figure as early as the *Aitareya* and *Satapatha Brāhmaṇas* and later in the *Mahābhārata* and in some of the Purāṇas are mentioned specifically as inhabitants of the *Dakṣiṇā-patha*.² The first two, beside the Rāṣṭrikas and Bhojas, are referred to as vassal tribes of Aśoka in his edicts.

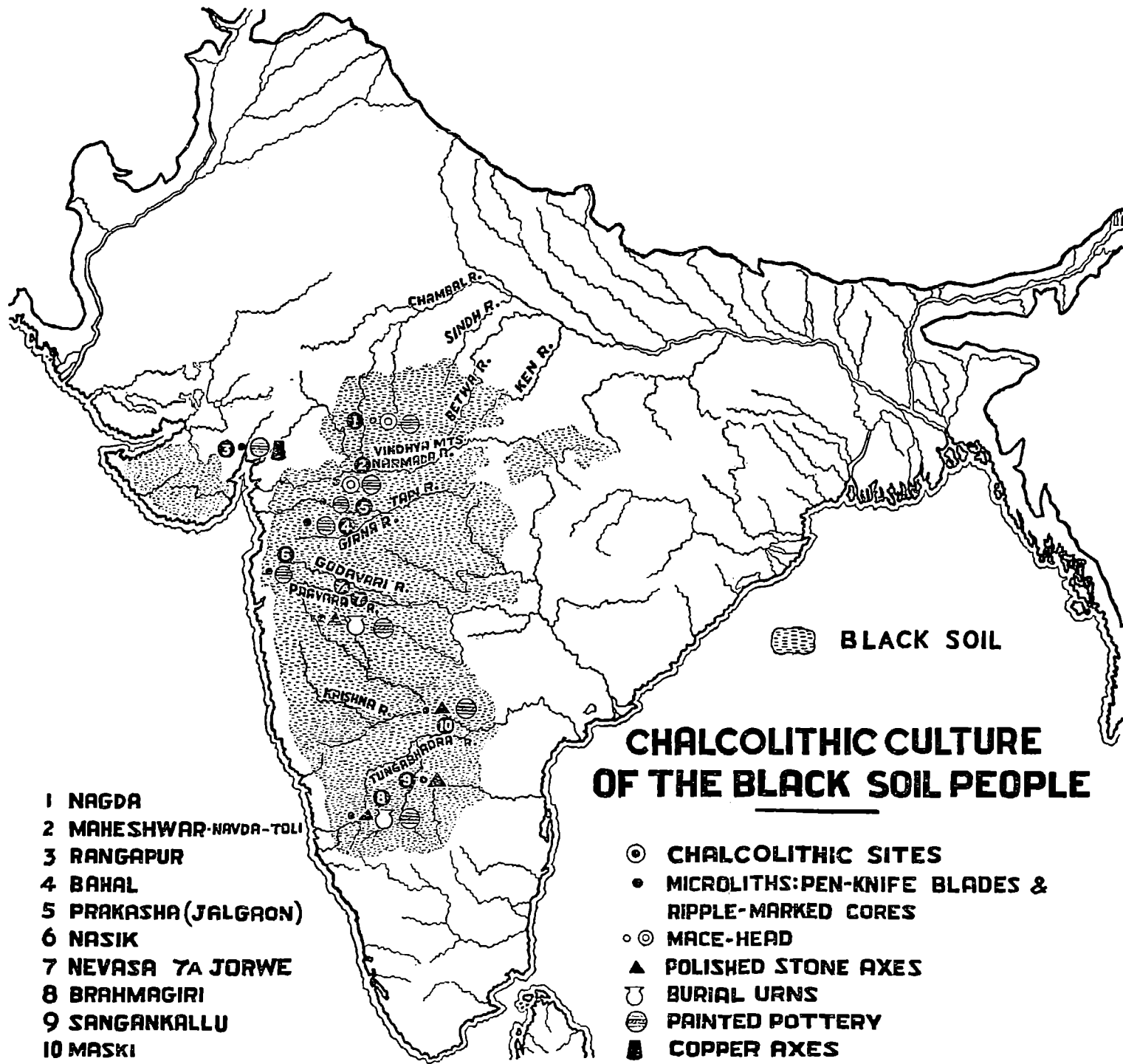
These tribes were in the Chalcolithic stage of civilization. Their settlements were run over by the Āryans (or kings of the North) in about the 4th-5th century B.C. as the evidence from Nāgdā, Maheshwar, Nāgdā-Toli, Bahāl, Nevāsā, Nāsik, shows.³ This could be one of the possibilities. The main objection against it is that :

- (i) We shall have then to suppose that these regions — Madhya Bhārat (Malwa), and the Deccan — were penetrated by the Āryans or rulers of the north in only about the 4th or 5th century B.C.
- (ii) This obviously goes against the Puranic tradition, (which is summarized below) according to which the Haihayas and the Yādavas had settled in the valley of the Narmadā and its tributaries, and further eastwards in Vidarbha, and in the extreme west in Saurāshṭra — much before the historic Mauryas and their predecessors.

Second. Instead of believing these inhabitants of the black soil as the defeated pre-Āryan tribes could they themselves represent the several Āryan or "Puranic" tribes? For instance, the various Yādava and Haihaya families in the Narmadā and Tāpi valleys and the Aśmakas, Mūlakas, Nāsikyās in the Godāvarī basin.⁴ Nothing "Āryan" is so far found in the material culture of these people, so the evidence is of the most circumstantial type. Let us, however, see what the implications of such an hypothesis would lead us to.

We shall start by studying the distribution (See Map) and characteristics of the chief elements of their material culture. Here one remarkable thing to be noted is the character of the lithic industry. (See Figs. 9-10). It is the one factor which is common to the Chalcolithic cultures of Nāgdā, Maheshwar, Nāvda-Toli, Prakāsha, Bahāl, Nevāsā, Jorwe. The cores are not only as a rule longitudinally fluted, but they are delicately flaked on the underside by such fine pressure-flaking as to remind one of the ripple-flaking on the Egyptian Neolithic, as well as of Bronze Age stone tools of Europe. Besides one of the sides of the core has very often, *but not always*, a crested ridge, which is supposed to serve as a guide in flaking. Dr. Subba Rao tells me such cores are also found in Saurāshṭra⁵ around Porbunder and elsewhere, in association with painted pottery. No cores are reported from Brahmagiri where microliths occur in large number in a Chalcolithic context. So it is difficult to pronounce a definite judgment on the technical aspects of its lithic industry, but it is more than probable that the same technique was used in the manufacture of the microliths. If so, Brahmagiri would be the farthestmost point in the South in the distribution map of this Chalcolithic-microlithic industry. Māski, a few miles to the north-west, has yielded similar flakes and perhaps cores, and its pottery too, according to THAPAR, is like that of Jorwe and Nāsik.^{5a}

Outside India, Dr. SUBBA RAO reports that this peculiar industry occurs in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age in France and many parts of Western Asia. He is at present studying this industry



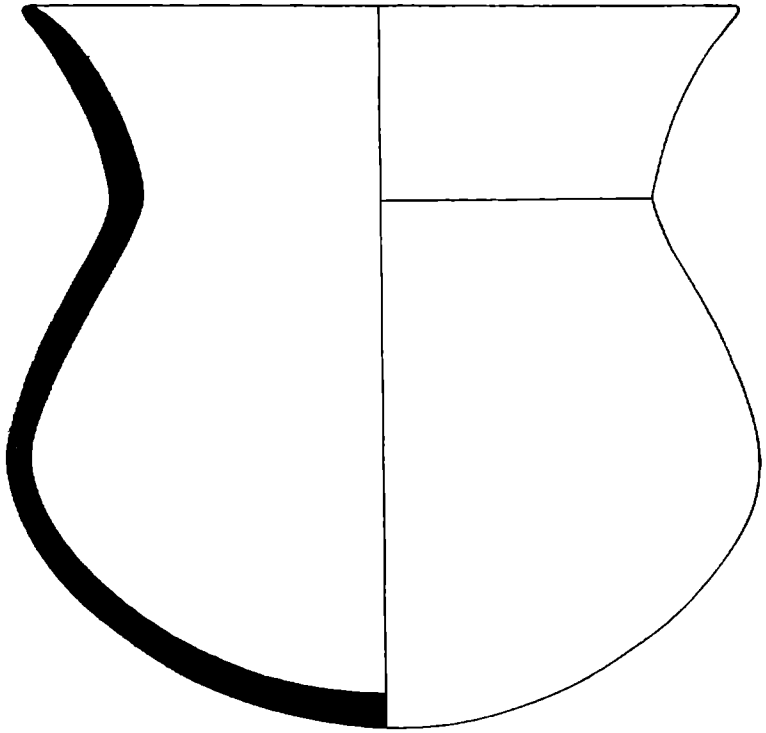
- 1 NAGDA
- 2 MAHESHWAR-NAVDA-TOLI
- 3 RANGAPUR
- 4 BAHAL
- 5 PRAKASHA (JALGAON)
- 6 NASIK
- 7 NEVASA & JORWE
- 8 BRAHMAGIRI
- 9 SANGANKALLU
- 10 MASKI


CHALCOLITHIC CULTURE OF THE BLACK SOIL PEOPLE

- ⊙ CHALCOLITHIC SITES
- MICROLITHS: PEN-KNIFE BLADES & RIPPLE-MARKED CORES
- ◉ MACE-HEAD
- ▲ POLISHED STONE AXES
- ☪ BURIAL URNS
- ⊕ PAINTED POTTERY
- ⚔ COPPER AXES

		<i>Brahmagiri</i>	<i>Nāsik</i>	<i>Jorwe</i>	<i>Nevāsā</i>	<i>Maheshwar-Nāvdā-Toli-Nāgdā</i>
Period I	Early Stone Age	Rock	Old gravel bed with clay.		Old gravel bed Hand-Axes, Cleavers on trap.	Old Gravel Bed Large flakes, cleavers and } Two hand-axes.
Period II	Later Stone Age or Proto-Microlithic		Fine Gravel without tools.	Fine gravel (not examined)	Middle and top Gravel with small flake tools and blades of Chert, Jasper, etc.	Fine Gravel with small tools (occasional), of Jasper, Chert, etc., mostly scrapers.
<i>Gap</i>			Brown sandy silt.	Brown sandy silt.	Brown sandy silt	Brown sandy silt.
Period IIA	Proto-Microlithic	Black Soil	Black-Brown soil.	Black-brown soil.	Black-Brown soil	Black-brown soil with an industry of scrapers on chert and jasper, probably contemporary with and similar to that of Period II on the Godāvārī
		<i>Top of "Hard" black soil.</i>	<i>Top of black soil.</i>	<i>Top of black soil.</i>	<i>Top of black soil</i>	<i>Top of black soil.</i>
Period III		Chalcolithic with Polished Stone Axes.	Chalcolithic.	Chalcolithic.	Chalcolithic with Polished Stone Axes.	Chalcolithic with Mace-heads having hour-glass section.
		(i) Lunate only one; mostly un-retouched double-edged flakes. <i>No Cores</i>	Lunates, Trapez, Fluted core.	Lunates, Trapez, typically fluted core and pen-knife blades.	Lunates, Trapez, pen-knife blades and typically fluted cores.	Lunates, trapez, typically fluted core and pen-knife blades.
		(ii) Painted Pottery.	Painted Pottery	Painted Pottery.	Painted Pottery	Painted Pottery with dishes and bowls-on-stand.
		(iii) Handmade salt — glazed Burial urns. Copper chisel and rod.	Burial Urn (sherds)	Burial Urn.	Burial Urn. Copper hook, chisel and bead. Polished Stone Axes.	Thin Black-and-Red Pottery with oblique white lines on the rim. Copper chisel and hook.
		(iv) Polished Stone Axes.				(iv) Mace-heads.
Period IVA		Megaliths and typical Black-and-Red Pottery with iron tools and weapons.	(i) Black-and-Red Pottery.		(i) Black-and-Red Pottery.	(i) Black-and-Red Pottery.
			(ii) Early cast coins.		(ii) Andhra coins.	(ii) Punch-marked coins.
			(iii) Iron tools and weapons.		(iii) Iron tools and weapons.	(iii) Iron tools and weapons.
Period IVB		Andhra criss-cross Ware with Rouletted Ware and Roman coins.	Samian and Rouletted ware.		Roman Amphora and Red Polished ware.	Red Polished Ware.

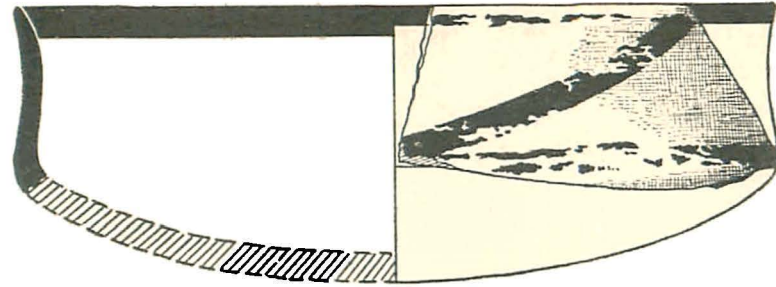
1. BURIAL URN, CHALCOLITHIC, NEVASA.



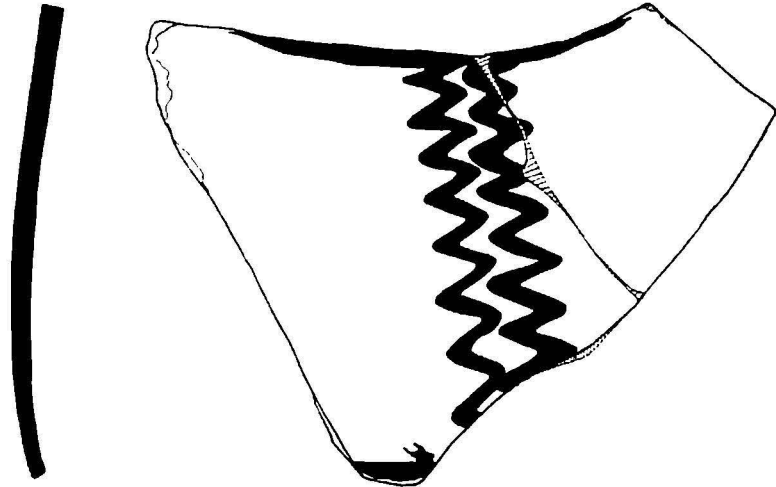
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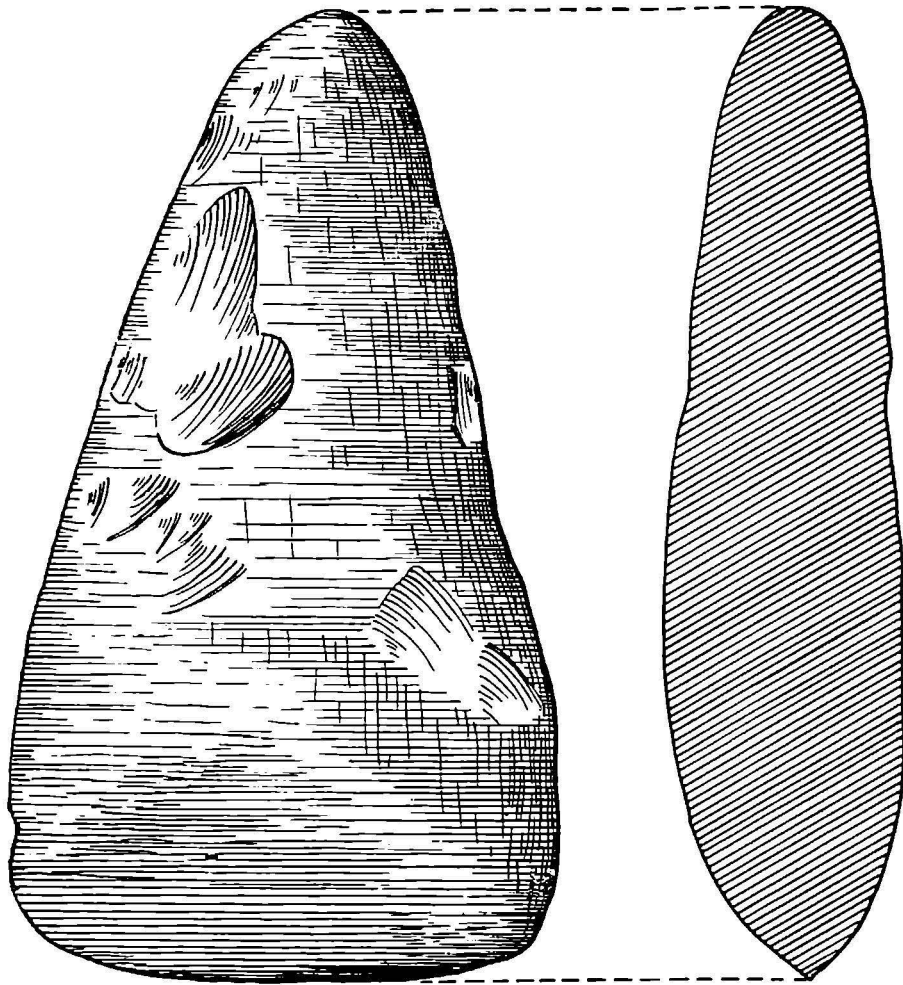
2. PARTIAL BURIAL OF AN INFANT WITH BOWLS, CHALCOLITHIC, NEVASA.



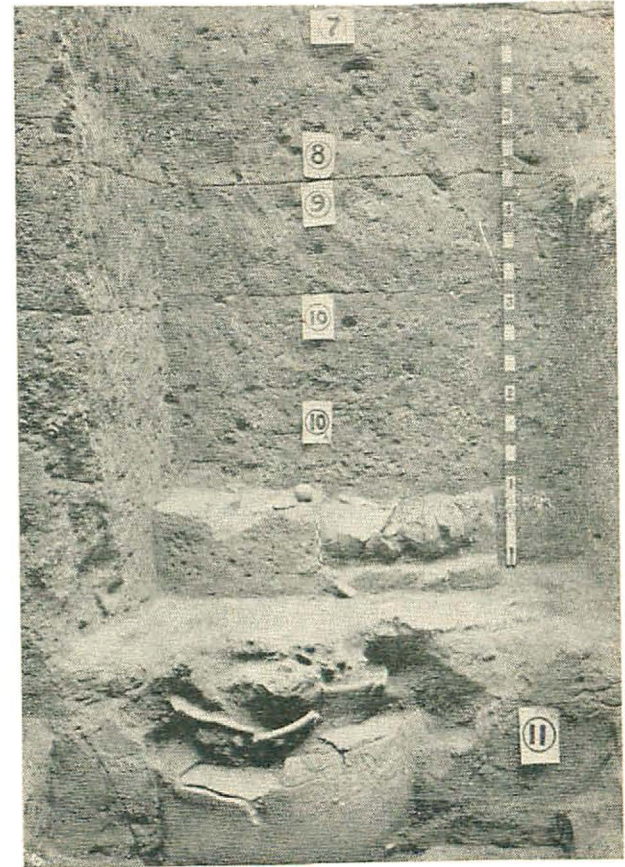
3. BOWL TYPE, CHALCOLITHIC, NEVASA AND NAVDA TOLI.



4. WAVY VERTICAL DESIGNS, CHALCOLITHIC, NEVASA AND NAVDA TOLI.



5. POLISHED STONE AXE, CHALCOLITHIC, NEVASA.



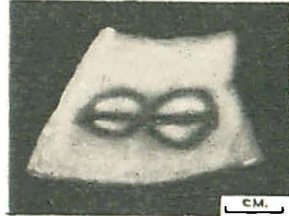
6. CHALCOLITHIC LAYERS (9-11), NEVASA, WITH BURIAL URNS AND A STORAGE JAR IN SITU



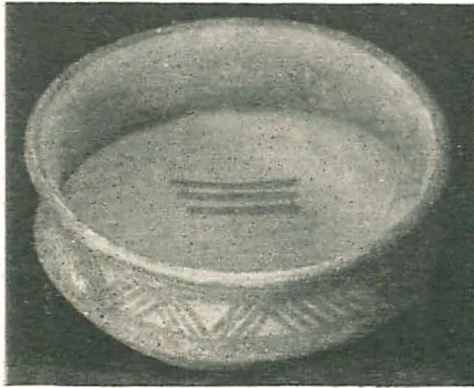
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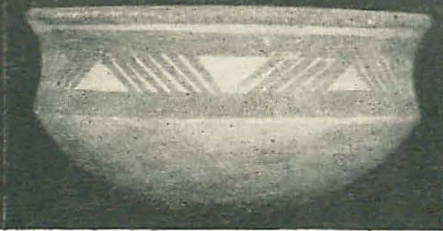
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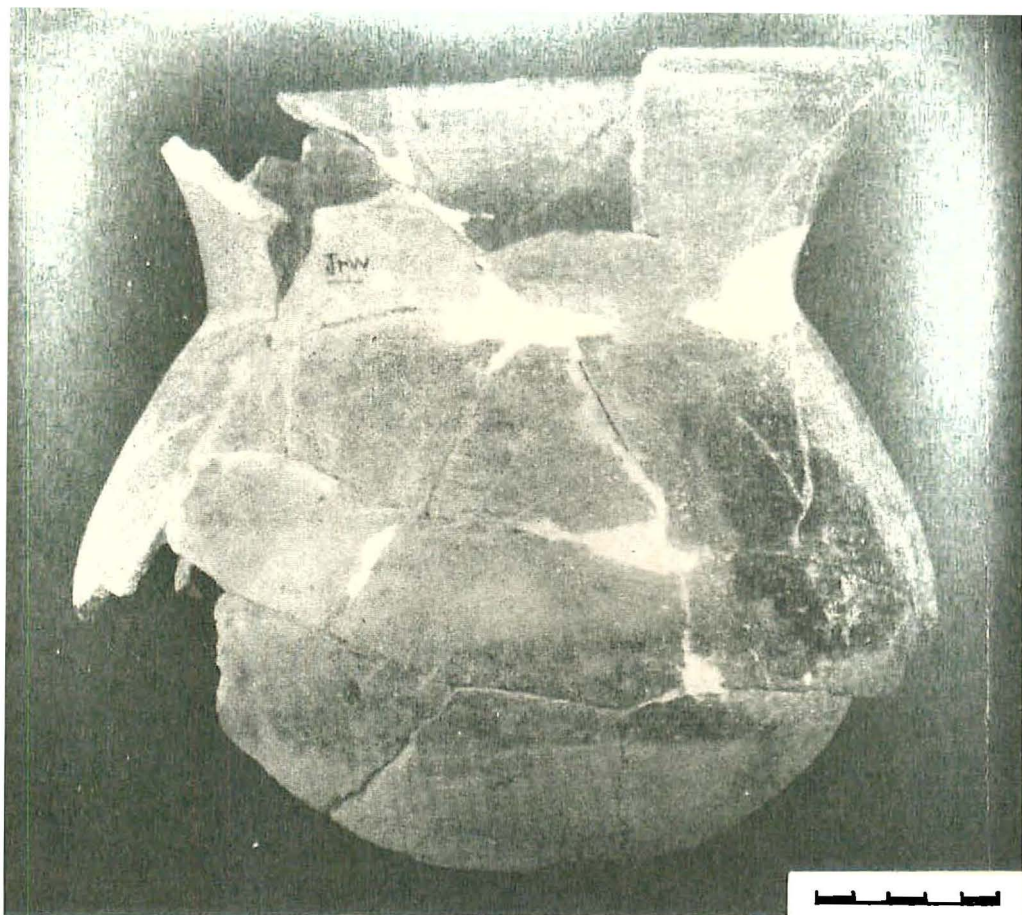
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7. PAINTED POTTERY, CHALCOLITHIC, JORWE.



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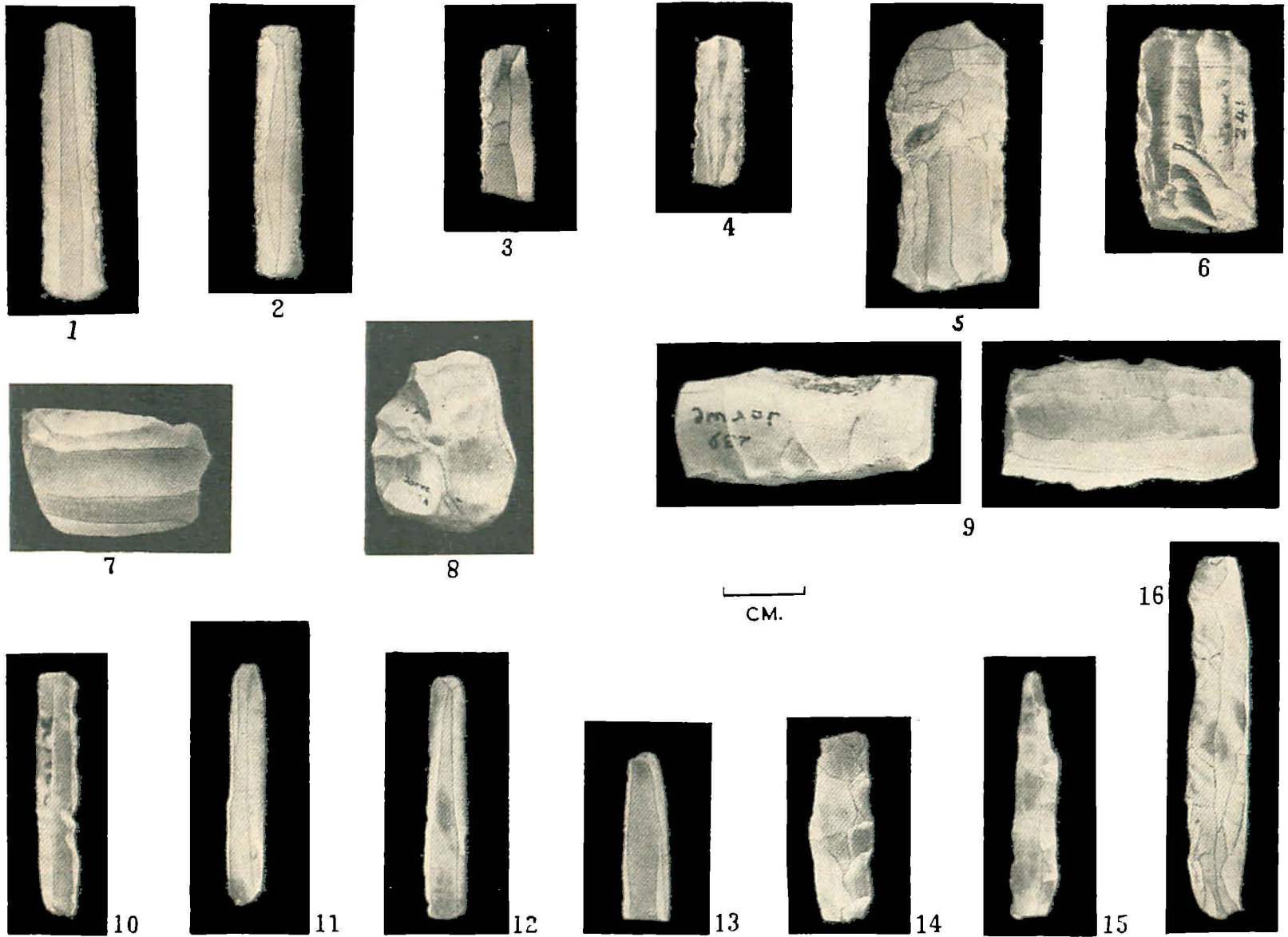


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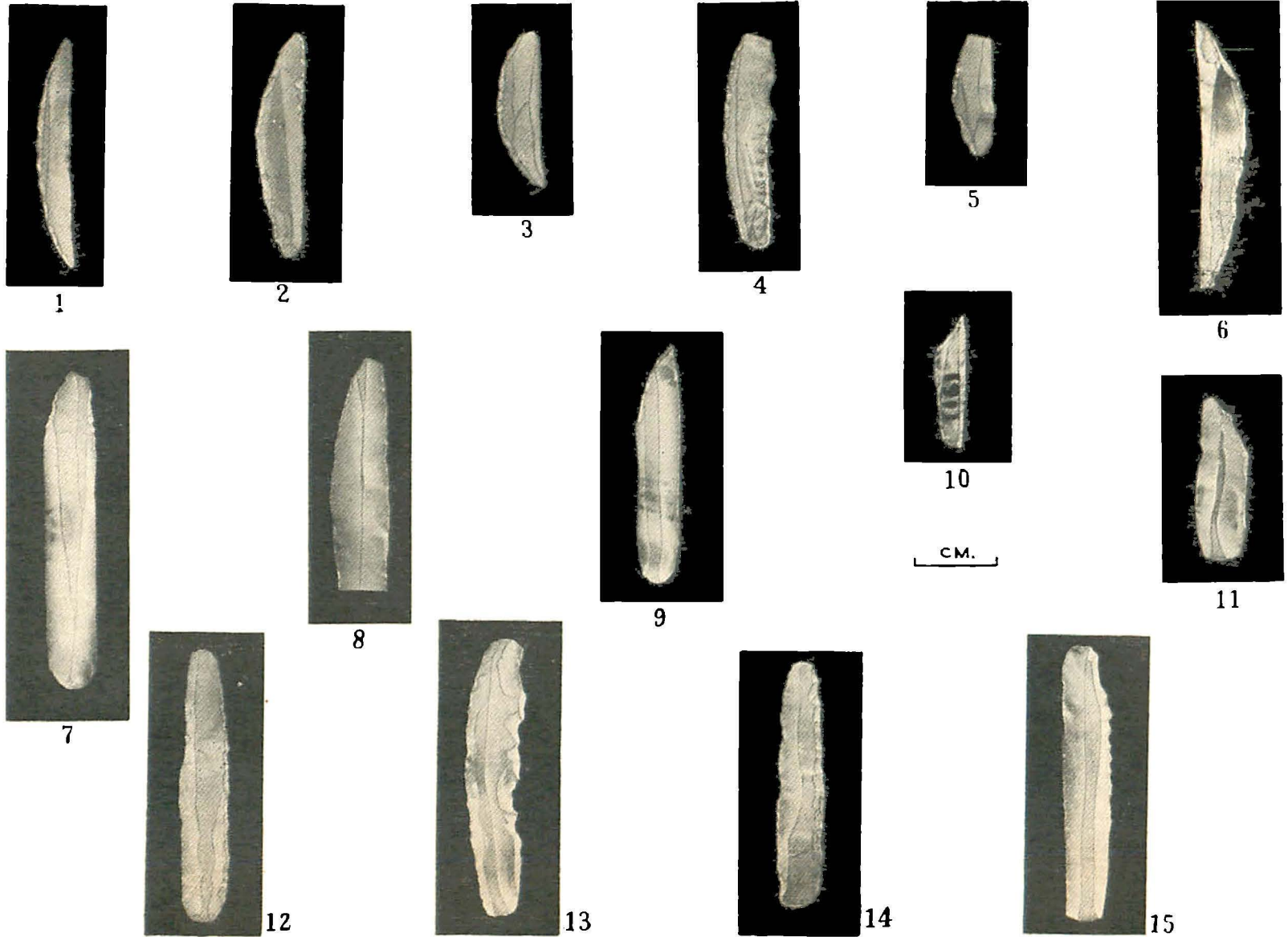


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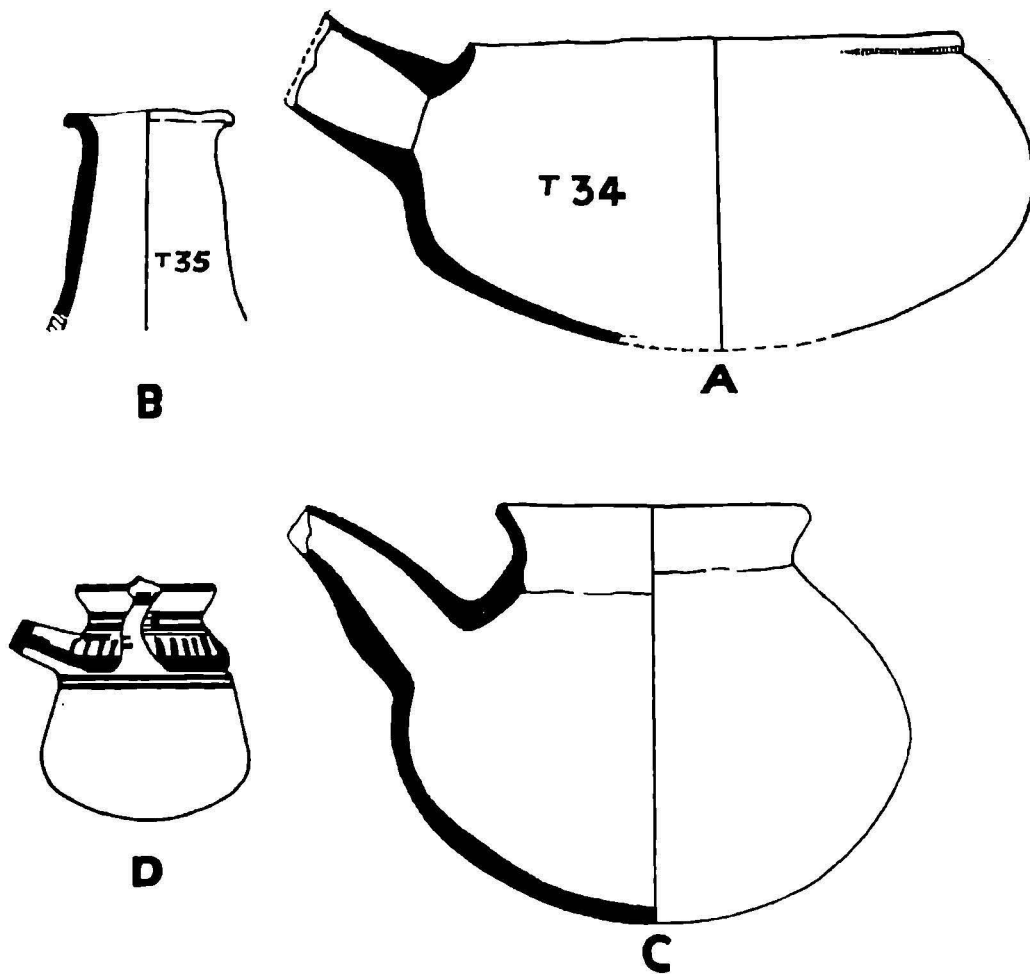
8. BURIAL URNS (1-2) AND A DOUBLE POT, JORWE.



9. MICROLITHS, PARALLEL-SIDED FLAKES AND BLADES (1-4, 10-13), CRESTED RIDGED FLAKES (14-16), AND CORES (5-9), JORWE. IDENTICAL AT NAVDA TOLI, PRAKASHA AND NAGDA.



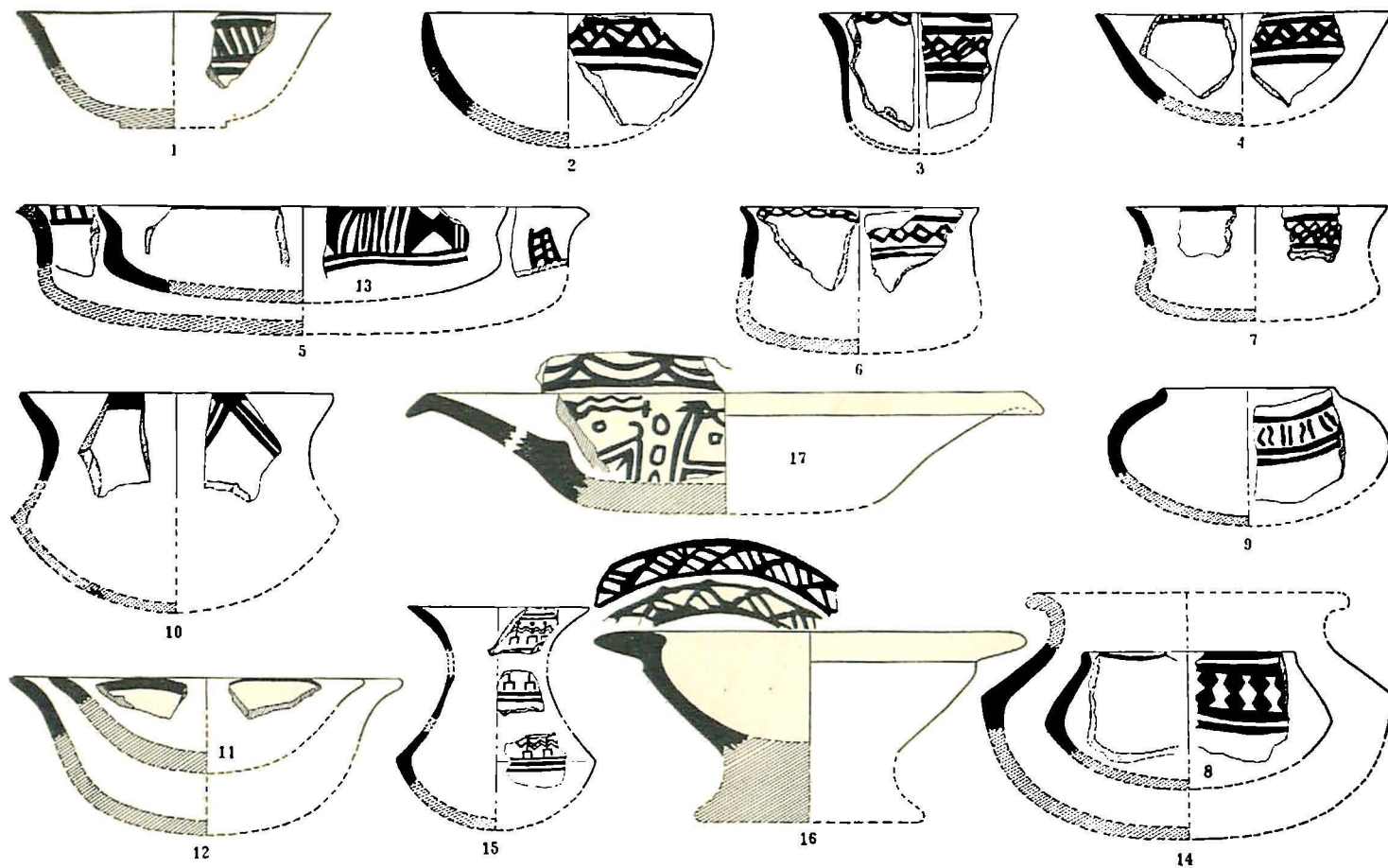
10. LUNATES AND PENKNIFE BLADES, JORWE. IDENTICAL AT NAVDA TOLI, PRAKASH AND NAGDA.



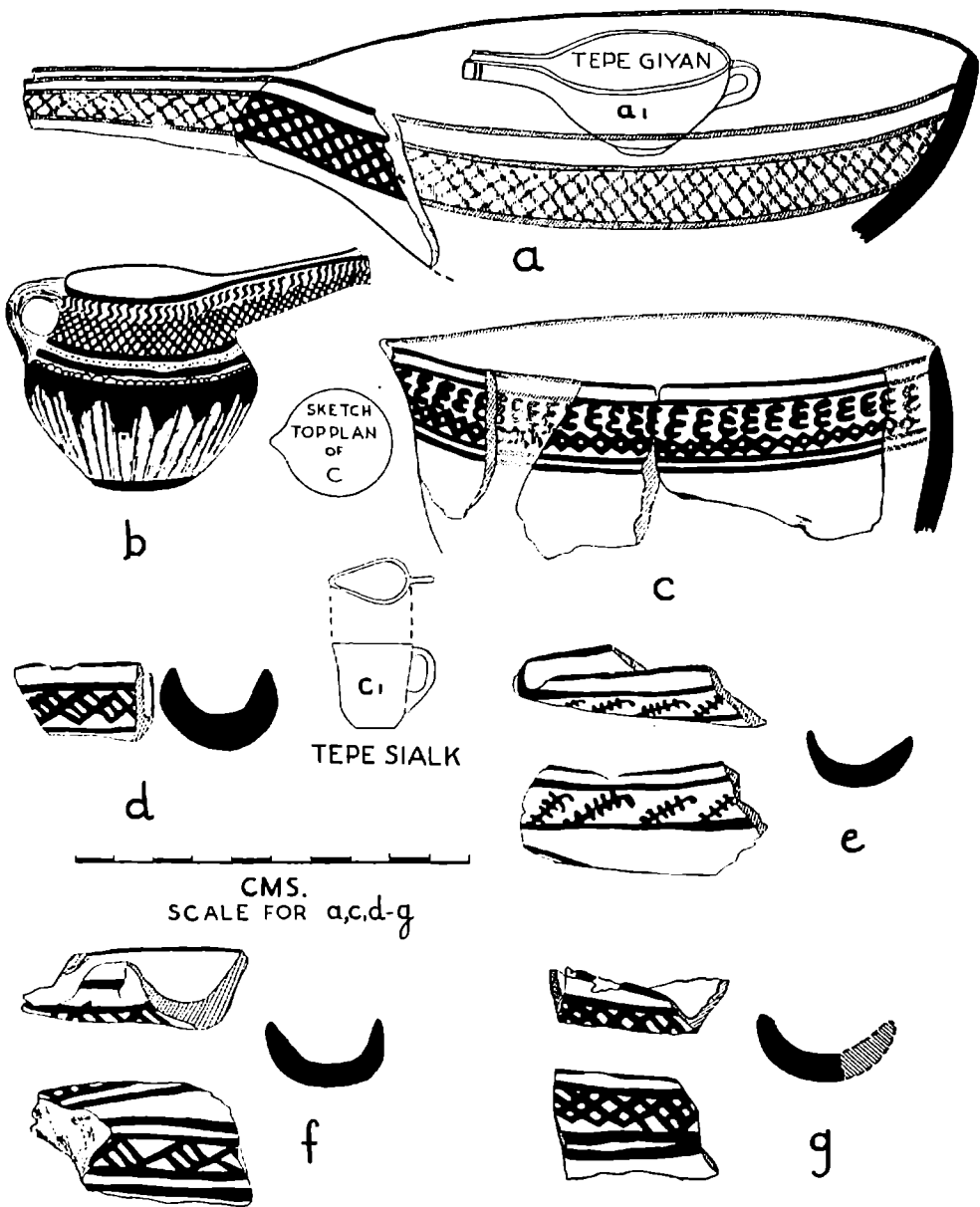
11. POTS WITH PAINTED SPOUTS, A, C, B, BRAHMAGIRI. D IRAN (TEPE GIYAN)



12. POTSHERD WITH A PAINTED DOG, CHALCOLITHIC, NEVASA.



13 - PRINCIPAL TYPES, WHITE-SLIPPED WARE NĀVDĀṬOLI M.B.



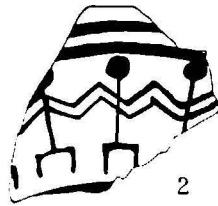
PAINED CHANNEL SPOUT POTTERY TYPES
 NAVDATOLI- CENTRAL INDIA & SIALK - IRAN -

HUMAN FIGURES ON POTTERY FROM INDIA & WESTERN ASIA



1

NĀVDĀ TOLI



2



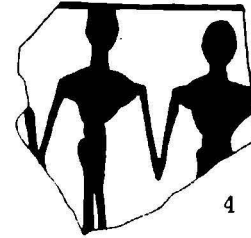
3

TELL HALAF



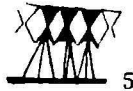
3a

TOGAU



4

SIALK



5

TELL HALAF

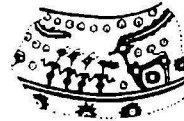


6

CHAGAR BAZAR



7



8

HARAPPA



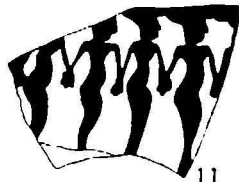
9

CHAGAR BAZAR



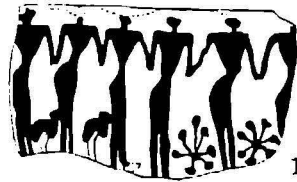
10

SAMARRA



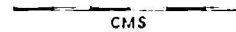
11

CHESHMEH 'ALI



12

SIALK



CMS



13

CHAGAR BAZAR



14

SIALK

in London. So we shall await the results of his study before going further afield.

The microlithic industry, mentioned above, is certainly different from that found, for instance, at Panch Marhi in the Central Provinces, or Langhnaj in North Gujarat, or that of Kāndivli near Bombay, and that of Jalahalli near Bangalore.^{6a} While these are truly microlithic, though among themselves they might differ in certain particulars, "the Nāsik-Jorwe Industry" to call it by the sites where it was first found and identified as such, is truly a Short Blade Industry. Though lunates, trapeze and triangles do figure in it, the most abundant types are "long" parallel-sided flakes (termed "ribbon" flakes), many of which are retouched on one or both sides or obliquely at one end for the purpose of getting straight or obliquely edged knife blades. And it is possible that such pressure flaking was achieved by metal tools.

So this industry when plotted on a map is found almost co-extensive with the Deccan trap and black soil regions of Western India, and the so-called 'Āryans' might have taken it along with them in their peregrinations. Now this industry is usually associated with painted pottery, steatite and faience beads of segmented^{5c} — tubular and disc — types.

The vast region mentioned above does not yield an identical type of pottery. At present it seems to fall into three or four sub-regional zones as follows :—

(i) The Nāvda-Toli or Narmadā Valley pottery covering the Valleys of the Chambal in the North, and Tāpī in the south. (See Fig. 13).

(ii) The Nāsik-Jorwe or the Godāvarī Valley Pottery covering the Valleys of the Godāvarī and the Pravarā. (See Fig. 5). Whether the Painted Pottery of the Brahmagiri IA culture is identical with it, it is difficult to say without handling it. But its urn-types seem to be identical in type and fabric with those of the Godāvarī Valley. (See Figs. 1, 2, and 8). So Brahmagiri (and Māsiki) may be provisionally included as the southernmost outposts of this culture, as known today.

(iii) The Rangpur Painted Pottery.⁹ This is sub-divisible into at least two groups :—

(a) This is the earlier and very likely has affinities with the Indus Valley pottery.⁹

e. This point now seems to be settled by the discovery of five Harappan or Indus Valley seals, as reported on 14-3-55, in a nearby site, Lothal in the Dhandhukā Tahuka.

(b) A later pottery of much finer and thinner fabric immediately underlying the earliest historical pottery.^f

With more discoveries and further detailed study, I am sure, more sub-regional groups will emerge. At present we can connect all the three groups by one or two common types.

Thus (i) spouted pots^r of Brahmagiri IA and IB (Fig. 11) might be regarded as variants of the similar types from Jorwe-Nevāsā-Nāsik,

(ii) a thin-walled concave rimmed bowl from Jorwe-Nevāsā with similar one from Nāvdā-Toli,^s (Fig. 3).

(iii) general resemblance between the "fruit or offering stand", dishes and bowls of Nāvdā-Toli^o and Rangpur IIIB. These as well as dishes or plates are almost non-existent in the Nāsik-Jorwe pottery.

Thus the black soil people, though they had an identical lithic industry, had different types and fabrics of painted pottery. These, as indicated above, fall into three or four regional groups. Do these different pottery groups stand for different "Āryan" or other tribes?

So far there is no direct or positive evidence to say anything definite on this question. Nāvdā-Toli, however, has given certain pottery types — a channel-spouted vessel — (Fig. 14) *which is functionally and as regards decoration, identical with those from Iran.*¹⁰ Further, certain painted human figure motives bear resemblance to similar ones from Western Asia. (Fig. 15). The characteristic painted band along the spout of the vessels of the Nāsik-Jorwe culture recalls the one from Tepe Giyan.^{10a} (Fig. 11^d)

The one people or tribe who would suit such a theory are the Aśmakas or Aśvakas.¹¹ From the various references collected by Dr. Law, it may be said that the Aśmakas gradually migrated southwards from their original (?) habitat in eastern Afghanistan first to the region north-west of Avanti in Malwa, and thence to the Godāvarī Valley.

All these might be superficial similarities and might not imply any culture-contact or actual migration of the people one way or

f. In a symposium held at Delhi on 24-9-55, the latest excavator, Shri S. R. Rao, said that at Rangpur the Harappan grew up on a basal layer of buff gravelly soil, while Rangpur II seems to be associated with the Black Soil.

the other. But this must be remembered that hitherto the Indo-Iranian borderlands as well as large areas in India are a closed book to us. Whatever little is adduced as evidence on the possible contact between India and Western Asia in the proto-historic period has been obtained from the work in the Indus Valley between 1921-1931, and from the rest of India between 1947-53 !!

Assuming, therefore, for a moment, that certain pottery types and decorative motifs on them do indicate a possible migration of Āryan tribes and their settlement, in Central India and the Deccan in about 1,000 B.C.⁸ let us see what its implications are.

Before doing so the Puranic history, as collated and sketched by PARGITER,¹² is summarized below.

Yayāti was one of the descendants of the Ikṣvākus who ruled in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab Pratiṣṭhāna (Allahabad). (He divided his kingdom among his sons. Yadu got south-west country watered by the Chambal (Charmaṇvatī), Betwa (Vetra-
vatī and the Ken (Sūktimātī). His descendants developed and soon divided into two *great branches*, the Haihayas and the Yādavas. The former occupied the southern part of the territory and the latter the northern. Powerful kings of both these families several times raided the Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab; the Haihayas once going so far as Vaiśālī and Videha, that is part of the present State of Bihar. However, Northern Malwa, Saurāshtra and Gujarat formed the real core of the Yādava kingdom; while the Haihayas had settled along the Narmadā, having their capital at Māhishmatī (Maheshwar) and elsewhere. The Purāṇas are not unanimous as to the foundation or the original ownership of this city. It is once said that Māhishmatī was founded by Mucukunda, a son of Māndhātṛ of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, whereas some Purāṇas maintain that Arjuna Kārtavīrya, a Haihaya, captured Māhishmatī from the Karkoṭaka Nāgas and made it his fortress capital. These Haihayas were split up into several sub-groups, such as Vītihotras, Śaryātas, Bhojas, Avantīs and Tuṅḍarikas and were called Tāla-
jañ-

⁸ This date was suggested by me before the Iranian parallels were noted. It was based on the same considerations as adduced by Dr. WHEELER for tentatively dating the Brahmagiri Stone Age Culture, viz. the thickness of about 8 feet of the debris of this period. Surprisingly almost the same thickness was found at Nāvḍā-Toli, Jorwe and Nevāsā. Afterwards it was found that this date would suit the migration date from Iran, if it was accepted, for there it goes back to about 1,200 B.C. But the Indian pottery is on the whole much cruder than the Iranian, and the entire culture-complex would appear to be earlier, so an earlier dating is possible, if Carbon-14 and other methods would so date the contents. The present dating is based solely on stratigraphical evidence.

ghas. As the names suggest, these families ruled at Avantī (Malwa) and generally from the Gulf of Cambay to Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab. It was a member of this or the collateral Yādava family (who was once settled in the upper regions of the Narmadā in the Rkṣa hills (the Sātpuḍās), that founded Vidarbha, the first Āryan kingdom south of the Vindhya. The second kingdom was established by a king Nṛga on the Payoṣṇī (Tāpī). Later the famous Sagara defeated the Haihayas on the Narmadā as well as the Yādava ruler of Vidarbha. Then on, until the Mahābhārata war and subsequently petty Āryan or Puranic kingdoms continued to flourish in this region.

This, in short, is a picture of the Āryan or Puranic colonization of the Narmadā Valley. We have no specific reference to a king going as far as the Godāvarī or further south, except a very early reference that the Daṇḍaka forest was named after Daṇḍa, the third son of Ikṣvāku.

South India comes into prominence in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Here too it would appear that though the Āryan religion had penetrated the country, as might be inferred from sages practising penance, the principal inhabitants were the Rākṣasas and Vānaras. Both are described as "civilized", and lived in Janasthāna and Kiṣkindhā, that is, the Lower Godāvarī Valley. We have no real information (except for the tribes mentioned previously on page 224), as regards the inhabitants of the upper and the middle reaches of this river and its tributaries.

Here one of the Agastya legends enlightens the darkness. According to the Purāṇas, Agastya was the first Āryan to cross the Vindhya and go south. Some legends connect him with Ceylon, others describe him as dwelling on the Mt. Malaya, in the extreme south and so on. But one tradition, conveyed to me by Dr. KOPARKAR of the Ahmadnagar College from a friend of his, who prefers to remain anonymous, says that in the days of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Agastya had his headquarters at Akolā (Ahmadnagar District) where his shrine is still shown, and there was a chain of settlements on the Godāvarī and the Pravarā, separated from one another by a *yojana*, (about 28 miles), which could be traversed in one day. Some of these settlements are known today as Sūryapurī (Jorwe), Brahmapurī (Bāmani near Vāmbori), Suvarṇapurī (Sonāi), Bilvapurī (Belapur), Mātāpurī (Māhūr), Indrapurī (Indāpur), Shripurī (Shirur). Of these Jorwe has indeed the remains of an early Chalcolithic settlement. Other places have not yet been examined by me. But there is no doubt that there was a chain of early Chalcolithic colonies on the Godāvarī-Pravarā and their tributaries. So far I know of Nāsik, Kopargaon,

Kokamthān, Bel-Pāndhari on the Godāvārī; Jorwe, Nevāsā, Pravarā-Saṅgam on the Pravarā, and Bhojāpuri on the Mahālūngi. And many more are bound to be discovered in any future survey.

The Puranic accounts¹⁰ dealing with the historical period mention the Āndhras as the first rulers of the Godāvārī Valley, though they are credited with having supplanted the Kāṅvas. Earlier members of this dynasty ruled, it appears, in different parts of the Deccan, even at the time of the Maurya empire, but it became really powerful on the break-up of the latter.

Coins and inscriptions which hitherto constitute our only historical data do not take the history any farther back in the past. It would, however, appear that about the beginning of the Christian era the Decan¹⁴ comprised the countries known as Asaka (Aśmaka), Mūlaka, Vidarbha, with Aparānta forming the western seaboard; Surāṭha, Anarta, and Svabhra constituting Gujarat and Saurāshṭra, and with Anūpa and Ākara-Avanti standing for Malwa, the Narmadā forming the latter's southern boundary.

Puranic evidence thus definitely points to the colonization of the Narmadā Valley much before the early historical period, and even prior to the Mahābhārata War. Pargiter dated the latter event to about 950 B.C.

Compared to this there is very little evidence for the Āryan or Puranic kingdoms (except for the much later Aśmakas) in the Godāvārī Valley. But, as Pargiter said, the religion of the Āryans had penetrated the south through the sages, and other ascetics.

The question now is how to interpret or harmonize the new archaeological data with that which we know from the Purāṇas, early history and archaeology.

We have seen that the sequence of cultures is the same for the Godāvārī as well as the Narmadā Valley. Owing to the long Puranic past, briefly described above, covering at least a period of 1,000 years, one would expect a thick deposit of the Early Iron Age or a rich Bronze Age, antedating the layers of the early historical period in which punch-marked coins appear, and lying over the debris of the Chalcolithic period. This is so far absent. The consequences are that one has to suppose that —

- (i) either the famous Puranic kings, like Sahasrārjuna, and Sagara, lived in the Chalcolithic period, and used, *inter alia*, weapons and tools fashioned with microliths.
- or (ii) that these kings and the Puranic accounts are all myths, and the period preceding the early historical was truly Chalcolithic, when the various non-Āryan tribes lived in the regions.
- or (iii) that we have so far not come across the real Puranic

sites ; or if they have been partially dug, as some of them indeed are ; for instance, Hastināpur, Maheshwar, that we have missed in these sites, the palaces of the kings mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas and hence we have found nothing but potsherds or potsherds and the insignificant microliths !!

or (iv) that the Godāvārī Valley and the south generally were not colonized by the Āryans until very late, in about the 5th century B.C., a possibility which is suggested by the Puranic evidence as well as by history. If this colonization is to be credited to the Aśmakas — “ the Stone Blade using people ” — then it could be a little earlier, about 1,000 B.C.

Every one of these alternatives is possible. The first alternative will be violently disliked by the lovers of the Purāṇas who would never imagine Bhīma or Arjuna using tiny microliths.

The second alternative is not easy to accept in its entirety, as is so often done by some Western and a few Indian orientalis, for it requires an equally large and specious argument to brush aside as myth the entire body of Purāṇas, particularly when it is well known that similar accounts in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Palestine have been partly proved to be correct by archaeology.

With regard to the third alternative it may be said that the objection is valid. But the real way to meet the challenge thrown up by recent excavations, either in the Gangetic Valley or in that of the Narmadā and the Godāvārī by which the whole of the Puranic past is likely to be regarded as myth or considerably shortened and differently interpreted, as far as the material culture is concerned, is not to rest content by such a negative attitude but to ascertain the truth. The stratigraphical evidence (sketched above) from the few vertical diggings is remarkably similar. If the sequence of cultures indicated by these is indeed so, as it seems to be, then we should dig out these layers fully (that is horizontally) and try to have as full a knowledge of the various material cultures as possible, and at the same time look for sites which might yield the expected sequence of cultures. Thus alone might we help solve the problems raised by the recent excavations. For the possibilities discussed above would appear too facile for a complex problem like that of the “ Āryans ” or that of the colonizers of the Black Soil. They satisfy neither the orthodox point of view nor the archaeological which would like to see a steady, well-demarcated, development of the material culture. But until extensive and thorough explorations are undertaken, and the known sites dug out fully, interpretations such as put forward in this article would continue to vex our brains.⁴⁵

REFERENCES

1. To this list can be added Bahāl on the Girnā, a tributary of the Tāpī in East Khandesh, Prakāsha on the Tāpī itself in West Khandesh, Tripuri (Tewar) in Madhya Pradesh, and Māsiki in the Raichur District.
2. Law, Bimala Churan, *Tribes in Ancient India* (Poona, 1943), see pp. 93, 164, 172, 175.
3. In North Mysore by an Iron-using people from the South, in about the 3rd century B.C. See *Ancient India*, No. 4 (1947-48), p. 200.
4. LAW, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-184.
5. See PANDYA, P. P., "Explorations in Halar and Sorath Districts of Saurashtra", *Journal of the M. S. University of Baroda*, Vol. III (1954), pp. 1-13. Shri PANDYA lists some 13 sites having this industry.
- 5a. According to B. K. THAPAR in *Minutes of the symposium on Indian Archaeology*, issued by Director General of Archaeology in India. February, 1955.
- 5b. On this cf. GORDON's article cited in footnote 10a.
- 5c. These faience beads were first made either in Mesopotamia or in Egypt, and have a very wide distribution in Europe as well as Western Asia. See CLARK, J.G.D., *Prehistoric Europe*, (London, 1952), p. 267.
6. See PANDYA, *op. cit.*, and *Indian Archaeology 1953-54 ; A Review*, p. 7.
7. *Ancient India*. No. 4, pp. 226-228.
8. See Fig. 3.
9. See Fig. 13.
10. SCHAEFFER, C. F. A., *Stratigraphie Comparée et Chronologie d l Asie Occidentale* (London, 1948), Fig. 245, section 106, No. 25.
- 10a. See here Fig. 11D and 14. Short articles on these are being published in the March and June issues of *Antiquity*, Nos. 113-114, 1955 (England). The illustrations are being reproduced here for ready reference. These may also be compared with the hunting and dancing figures painted on a rock at Benkal, Raichur District, Hyderabad. See YAZDANI, *History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, Part vii, pl. Ia.
- In this context it may be of interest to note that at Alisar Hüyük in Anatolia and Tepe Hissar in Northern Iran, Polished Stone Axes occur in the Middle Bronze Age, though they are scarce in the earlier. And that these axes might be an intrusion in the Chalcolithic cultures of India from the north-east. For details see a very enlightening paper by GORDON, D. H., "The Stone Industries of the Holocene in India," *Ancient India*, No. 6, pp. 77 and 84.
11. LAW, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-183. Independently of my view, Dr. SUBBA RAO had conveyed to me a similar view, held by Col. D. H. GORDON.
12. PARGITER, F. E., *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, (London, 1922), pp. 253-95.
13. PARGITER, F. E., *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, (London, 1913), p. 38.
14. As may be gathered from the records of Rudradāman and Vāsīṭhīputa Siri Pulumāvi, *E. I.* VIII, pp. 44 and 60.
15. This article was written nearly three years ago. Since then Nāgdā, Prakāsha, Bahāl, Ahar in S. Rajputana, and Lothal, Lakha Bawal and Somnath have been excavated. See *Indian Archaeology.—A Review 1953-54, 1954-55, 1955-56-57*. The report on *Excavation of Nāvdā Toli and Maheshwar* is likely to be published by December 1957: Subba Rao's article appears in *Bull. Decc. Coll. Res. Inst.* Vol. XVII, pp. 126-51. However, the inferences made in this article remain unaffected.

SATIYA PUTA

By

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

The second Rock-edict of Aśoka contains the expression enumerating the *prachamtas* or *amtas* (borderers) of his empire : viz. *yathā Choḍā Pādā Satiyaputo Ketalaputo ā Tambaparnī* (Girnar) ; Satiyaputo occurs as Sātiyaputo in Kālsī, Satiyaputro in Shahbazgarhī, Satiyaputra in Mansehrā and Satiyapute in Jaugada (Hultzsch, *Aśoka Inscr.* p. 185). In his Introduction Hultzsch observed (1925) : 'The rock-edict II, A, inserts between the Pāṇdyas and Tāmraparnī two other borderers, viz. Satiyaputra (Sātiyaputa at Kālsī) and Kēralaputra. The former has not yet been identified successfully'. Elsewhere in the same volume (p. 3 n. 7) Hultzsch noted : 'Bühler (ZDMG. 37. 98 ff.) rejected Kern's identification of this term with the Sātpurā Range, and explained it by "the King of the Satvats" whom he located in Western India. D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS. 21, 398) compares Satiyaputa, for which the Kālsī version reads Sātiyaputa, with Sātputē, a surname current among the present Marāthās. Lüders (ZDMG., 58. 693) has shown that the Pāli *putta* (= Sanskrit *putra*) at the end of compounds frequently means "belonging to a tribe". He quotes as examples *Andhakavenhuputta*, *Videhaputta*, *Bhojaputta*, *Milāchaputta*, *Devaputta* (Cf. the feminine *Devadhītā*), and Sanskrit *rājaputra*.'

In the *Cambridge History of India* (I p. 603) Barnett wrote in 1922 : 'Possibly they (Satiyaputas) may represent the region round Mangalore ; but it is at least equally likely that they were the forefathers of the Sātavāhana dynasty of the Andhra-deça.'

As we cannot ignore the context in the inscription which refers to an enumeration of peoples and kingdoms outside Aśoka's empire, and as we know definitely that that empire extended to the latitude of Madras or even somewhat further south, we should necessarily dismiss as irrelevant attempts to locate the Satiyaputa either in Western or Eastern Deccan. A place must be found for them in the extreme south and generally all writers who have discussed the problem have sought to do this. Three different suggestions have been made so far, but all of them have been more or less of the nature of guesses based on similarity in names or meanings, real or imaginary.'

1. All these views have been reviewed often with necessary references and much ancillary and sometimes irrelevant matter in a number of inconclusive papers among which reference may be made to *Indian Culture* Vol. I pp. 493-96 ; 667-74 ; and *Journal of Indian History*, XIV (1935) pp. 276-9 ; see also R. Mookerji, *Aśoka* p. 131 n. 4.

One of the least plausible suggestions is that which would locate Satiyaputa in or near Kāñchīpuram on the ground that a part of the city came to be described in relatively recent times as Satya-vrataksheṭra. Not much more can be said in favour of Vincent A. Smith's location of the state in the Satyamangalam taluq of Coimbatore district as we have no evidence on the antiquity of the name or of the traditions regarding the Brahmin Bṛihaḍ-charaṇa migration on which he relies. A much more plausible suggestion was that of indentifying the Satiyaputa with the Kōśar of Śaṅgam Literature and of locating them in Tulu country which they are said to have conquered (a suggestion once accepted by V. A. Smith) or in the Koṅgu country with which they are closely associated in that literature. Accordingly, in a chapter on 'South India and Ceylon' in the *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas* (1952 p. 251) I wrote : " It is now generally recognized that the ending *-puta* signifies membership of a tribe as demonstrated by Lüders. *Satiya* (which occurs as *Sāliya* in Kālsī) must be Sanskritized into Satya—truth, though the formation *Satiya* or *Sāliya* must be held to be unusual. And the only tribe known to early Tamil literature, and answering to this description—'members of the fraternity of truth'—are the Kōśar who were well known for their unswerving fidelity to the plighted word in assemblies and halls of justice as well as for their heroism in war. The land of Koṅgu, modern Salem and Coimbatore districts roughly, is said to have been their home, and in the early centuries A.D. they seem to have overrun the Tulu country on the west coast. After the three well-known Tamil kingdoms, Pāṇḍya, Chola and Chera (Kerala), the tribe of the Kōśar may be said to occupy a considerable place in the literature of the Śaṅgam period, and it seems highly probable that they should find a place in the earliest enumeration of other political divisions of the Tamil country."

As early as 1937² K. G. Sesha Aiyar pointed out that several writers had consciously or unconsciously read the name in the edict as Satyaputra whereas the real name is Satiyaputra ; this is indeed an important objection to the identification with Kōśar which leans strongly on the form *Satya* — truth for which there is no warrant in any of the readings of RE. II. But his attempt to explain the initial *sa* struck me as unconvincing ; he wrote : 'The initial *a* (of Atiyamān) becomes *ha* which again becomes *sa* in Prākṛt, and *mān* is abbreviation for *magan* which means *putra* ; and thus Atiyamān become Satiya-putra on the analogy of Ceramān equals Kerala-putra.' A more convincing explanation of the name is that offered by T. Burrow. He says : 'Sesha Aiyar's opinion that the *s* of Satiyaputo is a secondary development is naturally the reverse

2. *Cēra Kings of the Śaṅgam Period*, p. 18.

of the truth. Ta. *Atiyar* is the name of the people, and the word *mān*, which is a shortened form of *makan* son, is added to this precisely as in *Cēramān*, title of the Cēra Kings, which corresponds in the same way to Aśoka's *Keralaputō*. *Atiya* — (< *Satiya* — /* *Catiya*—) must of course be a native name, and cannot be connected with Sanskrit = *Satya* — true'.³

The suggestion that *Satiya* — *Atiya* must be a native name which cannot be connected with Sanskrit *Satya* — true gains support from a poem in the *Puṣānānūru* (No. 99) which is one of a considerable number devoted to the career and achievements of the Adigamān Chieftain Neḍumān Añji perhaps of the second century A.D. This piece records some interesting legends of the family of the Chieftain and says that the family was devoted to the gods whom it honoured by *pūjā* and by sacrifices, and that it introduced into the world the sweet sugar-cane from heaven and ruled the world with great ability for a very long time.⁴ At the time of the poem the mixture of Aryan and Dravidian in the South of India had gone far, and it is not easy to distinguish easily the mingled elements from one another ; it is therefore not surprising that the *pūjā*, now generally taken to be a pre-Aryan institution deriving more probably from *pūśu* (smear) than from *pū* (flower) and *śey* (do), is coupled along with sacrifices (Vedic) as forming part of the worship offered to the gods ; but the legend about the introduction of the sugar-cane into the world is, I think, unique, and if that be so, it is a real pointer to a pre-Aryan antiquity.

The form *Atiyamān* is of course later than the Aśokan *Satiyaputa*, for as Burrow has said : ' The proper name *Satiya putra* : *Atiyamān* still preserves its *S* in Aśoka's time, but has already lost it by the time of the earliest Tamil literary texts'.⁵

If this view is correct, and I am inclined to believe it is, *Atiyamān* would be an instance of a loan-word, borrowed in Mauryan times, which has suffered a common phonetic change in the loss of its initial *s*- and has been translated from Indo-Aryan into Tamil in its second part. Perhaps other instances can be found. In any case it seems that the correct identification of *Satiyaputa* has now been reached, for to quote Sessa Aiyar once again in conclusion : ' The identification here suggested of *Atiyamān* with *Satiyaputa* satisfactorily accounts for the presence of the particle *i* in the name

3. BSOAS. xii (1948) pp. 136-7.

4. All the *Puṣam* poems on Añji will be found discussed in detail in Ch. XVII of the forthcoming Vol. II of ' *A Comprehensive History of India.*'

5. Ibid. pp. 146-7.

appearing in Aśoka's Edict. Atiyamān's territory (round about Tagadūr-Dharmapurī is the Salem — Mysore border) will exactly occupy the place, where, having regard to the order in which the principalities or kingdoms of South India are mentioned in Aśoka's Edict, Satiyaputa's territory may be expected to be situate'.

THE PANCA-JANAS IN THE VEDAS

By

B. R. SHARMA

The term *pañca-janas*, though originally implied only the divine beings in the Vedas, stands for all the denizens or beings of the whole universe whether they are divine, semi-divine, human or super-human. This is a common expression somewhat similar to the *Viśve-devas* and appears almost identical in meaning with the latter from such expressions as “*pāñca-janyam vā etad uktham yad vaiśva-devam...*” (AB. III. 31). But while the term *viśve-devas* is explicitly restricted in its application as it implies only the divine beings collectively, the expression *pañca-janas* is more comprehensive as much as it includes not only the gods but all human, semi-divine and superhuman beings including those who are deified or raised to the divine status by virtue of their pious and laudable acts. There are five more expressions in the RV. which are believed to be synonyms of *pāñca-jana* viz., *pāñca-kṛṣṭis*, *pāñca-kṣītis*, *pāñca-jātas*, *pāñca-carṣaṇis* and *pāñca-mānavas*. We also meet with *pāñca-mānavas* and *pāñca-manuṣyas* in the AV. and the Brāhmaṇas in place of *pañca-janas*. But it is doubtful if these expressions are always synonymous of the Ṛgvedic *pāñca-janas* in all their contexts.

2. Again these expressions do not confine themselves to divine and human beings always but in places go a step further to include the entire living beings of the universe. So much so the term *pāñca*¹ in these contexts appears to have lost its original implication and acquired, as *saptá* in *saptá-sindhu* and such other contexts in RV., a meaning other than its numerical one. These two words in fact stand for an indefinite number² i.e. they mean numerous or more correctly innumerable or entire. *Pāñca* in connection with *jána* and its synonyms has been used in the same sense as *viśva* or *sárva* in RV. In fact we find that similar ideas¹ are expressed in the Vedas with expressions *viśvā-janāḥ*, *viśva-carṣaṇīḥ* &c., using *viśva* in place of *pāñca*, e.g. we find the phrases “*yāḥ pāñca¹ carṣaṇīr abhī*” and “*viśvā yāś carṣaṇīr abhī*” in RV. expressing identical meaning. Thus it appears that *pāñca* and *viśva* or *sarva* are interchangeable terms in all these contexts. *Pāñca*, perhaps, acquired this meaning by its use with *pra-dīśaḥ*¹ or *dīśaḥ* where it stands for four cardinal points and the centre thus covering the whole space of the universe. In this connection it will not be out of place to refer to what Roth, as quoted by J. Muir, observes : “The phrase five races is a designation of all nations not merely of the Aryan tribes. It is an ancient enumeration, of the origin of which we find no express explanation in the Vedic texts. We may

compare the fact that the cosmical spaces or points of the compass are frequently enumerated as five, especially in the following text of the AV. III. 24.2. *imā yāñ páñca pradīśo mānavīḥ páñca kṛṣṭáyāḥ*, "these five regions, the five tribes sprung from Manu," among which (regions) we should here reckon as the fifth, the one lying in the middle ('*dhruvā dik*', AV. IV. 14.8, XVIII. 3. 34), that is, to regard the Āryans as the central point, and round about them the nations of the four regions of the world . . . According to the Vedic usage, five cannot be considered as designating an indefinite number,⁵ whereas Farquhar and Griswold believe it to be 'a conventional number for the Aryan tribes in the Panjab, just as the number of rivers was conventionally⁶ seven. Similarly *pāñca-pāñca* and *saptā-sapta* appear to have been used in the sense of 'very many' or 'everything'.

3. The word *jāna* has been interpreted as folk, people or tribe by the Vedic interpreters. But from a close study of all the passages where this term occurs we can say that *jana* means only beings or creatures or a thing having life. This word is derived from the root *jan* (*jani prādurbhāve*) to be born or to come into existence. But *jāna* means not only the beings that are born but even those that are *ayonijas* (TA. I. 8.6). Thus it appears to be a common term meaning 'beings or creatures' and often it is qualified with such epithets as *daivya* or *mānavā* &c., whenever it is used to mean a specific class of beings. So are the other terms as *carṣāṇī*, *kṛṣṭī*, *ḥṣṭī* &c., which, as used in RV., are the synonyms of *jana*.

4. Vedic interpreters, modern and scholiasts, and historians have interpreted these terms in different ways. In their explanations Yāska and Sāyaṇa try to restrict the scope of these expressions in various quintuple classes while the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa⁸ and the Bṛhaddevatā by no means bind themselves to these limitations. They count as many as six classes of beings, as expressed by *pāñca-janas* which include the entire population of divine, semi-divine and human beings, the Manes and reptiles or serpents. In his explanation of *pāñca-janas* Yāska quotes the opinions current in his time without subscribing to any. He observes: "*gandharvāḥ pitaro devā asurā rakṣāṃsī*' tyeke, *catvāro varṇā niṣāda-pāñcamā ityaupamānya vaḥ*". Whereas the *Bṛhaddevatā*,^{8a} while giving its view records the opinions held by tradition (*smṛta*) as well as by Yāska, Aupamanyava, Sākaṭāyana, Sākapūṇi, theosophists (*ātma-vādins*) and the AB. In its opinion *pāñca-janas* would constitute *mamṣyāḥ pitaro devā gandharvo*' *ragarākṣasāḥ* or *gandharvāḥ pitaro devā asurā yakṣarākṣasāḥ* though tradition will have five forms of fire viz., *Sālāmukhya* (the fire at the entrance of the *yajña-śālā*), *Ahavanīya*, *Gārhapatya*, *Dakṣiṇa-* and *Uttara-Agnis*; *Sākaṭāyana*—Four *varṇas* and *Niṣāda* for the fifth; *Sākapūṇi*—Four *ṛtviks* with *yajamāna*

as the fifth ; Theosophists—Eye, ear, mind, speech and breath, for *pañca-janas*. It concludes its observations with the remark : ‘ *ye cānye pṛthivī-jātā devās cā nyetha yajñiyāḥ*’, i.e. ‘whatever creatures terrestrial or divine, if proper to be sacrificially worshipped, are included in *pañca-janas*.’ Thus it is clear that at the time of BD. *pañca-janas* are taken to represent not only five various classes of beings worthy of sacrifice but symbolically even eye, ear &c. Sāyaṇa though he generally accepts the view of the Aupamanyavas (I. 7. 9; III. 59.8; IX. 65. 23; IX. 101. 9; X. 55.2; X. 60. 4; X. 178.3 etc.) in places observes : “ *niṣāda-pañcamāś’ catvāro varṇāḥ yad vā deva-manuṣyādayaḥ*” (X. 119.6), ‘*deva-manuṣyādayaḥ*’ (VI 51. 11; X.53.4 etc.) ; ‘ *niṣāda-pañcamāś caturo varṇān gandharvādīn vā*’ (VI. 61.2) ; ‘ *gandharvāḥ pitaro devāḥ asurā rakṣāṃsi...*’ (III. 37.9 etc.) ; “ *deva-manuṣyā-pitr-asura-rakṣassu niṣāda-pañcameṣu catuṣṣu varṇeṣu vā* (AV. XX. 20.2 etc.)” and in his commentary on I. 89.10 he quotes all the three opinions expressed in the Nirukta and the AB. Having not been satisfied with all these explanations Sāyaṇa seeks a new interpretation for *pañca-janas* in VI. 11. 4 where he remarks : “. . . *manuṣyāḥ ṛtvig-yajamāna-lakṣaṇāḥ*” which is the opinion held by Śākapiṇi according to B.D. He goes still further in his interpretation of the AV. III. 21.5 by commenting on *pañcamānavāḥ* as ‘ *manunā sṛṣṭyādau kalpitāḥ vasantā’dyāḥ pāñca’rtavaḥ . . . yad vā . . . niṣāda-pañcamāś catvāro varṇā gandharvā . . . ity-eke . . .*’. It can be seen from these various interpretations that Sāyaṇa often changes the compositions of the quintuple classes he likes. He takes away *gandharvas*, *apsarasas* and *sarpas* from the AB. list and replaces them with *asuras* and *rakṣasas*, thus reducing the six classes of beings to five for obvious reason (X. 55.3, AV. XX. 20.2 etc.). In his commentary on I.89.10 after quoting Yāska and the AB., Sāyaṇa counts for the discrepancy in the latter by observing that “ *latra gandharvā’psarasāni aikyāt pāñca-jañatvam*.” He does not restrict himself to five castes or five ‘ *puruṣa-jāti-viśeṣas*’ but thinks on occasions even the four major sacrificial priests with *yajamāna* or the sacrificer for the fifth as implied by *pañca-janas*. Since in the verse VI. II. 4 the *pañca-janas* are described as worshipping *Agni*, the celestial fire with oblations, Sāyaṇa was compelled to seek a new interpretation. An orthodox Mīmāṃsaka that he was, he could not ascribe this act to the forbidden race of *niṣādas* or to the hostile *rakṣasas* and thus admit them into the Brāhmanic order.

5. The modern Vedic interpreters and historians believe that five of the Vedic tribes viz., Druhyu, Anu, Pūru, Yadu and Turvaśa constitute the *pañca-janas*. But Roth, Weber, Benfey and Geldner^o think that the *pañca-janas* comprehend all human races, the Āryans in the centre around them all the nations under the four quarters of heaven. Whereas Zimmer opposing this view on the

plea that inclusion of all peoples in one expression is not in harmony with the distinction so often made between Āryan and Dāsa, concludes that Āryans alone are meant, in particular the five tribes of the Anus, Druhyus, Yadus, Turvaśas and Pūrus. He believes that these peoples mentioned in I.108.8 stand for the *pañca-janas*.¹⁰ Griffith invariably supports this view and interprets *pañca-janas*, *pañca-kṛtīs*, *pañca-kṣitīs* &c., as referring to these tribes while Wilson believes that 'the orders of beings' are meant by *pañca-janas*.¹¹

6. Now it is clear that the same term cannot have divergent meanings in the same place nor two contradictory interpretations. Either one of these must of necessity be wrong or possibly the both or all, as the Vedic commentators themselves are doubtful as to what exact quintuple class of beings these terms represent. Here it must be noted that Yāska who can be taken as a greater authority than Sāyaṇa, while attempting to explain this term does not commit himself to any of his predecessors' views. He quotes the verse : "*tād adyā vācāḥ pṛathamām masīya yénd'surām abhi devā āsāma. ūrjāda ulā yajñīyāsaḥ pāñca jānā mōma hotrām juṣadhvam.*" (RV.X.53.4), in order to explain *pāñca-janas* which according to the Nighaṇṭu is a synonym of *manuṣyas*. Here, (as well as in many other contexts in the RV.), Yāska must have recognised the divinely or celestial nature of these *pañca-janas*¹² as the verse expressly addresses them as *devāḥ* and *yajñīyāsaḥ* and supplicates them to accept the oblations. Hence Yāska silently passes over the term simply recording the opinions of others. Obviously *rakṣasas* cannot be addressed as *devāḥ* nor can they have the proud epithet of *yajñīyāsaḥ*, much less a supplication to them to accept the oblations. For the same reason he cannot accept the Apamanyavas' view which includes even the barbarians (*mūṣādās*)¹³ in the quinquanian divisions of beings besides Śūdras, the fourth caste. As regards Sāyaṇa whose interpretation of the Vedas is largely influenced by the ritual bias still prevailing since the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra literature often fails to capture the real spirit of the Ṛgvedic hymns. He naturally includes even four *Ṛtviks* and *Yajamāna* for the fifth as implied by the *pāñca-janas*.

7. Now let us see how far the Vedic evidences support the different views expressed by the various scholars and what exactly the *pañca-janas* stand for. From the very outset we should note that in the whole body of Vedic literature we will not find a single passage which would implicitly or explicitly say that the so called five Āryan tribes viz., Anu, Druhyu and others, are meant by the *pāñca-janas*. The only authority for all these Vedic writers who believe *pāñca-janas* stand for these five tribes is the verse¹⁴ I.108.8 where the names of the Yadus, the Turvaśas etc., are expressly

mentioned. But either in this verse or in this hymn there is not a single reference or a hint to show that these five tribes constitute *pāñca-janas*. (It is therefore nothing but an imagination of some of the Vedic interpreters and historians who vainly tied these Vedic tribes with the *pāñca-janas*.) Again this is the only evidence which prompted them to single out only these five tribes to account for *pāñca* in *pañcajanas*. Here we should understand that the R̥gveda refers to many a Vedic clan by name not necessarily five and some of them, for instance the *Bharatas*, *Tṛtsyus*, *Kaṇvas* &c., are as important and play greater part in the Vedic episodes. It is not understandable, therefore, how one can leave out these important¹⁵ tribes and include those who are less spoken of such as *Druhyus*, *Anus* and *Yadus*, in the list to make out the number five if *pāñca* in this compound really meant five at all. J. Muir quite rightly doubts whether the five classes of people which are all mentioned by name in one place (I.108.8) and separately in many other verses are the same as denoted by *pāñca-janas*.¹⁶ Therefore, it is clear, that this interpretation of *pañca-janas* as expressing five tribes such as the *Anus*, the *Druhyus* &c., can, for want of tangible Vedic evidences, hardly be accepted. On the contrary there are clear references in the RV. which go to prove that *pañca-janas* mean all living beings 'that hath been born and shall be born' or the entire divinely beings and not any particular composition of tribes or clans. For example in the verse: 'ādītir dyaúṣ antárikṣam ādītir mātā sà pitā sà putráḥ/vísve devā ādītiḥ pāñca-jānā ādītir jātām ādītir jānitvam.' (I. 89.10), *Āditi*, the goddess of infinity, has been identified with *dyaúṣ*, *antárikṣa* &c., and then the poet assures that *Aditi* is represented not only in the visible and invisible worlds, in those who are loved and respected and in all the gods, but in all beings (*pañca-janas*) including those born and yet to be born. In this context *pañca-janas* cannot have any other meaning and it is absurd to interpret it after having said that *Aditi* is *vísve devas* and then that she is represented in 'five classes of peoples' also instead of saying that she is represented in all people or beings also. This becomes more so when we go to 'ādītir jātām ādītir jānitvam.' And again in the verse: 'lé na índraḥ pṛthivī kṣāma vardhan pūṣā bhāgo ādītiḥ pāñca-jānāḥ sv-sármānāḥ sv-ávasaḥ su-nīthā bhavantu naḥ su-trḍsaḥ su-gopāḥ.' (VI. 51.11) after invoking *Pṛthivī*, *Pūṣān*, *Bhāga* and *Āditi*, the poet mentions '*pāñca-jānāḥ*' meaning that not only these five deities addressed by name but all the gods should favour him. From these and many other similar references in the Vedas, it becomes clear that *pañca-janas* mean not five tribes alone but refers to the totality of living beings, human¹⁷ divine or otherwise.

8. Now as regards the other opinion that was expressed by *Aupamanyavas* and largely accepted by the scholiasts we may say

that it is equally fabricated or unwarranted without any Vedic evidences to support it. We cannot prove that at the Ṛgvedic period there was any caste distinction or division. Assuming that there was caste distinction or caste system, we cannot imagine how the *Niṣādas*, the outcastes, who according to Yāska are substrate or store-houses of sin, could be put on a par with the four *varṇas* to account for *pañca-janas* who are worthy of sacrifice (*yajñīyāsaḥ*). Refuting this view, Mait rightly remarks—"We cannot therefore regard the use of the term 'five races' as affording any evidence of the existence of a rigidly defined caste-system at the period when it was in frequent use. The frequent reference to such a division, which fell into disuse in later times, rather proves the contrary. This caste-system was always quadruple and not a quintuple one; and although the *Niṣādas* are added by the Aupamanyavas as a fifth division of the population, this class was esteemed too degraded to allow us to suppose that they could ever have formed part of a universally recognised five-fold division, of which all the party appear to be regarded as standing on an equal, or nearly equal footing."¹⁸ Therefore we will have to resort to the Vedas to find out explanation for *pañca-janas*, as none of the views expressed by the scholiasts can be considered authentic or satisfactory.

II

Pañca-janas, from the foregoing brief survey and the following detailed discussion, would appear to be not five human tribes but is a common expression first for all the divine or heavenly beings which was later extended to mean all the living beings of the universe including insects and reptiles. It should be noted that the AB. has for the first time recognised the divinely or superhuman nature of the *pañca-janas* though it included *manuṣyas* and *sarṇas* in the list. The Brāhmaṇa clearly observes: '*enam pañcinyai janatāyai havino gacchanti ya evam veda*' III.31 — "The fivefold set of beings who are worthy of invocation or used to be invoked come to the man who knows this i.e., *Viśve-devas* belong to *pañca-janas*." — and goes further "' *viśve devā āditiḥ pañca-jānā ity-asyām vai viśve devāḥ asyām pañca janāḥ*" III.31. where again *viśve-devās* as well as *pañca-janas* have been identified with Aditi. Even at Yāska's time some scholars did uphold the view that *pañca-janas* were superhuman beings and hence they did not include men in the list, though added the *rakṣasas* instead. Sāyaṇa in his commentary on "*amī ye pāñco kṣāṇo madhye tashūr mahó divah*" (I.105.10), counts five deities as implied by *pañca* in this verse. He says:—" *tān na indras tad vārunas tād agnis tād aryamā tāt savitā cāno dhāt*" (I.107.3) *ity-ardha recna prati-pāditāḥ pañca-saṅkhyākāḥ devāḥ/yad vā agnir vāyus*

sūryas' candramā vidyud ity-evam pañca-saṅkhyākāḥ/tathā ca Sāṭyāyanakam — 'etāny-eva pañca jyotiṃṣi yānyeṣu lokeṣu dīpyante agniḥ pṛthivyām vāyur antarikṣe ca ādityo divi candramā nakṣatre vidyud apśū iti. . . Taittirīye'pyevam āmnātam — 'agniḥ pṛthivyām vāyur antarikṣe sūryo divi candramaā dikṣu nakṣatrāṇi svar-loke' (I. 20. 1) iti". But he failed to acknowledge the divine nature of *pañca-janas* though they are expressly referred to as such in the Ṛgveda. For instance the *pañca-janas* are put on a par with such prominent Vedic deities as Indra, Aditi, Pūṣan &c., and prayed for guidance, protection, wealth etc. (VI.51.11).¹⁹ The wise and indefatigable Soma who has been identified with *viśve-devas*, All-gods, tries to follow their foot-steps (*amu-yatate*) or approach them with supplication²⁰ (IX. 92.3). In the verse X.55.2²¹ the *Pañca-janas* who are dear to Indra are said to have entered the primeval light that is just as dear to him and in the next they are expressly called *pañca-devas* who assuming very many forms pervade and fill the space of the universe. They are again spoken of as *gō-jātāḥ*, born of²² Aditi or Light, as worthy of sacrifice or worship (*yajñīyāsaḥ*) and are besought to accept oblations²³ (X.53.4-5). They are said to live in heaven just as the sun and other celestial deities²⁴ (X. 60.4). That the *pañca-kṛṣṭis* in heaven are referred to in this verse by way of comparison to *Ikṣvāku* (on earth) shows that this was a bygone fact with the Vedic Āryans who conceived them to be the celestial beings. In this connection we should mention a similar simile with the sun in place of *pañca-kṛṣṭis* mentioned in the next verse, X. 60.5 as '*. . . divī'va sūryam dṛśé*'. Griffith remarks in the footnotes to the verse X. 260.4 that "the deities regarded as forming five tribes corresponding to the five tribes on earth in the same manner as the rivers of the land of the Āryans have their counterparts in heaven." Geldner also observes : "Die fünf völker werden 6. 51. 11 unter den Göttern genannt und leben 10. 60. 4 im Himmel (Bergaigne 2,139). Es ist entweder die Übertragung der menschlichen Verhältnisse auf den Himmel oder eine 'Deification des historischen Begriffs der fünf Stämme'"²⁵ (Hillebrandt)".

The *pañca-janas* are described to be anointing the celestial Fire who offers sacrifice to the wide *Rōdasī* (VI.11.4). They possess the powers of Indra (III. 37.9; AV. XX. 20.2 and 57.5.) who is their only real lord — *ekah satpatiḥ* — (*ékam nú tvā sāt-patim pñca-janyam*'V.32. 11). They are closely associated with Indra (I. 176.3; V. 35.2; VI. 46.7; VIII. 32.22; 63.7; X. 119.6), Aditi (I. 89.10), Dawn (VII.75.4; 79.1), Aśvins (VII. 72.5; VIII. 9.2). Soma-pavamāna (IX.66.20; 101.9), Agni (II.2.10; VII.15.2; X. 45.6; VS. XVIII. 67), Mitra (III.59.8.) and Sarasvatī VI.61.12). They have been counted among Dyau, Viśvedevas, Pṛthivī, Antarikṣa, Pūṣan, Bhaga and Indra (I.89.10; VI.51.11) and also identified

with Aditi (IX. 89.10 : AV. VII.6.1). They are said to have performed the Primeval Sacrifice to Agni, the celestial Fire, when this Agni, the Germ of the worlds, coming from the far off region (prāyan) filled the earth and heaven (with radiance) (X. 45.6). All celestial beings (*pāñca-janāḥ*) yield to Mitra, the most powerful who governs them all²⁶ (III. 59.8).

The realm of the *pāñca-janas* seems to be situated in the region above the heaven or *div* and below the *rocanā*, the invisible refulgent realm of heaven²⁷ For instance in the AV. the region of the *pāñca-janas* has been counted between *parāvataḥ* and *rocanā*²⁸ (AV.VI. 75.3). This region is called the *pāñca-janas* and is referred to along with the other regions viz., *antarikṣa*, *div* and *rocanās* in the Vedas. In this connection we should remember that the fifth of the seven²⁹ worlds is called *jana* and hence it is probable that this fifth region of the universe may have been known as *pāñca-jana*, using *pāñca* in the sense of *pāñcama*, the fifth, and the denizens supposed to live in this world are also called *pāñca-janas*. There are clear references in the RV. to support this assumption e.g. the Aśvins are besought to bring whatever covetable wealth (ṇṛmṇa) found in *antarikṣa*, *div* and the region of the *pāñca-mānuṣas*³⁰ (VIII. 9.2). The Dawn coming from afar—the nether region—is said to revolve (*pari-jigāti*) over *pāñca-kṛṣṭis*, the fifth world from where she overlooks the deeds of men³¹ (VII.75.4). Indra is asked to come from the far-off regions or by crossing the region of the *pāñca-janas*³² (VIII. 32.22). The Vedic bards pray to Agni that they may be bestowed on such power whereby they can excel all other people in their pray (brahman) and thus their glory shine higher over the *pāñca-kṛṣṭis* as the sun does³³ (II.2.10). It is clear from the contexts that *pāñca-kṛṣṭiḥ*, *pāñca-mānuṣāḥ* and *pāñca-jānān* in the verses referred to above stand for the region as otherwise it will be irrelevant if not meaningless to refer to tribes or races when one speaks of the regions of heaven. Further we find *carṣaṇī* (=people) or *jana* side by side with *pāñca-kṛṣṭis* in the RV. which goes to prove that *pāñca-kṛṣṭis* are not the same as people or races, e.g. in the verse 'yá ékaś' *carṣaṇīndm vāsūnām irajyāti/indraḥ pāñca-kṣilīndm*' (I.7.9) we have *carṣaṇīnām* as well as *pāñca-kṣilīndm*. Here *pāñca-kṣilīndm* if referred to five human tribes which, according to the modern Vedic interpreters, comprehended all human population of the world, would make the sentence 'yá ékaś' *carṣaṇīndm*'—"he who alone rules or commands all the human beings"³⁴ redundant. Similarly again we have in VII.75.4 *pāñca-kṛṣṭis* and *janas* independently mentioned. Geldner renders *pāñca-kṛṣṭis* as 'fünf Länder' which may mean five regions or inhabitants of these regions. There are passages where *pāñca-janas* though found together with *jana* or *kṛṣṭi*, indicates all beings perhaps divine, but not the region e.g. VI. 46.7.³⁵ Indra

is invoked to bring the strength and valour of all people (*kr̥ṣṭis*) and the glory of the *pañca-kṣitis*. Again the greatness or great deed of Bharata is said to have not been attained either by the men (*janas*) before or after him, nor by the *pañca-janas* (AB. VIII. 23 ; SB. XIII. 5. 4. 14; 23).

This region of heaven where *pañca-janas* reside is believed to be splendorous and often *pañca-janas* are referred to as associated with splendour, light or gods of light. The *pañca-janas* are said to have entered the primeval light (X. 55.2); to have been born of light (*gó-jātāḥ*) (X. 53.5); to have possessed the lustre much sought after (VI.46.7 ; II.2.10) and to have kindled the first Sacrificial Fire which dispelled the thick mountain of darkness and filled the heaven and earth with light (X.45.6). Because of their splendorous nature of the *pañca-janas* R. Shamashastri thought that they were five minor planets.³⁶ But here we should remember that to be splendorous is the nature of devas, the Vedic deities, and that *pāñca-janya*, a derivative form of *pāñca-jana* meaning related or belonging to *pañca-janas* is applied to Indra (I. 100. 12; V. 32. 11), Agni (IX. 66.20 ; AV. IV. 23.1) and Atri (I.117.3) (who appears to be a form of winter sun) — all refulgent celestial deities.

All living beings : There are references which warrant the assumption that the term *pañca-janāḥ* implies not only all the celestial beings but all living beings of the universe in whatever shape and form they exist. The phrase acquired this meaning on the strength of its original usage to mean all beings of heaven. Nevertheless in places where it is used in a restricted sense an epithet limiting the scope of its application is added. For instance the Dawn is said to awaken *pañca-kṣīṭīḥ m̄nuṣīḥ* — all human beings — (VII.79.1).³⁷ Again *m̄navīḥ pāñca-kr̥ṣṭīḥ* are asked to help bring prosperity (AV. III. 24.3) and the sun is said to spread his light for the *pañca-janas* who are *martyas* — the mortals (AV., XII. 1.5).³⁸ There are passages where though we do not have a qualifying epithet to restrict the meaning of the phrase, the *pañca-mānavas* (here the word used is mostly *-mānava*) mean all human beings. e.g. in “*br̥hmaṇa eva palir na r̥ajanyo na vaiśyaḥ/tat sūryaḥ pra-bruvann-eti pañcabhyo mānavebhyah*” (AV. V. 17.9) *pañcabhyo mānavebhyah* means all human beings. Similarly in AV. XVIII. 4. 5 too. Further Indra is said to possess the entire wealth belonging to *pañca-kr̥ṣṭis* i.e. all people.³⁹ (I. 176.3). *Pavamāna-soma* is besought to bestow on the suppliants the choicest treasures possessed by all men or rather by all living beings.⁴⁰ Agni is said to have occupied the house of every man — ‘*yāḥ pāñca carṣaṇīr abhī niśasāda dāme-dame* (VII. 15.2). The line ‘*yāḥ pāñca carṣaṇīr abhī*’ found in this and the previous one (IX. 101.9) are repeated with the only change of *viśvaḥ* in place of *pāñca* as *viśvā yās carṣaṇīr abhī* in I.86.5; IV.7.4 ; V.

23.I, which again supports the theory previously expressed that *pāñca* in these contexts means 'all' and that it is a synonym of *viśvāḥ*.

Again in the following verses the meaning of *pāñca-kṛṣṭīḥ* becomes more appropriate if the phrase is interpreted as 'all beings'. For instance *Dadhikrāḥ* (IV.38.10), *Tārksya* (X.178.3) and the sun (TB.II.7.15.3) are said to have made *pāñca-kṛṣṭīḥ* — all beings to yield to their superior strength ;⁴¹ *pāñca-kṛṣṭāyaḥ* — all creatures, in the eye of the mighty Indra, look like a small speck (X.119.6)⁴² and it is said again in AV. XII.1.42 that *pāñca-kṛṣṭāyaḥ* — all creatures — belong to the earth as much as food and barley and rice do. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa there is an episode where it is said that 'when the Heaven and Earth parted company with each other neither it rained nor shone the sun.' The *pāñca-janas*, meaning the denizens of both the worlds, lost understanding with each other. Thereupon the gods brought about a reconciliation of both the worlds⁴³ (AB.IV.27). Here it is obvious that the *pāñca-janas* stand for all the beings celestial and terrestrial. Similarly in RV. (VII.72.5)⁴⁴ the Aśvins are asked to come down by bringing wealth from west and east, from below and above and from all sides and belonging to all creatures (*pāñca-janyena rāyā*). The Sarasvatī is described as *pāñca-jātd vārdhāyanti*, — 'bringing prosperity to all jātas — beings —' (VI.61.12). In all these references, it is clear, *pāñca-kṛṣṭis* etc., mean 'all beings' and it is wrong to restrict the phrase by interpreting it as five races or tribes.

It is however interesting to note how later the number *pañca* in the compound *pāñca-jānāḥ* lost its meaning altogether and the whole expression is considered to be a proper name of a class of beings. For instance in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa we meet with the passage " *yasmin pañca pañca-janāḥ akāśas ca pra-tiṣṭhitah/tam eva manya ātmānam vidvān brahmā'mṛtopamam.*" (ŚB. XIV.7.2.19) where *pañca* has again been used with *pañca-janāḥ* which would literally mean 'five five-races'. It is clear from this that 'five' in this compound is not considered as a numeral and the whole expression has attained a certain meaning not depending on the members of the compound. It should be further interesting to note how the second member of the composition also lost its independent meaning in some of the Vedic passages e.g. in RV. *pāñca-janya* has been used as an adjective of *kṛṣṭis*, *Apāñca-janyāsu kṛṣṭisu* (III 53.16) and *viś* (*pāñca-janyayā viśā* VIII.63.7). Thus it becomes clear that the word *pāñca-jana* at the time of RV. itself had acquired a special meaning and become almost a proper noun.⁴⁵

III

Viśva-janāḥ : The expressions *viśva-kṛṣṭi*, *viśva-carṣaṇi* &c. are found used also as adjectives in RV. e.g. *viśva-kṛṣṭi* and *viśva-carṣaṇi* are applied to Indra in the sense of 'popular' or 'loved by all',⁴⁰ 'known to' or 'famous among all beings' or 'friend of all' (I. 9.3; II. 313; 38.1; VI. 44.4; VIII. 53.6; X. 50.4). They are not very uncommon epithets also of Agni and used in the above sense (I.59.7; III.2.15; V.23.4; VIII.23.2) or in the sense of 'known in all lands' (I.27.9; IV.38.2; VI.2.2) or 'belonging to all' (V. 6.3; 14.6). The attribute *viśva-carṣaṇi* is applied to Soma (IX. 1.2; 66.1) and Manu (X.83.4), and *viśvā-kṛṣṭayah* or *viśvā-manuṣaḥ* to the Maruts (III. 26.5; VIII. 46.17; X. 92.6) in the similar sense. As regards *viśva-jana* we find it used only in a derivative form as *viśvā-janya* and applied to Aditi (VII. 10.4), *Dyāvā-Prthivī* (III. 25.3) and Brhaspati (X. 67.7); to qualities such as good-will (III. 57.6; VII. 100.2) and pleasure (VI.36.1) and to things such as gifts (I. 169.8; VI. 47.25) and food (X. 2.6) and to *jyotis* (VII. 76.1). We find also *viśva-carṣaṇi* used as an epithet of *toka* (courage) (I.64.14) and *śravas* (fame) (X.93.10) and *viśva-kṛṣṭi* of *niṣṣīdhaḥ*⁴¹ (I. 169.2).

All beings are ruled by none but Indra (*Akṛṣṭir yó viśvā abhy-āsty-ékaḥ-it*) (VIII. 24.19) who makes them move or active (*ékaḥ kṛṣṭis cyāváyati prá viśvāḥ* VII. 19.1). They understand and respect him ('*vide viśvābhiḥ kṛṣṭibhiḥ*' I.100.10; '*viśvā namanta kṛṣṭáyāḥ*' VIII.6.4)⁴² who is their inspiring leader (*sényaḥ* VII 30.2 cp. VIII. 92.18) and the Bull ('*tvám ha tyád vṛṣabha carṣaṇi-ndm*' VIII. 96.18). They also depend on him (VIII. 2.33). After Indra, Agni is the Vedic deity with whom *viśva-kṛṣṭiḥ* are closely associated (V. 23.3) and who wields greater influence over them (IV. 7.4; V. 23.1; cp. IV. 38.10)⁴³. *Daivya and Mānava jana* : *Jana*, *kṛṣṭi*, *kṣiti* and *vis'*^{40a} are used in the Vedas in the sense of beings or population. To these, epithets such as *daivya* (or *daivi* or *divya*) or *mānava* (or *mānuṣa*) are applied whenever these beings are particularized, e.g. we find *daivya jana* or *daivi viśaḥ* and *mānava jana* used in the Vedas to denote the celestial and human beings or population respectively. Manu is alluded to in the RV. (X.53.6)⁵⁰ as the progenitor of not only human race but even divine beings and to differentiate these two *manu-jātas*, the creations of Manu (-Prajāpati) one is called *daivya* or *ṣvadhvara* and the other *mānava* or *mānuṣajana*. The former is offered worship equally with the Vasus, Rudras and the Ādityas (I. 45.1);⁵¹ called *yajñīyāsaḥ* (X. 53.4), *su-kṛtam* (benefactors) and *aṃho-mūcam* (free one from want); invoked along with such major deities⁵² as Indra, Agni,

Varuna &c. (X.65.9) and besought to restore the spirit (*jīva*) of the dead (X.57.5). This *daivya jana* is as much fond of Soma as Indra⁵³ (IX.71.8 ; 80.5 ; 84.3) ; is closely associated with Agni, their leader (*daivīnām kṣitīnām netā* III.20.4) ; know (VI.52.12 ; VIII.44.9)⁵⁴ and worship them (I: 31.17 ; 44.6 ; 45.10 ; V.13.3).⁵⁵ There are passages in the Vedas referring to *ubhāye jānāḥ* (II.24.10) or *dvā jānā* (IX.86.42) and meaning the celestial and terrestrial beings,⁵⁶ the former living in *parāvāt*, the distant region i.e. heaven and the latter in *arvāvāt*, the nearer region i.e. the earth (VIII.53.3) and these two classes of beings are expressly called *mānuṣa* and *daivī* (III.34.2) respectively.⁵⁷

Daivya jana in the Vedas is not used to mean godly men or the pious people who have dedicated their life for the well-being of others but is only a collective term for divinities. For instance the *daivya jana* whom Agni, the immortal messenger (*amartya dūta*) is besought to bring down (from heaven) (VI.16.6), whom he offers worship (I.31.7 ; 44.6 etc.), whom the *amartya* Gāyā extols, along with whom *Dyāvā-ṛthivī* were invoked to come for protection (VIII.53.2) and ultimately to whom prayers are offered along with the Maruts (II.30.11), are none but the celestial beings. Further these *daivya-janas* are invoked in company with gods like Indra, Agni, Maruts &c. It appears from such references where *daivya-janas* are counted along with other deities expressly named, that the *daivya-jana* has in places been regarded as a collective term like *viśvedevas* for a certain class of deities. Perhaps Geldner may be right in assuming that *daivya-jana* refers to 'Genius' or deified spirit who is worshipped with great reverence by the Vedic Aryans just as the Angel by the Roman peoples.⁵⁸ But this holds good only in such places where *daivya-jana* is invoked along with other gods. Elsewhere this is only a common expression for the entire celestial population. For instance *daivya-jana* in VII.89.5⁵⁹ where men invoke Varuṇa to pardon them for their offence against the *daivya-janas*, are simply the divine beings. Similarly *mānuṣa-jana*, *mānuṣi-kṣīti* or *-kṣīti* and *mānuṣa carṣāṇi* (I.59.5 ; V.14.2 ; VI.2.3 ; 21.2 ; X.118.9 ; IV.6.8 etc.) are the collective terms or common expressions for human beings in the Vedas.

Jana or *Jantu* : These are generally synonyms and used in the RV. mostly in the simple sense of beings though the latter in contexts implies offspring,⁶⁰ issue or descendants (V.19.3 ; X.48.1 ; III.3.6 ; IX.67.3) ; creatures or beings (VII.104.16 ; VII.9.1 ; I.94.5 ; V.32.7 ; X.49.2) and men or people (VII.58.3 ; X.140.4 ; I.81.9 ; 74.3 ; 45.6 ; III.2.12. ; V.7.2.). We find the expression *viśvasya jan-tōḥ* (analogous to *viśva(sya)-jana(sya)* (V.32.7 ; VII.104.16) and the verse X.49.2 refers to these beings as those⁶¹ of heaven,

earth and waters, thus, in fact covering the entire living beings in whatever place and shape they exist. The expressions *ubhayasya jantóh* (VII. 9.1) again refers to the celestial and terrestrial beings or men and gods just as *ubháye jánāh* (II.24.10) or *dvā jánāh* (IX. 86.42) and *mānuṣā yugā* in X. 140.6 also perhaps conveys the same meaning since gods like men are believed to be the descendants of the first *Manu-Prajāpati* in the Vedas⁰² (X. 53.6). It is worth noticing in this connection that Indra in RV. is actually addressed as *mānuṣa* (I.84.20) and that Indra-Agni as *carṣaṇi* (X.109.5). Further Indra is often called ' *yā ékaś carṣaṇinām* (I.176.2) in the RV.

Jana also is similarly used in the RV. to mean men or people, creatures and divine beings. The words used to mean 'man' in RV. is mostly *martya* or *marta* meaning the mortals in contrast to *amartya* (or *daivya jana*) the immortals. *Mānuṣa* or *mānava* is also found used in this sense but according to its derivative sense it equally applies both to gods and men, the descendants of the first Manu. *Jana* (and also *jantu*) is thus a generic name not necessarily meaning people as it would do in later literature. From " *te'sairāh pra-padyante yathā puṇyasya karmaṇah a-pāny-a-pāda-ke'sāsaḥ tatra te'yoni-jā janāh* " (TA. I. 8.6), it appears that *jana* has still retained this sense -creature or being-even at the time of Taittiriya-ṛaṇyaka.

Kṣiti: This word is used in RV. in three different, though akin to each other, meanings i.e. people (I. 33.6; 72.7; 100.7; 151.3; 172.3; II. 2.3; III. 18.1; IV. 24.4 etc.), settlements (I. 65.5; 73.4; IV. 5.15; III. 3.9; V. 37.4; VII. 65.2; 88.7) and land or countries (III.14.4; 13.4; VIII.16.9; IX.89.6; X.89.11). But this is not found used in the sense of earth anywhere in the RV.⁰³ It must have been originally meant only settlements or colonies which was later applied to those who live in settlements also.

Carṣaṇi and kṣṣiti: *Carṣaṇi* is used in RV. to mean men (I.17.12; 17.2; III. 6.5; VI. 25.7 etc.), vigilant or ever active (I. 46.4; 109.5 Griffith) pre-eminent (I.109.5. Geldner) and seer, perceiver or observer (Sāyana).⁰⁴ This word is derived from √*kṣṣ* (= *vilekhanē, vilekhanam ākarṣaṇam*) with the suffix⁰⁵ *-ani* but how this can come to mean seer or observer we cannot say.⁰⁶ *Kṣṣiti* also derived from the same root but with the suffix *-ti* and means generally men though occasionally Sāyana interprets it as *ṛtvig-yajamāna-lakṣaṇāh* (V.I.6), ' *karmavato manuṣyān*' (III. 59.1) ' *putrā dirūpāh*' (I.160.5) &c., Griffith as lands (I. 189.3) and Geldner as ' *die Länder*' (IV.38.9; VI. 18.3) also. It appears that there should be little shade of difference in meaning of all these terms though they normally indicate men or people since we meet these terms side by side in one, and the same verse such as " *ā carṣaṇi-prā vṛṣabhō jānānām rājā kṣṣṣīmām puru-hūtā indrah* " (I.177.1) &c.

IV

Yadu, Turvaśa, Druhyu, Anu and Pūru : There are five of the several 'tribes mentioned in the RV. who were thought to have collectively been referred to by the term *pañca-janas* in the Vedas on the strength of all these names being mentioned in a single verse viz. I. 108.8. They are found in the hymns mostly ascribed to Indra and once or twice in those ascribed to Aśvins, Agni, Indra-Agni, Soma and the Maruts. They are very closely associated with Indra-Agni and the Aśvins who are besought to come down from their company to accept oblations (I. 108.8; VIII. 10.5). The Aśvins, the rescuers of the vanquished sun-light,⁶⁷ are said to sojourn with them (Yadu, Turvaśa, Anu and Druhyu) in *parāvat*⁶⁸ the far off nether region, and are invoked to come with sun-light therefrom. (VIII. 10.5; I. 47.7). Among these Yadu and Turvaśa are often found together and described to have been rescued by Indra from *parāvat* (VI.45.1 ; IV.30.17 ; I.174. 9) by slaying *Śambara*, the the demon of darkness (IX. 61.2) or by breaking the nine-and-ninety forts (I. 54.6). They are also said to have been helped by Indra to cross over the turbulent *āpāh*, the celestial waters, in the yonder region (*pāre* (V. 31.8) as they were *a-snālārā*, those who cannot swim (IV. 30.17). Indra is believed to sojourn with them (VIII. 4.1) and make them very widely known (X. 49.8). Besides, Yadu and Turvaśa are invoked through Agni to come up from *parāvat* (I. 86.18) are highly revered (AV. XX. 37.8) and eagerly sought after through the help of Indra (VIII. 4.7) whom they help in his fight (VIII. 47.27).

From this description it becomes abundantly clear that Yadu and Turvaśa whom Indra brings from the nether region getting them over the troubled nether ocean and glorifies by slaying the seven (demons) and destroying the nine-and-ninety forts⁶⁹ (X. 49.8) are not human beings. Further they are said to dwell in the east or west (VIII. 10.5) in the distant region (I. 47.7); and are invoked through Agni, the divine messenger, to emerge from the dark region (I. 86.18).

Similarly the Anus who fashioned a car for Indra⁷⁰ (V. 31.4) as the Ṛbhus did for the Aśvins⁷¹ (I. 20.3) and are closely associated with Indra (VIII.4.1 ; MS.IV.14.13), the Aśvins (VIII.10.5) and the celestial Agni, who is regarded as one of the destroyers of the Vṛtras⁷² (*vṛtra-hān-tama*, VIII. 74.4), do not seem to be less divine than the Ṛbhus or Tvaṣṭṛ. As regards Druhyu and Pūru the references are not so helpful as to prove their celestial affinity. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that the Pūrus are very closely associated with Indra and Agni and, with their adventures such as

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slaying the *vṛtras* and breaking the autumnal forts etc. (IV. 21.10; I. 131.4; I. 130.7; I. 59.6; VII. 5.3) which are believed to be allegorical references to some celestial phenomena.

Thus from the foregoing discussion we may conclude that *Yadu*, *Turvaśa*, *Druhyu*, *Anu* and *Pūru* were originally some heavenly objects which in later myths were metamorphosed as human beings.⁷³ The celestial nature of theirs found described in the Vedas compelled scholars like R. Shamashastri⁷⁴ to believe that they represented five minor planets in the RV. Among these *Yadu* and *Turvaśa* may perhaps represent the forms of the Sun just before the rise and immediately after the setting or the rising and setting Sun, and *Yadu* likewise the forms of the rising and setting Moon. The Puranic *Yādava* dynasty, it is noteworthy in this connection, claims its origin from the Moon. But we cannot say wherever *Yadu* and *Turvaśa* are referred to in the RV. they meant the lunar or solar deities, e.g. in VII.18.6; 19.8; VIII.4.19; X.7.18; 9.14. It is doubtful if they represent their celestial counterparts. Similar is the case with others particularly the *Pūrus* in many references.

V

From the foregoing discussion it is evident that *pañca-janas* in no way to be a collective term for the Vedic tribes such as *Yadu*, *Turvaśa* &c. Similarly *jana*, *mānava* etc. do not necessarily mean people or man in the Vedas. These are the common Vedic expressions for 'beings' irrespective of their celestial or terrestrial affinity. They can be applied to gods, semi-gods or spirits (*yakṣa*, *rakṣas* or *asura*) as much as to man, reptiles or insects. Historians and Vedic writers took these Vedic references as source material for history and attempted an euhemeristic interpretation of a traditional literature which is strictly speaking devoid of any historical content whatever.⁷⁶ It is worth quoting, here in conclusion, the remarks of Dr. A. K. Coomarswamy, who, speaking about the Five Kindreds in his '*Ṛgveda* as Land-nama bók,' observes :— "In any case the *Ṛgveda* provides us with texts amply sufficient to prove that the Five Kindreds which participate in the First Sacrifice are classes or categories of divine beings or principles, ancestors indeed of humanity, but not yet merely human in a biological sense. In RV., X. 53, the Five Kindreds, *panca janah*, "who eat the Bread of Life" are summoned to cross *Asmaṃvati*, are also spoken of as a *daivya jana*, "Heavenly Kin," and as *yajniyāsaḥ* "proper to be sacrificially worshipped," expressions that cannot have applied to living members of the genus *Homo sapiens*..." (p. 9).

REFERENCES :

1. The Vedic people seem to have a special predilection for *pañca* as for *sapta* since we find these two terms often used in the Vedic hymns, e.g. in "*pañca yaštir anu pañca-dohā gām pañca-nāmnīm ṛtaṁ o'nū-pañca. pañca diśah pañca-daśena klptās ta eka-mūrdhūr abhi-lokam ekam.*" (AV. VIII. 9.15); "... *apo manuṣyān ośadhīmīs tam u pañcā'nu recire*" (AV. VIII. 9.23) and in innumerable other Vedic passages we find that things are counted in five. The number five has gained a mystic meaning in Hinduism as in Buddhism and Jainism for it represents many a thing in the philosophical and religious literatures of these religions. e.g. *pañca-īndriyas*, *pañca-tan-mūtras*, *pañca-mahā-bhūtas*, *pañca-vargas* and a number of others. In the Veda we find five *pādas* (RV. X. 13.3), five cardinal points (*diśas* or *pra-diśas*, RV. IX. 86.29, cp. AV. XIII.3.6, XI.8.22; X.8.35; III.20.9), five priests (RV. II. 34.14), five continents (RV. VII.69.2), five Bulls (RV. I. 105.10), five *vṛdtas* (RV. IX. 14.2), five animals (AV. XI. 2.9), five devās (RV. X. 55.3), five seasons (AV. XIII. 1.18), five *odanas* (AV. IV. 14.7; IX. 5.10), five creepers (AV. XI. 8.15) and still many more things counting in five. Thus the number five has gained an esoteric value and become a symbol for many religious, philosophical and mystic or esoteric concepts.

2. Macdonell, Keith, Tilak and Hopkins doubt whether '*sapta*' in many places in RV. stand for a definite number. See Macdonell, Hist. of Skt. Lit. p. 141; Keith Rel. and Phil. of the Vedas, p. 174; Vedic Index Vol. II. p. 424; Tilak, Arctic Home in the Vedas, pp. 288 ff.; Hopkins; Numerical Formulas in the Veda', JAOS, Vol. 16, pp. 277 ff.

3. cp. '*yāḥ pañca carṣaṅtir abhi nisasāda dāme-dame*' RV. VII. 15.2^{ab}; '*yā pañca carṣaṅtir abhi'ndrā'gnī tā havāmāhe*', V. 86.2^{cd}; '*yāḥ pañca carṣaṅtir abhi rayīm yēna vānāmāhai*', IX. 101.9^{cd} and '*asyā śroṣan tvā bhūvo viśvā yās carṣaṅtir abhi*' I. 86.5^{ab} '*āśūm dūtām vivāsvato viśvā yā carṣaṅtir abhi*' IV. 7.4^{ab} '*viśvā yās carṣaṅtir abhyā'sā vājeṣu sāsāhat*' V.23.1.

4. *pañca* seems to have acquired this meaning by its rather familiar use with *pra-diśah* or *diśah*. *sārvā diśah* or *pañca diśah* and *sārvāḥ pra-diśah* or *pra-diśah* mean in essence, the same as both the phrases are used to denote the whole or entire space of the universe, or all the regions. We find these phrases used exactly in this sense in the Vedas for example in RV. VI. 75.2 it is said '*sārvāḥ pra-diśo jayema*' (Cf. *sā paprathāno abhi pañca bhūmā* VII. 69.2. *pañca bhūma = bhūtāni sarva-pāñiaḥ Sāyama*). We will win the entire world.' Again we come across *sārvāḥ diśah* in AB. 1.7 '*pañca devatā yajati pañkto yajānah sarvā diśah kalpante...*' which the commentator explains: '*diśo'pi prūcy-ādya ūrdhvāntāḥ pañca-saṅkhyākāḥ/ato devatā-gata pañca-saṅkhaya gataḥ sarvā diśah kalpante samarthā bravanti*'. Thus *pañca* or *sārvāḥ* in these contexts ultimately mean the same thing. Geldner seems to have observed the interchangeability of these terms when he writes in his notes on V.86.2 "... [Die fünf völker umspannen den geographischen Horizont des Dicters, vgl. 7.15.2. Für *pañca* steht allemeim *viāvāḥ* I.86.5; V.23.1.]"

5. Original Sanskrit Text. Vol. I. pp.178-179.

6. 'There is a frequent reference in the RV. to 'the five people', a term of somewhat uncertain application; It is found in each book of the RV; it is probably to be taken as a conventional number for the Aryan tribes...' The Religious Quest of India. p. 45.

7. e.g. in III.55.18 it is said that (the horses) yoked in six (lines) by 'five and five' carry him (Indra) (...*ṣoḥśud yuktdh pañca-pañcā vahanti*...).

The number of horses of Indra varies from 20-100 as we learn from II.18.5-6 ('*ḍ vimśatyā trimśatā yāhy-arvānā catvāriṃśatā hāribhir yujānāh, ḍ pāncā śatā su-rāthebhir indrā śaṣṭyā saptatyā soma-péyam*', II.18.5; '*āsītyā navatyā Yāhyarvānā śatēna hāribhir uhyāmānāh*' . . . II.-18.6). These verses simply mean to say that Indra's chariot is drawn by tens of horses i.e. innumerable horses. Thus *pāñca-pāñcā* in III.55.18 actually means 'very many' though literally it means 'five and five'. In the same way '*saptā-sapta*' also means very many or innumerable. e.g. In X.55.3 it is said that the five gods became very many in seasons or according to the seasons (*ḍ rōdasī aprnād ōtā mādhyam pāñca devām ṛtuśāh saptā-sapta* . . .) Indra filled (populated) the earth and heaven with five gods who became very many in seasons). Here *saptā-sapta* as *pāñca-pāñca* in III. 55.18 stands for an indefinite number though here also the phrase is just a multiplication of two figures. (cp. '*prā saptā-sapta tredhā hī cakramūh* . . . RV. X. 75.1; AV. IV. 16.6). Scholars like Ludwig and Oldenberg try to make out this number i.e. *pāñca-saptā-sapta* (=35) by calculating the sun, the moon, five planets, 27 nakṣatras and Indra for the 35th. Interpreting this verse Geldner rightly observes in the foot-note : . . . Wie die Zahlen zu konstruieren seien, ist unsicher. Zu *pāñca-saptāsapta* vg. *saptāsapta tredhā* 10. 75.1 und *soḥd-pāñca-pāñca* 3.15.18. Ludwig, dem Oldenberg folgt, glaubt, dass *pāñca-saptāsapta* einfach 35 sei, nämlich Sonne., Mond und Planeten und die 27 Nakṣatras = 34 in c, und Indra is der 35ste. Dann wurde *ṛtuśāh* guten sinn geben. Aber 3.55.18 macht diese erklärung doch recht unwahrscheinlich. Es muss irgund ein anderes Zahlensystem der Gotter und Himmelslicher gemein sein. . . Say's Erklärung ist zu modern, ebenso die Zahlung 34 in Sat. 4.57 7.2. . . ." From this it becomes clear that the explanation of these numbers by the above Vedic writers is but an attempt to account somehow for these figures which really do not stand for any definite number. Geldner has acknowledged the improbability (of all these explanations but simply remains silent by remarking) that this must be some different system of calculating gods and heavenly bodies.

h. The AB. says :—" *pāñca-janyam vā etad uktham yad vaiśva-devam. Sarveṣām vā etat pāñca-janānām uktham deva-manuṣyāṃgām gandharvā psarasām sarpāṅgām ca pūrṇām vā etat pāñca-janānām uktham sarva enam pāñca-janā viduh.*" III. 31.

8a. '*śālā-mukhyah prañitas'ca putro gṛha-pates'ca yah.uttaro dakṣiṇas'cā gnir ete pāñca-janāh smṛtāh. manuṣāh pitaro devā gandharvoragarākṣasāh gandharvāh pitaro devā asurā yakṣa-rākṣasāh.yāskaupamanyavāvetān āhatuḥ pāñca vai janān. niṣāda-pāñcamān varṇān manyate śakaṣayanaḥ. ṛtviḥyo yajamānā ca śakapūṅhis-tu manyate.hotādihvaryus tathōd-gātā brahmā cēli vadanti tān. cakṣuḥ śrottram mano vāk ca prāṇas'cē'ty-ātma-vādīnaḥ.gandharvāpsaraso devā manuṣyāh pitaras tathā. sarpās'ca brāhmacē ca'iva śrūyante hy'aitareyake.ye cā'nye pṛthivi-jātā devās cā'nye'tha yajñiyāh.*' BD. VII. 67-72.

In Nirukta Yāska gives no opinion of his own and what he says there as the view of Aupamanyavas has been ascribed here to *Śakaṣayana*. But the BD. says that Yāska and Aupamanyava held the view that pāñca-janas are the five races ! We understand from Macdonell's notes that '*manuṣyāh pitarah*' is read as '*manuṣyāh paśavaḥ*' in some MSS. This again is an obvious attempt to cover even quadrupeds by this expression. See BD. Part II. p. 269. HOS.

9. See Vedic Index Vol. I. p. 4 7 ; Griffith RV. 1. 7.9 n. and AV. III.24.3 n.

10. Zimmer, Altindisches Leben pp. 120-121. Kuhn also believes that the "five tribes" are to be identified with the clans whose names are mentioned in the verse I.108.8. See Muir, OST., Vol. I. p. 179.

11. See Griffith, RV. VI. 51.11.n.

12. In his notes on this Nirukta passage (*gandharvāḥ pitaro devāḥ...*) Roth remarks: 'The conception of the five races which originally comprehended all mankind... is here transferred to the totality of the divine beings. Hence also arises the diversity of undertaking, when the number has to be indicated.' Muir. OST. Vol. p. 177. n. 23.

13. Yaska explains the word *niṣāda* as "*niṣādaḥ kasmāt? nisannam asmin pāpam ili nairuktāḥ*". Nir. 3.2.7.

14. '*yād indrāṅni yāduṣu turvāseṣu yād druhyūśvānuṣu pūrūṣu sthāḥ. ātaḥ pāri vṣaṇāvā hī yūtām āthā sōmasya pibatam sulāsyā.*' I. 108.8.

15. In his R̥gvedic Culture, Abinashchandra Das mentions the Bharatas and Ṛtsyus, the Purus, the Anus, the Druhyus and the Turbasas as implied by the *Pañca-janas*. He counts the Bharatas and Ṛtsyus as one and thinks that the other tribes like Cedis and the Yadus etc. are probably comprised in one or another of the principal clans. p. 46.

16. See OST. Vol. I. p. 179.

17. *ibid.* p. 177. n. 23.

18. *ibid.* p. 179.

19. "*tē na indraḥ pṛthivī kṣāma vardhan pūṣḍ bhāgo āditīḥ pāñca jānāḥ. su-śārmānaḥ sv-āvasaḥ su-nīthā bhāvantu naḥ sutrātr̥dsāḥ su-gopāḥ.*"

20. "*pṛā su-medhā gātuvīd viśvā-devāḥ sōmaḥ punānāḥ sāda eti nityam. bhūvad viśveṣu kāvyeṣu rāntāru jānān yatate pāñca dhīnaḥ.*"

21. "*mahāt tān-nāma gūhyam puruṣṛg yēna bhūtām janāyo yēnabhāvuyam. pṛatnām jālām jyōtīr yād asyā priyām priyāḥ sām avisanta pāñca.*"

22. '*gō-jātāḥ* = die kuhgeborenen, d.h. von Aditi (vg. 10.63.2) oder mit Say. von der pṛṣni geboren, also die Āditya's oder die Marut.' Geldner, Der Rigveda.

23. "...*ūrjāda utā yajñiyāsah pāñca jānā māma hotrām juṣadhvam*'; '*pāñca jānā māma hotrām juṣantām gō-jatā utā yē yajñiyāsah.*...' (X. 53.4-5).

24. "*yāsyē'kṣvākūr ūpa vratē revān marūyy-ēdhate. divī'va pāñca kṛṣṭāyah.*" (X. 60.4) cp. '*...divī'va sūryam dṛṣē.*' (X. 60.5e)

25. Der Rigveda X. 53.4. n. 4d.

26. "*mitrā pāñca yemire jānā abhiṣṭi-śavasa sū devān viśvān bibharati.* From this verse it becomes clear that *viśvān devān* of the last pāda refers to pāñca jānā of the previous thus showing that these are interchangeable or synonymous terms.

27. See rocana "unsichtbarer Himmel, Lichtraum" Heinrich Lüders, Varuṇa, Part I. p. 66. He says "Für den unsichtbaren Teil des Himmels hat die Sprache des Rigveda einen besonderen Ausdruck, nämlich rocana "Lichtraum", meist mit dem Zusatz *divāḥ*. Dor sind die Götter, von dort werden sie gebeten zu kommen..."

28. "*etuttisraḥ parāvataḥ etu pāñca-janām uti/etu tisro'ti rocanā yato na punar ayati/sāśvaṭibhyaḥ samabhyo yāvat sūryo asad divi.*" he shall go to the three nether regions, he shall go beyond the regions of the pāñca-janas, he shall go beyond the three rocanas, the luminous uppermost (rocana = Lichtaum, Geldner).

29. Bhu, Bhuvan, Suvar, Mahar, Jana Tapas and Satya (TA. X. 27.1).

30. '*yād antārikṣe yāt divī pāñca mānuṣām anu/nṛmudm tād dhattam aśvinā.* cp. AV. XX. 139.2.

31. '*eṣā syā yujānd parākāt pāñca-kṣitīḥ pāri sadyō jigāti/abhi-pāsyanti vayinā jānānām divō duhitā bhūvanasya pātū.*' VII. 75.4. Griffith wrongly translates pari-jigati here as 'visits' whereas Sāyana explains it as as 'parigacchati',

'goes round'. Geldner renders the verse :—"Dort hat sie (zur Fahrt) aus der Ferne angespannt; sie umkreist an gleichen Tage die fünf Länder, die Wege der Menschen beschauend, des Himmels Tochter, die Herrin der Welt."

The verse describes the appearance of the long awaited Dawn coming from the far off region (*parākdī ep. parāvātah*) and simultaneously spreading herself over the *pāñca kṛṣṭīh*, the fifth celestial region which here stands for the whole celestial region. The Dawn who has spread herself wide on the entire heavenly region can observe direct (*abhi-pásyanti*) from there the doings of the people on the earth. Thus *pañca kṛṣṭīh* here clearly stands for the wide heavenly region i.e. the whole upper hemisphere.

32. ' *ihī tīsrāh parāvāta ihī pāñca jānām āti/ dhēnā indrā va cākas' at.*

33. ' *vayām agne ārvatā vā su-vīryam brāmaṇā vā citayemā jānām āti. asmākam dyumnām ādhi pāñca kṛṣṭīh'ccā svar-nā śusūcīta duṣṭāram.'*

34. Commenting on this verse Geldner says in the notes 'Ebenso gut möglich : über die Schätze (aller) Völker, der fünf Stämme. He thinks that *carṣaṇinām* here means 'all people'.

35. *yād indra nāhuṣiṣu-ānī ōjo nṛmṇām ca kṛṣṭīṣu / yād vā pāñca kṣitīnām* ... Here *nāhuṣiṣu kṛṣṭīṣu* has been interpreted by Sāyaṇa as *prajāsu* — people in general whom Roth follows. (See Muir, OST, Vol. I. p. 179, 183.)

36. vide 'The Pañca-janas', Poona Orientalist. Vol. VIII. p. 29.

37. ' *vy-uṣā āvāh pathyā jānānām pāñca kṣīr-mānuṣīr-bodhāyanti...*'

38. ' *tve'me pṛthivī pāñca-mānavā yebhyo jyotir amṭam martyebhyo udyant-sūryo rāsmibhir ātanoti.'* AV. XII. 1.5.

39. ' *yāsya viśvāni hāstayoh pāñca kṣitīnām vāsu...*'

40. ' *yā ōjṣṭhas tān ā bhara pāvamāna śravādyam / yāh pāñca carṣaṇīr abhi rayīm yēna vānāmahai.* IX. 101. 9.

41. ' *ā dadhikrāh śāvasā pāñca kṣṭīh sūrya iva jyōtiṣū'pās tatāna/sahasrasdḥ sātāsā vōjy-ārvā pṛṇāktu mādhvā sāmimā vācāmsi.* IV. 38. 10.

' *sadyās cid yāh śāvasā pāñca kṛṣṭīh sūrya iva jyōtiṣū'pās tatāna. sahasrasdḥ sātāsā asya tāmhīr nā smā varante yuvatim nā śāryām.* (X. 178.3).'

' *ayam bhātu śśavasā pāñca kṛṣṭīh indra iva jyeṣṭho bhātu pṛajā-vāṇi/ smā astu puṣkalam citra-bhānu / āyam pṛṇāktu rajasi upastham.'* (TB.II.7.15.3)

42. ' *na-hī me akṣīpāc-candc chāntsuḥ pāñca kṛṣṭīyāh/kuvīt sōmasyā'pām itī.'*

43. ' *imau vai lokau sahā'stām tau vyaitām nā' vārsan-na sam-atapat-te pāñca jānān samajānata taut devūh sam-anyaṇīstau samyṇntāv-etam deva-vivāham vyavahetām...*' AB.IV.27.

44. ' *ā pas' cātān-nāsatyā purāstād dsvinā yātam adhrāt ādaktūt / ā viśvātah pāñca-janyena tāyā yūyām pāta svastībhih sādā nah.* VII. 72. 5.

45. In the AV. *viśva-jānīna*, a derivative form of *viśva-jāna*, is used as an adjective of *jāna*. e.g. ' *jānād viśva-jānīnād...*' AV. VII. 46. 1.

46. Geldner renders *viśva-carṣaṇi* or *viśva-kṛṣṭī* as 'allvolkstümlichen'

(Sarvajanapriya) (RV.I.9.3). Allbekannt (V.38.1) or '...allen Völkern bekannte' (II.31.3) i.e. known to all or all people and allen Völkern gehörig' belonging to all people' (X.33.4). Sāyaṇa in some places interprets *viśva-carṣaṇi* as *sarvasya draṣṭā* (V.38.1), *sarva-manuṣya-yuktah*, *sarvāih yajamānāih pūjyāh* (I.9.3), *viśve carṣaṇyāh manuṣyā yasya* (II.31.3) etc.

47. Sāyaṇa interprets *niṣīdhāh* as ' *nīś-śeṣenodakasya settṛn meghān*' (I. 169.2), ' *anu-śāsānāni*' (III.51.5), ' *himsikām dīptim*' (II.55.8) and *nivā-rajāni*' whereas Griffith as gifts, boons or doings. But according to Geldner it means 'der schuldige Tribut oder die Dankesschuld.' (Vgl. ZDMG. 71.331.).

(Der Rigveda. III.51.5.n.5b.) i.e. indebtedness to pay tribute, or gratefulness that one owes to others. 'viśvā-kṛṣṭīḥ niṣ-śidhaḥ' would thus mean general indebtedness (allgemeinen dankessansprüche). Therefore Indra is called *puṇi-niṣśidhe*' (I.10.5) i.e. 'to whom people owe so much.'

'...*indra viśvā-kṛṣṭīḥ...niṣśidho martyatrá*' (I.169.2) is repeated in '*pūrvīr asya niṣśidho martyeṣu...*' (III.51.5); '*pūrvīṣṭa indra niṣśidho jāneṣu.*' (VI.44.11) with little variation. From these contexts it appears that *pūrvīḥ* and *viśvā-kṛṣṭīḥ* are synonyms and hence it may be said that *pūrvā-carṣaṇīḥ* (*pūrvīḥ carṣaṇīḥ* III.43.2), *pāñca carṣaṇīḥ* and *viśvā-carṣaṇīḥ* etc. may, if adjectively used, mean general or relating to all beings.

48. The obeisance of all beings to Indra, the verse says, is as natural and spontaneous as the course of rivers to the sea — '*samudṛāye'va sindhavaḥ*' (VIII.6.4.).

49. '*viśvā yās carṣaṇīr abhī.* cp. *kṛṣṭī yó viśvā abhyāsty-éka it'* VIII.24.19.

49a. Sāyaṇa in his commentary on AB. 1.9. says *viśaḥ* means people in general (*prajā-mātra-vāci*) or the *vāiśya* caste. He further observes that even among the gods there are caste distinctions! '...*santi hi deveṣvapi jāti-viśeṣaḥ.*'

50. '*...anulbanām vayata jóguvām āpo mánur bhava janāyā dāivyam jānam.* Geldner in the notes to this verse remarks on the relation of Manu and daivya-jana as "...*mánur bhava* wird durch das Folgende erklärt. Manu ist entweder wie später schon der Schöpfer, oder er ist der erste Opferer. Er soll die Götter erzeugen, d.h.zum Vorschein, zur Stelle bringen. MS. I. p. 11.18 heissen die Götter manusya-jatah. Vgl. auch zu I, 45, 1." See also 'Gleichnisse Und Metaphern im R̥gveda... von Arnold Hirzel p. 33; The Vedic Hymns Part III. by H. Oldenberg under RV. I.45.1 (SBE. Vol. XLVI).

51. "Say, teilt hier dem Manu die spätere Rolle eines Welterschöpfers zu. Dazu würde 10.53.6 und MS. I. p. 11, 18 stimmen, wo die Götter *mānu-jātāḥ* heissen. Sollte aber nicht vielmehr das arischeneben volkgemeint sūn, seinen Göttern also der Genius der Amir göttlich verehrt worden sein. Dazu würden die Beiwörter stimmen. *svadhvarā jānam* auch 8,5,33 von Menschen." Geldner. Der Rigveda. I. 45. I. n. Icd.

52. *daivya-jana* appears to be a collective term for a certain class of deities of the Vedic pantheon who have been invoked in this verse along with other major deities.

53. '*īndram soma mādāyan dāivyam jānam...*' (IX.80.5; 84.3).

54. '*cikitvān dāivyam jānam*'.

55. '*dāivyam jānam ā sādaya barhiṣi yākṣi ca priyām.*' I.cv.v; ', , *namasyā dāivyam jānam*' I.44.6; '*arvāñcam dāivyam jānam ūgne yākṣva sáhūtibhiḥ* I.45,10; '*...sā yakṣad dāivyam jānam.*' V.13.3.

56. 'Götter und Menschen sind gemeint.' Geldner, Der Rigveda, 2.24.10. n.10d.

57. '*īndra kṣitindām asi mñuṣiñām viśām dāivīnām utā pūrva-yāvā*'. III.34.2. The Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa covers these two kinds of beings in a common expression as *dāivyāni mānuṣā jānūñṣi*' (TB. II. 8.2.4).

58. Geldner, RV. I. 45. I. n. Icd.

59. '*yāt kiñce dām varūña dāivye jāne' bhi-drohām manuṣyas' cārāmasi. ācittī yāt tāva dhārmā yuyopimā mē nas tāmād ēnasa deva tiriṣaḥ.*' cp. '*ācittī yāt cakṛma dāivye jāne...*' IV.54.3.

60. *Svaivatreyaśya jantāvo* ... 'V 19.3 '*mām havante pitārom na ...*' X.48.1; '*agnīr devēbhīr mānuṣas'ca jantūbhīḥ...*' II.3.6; '*vacō jantūḥ...*' IX.67.13. *jantū*, in these places, is used in the same sense as *prajā* (cp. I.96.2), *tanaya* (cp. I.96.4) &c in the RV.

61. 'mām dhur indram ndma devātā divās'ca gmās' cā'pām ca janīāvah'

62. See under note 50 above.

63. The word *kṣiti* is derived from the root √kṣi (= *ni-vāsa-gatyoh*) and means settlement or habitation. But it never carried the meaning of earth in the RV. and is used mostly in the sense of people perhaps referring to those living in the original Aryan settlements. The verse '*tvām vardhanti kṣitātayah pṛthivyām* . . . ' VI. 1.5 leaves no doubt as to the meaning of the term.

64. '*karmaṇo draṣṭā*' I. 46. 4; '*sarvasya draṣṭṛṇām*' I. 86. 6; '*mantra draṣṭṛbhyah*' I. 84. 20.

65. '*kṣerādes'ca cak*' (Uṇādi-Sūtra 2.261) *iti ani-pratyayah, tat-sam-niyogena kakārasya cakrāḥ* Sāyaṇa. I. 17. 2.

66. For this reason some try to derive it from the root *cāyṛ* (= *ṭṛja-nisām anayoh*). Nirukta, Nir. Sag. Ed. p. 259. n.5.

67. See Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 51.

68. In RV. *parāvat* means the dark lower hemisphere where Indra kills the Vṛtras, the demons of darkness and rescues from their clutches the light, Dawn and the Sun. See Tilak, 'Arctic Home in the Vedas' p. 261 ff.

69. Similarly the Aśvins also are accredited in the RV. to have rescued Bhujyu, Rebha, Chyavāna &c from the nether ocean and all these legends are explained 'as referring to the rescue of the daily dawn or the vernal restoration of the power of the winter sun.' See Max Müller, 'The Contributions to the Science of Mythology', Vol. II, pp. 583-605; Tilak, 'Arctic Home in The Vedas', pp. 298-310.

70. '*ānavas te rātham āsvāya takṣan tvāṣṭā vājram puru-hūta dyu-māntam/ brahmāṇa indram mahāyanto arkaīr āvardhayann-āhaye hāntavā u.*' Sāyaṇa interprets *ānavah* as '*ṛbhavah*' and '*brahmāṇah*' as '*aiṅgirasah* . . . *maruto vā*' which clearly shows that he has realized that Anus referred to here in company of Tvaṣṭṛ, the divine artificer, and the Maruts are not mortals; and hence he takes them for *ṛbhus* in this context.

71. See Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 132.

72. It is evident that the Fire referred to in '*āganma vṛtra-hān-tamam jyēsthā agnīm ānavam/yyāsya śruṭārvā bṛhānn-ārḥṣó ānika édhatē*' is not the terrestrial fire but the Primeval (*jyēsthā*) Agni who performed the first celestial Sacrifice.

73. In his 'Essays on Indo-Aryan Mythology' Narayana Aiyangar who attempts to explain the Vedic and Puranic legends in the light of solar and lunar myths, says "Pondering over many Vedic and Purāṇic stories, I come to entertain the idea that our ancient poets had systematically metamorphosed the heavenly objects as human beings, extra-ordinary Ṛṣis, demi-gods, gods and goddesses and had so read the phenomena connected with them—each poet in his own way—as to yield or illustrate moral and religious lessons, the advantage of dealing with the heavenly bodies being that the element of the marvellous and superhuman could be introduced with full poetical licence. Each story has, it appears to me, its own esoteric meaning, which when got at, make the phenomenal explanation that is attempted almost needless." Part I. Introduction, X-XI.

74. See 'Panca-janas', PO. Vol. VIII. p. 29.

75. A. K. Coomaraswamy, The Ṛg Veda as Land-nama-bok, p. VII.

ADMINISTRATION OF BRITISH JUSTICE IN INDIA FROM 1600 to 1861 A.D.

By

T. K. TOPE

Independence of judiciary from executive is the keystone in the arch of administration of justice, under the Constitution of India. This independence was secured in India after a series of attempts by the British Parliament to improve Indian judicial system. An attempt is made in the following lines to trace the history of administration of British justice in India.

The Charter that constituted the East India Company in 1600 also empowered it to make rules, ordinances etc. for the good government of the Company and authorized it to impose a sentence of fine or imprisonment on defaulters. Such a provision which conferred executive, legislative and judicial power on one and the same body was inevitable in view of the fact that the voyages in those days were very long. This power, however, was not adequate to meet all situations. Hence a system of issuing commission by the King under the Great Seal was adopted. Such commissions empowered the General-in-Command of Voyages to exercise martial law. Later, in 1615 His Majesty the King delegated this power to issue Commission to the Company. Power was also conferred on the Company in 1623 to issue Commissions to the President of factories for punishment of offences committed on land. This is the beginning of administration of British justice in India.

The history of administration of justice can be divided into the following periods.

(1) Period from 1623 to 1765 : During this period servants of the Company were entrusted with the work of administration of justice. Various types of courts were established.

(2) Period from 1765 to 1861 : During this period professional lawyers were associated with the work of administration of justice. Supreme courts and Recorders' courts were established in Presidency towns.

(3) Periods from 1861 to 1937 : During this period high courts were established and laws were codified. A regular system of appeals was finalized. This is the period of supremacy of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Independence of judiciary was firmly established.

(4) Period from 1937 to 26th January 1950 : During this period the Federal Court of India was established and limitations

were imposed on the power of the Judicial Committee regarding appeals from India.

First Period : This is a period of administration of justice by executive. Presidents of factories administered justice in virtue of power conferred on them by the Company. Charles II by a Royal Charter conferred on Governor and Council however, 'to judge all persons belonging to the said Governor and Company or that should live under them *in all causes, whether civil or criminal* according to the law of Kingdom and to execute judgement accordingly'. This charter was issued in 1661. But, till 1665 Portuguese laws were in force in Bombay. The court was at Thana and the High Court was at Bassein, and proceedings in the court were in Portuguese language. This state of affairs continued till 1672. The island of Bombay was transferred to the East India Company by the British Crown in 1669. The Charter also authorized the Company to administer justice in Bombay according to English law. Accordingly, two courts of justices were established. The lower court consisted of a civil officer of the Company, who was assisted by two native officers. This court disposed of petty cases. The High Court consisted of Deputy Governor and Council. Laws approved by the Company were brought to Bombay in 1670. They were translated into Portuguese and Marathi languages and were in force till 1726 when Mayor's court was constituted in Bombay. The laws contained provision for the following :—

(i) Religion and worship of God, (ii) Administration of justice and common Right, (iii) Establishing a method of Due Proceedings, (iv) Directing registration of sales etc., (v) Prescribing penalties and (vi) Military discipline. These laws were framed without taking into consideration special problems of Bombay. Hence, they were found to be defective and inadequate. On 2nd February 1670 first jury trial was held in Bombay. The Deputy Governor Aungier presided over the trial. He was assisted by 24 jurors, 12 of whom were English and 12 were Portuguese. The accused in the case was an Englishman and the charge was of murder of a Portuguese. During this period of administration of justice, judges were allowed to carry on private trade.

A very significant event took place in August 1672. Gerald Aungier had become Governor of Bombay in 1669. He had decided to establish a *court of judicature* at Bombay. 1st August 1672 was fixed for the opening of the court, but on account of heavy rains on that day, the opening was postponed to 8th August. A grand procession was arranged. A graphic description of the procession is available from Wilcox's paper. The procession was in the following order :—

' Fifty Bandaries in Green liveries marching two by two.

20 Gentues	} each representing their several cast or sect } marching two by two.
20 Mooremen	
20 Christians	

His Honour's horse of State lead by an Englishman.

Two trumpets and Kettle Drums on horse back.

The English and Portugal Secretary on horse back carrying His Majesty's Letters Patents to the Hon'ble Company and their Commission to the Governor tied up in scarfes.

The Justices of the Peace and Council richly habited on horse back.

The Governor in his Palankeen with fower English pages on each side in rich liveries bare headed surrounded at distance with Peons, and blacks.

The Clerke of the Papers on foot.

The fower Attorneys, or Common pleaders on foot.

The Keeper of the prisons and the two Tipstoffs on foot, bare headed before the judg.

The Judg on horse back on a Velvet foot cloath.

His Servants in Purple serge liveries.

Fower Constables with their staves.

Two Churchwardens.

Gentlemen in Coaches and Palankeens.

Both the Companies of foot (except the main Guard) marching in the Reare.'

Prisoners were released on the day. It was indeed a red letter day in the history of administration of British justice in India. It was decided to debar the judges from private trade and provision was made for their salary. It was to be Rs. 2000 per year. Aungier exhorted to the judges to be impartial and administer law equally even if it meant decision against them or the Company. He said, "And this is not only one against the other, but even against myself and there who are in office under me, nay against the Hon'ble Company themselves when law, Reason and Equity that require you soe to doe, for this is your duty and therein will you be justified and in soe doing God will be with you to strengthen you, his Majestie and the Company will Commend you and reward you, and I in my place shall be ready to assist, countenance, honour and protect you to the utmost of the power and Authority entrusted to me; and soe I pray God give his blessings to you (P. 55 'The first century of British administration of justice in India', by Faucett). Aungier left Bombay in 1675. He issued instructions to the Deputy Governor and council as follows :—

“You must give due countenance and respect to the judge of the court of judicature in the execution of his office; and also to the rest of the officers under him.” Thus, Aungier did his best to confer status on judiciary and to secure its independence from executive.

Wilcox was the first judge of the Court. He was assisted by four members who were called ‘justices’. The Chief amongst the members was called ‘Chief justice’. Thus at that time ‘the Chief justice,’ was not a judge and was lower in rank to the judge of the court. Wilcox was also the Registrar and a member of the Council. In 1672 the office of Coroner was also established and a justice of Peace was appointed an Attorney-General.

A court of conscience was also established in the same year with a view to making justice available to the poor, gratis. There was jury both for civil and criminal cases. On the criminal side there were ‘General sessions’ and ‘petty sessions’. A court sat once a month for ‘General sessions’. Slavery was prescribed as punishment for offences of theft and robbery. In the earlier days the court of session was also entrusted with mending and making public highways from place to place at public charges and the regulations of price. A salutary practice of blowing a long trumpet on the arrival of a judge was introduced. This practice was till recently followed in the High Court of Bombay. Attorneys were already in existence and were allowed to practise in the court of judicature. However, even then increase in their number was not liked by the Company nor their appearance in all cases.

The court of judicature met with evil days afterwards. In 1684 *A court of Admiralty* was established, but there was no clear definition of the jurisdiction of the two courts, with the result that confusion prevailed. Periods of political disturbances also affected the fate of the court of judicature. For 11 years i.e. from 1691 to 1702 there was no court of judicature at Bombay, the administration of justice being in the hands of the Governor and Council.

The history of administration of justice at Madras is rather different. To start with, the Governor and Council constituted a Court. Trial by jury was introduced in 1669. The court was reformed on 13th March 1678 and was to sit as a court of judicature. On 16th July 1686 a court of admiralty was established. This court had also the powers of a court of judicature. In 1687 a municipal corporation was established in Madras and in the next year i.e. in 1688 a Mayor’s Court was established. This court was Company’s Court and not one established under a Royal Charter. This Mayor’s Court was a court of record and had both civil and criminal jurisdiction. The appellate authority was the Governor and Council.

At Calcutta no court could be established till 1698 due to political conditions. The prisoners were sent to Madras for trial. There was no Court of judicature. The Governor and Council constituted a Court till 1728 when Mayor's court was set up. Besides this court, there were several other courts such as Zamindari court, a court of Request etc. Trial by jury was introduced in Calcutta in 1726.

Mayor's Court :

The courts of judicature, no doubt played their part in administering justice in the Company's settlement. However, the performance was not satisfactory. These courts were established under Company's authority and not under a Royal Charter. The judges or justices of the court were either the servants of the Company or freemen whose stay in India depended upon the pleasure of the Company. Hence completely impartial justice was not always available. (Sir Charles Faucatt however does not accept the view that the work done by the court of judicature was not satisfactory). Moreover decision of these courts, not established under a Royal Charter, were not accepted in England, with the result that the Company had to face litigation in England even if it legally confiscated property of its servants in India. Hence, the Company wanted a court in India whose authority will be accepted in England ; so that civil litigation against it in England may be avoided. The Directors of the Company petitioned to the Crown and represented that 'there was great want at Madras, Fort Williams and Bombay of a proper and competent court for the *more speedy and effectual administration of justice in civil causes and other offences and misdemeanours.*'

A Royal Charter for establishment of Mayor's Court was issued on 24th Sept. 1726. The court was to consist of a Mayor and nine Aldermen. The court had power to decide all civil suits. It had testamentary jurisdiction which was to be recognized in England. The Charter also introduced a regular system of appeals, from the Mayor's Court to the Governor and Council and then to King in Council. Criminal cases were to be decided by Governor and Council. Jury system was continued. The Mayor and the Aldermen used to be members of grand jury at quarter sessions. The charter also conferred on Governor and Council power to make by-laws and ordinances, which were to be consistent with the laws of England and were to be approved by the court of Directors. This charter is an important milestone in the judicial history of India. It makes the *beginning of interference by the Crown in the affairs of the Company.* It introduced English law in Presidency towns and conferred *subordinate power of legislation on Governor.*

Mayor's court exhibited spirit of independence both at Bombay and Calcutta. Occasionally, conflict arose between the court and the council. The Company however did not dictate to the court. It only saw that English law was properly followed by the courts. English law no doubt has its merits. But its introduction inevitably resulted in delay in administration of justice. Moreover it is to be remembered that the judges were not expert in law and were servants of the Company. But in spite of these shortcomings, on the whole, the work done by Mayor's courts was satisfactory ; so much so that even when it was optional for Indians either to settle the dispute by arbitration or to move the court, they preferred the latter alternative. Mayor's courts were supervised by the Company and annual registers were maintained. These registers were scrutinised by a consul appointed by the Company.

Mayor's court at Madras was suspended in 1746, on account of capture of the city by the French. The city was restored to the Company under the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. In 1753 a new Charter was issued and a court of Request was established.

The work done by Mayor's courts was satisfactory. No doubt, the judges of the Mayor's Courts had their own shortcomings and with increase in the territorial acquisitions by the Company complex legal problems came before the courts. The Madras council wrote to the Company in 1791 as follows : " As the colony increased with the increase of commerce and of territory, causes multiplied and became more complex. The judges now felt the want of experience and even of time sufficient to go through their duties ; new points constantly arose which required legal as well as mercantile knowledge ; men who professed or pretended to this knowledge were therefore introduced as Attornies and gradually obtained considerable influence in courts where the judges pretended to no legal skill. Thus by a change of circumstances unforeseen and unprovided for, the current of justice was in great measure turned into a new channel.

These inconveniences have been of late further augmented by Acts of Parliament which extended the jurisdiction of the civil and criminal courts to places, persons and offences that were not subject to their authority. By such extension the business has increased to a degree which renders it utterly impracticable for any but professional judges to execute it with due solemnity and effect. "

Provision was already made for establishment of a Supreme Court of judicature at Calcutta by the Regulating Act 1773. Accordingly, Letters Patent were issued on 26th March 1774 and a Supreme Court of judicature at Fort Williams in Bengal was established. The Court was to be a court of Record. The Letters Patent describe in detail the original and appellate jurisdiction of the court. The

Supreme Court was to be a court of oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery. It had ecclesiastical and admiralty jurisdiction. Appeals against the judgements could lie to the King in Council, both in civil and criminal cases. All other courts established by charter were to be subordinate to the Supreme Court and all officers and subjects of the king were to be obedient to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court was to consist of a Chief Justice and three puisne judges to be appointed by His Majesty. They were to be barristers of not less than five years standing.

At Bombay and Madras however Mayor's Courts continued till 1798, when *Courts of Records* were established. The Court of Record consisted of the Mayor, three Aldermen and a Receiver. At Madras this court was abolished in 1801 and at Bombay in 1823 and instead *Supreme Courts* were established. These Supreme Courts had the same jurisdiction as the Supreme Court at Calcutta.

The Regulating Act created Governor-General and Council and the Letters Patent the Supreme Court of judicature. Their relations however were not defined. This led to conflict between the two authorities. The judges of the court were appointed directly by the Crown and as such they exercised powers fully. "The court issued its writs extensively throughout the country, arrested and brought to Calcutta all persons against whom complaints were lodged, Zemindars, farmers and occupiers of land, whatever their rank or consequence in the country. Defaulters to the revenue were set at liberty on *habeus corpus*, the government of the Nabab, which still remained in hands of the Company, the effectual instrument for the administration of criminal justice was declared by the court to be 'an empty name, without any legal right, or the exercise of any power whatsoever'; and the production in Court of papers containing the most secret translations of Government was insisted upon" (P. 41 History and constitution of the courts and legislative Authorities in India, by Herbert Cowell). There was conflict between the Supreme Court at Bombay and the Government in 1828. Such conflict was inevitable in view of the fact that a court was established in India with powers similar to those exercised by a court in England. But Indian conditions were not favourable for smooth working of such a court. Cowell observes, "In short, the whole system of English law and equity with its rules and customs and process, handed down from feudal times, moulded during struggles between secular and ecclesiastical powers, between church and commonalty, between common law and civil jurisprudence; which time alone had rendered endurable to the people amongst whom it had grown up, a people widely different in habits, character and form of civilization from any to be found in the East, was introduced into India, not intentionally as a burden, but for its benefit and salvation.

The result was that the Court exercised large powers independently of the Government, often so as to obstruct it and *had a complete control over legislation* (Italics are mine). Political power was thus vested in judges who had neither the responsibility nor the machinery of government. Such a system could not endure under any circumstances. Although the courts are independent of Government in England, both are absolutely subordinate to the legislature in which however the power of Government predominates. To make the legislature subordinate to the court, instead of court subordinate to the legislature and at the same time to direct it to enforce a system of law utterly inapplicable to India, independently of or in opposition to the Government, which was at the same time weakened by divisions purposely created, appears to be the most destructive and pernicious policy that wit could devise." (Ibid p. 43). In this connection it would be relevant to refer to the point of view of Warren Hastings regarding introduction of English Law in India, and establishing a Supreme Court. He wrote to Lord Mansfield on March 21 1774 as follows :—

"Among the various plans which had been lately formed for the improvement of the British interests in the provinces of Bengal, the necessity of establishing a new form of judicature, and giving laws to people who were supposed to be governed by no other principle of justice than the arbitrary wills, or uninstructed judgments, of their temporary rulers, has been frequently suggested ; and this opinion I fear has obtained the greater strength from some publications of considerable merit in which it is too positively asserted that written laws are totally unknown to the Hindus or original inhabitants of Hindustan. From whatever cause this notion has proceeded, nothing can be more foreign from truth. I promise my Lord, if this assertion can be proved you will not deem it necessary that I should urge any argument in defence of their right to possess their benefits under a British and Christian administration which the Mahomedan government has never denied them. *It would be a grievance to deprive the people of the protection of their own laws, but it would be a wanton tyranny to require their obedience to others of which they were wholly ignorant, and of which they have no possible means of acquiring knowledge.*" (Italics are mine) — 'Making of British India', by Ramsay Muir, 1923 edition. From sociological point of view, Warren Hastings' remarks about English law are justified. For, the introduction of English law put an end to the growth of Hindu Law which has been keeping pace with changed circumstances, right from the time of Dharmaśāstra to the 18th century. This development of Hindu law has been stopped. Politically, however, the introduction of English law proved to be a boon. It created a sense of unity and

oneness amongst all those who were subject to it. It was one of the various factors that were responsible for creating the idea of one nation in the minds of the educated Indians.

It is a matter of surprise to note that a Supreme Court was established in America at about the same time and there it proved a great success. In India however it was a failure. Does this justify Warren Hastings' views on desirability of establishing a Supreme Court ?

The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was restricted by an Act of 1781. The Governor General and Council were not to be subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court for acts done in public capacity. Immunity was extended even to all those who acted under the orders of the Governor-General and Council.

The Charter Act of 1833 empowered the courts to approve, admit and enrol persons as Barristers, Advocates and Attorneys in such court without any licence from the Company. In the same year the Parliament framed an Act and established the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Right of appeal to Privy Council was granted as early as 1726. Appeals could lie to the body against the judgment of Mayor's court, courts of Record and the Supreme Court. But very few appeals were filed. Statistics show that only 50 appeals were filed during 1726 to 1833. The jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee of Privy council with respect to India proved to be a boon.

Radical changes in the administrative set up of Indian judiciary were introduced by the Indian High Courts Act 1861. The Act authorised the establishment of High Courts at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Upon such establishment the Supreme Court and other courts were to be abolished and the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was to be exercised by the High Courts until the Crown provided otherwise in pursuance of the power conferred by the Act.

KINGS AND DYNASTIES MENTIONED IN THE TILOYA-PANṆATTI

By

A. N. UPADHYE

The Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra is an outstanding event in the history of the Jaina church¹. Many Jaina texts have tried to give the date of Nirvāṇa in relation to and mention side by side some or the other era and some kings and dynasties. These references correlate the date of Nirvāṇa with other events in Indian history. It is true that all these statements are of a traditional character ; but if some of them could be verified with literary and epigraphic evidence, they will be of substantial help in reconstructing the Indian chronology as such.

The Tiloya-panṇatti of Yativṛṣabha² is an old Prākṛit work ; it primarily deals with Jaina cosmography and dogmatics but incidentally contains a good deal of information of a miscellaneous character ; and its contents have a traditional character. In the light of the evidence so far available, Yativṛṣabha and this Tiloya-panṇatti are assigned to a period between 473 and 609 A.D.³. The peculiar habit of Yativṛṣabha is that he notes all the views then available to him on any topic, and generally the concluding view is the one which he appears to accept.

Like many other Jaina texts, the Tiloya-panṇatti also has discussed the date of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa. It gives three alternative accounts in connection with the chronology of the Jaina church for one thousand years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra. The first two views are not of special interest ; the third view, however, needs scrutiny and critical study in the light of the known facts of ancient Indian history.

The original Prākṛit gāthās, giving the third view, run thus (iv. 1505-9):

जकाले धीरजिणो णिस्सेयस-संपयं समावण्णो ।
तकाले अभिसित्तो पालय-णामो अवंति-सुदो ॥
पालक-रज्जं सट्ठिं इगिसय-पणवण्ण विजय-वंस-भवा ।
चालं मुल्लदय-वंसां तीसं वस्सा सुपुस्समित्तम्मि ॥

(1) Hiralal : Date of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa, Nagpur University Journal, December 1940.

(2) Ed. by A. N. Upadhye and H. L. Jain, in two parts, Sholapur 1943 and 1951.

(3) Tiloyapanṇatti, Intro. p. 7.

(4) *v. I. Muruda.*

वसुमित्त-अग्निमित्ता सद्दी गंधर्व्या वि सयमेकं ।
 णरवाहणा य चालं तत्तो भत्थदुणा जादा ॥
 भत्थदुणाण कालो दोणिण सयाइं हवंति वादाला ।
 तत्तो गुत्ता ताणं रज्जे दोणिण य सयाणि इगितीसा ॥
 तत्तो कक्की जादो इंद-सुदो तस्स चउमुहो णामो ।
 सत्तरि वरिसा आऊ विगुणिय-इगिवीस रज्जंतो ॥

The above gāthās can be literally rendered into English thus :
 (1) (King) Pālaka by name, famous in Āvantī, was coronated at that very time when Vira Jina (i.e., Mahāvīra, the 24th Tīrthakara) attained the glory of liberation. (2) Pālaka's reign lasted for 60 years ; those (kings of the Vijaya family (or dynasty) ruled for 155 years ; those (kings) of the Murudaya family (or dynasty) for 40 years ; and Puṣaymitra for 30 years. (3) Vasumitra and Agnimitra (ruled) for 60 years ; Gandharvas (or Gandharva kings) for 100 years ; Naravāhana for 40 years ; and then (flourished) Bhatthaṭṭhaṇas. (4) The Bhatthaṭṭhaṇas (or Bha.-kings) ruled for 242 years ; then flourished the Guptas whose kingdom lasted for 231 years. (5) Thereafter was born Kalkin, the son of Indra, Caturmukha by name, who lived for 70 years and ruled for 42 years.

These facts may be tabulated thus :

(1) Pālaka's coronation synchronises with Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa.	
(2) Pālaka of Āvantī	60 years
(3) Vijaya Dynasty	155 "
(4) Murudaya Dynasty	40 "
(5) Puṣaymitra	30 "
(6) Vasumitra and Agnimitra	60 "
(7) Gandharva Dynasty	100 "
(8) Naravāhana	40 "
(9) Bhatthaṭṭhaṇa Dynasty	242 "
(10) Gupta Dynasty	231 "
(11) Caturmukha Kalkin	42 "

Total 1000 years

In the interpretation of the above gāthās there are some difficulties and words of uncertain meaning. Some took *avanti-sudo* = *Āvanti-sutah*,⁵ but I would now take it *Āvanti-śrutah*. The reading *muruda* or *murudaya* is taken by some as *Muruṇḍa* and by others as *Maurya*. The word *Bhatthaṭṭhaṇa* is obscure, but is being taken as *Āndhra-Bhṛtyas*.

(5) Premi : Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa, p. 19.

The comparison of the above details with the following gāthās from another Jaina text, *Titthogālī Painnaya* ° is interesting. It is looked upon as an old text, but no definite date is assigned to it so far. The verses run thus :

जं रयणि सिद्धिगओ अरहा तित्थंकरो महावीरो ।
 तं रयणिमवंतीए अभिसित्तो पालओ राया ॥
 पालग-रण्णो सट्ठी पुण पण्णसयं वियाणि णंदाणं ।
 मुरियाणं सट्ठिसयं पणतीसा पूसमित्ताणं ॥
 बलमित्त-भाणुमित्ता सट्ठी चचालं होंति नहसेणे ।
 गद्भ सयमेगं पुण पडिवन्नो तो सगो राया ॥
 पंच य मासा पंच य वासा छञ्चेव होंति वाससया ।
 परिनिव्वुअस्स रिहतो तो उप्पन्नो सगो राया ॥

Both the *Tiloya-panṇatti* and *Titthogālī Painnaya* agree on the initial fact that Pālaka was coronated on the very day when Mahāvīra attained Nirvāṇa. The *Titthogālī P.* assigns the period as tabulated below upto the beginning of the Śaka era :

(1) Pālaka	60 years
(2) Nandas	150 „
(3) Mauryas	160 „
(4) Puṣyamitra	35 „
(5) Balamitra and Bhānumitra	60 „
(6) Nabhaḥsena	40 „
(7) Gardabhas	100 „

Then there came the Śaka king.

The two lists noted above are presenting the same traditional information with substantial agreement. We have to see how and whether we can explain the striking differences. Vijaya and Nanda stand for the same dynasty. The assignment of 155 or 150 to that dynasty and 30 or 35 to Puṣyamitra appears to have arisen out of wrong construing of *ḥaṇa* and *ḥaṇa*. Muruda or Murudaya stands for Maurya, but the period is not identical in both, and it is difficult to explain it. Gaṃdhavva of one list stands for the Gaddabha of the other. If Gondopharnes⁸ is identical with Gardabhilla, we can understand the origin of the spelling Gandharva. Thus it is the period of the Maurya dynasty that is the major difference.

I hope, those who are interested in ancient Indian history will scrutinise these details and see how far they can be fitted in the picture of the facts so far known.

(6) *Kalyanavijaya* : Viranirvāṇa Saṃvat aura Jaina Kāla-gaṇanā, Nāgarī-pracāriṇi Partrikā vols. 10-11. Off print pp. 30-31.

(7) Original reading *saṭṭhā cattāya*.

(8) Shantilal Shah : *The Traditional Chronology of the Jains*, Stuttgart, 1935, p. 66. Here also Prakṛit gāthās from the *T. painnaya* are quoted and rendered into English, see. pp. 16-17, 20.

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 شاه تاج محمد شاه قاجار
 در شهر تبریز
 در روز ۱۵ شعبان ۱۲۵۰
 در وقت عصر
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۲۰۰۰

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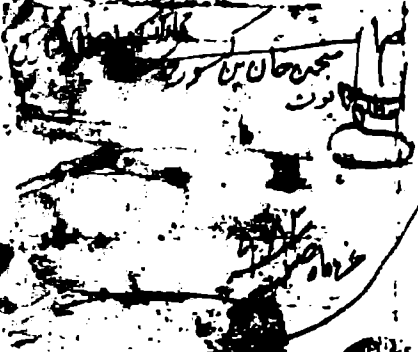
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متر و با هم بیس و درین برین آن است حواله کن
کتاب بخار و دیوان اعلیٰ بود همه مساجید

و چه در کتب و روای که از آنجا می آید و در کتب که در آنجا است
و در کتب که در آنجا است و در کتب که در آنجا است

مربوط و تعلق و مالک و مطهر است از آنجا که در آنجا است
فولب از آنجا که در آنجا است و در کتب که در آنجا است



نور
کتاب

و در کتب که در آنجا است و در کتب که در آنجا است
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JĀNĀŚRAYĪ AND PRAKRIT METRES *

By

H. D. VELANKAR

1. *Jānāśrayī* is an old work on Sanskrit prosody composed by some Pandit at the court of King *Janāśraya*, who is generally identified with Mādhavavarman I of the Viṣṇukunḍin dynasty, ruling over the districts of Krishna and Godavari towards the end of the 6th century A.D. The work consists of *Sūtras* and *commentary*, both probably composed by the same author. The correct title of the work is *Jānāśrayī Chandovicīti* which may mean either that it was composed by Janāśraya or also that it was composed in honour of King Janāśraya. The introductory stanza which is generally understood as the Maṅgala Śloka of the commentator, praises a king Janāśraya, not as the author of the work under comment, but merely as a rich, brave, pious, popular and liberal patron of his people. But if the commentator is supposed to be different from the author of the text, the commencement of the text will have to be understood in the words *chandāmsi ṣaḍvimśatiḥ* of *Sūtra*. This does not seem very likely. If on the other hand, the author of the text and the commentary is assumed to be identical, the introductory stanza may be regarded as the beginning of the text and the words *athātaḥ* as that of the commentary. And this would

* The following works and articles, with or without abbreviations, are alluded to in this article :— (1) *Kavidarpaṇa* (KD.) of an unknown author : Published in the Annals BORI., 1935-36 ; (2) *Chandasśāstra* of Piṅgala : Published with the commentary of Halāyudha, by the N. S. Press, Bombay, 1938 ; (3) *Chandonuśāsana* of Jayakīrti (JK.) : Published in the *Jayadāman* mentioned in No. (5) below ; (4) *Chandonuśāsana* of Hemacandra, chs. IV-VII : Published in the JBBRAS., 1943-44 ; *Sūtras* only are also published in the *Jayadāman* mentioned in No. (5) below. An added *H.* refers to this edition of the work ; (5) *Jayadāman* : A collection of four old Texts on Sanskrit Prosody, published by the Haritosha Samiti, Sanskrit Department, Wilson College, Bombay, 1949 ; (6) *Jayadevachandas* of Jayadeva : (JD.) Published in the *Jayadāman* mentioned above in No. (5). (7), *Jānāśrayī* (JNS.) : Published by the Curator, University Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum, 1949 ; (8) *Nāḷyasūtra* of Bharata : Published in the Kashi Sanskrit Series, Banaras 1929 ; (9) *Prākṛta Paiṅgalam* : Published in the Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1900-1902 ; (10) *Ratnamāñjūṣā* of an unknown author : Published by the Bharatiya Jnana Pitha, Kashi, 1944 ; (11) *Vṛttajātisamuccaya* of Virahāṅka (VJS.) : Published in the JBBRAS., 1929, 1932 ; (12) *Vṛttaratnākara* of Keḍāra. (VR.) Published in the *Jayadāman* mentioned above in No. (5) ; (13) *Svayambhūchandas* of Svayambhū : Chs. I-III published in the JBBRAS., 1935 and Chs. IV-VIII published in the Bombay University Journal, Nov. 1935.

1. The commencing words of the first *Sūtra* cannot be *tatra tāvat*, which are clearly the introductory words of the commentator, as seen in many cases,

mean that King Janāśraya was not the author of the work, but a patron of its author. In course of time however, whether for the sake of brevity or from a real misunderstanding, writers began to refer to Janāśraya² and not to *Jānāśrayī*. It is more difficult to account for the name of Gaṇasvāmin which occurs in the first few words of the commentary. No such author is known to exist, particularly in the field of prosody, and it is not impossible that the name refers to a deity and not to a human author. Gaṇasvāmin may be Gaṇapati or Śiva or even Skandasvāmin or Kārtikeya, and the use of the name may have been intended to show the divine origin of the Śāstra. But, frankly, this is not a very satisfactory explanation of the curious wording of the commentary.

2. There are two editions of this rare work on Sanskrit prosody. The earlier edition, published in 1949 by the curator of the Univ. Mss. Library, Trivandrum, contains an introduction by Shri P. K. N. Pillai and is based on three manuscripts, which 'seem to go to the same original'. It seems to be carefully and as far as possible, critically edited, though the metrical criteria are not fully utilised in the restoration of the text, especially in the last or the miscellaneous section of the fifth Adhyāya. The other edition published in 1950 by the Shri Venkateshvar Oriental Institute, Tirupati, is uncritical, though we are told that it is based on two different manuscripts, and much more defective than the other one. An article on this work by Prof. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri has appeared in J. O. R., Madras, vol. XVII. p. 138ff, analysing the contents and discussing the date and authorship of it. My attempt in the present article will be merely to concentrate on one or two peculiarities of it in the field of Sanskrit prosody and particularly on those Mātrā Vṛttas which properly belong to the field of Prakrit prosody, but are defined here as though they were Sanskrit metres. This is sometimes done by a few later writers like Śrīkr̥ṣṇa, author of *Vṛttamuktāvalī*, or Rādhādāmodara author of *Chandaḥkaustubha*, or Dāmodara, author of *Vaṇībhūṣaṇa* among others.

3. The most important peculiarity of the *Jānāśrayī* is in the matter of the Akṣara Gaṇas which are adopted for defining the Sanskrit Varṇa Vṛttas. Piṅgala seems to have devised them first; even Bharata had known and used them, but not for the definitions of his metres. The necessity for inventing the Akṣara Gaṇas arose with the rise of the classical Sanskrit Varṇa Vṛttas, which have descended from the Vedic Akṣara Vṛttas, as shown by me elsewhere.³ In

2. See Jayakīrti, *Chāndonusāsana* 8.19; and also other references given by Prof. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri at the Journal of the Oriental R. Institute, Madras, Vol. XVII, pp. 140-141.

3. See *Jayadāman*, introduction, pp. 16-18.

these Varṇa Vṛttas, a mere mention of the number of the letters in a Pāda would not suffice in defining them, as it did in the case of the Vedic Akṣara Vṛttas. For, in their definitions, their essential feature, the Varṇa Saṅgīta, had to be clearly brought out and for this purpose a unit displaying that music in its basic form had to be devised. . . This was not to be too small nor too big ; hence the Trikas or groups of three letters in different combinations of short and long letters were devised, it seems, long before Piṅgala, who adopted them in his *Chandasśāstra* for his definitions, giving them symbolical names. These names consist of single letters, which do not appear to be significant in any way ; but they stand at the end of the eight letter-groups and take the place of the *it* of the Pāṇinian Sūtras. The letter-groups themselves constitute word or words which have no coherent sense, though Halāyudha on *Chandasśāstra* 1.8 tries to snatch some sense from them in a very artificial manner. Nor is there any apparent reason for selecting these very letters as the *its* of the Sūtras and as the representatives of those various Gaṇas. Bharata too, in his *Nāṭyasūtra*, ch. 15, vv. 84-87 adopts these very symbolical letters to convey the Trikas, though he does not use them in his definitions of the metres, in ch. 16. These very Trikas with their symbolical letters have been adopted by almost all writers on Sanskrit metres after Piṅgala. On the other hand, the symbolical letters for short and long letters as used by Piṅgala and Bharata are *la* and *ga* which stand at the beginning of the Sanskrit names which signify them, namely, Laghu and Guru.

4. The author of the *Jānāśrayī*, however, does not follow these symbols, though he too adopts the eight Trikas or the Akṣara Gaṇas for the definitions of the Varṇa Vṛttas. He employs different words and different symbols, which consist of *its* like those of Piṅgala, for conveying them ; but he does not remain satisfied with only these 8 Gaṇas and adds 10 more of his own. 4 of these are Gaṇas of two letters each, 3 of four letters each, 2 of five letters each and 1 of six letters. The longer Gaṇas are used by him in the definitions with ordinary frequency ; but they do not seem to have been regarded by him as fossilized blocks or Ghaṭakas as I have called them elsewhere.⁴ They are often employed in places where their existence it not felt natural, owing to the position of the Yati. Thus for example, the group *rautī mayīro* is felt to be natural in the definition of the metre Rukṇavati (*JNS*.4.30) ; but in that of Māṇavakakrīḍitaka (*JNS*.4.19), its mention is felt unnatural owing to the Yati after the 4th letter. It is therefore difficult to find out the reason behind the author's adoption of these longer Gaṇas when their purpose could have quite well been served by the Trikas of

4. See JBBRAS., Vol. 26 (1951), p. 150 ff.

Piṅgala, which have at least one great merit about them. They are the shortest among the long ones and longest among the short ones, representing as they do, the smallest Bahutva Samkhyā. As regards the Gaṇas of 2 letters, it may be said, that logical completeness required their adoption; for sometimes, the necessity of even a group of two letters is felt for filling up the gap, though of course, the symbols for short and long letters could be used in their place, as was done by Piṅgala and his followers. As said above, the author of the *Jānāśrayī* employs 18 different symbols for these 18 Gaṇas; they consist of the single consonants which stand at the end of the respective Gaṇas. But in addition to these consonant-symbols, he has used, in the case of the last 11 of them, a vowel of the 1st letter of these Gaṇas as an additional symbol for that particular Gaṇa. Thus in the case of these 11 Gaṇas both the vowel of the 1st letter and the last consonant at the end of the group serve as symbols for that group. This double system enables him to avoid the use of pure consonants or conjuncts in his definitions, which had to be done by Piṅgala and his followers. But on the whole, this larger number of symbols is often a source of confusion to the uninitiated reader. It is also to be noted that the *Jānāśrayī* uses the letters *bha* and *ha* as symbols for a long and a short letter respectively, instead of Piṅgala's *ga* and *la*, for no apparent reason. More important however, is the use to which he puts these Akṣara Gaṇas in the definitions of the Mātrā Vṛttas. According to him *ha* signifies a short letter as well as a single Akṣara Mātrā and the word Gaṇa, according to him ordinarily signifies a group of 4 short letters or a group of 4 Mātrās according to the context. But sometimes, Gaṇa also signifies a group of 5 short letters or 5 Mātrās, when any one of these Gaṇas are specifically conveyed by their symbols, in the course of the definition. Piṅgala and others mention only one Mātrā Gaṇa namely the Caturmātrī, which is used in the definition of the Āryā and its derivatives, while the author of the *Jānāśrayī* mentions two Mātrā Gaṇas, namely, the Caturmātra and the Pañcamātra, but not the Dvimātra, the Trimātra and the Ṣaṇmātra. Hemacandra who has to define all Sanskrit and Prakrit, Varṇa and Mātrā Vṛttas in his *Chandomuśāsana* (H.1.2), has mentioned all the five Mātrā Gaṇas, namely the Dvimātra, the Trimātra, the Caturmātra, the Pañcamātra and the Ṣaṇmātra. *Jānāśrayī* does not aim at defining the Prakrit metres, i.e., metres which are composed in the Prakrit languages; his definitions and illustrations are all in the Sanskrit language; and yet his enunciation of a Pañcamātra Gaṇa which is not at all required for the Sanskrit Mātrā Vṛttas of any of the three⁵ groups, shows his knowledge of and desire to define

5. See *Jayadāman*, introduction, p. 24 ff.

some Mātrā Vṛttas which are other than the usual ones, appearing among the Sanskrit metres. This is borne out by the few Jātis which are defined in Sūtras 45 to 72 of the 5th chapter. This would incidentally show that the author of the *Jānāśrayī*, though a southerner by choice, was nevertheless more associated, with the north, since Prakrit poetry of the popular type did not flourish as a rule, in the south, whose provincial languages were strangers to the Prakrits which were derived directly from Sanskrit.

5. There is yet another work, namely, *Ratnamañjūṣā*, whose author was certainly a Jain. Like the *Jānāśrayī*, this work too does not adopt Piṅgala's symbols for the 8 Trikas, though the Trikas themselves are employed in its definitions with other symbols. It however, adds 4 more Gaṇas of two letters each to the 8 Trikas of three letters each and has thus a table of 12 Gaṇas and their corresponding symbols. The author of this work, however, is more imaginative, economical and resourceful than the author of the *Jānāśrayī*. He mentions only 8 groups of three letters each, without the ending consonants or the *ils*, which latter are used by both the author of the *Jānāśrayī* and Piṅgala. From these 8 groups, he evolves all the 12 Akṣara Gaṇas, namely, eight of three letters each and four of two letters each, together with their symbols. Like the *Jānāśrayī*, *Ratnamañjūṣā* too has a double set of symbols for the 8 Trikas, though for the Dvikas and singles, they both have a single set, consisting of consonants. For this purpose, the author of the *Ratnamañjūṣā* has composed his Trikas skilfully, so that the last consonant as also the last vowel in each of them stands as a symbol for that particular Trika as a whole. In the case of the first four Trikas, the first two letters of each form a group and the consonant, but not the vowel, of the 2nd letter stands as a symbol for that group. Further, the consonant of the first letter of the first two groups is used as a symbol for a long and a short letter respectively. Having thus planned and arranged his groups, he also puts the actual letters (consonants and vowels) in these groups according to a definite plan. Thus he employs *m* to represent a long and *n*, a short letter, clearly under the influence of the Magaṇa and the Nagaṇa of Piṅgala. He employs the semi-vowels *y*, *r*, *l*, and *v* for the four Dvikas and the consonants *k*, *c*, *t*, *p*, *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*, and *h* for the 8 Trikas. The order of the Trikas and the Dvikas is fixed according to the principles of the Prastāra, where the group containing all long letters stands first and that containing all short letters stands last, in the series. As regards the vowel symbols, long vowels must stand at the end of the first four and short vowels at the end of the last four Trikas as required by the rules of the Prastāra. Thus he has chosen *ā*, *e*, *au*, and *ī* respectively at the end of the first four and *a*, *u*, *ṛ*, and *ī*

respectively at the end of the last four Trikas. All these considerations have determined the final form of his Trikas, and accordingly the author has put the letter *m* at the beginning of the 1st and the letter *n* at the beginning of the 2nd Trika. The 2nd consonant in the 1st Trika is to be *y* and the same in the 2nd Trika is to be *r*; the 3rd consonant in the 1st Trika is to be *k* and the same in the 2nd Trika is to be *c*. So first two Trikas are *māyākā* and *narauce*. In the next two Trikas the 2nd and the 3rd consonants are respectively *l*, *t* and *v*, *p* as explained above, while the 1st consonant in the two Trikas is the same as the 2nd. Thus we get *lālitau* and *vivapī*. In the last four Trikas the final consonant as well vowel are fixed according to plan and as in the 3rd and the 4th Trikas, the 1st and the 2nd consonants are but the repetition of the last, the shortness or length of their vowels being determined by the nature of the Prastāra. Accordingly we have *śāśāśa*, *ṣṣeṣu*, *sasvasṛ* and *hahahi* as the four Trikas. It will be seen that though the length or shortness of the vowels of the first two letters in these four Trikas is determined by the Prastāra, the exact vowel, short or long, is employed by the author without any apparent principle, possibly with a view to variety only. As regards the Mātrā Gaṇas, *Ratnamāñjūṣā* like the *Jānāśrayī*, employs the same symbol for both a short letter and a Mātrā and its symbol for a group of 4 Mātrās is the consonant *g* as against the term Gaṇa of the *Jānāśrayī*, thus showing the influence of the latter on the former. *Ratnamāñjūṣā* does not mention any Pañcamātra Gaṇas, as it does not define any popular Mātrā Vṛttas⁶ like the *Jānāśrayī*. *Jānāśrayī* employs the consonant *n* with the vowel-series (consisting of 16 vowels including the 2 ṛs and the 2 ḷs), to convey the serial number of the letter in a Pāda of a metre, after which the Yati is prescribed. Thus *nu*, *nṛ* and *nḷ* respectively signify that the 5th, the 7th and the 9th letter is the one after which the Yati is to be observed. *Ratnamāñjūṣā* uses the consonant *d* for the same purpose in the same manner, but it makes use of it even for conveying the serial number of a letter or a Gaṇa in the Pādas of a metre. Thus for the *Jānāśrayī*'s *trīṇyo l*, *Ratnamāñjūṣā* has *diṇ i*, and both mean that in the Pādas of the Mātrāsamakā metre, the third Caturmātra shall be Antaguru (IIS).

6. We shall now turn for a while to the origin, necessity and representation of the Mātrā Gaṇas in the case of the Mātrā Vṛttas. As I have shown elsewhere,⁷ the metrical unit called Mātrā i.e., Akṣara-Mātrā, determined with the help of a Kāla-Mātrā was evidently devised by the learned versifiers, who had no ear for the

6. It, however, defines the Galitaka at 2.16, Nṛttagati at 3.21 and Naṭacarāṇa at 3.25.

7. See Apabhraṁśa Metres III p. 1077-78 (Bharatakaumudī, Allahabad. 1947).

Tāla Sangīta of the Tāla Vṛttas, but who tried to compose the musically more attractive popular metres of that class. They could not be negligent about the correct pronunciation of short and long letters in the singing of their compositions, as was done for example, by the popular bards. For these latter, the shortness and length of letters in the words which they used in their compositions depended upon their position in a metrical line of a Tāla Vṛtta, and did not inherently belong to them at all times and places. If necessary, they would pronounce short letters as long ones and vice versa, or cram even 2 or 3 short or long letters within the portion of time which is usually taken by a single letter in its pronunciation. This process was impossible for the learned versifiers owing to their puritanic ideas and the result was the adoption of a Mātrā unit for the quantitative valuation of a letter in the composition of metrical lines. Such a unit was already known in the Vedic times ; but its employment as a measuring unit for metrical lines would undoubtedly be the work of the learned versifiers. This gave them ample choice in the selection of their words, as it did not bind them to a particular order of short and long letters, but only to a certain number of Akṣara-Mātrās which are required to fill up the Kāla-Mātrās or the time-moments (6, 7, 8 or 10) of a particular Tāla Gaṇa. When, however, even with the help of such freedom they could not produce the required Tāla Vṛtta, they devised what are known as the pure Mātrā Vṛttas, where there are no restrictions either about the order of the short and long letters in the given block, or about the number of time-moments represented by these letters in it. In short, these new metres were neither amenable to the Varṇa Sangīta of the classical Sanskrit Varṇa Vṛttas, nor to the Tāla Sangīta of popular poetry.⁸ Nor could they be compared with the Vedic Akṣara Vṛttas, since in them not a letter as in the Vedic lines, but a portion of a letter equal in quantity to a normally pronounced short letter, was a unit of measurement. The earliest and most prominent among such metres is surely the Āryā or the Gāthā, which is so often used for the composition of memorial stanzas on different kinds of serious, non-poetical topics. It soon became a rival to the epic Anuṣṭubh Śloka and was more capacious, convenient and easy to handle. The only restriction in these metres i.e., the Āryā and the like, is the avoidance of long letters at certain places, which, therefore, determine the conclusion of the earlier and the commencement of a new Mātrā Gaṇa in a line, thereby investing it with a peculiar metrical rhythm of its own, which may perhaps be called a negative Varṇa Sangīta as it were.

8. Varṇasāṅgīta is Music of Sound-variation ; Tālasāṅgīta is Music of time-regulated accent. See Metres and Music, Poona Orientalist VIII, 1943, p. 202 ff.

7. Sanskrit prosodists mention only three broad groups of Mātrā Vṛttas : (1) The Gāthā or the Āryā group ; (2) the Mātrāsamaka group (the name is significant : in each of the four equal Pādas of a stanza, the number of the Akṣara-Mātrās is the same though the order of short and long letters may differ) ; and (3) the Vaitāliya group. These three groups respectively belong to the Dvipadī, Samacatuṣpadī and Ardhasama Catuṣpadī class of metres. For defining these, they usually recognize only the Caturmātra Gaṇa and neither the Trimātra, nor the Pañcamātra, nor the Ṣaṇmātra Gaṇa. But, the help of even this Caturmātra Gaṇa is taken when it is absolutely necessary, and generally where possible the use of the Akṣara Gaṇas is made for conveying also the Mātrā Gaṇas in the metrical definitions. Thus Piṅgala defines the Caturmātra Gaṇa at *Chandasāsāstra* 4.12-13 ; Jayadeva at *Jayadevachandas* 4.6 ; Jayakīrti at *Chandonuśāsana* 5.1-2 ; Kedāra at *Vṛttaratnākara* 1.8 and *Ratnamañjūṣā* at 1.25-26. On the other hand, those Sanskrit prosodists, who define even the popular Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa metres, have to define and adopt for their definitions also the Mātrā Gaṇas consisting of 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 Mātrās each. Thus Hemacandra defines them all at *Chandonuśāsana* 1.3. Prakrit prosodists of course, mention all these five kinds of Mātrā Gaṇas, namely, the Dvimātrā, the Trimātra, the Caturmātra, the Pañcamātra and the Ṣaṇmātra. The earliest among the so far known Prakrit prosodists, namely, Virahāṅka, mentions only the first four, dropping out the Ṣaṇmātra, in his *Vṛttajātisamuccaya*, 1.15-16, 27-29. He gives different technical names to all these, sometimes, even to their sub-varieties. *Prākṛta Piṅgala* closely follows him and employs similar terms. Svayambhū mentions all these, but uses very simple terms to convey them. They are the first letters of their Prakrit names ; thus *da*, or *daara* for Dvimātra, *ta*, *taāra* or *taṁsa* for a Trimātra, *ca*, *caāra* or *caṁsa* for a Caturmātra, *pa*, *paāra* or *paṁsa* for a Pañcamātra and *cha*, *chaāra* or *chaṁsa* for a Ṣaṇmātra. Similarly he uses *la* for a laghu and *ga* or *gaāra* for a guru, which are borrowed from Sanskrit prosody. Hemacandra closely follows this easy and self-evident terminology and uses the same letters except *cha* which is replaced by *ṣa* for obvious reasons. The author of the *Kavidarpaṇa*, who comes after Hemacandra, adopts a slightly different terminology and employs the first letters of the classes viz, *ka*, *ca*, *ṭa*, *ta*, and *pa* to convey the Gaṇas of 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 Mātrās. This may cause a little confusion, since *ta* means a Trimātra according to Hemacandra, while it means a Pañcamātra according to the *Kavidarpaṇa*. The same is true of *ca* and *pa*. The author of the *Jānāśrayī* on the other hand, defines a few metres, which mostly appear in Prakrit poetry, though they are illustrated with Sanskrit stanzas in the *Jānāśrayī*. For defining these, he

makes use of the Caturmātrikas, and very rarely mentions also the Pañcamātrikas in their general form, calling them both by the technical term Gaṇa at I.38-39. Otherwise, he mentions them both in their definite forms which amount to the Akṣara Gaṇas, in defining both the Varṇa and as well as the Mātrā Vṛttas, which latter he consistently called Jātis. The mention of the Pañcamātrika Gaṇas with their implied divisions, clearly stated by the commentator, at Jānāśrayī 1.39, is obviously done under the influence of Prakrit prosody, where their employment is quite common.

8. As regards graphic representation of a short and a long letter, we may incidentally note that Virahāṅka (*VJS*.1.14), Jayadeva (*JD*. 1.3-4), Jayakīrti (*JG*. 1.3), Hemacandra (*Chandonuśāsana* 1.4-5) and *Kavidarpaṇa* (*KD*. 1.4) lay down that a short letter shall be represented by a straight line (ṛju) and a long letter by a bent line (*vakra*), bent at both ends as clearly explained by Virahāṅka though others do not make this point clear. The length of this straight line should be nearly an inch or so (*VJS*. 1.14) and the space between two such symbols should be equal to one Aṅgula i.e., about $\frac{1}{4}$ th of an inch, as Virahāṅka states at *VJS*. VI.54. Nearly these same instructions are given at *Jānāśrayī* 1.16-17 : ' Their separation (i.e., distinction) is to be like that of *r* and *g* ; that is to be done at the distance of one Angula each.' This means that a short letter is to be represented by the symbol consisting of the letter *r* (I) and the long letter by that consisting of the letter⁹ *g* (S) and that the space between the two should ordinarily be one Aṅgula. This very closely resembles the directions of Virahāṅka. Jayakīrti says almost the same thing : ' A Guru should be known by the name *ga*, should have 2 Mātrās (as its syllabic content) and should be bent (on either side) like the letter *g* in the Nāgarī alphabet ; a Laghu should be known by the term *la*, should have 1 Mātrā, should be straight and resemble a raised finger'. Probably even Piṅgala must have known and followed this convention ; Jayadeva who closely follows him, lays down this rule in clear words, which are incidentally, also borrowed by Hemacandra :— ' A Laghu contains 1 Mātrā and is straight ; when it stands at the end (of a line), it becomes optionally Guru and is bent. It contains 2 Mātrās'. Actually the palm-leaf mss. of the

9. The letter *r* of the Devanāgarī script in the old copper-plate inscriptions broadly resembles the straight line and the letter *ga* somewhat resembles the capital S of the Roman alphabet, but with a smaller circle at the lower end and the upper end brought down almost to the level of the lower end. Incidentally, the correct reading of *JK*. 1.3 seems to be *nāgaragakūravakro* and not *rkaravakro* in view of *Jānāśrayī* 1.18. Very likely these two letters, namely *r* and *g* are the commencing consonants of the words *laugh* = *raghu* and *guru*, like Piṅgala's *la* and *ga*.

Jayadevachandas at Jesalmir employ the signs, which broadly resemble the capital letters I and S of the Roman alphabet, for the representation of short and long letters of the Nāgarī script. The same is seen in the ms. of the *Kavidarṣaṇa*. This, therefore, seems to be the conventional mode of graphic representation of short and long letters. As regards the size of letters and the space which is to be left between them, it seems that the rules prescribed by the *Jānāśrayī*, Jayadeva and Virahāṅka were nearer to the actual practice of writing of their days ; while later writers like Kedāra¹⁰, Hemacandra, and others seem to be merely recording the orthodox convention, as Hemacandra clearly says.

9. We have thus seen that an important peculiarity of the *Jānāśrayī* is in the matter of the Akṣara and Mātrā Gaṇas and the symbols which are used to represent them while defining different metres, and that it shares this peculiarity with another work i.e., the *Ratnamañjūṣā*, though this latter seems to have greatly improved upon the former. Both these works have originated in the south and both have intentionally neglected Piṅgala's lead in this matter. There is yet another peculiarity of the *Jānāśrayī*, which it shares with the *Ratnamañjūṣā* mentioned above. It is about the signification of the words Samāna, Pramāṇa and Vitāna, the first two words being sometimes written as Pramāṇī or Pramāṇikā and Samānī or Samānikā. The *Jānāśrayī* broadly classifies the metres under three heads, i.e., (1) Samāna, where long and short letters alternate ; (2) Pramāṇa, where short and long letters similarly alternate and (3) Vitāna, where any other arrangement of letters is followed. This classification is introduced at the very commencement of the regular treatment of metres in Adhyāya II, immediately after the preliminaries which are laid down in Adhyāya I. Two illustrations for the Samāna are given : the first belongs to the Anuṣṭubh class with 8 letters in each line, while the second belongs to the Gāyatrī class with 6 letters in each line. The illustration for the Pramāṇa is from the Jagatī class with 12 letters in each line, while that of the Vitāna is from the Paṅkti class with 10 letters in each line. All the illustrations are however, from the Sarva-sama Catuspadī type of the Varṇa Vṛttas, suggesting perhaps that the three divisions namely Samāna, Pramāṇa and Vitāna belong only to this type and not to the others. But the position of the classification at the commencement of all kinds of the Varṇa Vṛttas obviously means that the divisions are intended for all the three types of the Varṇa Vṛttas, the Sama, Ardha-sama and Viṣama. On the other hand, the *Ratnamañjūṣā* introduces this

10. Compare *Vṛttaratnākara* 6.8 and *Chandoruśāsana* H.8,17 com.

threefold classification at the commencement of the Sama Varṇa Vṛttas in Chapter 5, after finishing the Ardha-sama and the Viṣama Varṇa Vṛttas in the earlier chapters, and illustrates all the three divisions with stanzas from the Jagatī class with 12 letters in each line. Thus both the illustrations and the position of the introduction of classification show that the author of the *Ratnamañjūṣā* intended that the three divisions belonged only to the Sarva-sama Catuṣpadī type, but not to the Ardha-sama or the Viṣama one. It is very interesting to note that both Piṅgala and Jayadeva introduce this threefold classification of metres at the commencement of the Varṇa Vṛttas in the 5th Adhyāya after finishing the Mātrā Vṛttas in the IVth. Immediately after introducing the classification, both define all the four groups of the Viṣama Varṇa Vṛttas, namely, the Vaktra, the Padacaturūrdhva, the Udgatā and the Upasthita-pracupita groups, followed by the Upacitraka group of the Ardha-samas, in the remaining portion of the Vth Adhyāya. Both again devote the VIth and the VIIth Adhyāyas to the Sarva-sama Catuṣpadī Varṇa Vṛttas. This makes it plain that these two authors intend the threefold classification for all the kinds of the Varṇa Vṛttas, i.e., Sama, Ardha-sama and Viṣama, like the author of the *Jānāśrayī*. Further, that according to all these four authors, the word Vitāna is a class-name and not the proper name of a particular metre, with the difference that according to the *Ratnamañjūṣā* the class-name includes only the Sarva-sama Varṇa Vṛttas, while the other three seem to think that it applies equally to all the Varṇa Vṛttas including the Ardha-sama and the Viṣama. But the later writers like Kedāra, Jayakīrti, Hemacandra and the author of the *Kavidarpaṇa* treat the word Vitāna as though it were a proper name of a Sarva-sama Catuṣpadī Varṇa Vṛtta of the Anuṣṭubh class alone. All of them define Vitāna as a metre of the Anuṣṭubh class which is other than those that are actually defined by them under that class. Kedāra has, however, defined only 6 metres of this class and so according to him, all the other 5 defined by Jayakīrti and the 9 defined by Hemcandra, but not by Kedāra, shall have to be called Vitāna. This would make the signification of the word very uncertain. The trouble has really started with our friend Halāyudha, who without any justification, interprets the word *anyad* of Sūtra 5.8 to mean *aṣṭākṣara-pādam anyad*, and what is worse, supplies the word *anuṣṭubh* in Sūtra 5.6 and 5.7 from Sūtra 5.9 in the manner of the maxim of the Simhāvalokita or 'the lion's (backward) glance.' By this manipulation Halāyudha has made all the three terms Samānī, Pramānī and Vitāna applicable only to the metres of the Anuṣṭubh class, and this has been faithfully followed by Kedāra

and others. It is, however, to be noted that Virahānka too, considers Vitāna as the proper name of a metre belonging to the Anuṣṭubh class,¹¹ though he is not aware of the cognate terms Samāna and Pramāṇa at all. This might mean that Halāyudha had some traditional support in his interpretation of the three terms.

10 After this general division of metres into Samāna, Pramāṇa and Vitāna, the *Jānāśrayī* proceeds to define the Viṣama Vṛttas of the three groups, namely the Udgatā, the Upasthita-pracupita and the Vaktra-Anuṣṭubh¹² groups, dropping the Pada-catur-ūrdhva group altogether, in the second chapter. The third Adhyāya defines the Ardhā-sama Vṛttas of the Upacitra group, where Piṅgala's Yavamati is called Yamavati and a new metre called Devagīti (1st, 3rd *ra-ja-ra-ja-ra*; 2nd, 4th = *ja-ra-ja-ra-ya* according to Piṅgala's *Paribhaṣā*) is added at 3.13. The fourth Adhyāya treats of the Sama Varṇa Vṛttas of the 26 classes beginning with the Ukta and ending with the Utkṛti class. They are about 80 in number; in the case of the Vasantatilaka, Piṅgala notes that it was known by the name Uddharṣiṇī to Saitava, but the *Jānāśrayī* (4.72) says that Saitava knew it as Indumukhī. Similarly, the 14 kinds of the Upajāti are noted only in the case of the mixture of the Upendravajrā and the Indravajrā, but the general name given to them is Indramālā instead of Upajāti. Strangely enough, this latter name is given to the two derivatives of the *Vaitālīya* at 5.7. The Yati in the Pādas of the Madraka metre is said to be on the 12th Akṣara at 4.101 in our work, but Piṅgala's view that it is also on the 10th is recorded at 4.102. At the end of the Sama Varṇa Vṛttas, the Daṇḍakas are

11. See *Vṛttajātisamuccaya* 5.11; its Pāda has two Bhagaṇas followed by two long letters. Utpala on *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 103.46, on the other hand, defines Vitāna as a metre of the Paṅkti class having three Sagaṇas and a long letter in each of its four Pādas. Jayakīrti gives the names Pramāṇikā, Samāni and Vitāna to individual metres of the Anuṣṭubh class at *JK.* 2.65-67, thus avoiding all difficulty. But the word *anuṣṭubhi* in Jayadeva's definition of Samānikā at *JD.* 5.3. is more difficult to explain. If the two names Samāni and Pramāṇi had been meant for Aṣṭākṣara Vṛttas only, their proper place would be in the next chapter, along with the other metres of the same class. According to Jayadeva's commentator Harṣata all the three names apply only to the metres of the Anuṣṭubh class including those of the Vaktra group. But there is no point in this; for owing to the freedom allowed in the choice of short and long letters in the constitution of their Pādas, all the metres of this group are bound to be of the Vitāna class and there would be no scope for either Samāni or Pramāṇi among them.

12. I have treated the Vaktra group of metres as Viṣama Vṛttas for obvious reasons; see *Jayadāman*, introduction p. 21. Halāyudha on *Chandasśāstra* 5.20 seems to treat them as Sama Vṛttas, as may be implied from his words which introduce that Sūtra, viz, *ataḥ param viṣama-vṛttāni dhu* (the Vaktra group being treated in Sūtras 5.9-19).

defined, the 1st of which, namely, the Jalada and its derivatives include what was known as the Śeṣṣa-Jāti Vṛttas¹³ from Svayambhū, Hemacandra and the author of the *Kavidarpaṇa*. At the beginning of the fifth chapter, the *Jānāśrayī* distinguishes between Vṛtta and Jāti by saying that a Vṛtta can belong to only one Chandas (like the Utka, Ati-utka etc), while the Jāti may belong to more than one Chandas, since the number of letters or Akṣaras in a Jāti may not always be the same. After this distinction, the three groups of the Sanskrit Mātrā Vṛttas (or the Jātis), namely, the Vaitāliya, the Mātrāsamaka and the Āryā, are defined one after another. It is noteworthy that the Āryā and the metres in this group are considered as Dvipadīs and not Caturpadīs, by the *Jānāśrayī*. Here at 5.39, Piṅgala's Upagīti (with only 27 Mātrās in each half) is called Vāmanikā and one more variety called Dhruvā is given at 5.40, where the Yati stands at the end of the 4th Gaṇa instead of the third as in the usual Gīti. The illustration is defective, yet very clearly every Gaṇa in the even places is a Madhyaguru Caturmātra. The name is not known from any other source, but the variety closely resembles the *Gāḍhā* sub-varieties of the *Gāthā* mentioned by the commentator under *Kavidarpaṇa*, II.8, where the Caturmātras at the even places are always Madhyaguru, while those at the odd places are any one of the other four kinds of the Caturmātras. The *Jānāśrayī* defines another derivative of the Gīti at 5.42 ; it is called Gītikā, where the 7th Caturmātra in each half is replaced by an Antya-guru (IIIS) or Madhya-laghu (SIS) Pañcamātra. In the illustration, it is the Madhya-laghu (SIS) Pañhalves. Hemacandra begins his treatment of the Prakrit metres with this derivative of the Gīti, but gives it the name Ripucchandas and allows any kind of a Pañcamātra at the 7th place. *Jānāśrayī* further allows even the third and the fifth Caturmātras to be substituted by the same two kinds of Pañcamātras; namely, the Antya-guru and the Madhya-laghu (IIIS or SIS) for the usual Caturmātras in either or both the halves of a Gītikā. No illustrations of these varieties of a Gītikā are given. Virahāṅka too, knows and defines this metre Gītikā at *VJS*. 2.2-3 (in addition to the usual Gīti defined at 4.16), but regulates the use of the Pañcamātras and lays down that the Pañcamātra of any kind should be employed simultaneously, *either* at the 3rd and the 7th, *or* at the 2nd and the 4th, *or* even at the 1st and the 5th places of the Gītikā. Hemacandra, in his *Chandonuśāsana*, 4.1-4 does not mention the last two varieties of these three, but seems to include them in his Vicitrā, where

¹³. See *Svayambhūchandas* 1.135 ; *Chandonuśāsana* H. 2-381-388 ; *Kavidarpaṇa* 4.104.

any Caturmātra may be substituted by any kind of the Pañcamātra in any place, while the first of the three varieties of Virahāṅka is called Bhadrīkā by him. Hemacandra's Lalitā, on the other hand, has the Pañcamātra only at the 3rd place in both the halves. *Jānāśrayī's* treatment of the Gītikā may perhaps be regarded as representing an earlier stage of prevalence of that metre in Prakrit poetry when compared with Virahāṅka. Anyway, it is interesting to note how the Gīti proper was freely handled by the Prakrit poets by substituting a Pañcamātra for a Caturmātra at any place except the 6th. The diminutive termination *kā* added at the end of the name Gīti which was thus manipulated, is indicative of the fondness with which it was treated by the Prakrit poets who employed it particularly in the composition of strophic couplets and triplets which are an important characteristic of Prakrit poetry. Like Piṅgala, the author of the *Jānāśrayī* too calls the Skandhaka by the older name Āyāgīti.

11. The metres defined and illustrated after this in the fifth chapter of the *Jānāśrayī* are very interesting and show a clear influence of Prakrit prosody on its author. Thus in Sūtras 45 to 72 the following 19 metres are defined and illustrated :— (1) Galita, (2) Nirdhāyikā, (3) Narkuṭaka, (4) Adhikākṣarā, (5) Adhikākṣarā Śīrṣaka, (6-12) seven other Śīrṣakas of the same type, (13) Trikalaka, (14) Bhaṅga-dvipadī, (15) Dvipadī, (16) Vidārī, (17) Bhaṅgu-Rāsaka, (18) Avalambana and (19) Rāsaka. Out of these 19 metres Nos. 5-13, 15 and 19 are strophic couplets, while the others are single metres. At the commencement of his commentary on Sūtra 45 which defines the Galita, the commentator remarks : 'Now shall be explained certain other Jātis which are current among the people'. This would show that these metres belonged to popular poetry, and not to Classical, even though they are illustrated with Sanskrit stanzas in the *Jānāśrayī*, as said at the end of paragraph 2 above.

12. I shall now briefly examine the contents of this portion of the fifth chapter of the *Jānāśrayī*. Sūtra 45 defines Galita (1) as a metre which has five and a half Gaṇas i.e., Caturmātras, in each of its four Pādas. Hemacandra's Galitaka, *Chandomūśāsana* 4.17, is slightly different ; it has 2 Pañcamātras, 2 Caturmātras and 1 Trimātra in each of its four Pādas, thus having 1 Mātrā less than that of the *Jānāśrayī*. Virahāṅka has four such metres which have 22 Mātrās in their Pādas distributed over five and a half Caturmātras ; they are Lalitā, Antullaka, Lambitā and Kumudīnī defined at *VJS.* 4. 60, 83, 96 and 98. In the first of these there is no restriction about the use of a particular Caturmātra while in the remaining three, a Jagaṇa (ISI) is prescribed in certain places. The

first two of these four metres are, however, not regarded as Galitās (same as Galita or Galitaka) by Virahāṅka, who especially defines these at *VJS.*, 4.89-105. *Ratnamañjūṣā* wholly imitates the *Jānāśrayī* and even quotes the same illustration at 2.16. Sūtras 46-48 define Nirdhāyikā (2), the same as Nirdhyāyikā or Nirvāpita of Virahāṅka and Hemacandra, which has four Gaṇas in each Pāda, of which the first three are Caturmātras, the middle one being always of the Madhya-guru type, while the last or the fourth Gaṇa shall be either an Antya-Guru (IIIS) or a Madhya-laghu (SIS) Pañcamātra. In the illustration, it is the latter i.e., the Madhya-laghu Pañcamātra. Virahāṅka at *VJS.*, 4.16 defines this same metre, but does not specify the type of the Pañcamātra which ought to be used, though actually the Madhya-laghu (SIS) is employed in the defining stanza which also serves as an illustration. He also allows a Sarva-laghu Caturmātra in place of the Madhya-guru which is prescribed at the third place. Hemacandra, *Chandomuśāsana* 4.68 defines three kinds of Nirdhyāyikā which respectively have (i) 2 Caturmātras followed by 3 Trimātras, (ii) 2 Pañcamātras followed by 3 Trimātras, or (iii) 1 Pañcamātra followed by 3 Trimātras in each Pāda. Of these, the first agrees with that of the *Jānāśrayī*, in length, but not in constitution. The Narakuṭaka (3) which is defined in Sūtras 49-51, has five Gaṇas in each of its four Pādas, of which the 1st, the 4th and the 5th are Caturmātras, while the 2nd and the 3rd are Pañcamātras of the Antya-guru (IIIS) or the Madhya-laghu (SIS) type. The 3rd Pañcamātra may also be of the Antya-laghu (SSI) type; but the Caturmātras may be of any of the five types. In the first illustration the 2nd and the 3rd Gaṇas in each line are respectively Madhya-laghu (SIS) and Antya-guru (IIIS) Pañcamātras. The second illustration is corrupt and it is difficult to say what kinds of the Pañcamātra Gaṇas in the third place are. They are all, or at least one of them is expected to be of the Antya-laghu (SSI) type according to Sūtra 51. Adhikākṣarā (4) is the next metre which is defined in Sūtras 52-56. It has 6 Gaṇas in each of its four Pādas: the first five are Caturmātras, while the last or the sixth is a Pañcamātra of the Antya-guru (IIIS) or the Madhya-laghu (SIS) type. Among the Caturmātras, the 3rd must be a Madhya-guru (ISI) but the 2nd and the 4th must not be of that type. Sometimes, even the first Gaṇa of the Adhikākṣarā is a Pañcamātra of the Antya-guru or the Madhya-laghu (IIIS or SIS) type like the sixth. The illustration given under Sūtra 56 seems to be slightly corrupt and accordingly, letters *dya* (6th) in the 2nd line and *ca* (11th) in the 4th have to be dropped. Further we should read *dhruva madhu* for *dhruvam madhu* in the 2nd line, and *arcitam madana* for *arcita-*

madana in the 1st. The 3rd line is again corrupt and I suggest *niṣevitavatodharam* for *niṣevitavati natirahas*. The description appears to be of the lower lip of a beloved and perhaps we have also to read *tathā* for *yathā* in the 4th line : see the translation. The Adhikākṣarā of Virahāṅka at *VJS.* 4.24 is very similar ; but Virahāṅka allows optionally a Sarva-laghu Caturmātra in the place of the Madhya-guru at the 3rd place and does not prescribe any particular type of Pañcamātra at the 6th place like the *Jānāśrayī*. The optional use of a Pañcamātra even at the first place is, however, peculiar to the *Jānāśrayī*, though it is absent in the illustration, where in every Pāda the 3rd is a Madhya-guru Caturmātra (with the amended reading in the 3rd line) and the 6th is Madhya-laghu (SIS) Pañcamātra. Hemacandra's Adhikākṣarā at *Chandomusāsana* 4.69 is very similar to that of Virahāṅka and though he does not actually prescribe a Madhya-guru Caturmātra at the 3rd place, his illustration follows this rule in practice. The substitution of a Sarva-laghu for a Madhya-guru Caturmātra appears to be a conventional rule of Prakrit Prosody and Virahāṅka has actually said so at *VJS.*, 4.107.

13. Hereafter in Sūtras 57 and 58, the author gives what are known as Śīrṣakas, Adhikākṣarā Śīrṣaka (5) being the first among them. This latter is a strophic couplet consisting of a stanza in the Adhikākṣarā metre followed by a Gītikā, which latter is defined in the *Jānāśrayī* at 5.42-43. In the illustration, we must read *vāsītāḥ* for *vāsītā* in the 1st half of the Gītikā and restore the *ca* after *kurvanā* in the second half. The Mss., actually read this *ca*, but the editor drops it for no obvious reason. In this Gītikā, both the 3rd and the 7th Gaṇas are Pañcamātras of the Madhya-laghu (SIS) type, which seems to be a favourite of the Prakrit poets, and of the author of the *Jānāśrayī* in particular. Virahāṅka defines this strophic metre at *VJS.*, 4.41-42. Hemacandra, at *Chandomusāsana* 4.76-83, mentions a good many Śīrṣakas in his commentary, but not the present one. Sūtra 58 mentions 7 more Śīrṣakas (6-12) which are obtained by adding one Gaṇa (i.e., a Caturmātra) every time in each Pāda of the stanza in the Adhikākṣarā metre, which is then followed by the usual Gītikā. The names of these seven are given in the commentary, according to which the first is Lalita and has 7 Gaṇas in each of the four Pādas of its first stanza, which otherwise resembles the Adhikākṣara in its metrical form. The last is Mālā and has 7 additional Gaṇas in each Pāda of its first stanza ; the Mālā-Śīrṣaka of Virahāṅka at *VJS.*, 4.39-40 is similar to this in all respects except that it has 6 additional Gaṇas instead of 7. Virahāṅka's Mālā-Śīrṣaka would be *Jānāśrayī*'s Puṣpadanta Śīrṣaka, while the other Śīrṣakas of the *Jānāśrayī* are not found

mentioned anywhere else. Trikalaya¹⁴ (13) which is a strophic triplet is next defined in Sūtra 59 ; it consists of a stanza in the Adhikākṣarā metre followed by another in the Nirdhāyikā metre and having a Gītikā at the end of all. This triplet is mentioned by Virahāṅka alone at VJS., 4.43-45, though triplets in general are defined by Hemacandra at *Chandomuśāsana* 4.80-81, after defining the special Triplet called Dvipadī-Khaṇḍa in 4.77 and another consisting of a Dvipadī, an Avalambaka and a Gīti in 4.80. In the illustration, I propose *śādvala* for *śālā* in the first line of the 2nd stanza ; in the 3rd line of the same stanza I add *ca* before *vikīrṇa*, This latter is needed by metre. In the third stanza *saptacchada* is the correct reading for *sapracchada* and *ā-vihāya* or *ud-vihāya* should be adopted for *avihāya* of the mss., as given in the footnote ; this too, is required by metre, namely, the Gītikā, whose 3rd and the 7th Gaṇas must be Madhya-laghu (SIS) Pañcamātras, for which see above para 10 end. Sūtras 60-63 define several different kinds of a metre which is called Bhaṅga-dvipadī (14) ; it is mainly of five different kinds, according as its Pādas contain 3, 4, 5, 6 or 7 Gaṇas which are either Caturmātras or even Pañcamātras of any kind. Sūtra 62 says that at the end of every Pāda we may have a long letter ; but this is optional. The longest of these Bhaṅga-dvipadīs must not contain more than 30 Mātrās in each Pāda according to Sūtra 63. No independent illustration of any of these kinds is given by the author and the name appears to be significant like the other name *Bhaṅgu* (*bhaṅga?*)-Rāsaka in Sūtra 69 below. The metre is intended for a strophic couplet called Dvipadī, of which it should form the first part and hence it is called a Bhaṅga-dvipadī or a 'partial Dvipadī'. The metre does not seem to have been meant for being singly employed according to our author.

14. The next metre which is defined in the *Jānāśrayī* is very interesting ; it is a strophic couplet or triplet which is called Dvipadī, a name whose significance is discussed by me in my introduction to Virahāṅka's *Vṛttajātismuccaya*¹⁵, paras 3-5. In Sūtra 64 we are told that a Bhaṅga-dvipadī itself is called a Dvipadī when it is followed by a Gītikā and this direction should leave no doubt about the significance of the name Bhaṅga-dvipadī as explained above. This Strophic couplet called Dvipadī with its first component called Bhaṅga-dvipadī and the other strophic couplet

14. [Trikalaka is the correct name, Trikalaya being only a Prakritism ; the commentator of the *Vṛttajātismuccaya* observes : *asya eva trikalakam iti nirvāpitāśiṣṣakam iti ca nāmadvayam ityarthah.*

15. The reference is to the new edition of the work which is being published in the Rajasthan Puratattva Series. It is expected to be out in the course of the next six months.

called Rāsaka with its first component called Bhaṅga-rāsaka (in Sūtras 69-72) seem to establish the view that the name Dvipadī was first given to the couplet and thence transferred to the first component of the couplet, as said by me in para 5, p.vi lines 4-7 of the above mentioned introduction. The Strophic Dvipadī of the *Jānāśrayī* is however, much smaller than that of Virahāṅka defined at *VJS.*, 2.1-8. Virahāṅka's Dvipadī is very cumbrous and is at least four times longer than that of the *Jānāśrayī*; according to the latter a strophic Dvipadī consists of a Bhaṅga-dvipadī followed by a Gītikā. But, sometimes, even a stanza in the Vidārī metre is put between the two, according to Sūtra 65. On the other hand, Virahāṅka's Dvipadī comprises 4 Vastukas (i.e., stanzas of four lines of different length and constitution), each followed by Gītikā; but sometimes, also a stanza in the Vidārī metre is put between a Vastuka and a Gītikā in each of the four pairs, according to *VJS.*, 2.4. Thus the Dvipadī of the *Jānāśrayī* may consist of 2 or 3 stanzas, while that of Virahāṅka may consist of 8 or 12 stanzas. Virahāṅka's definition of the Vidārī is rather vague; it is said to be a metre which is shorter than the Vastuka (which is actually employed in the particular strophic Dvipadī) at *VJS.*, 2.5. Virahāṅka's commentator explains that this shortness is due to the smaller number of the Gaṇas employed in each Pāda of the Vidārī, or to the number of Pādas in its stanzas, as others explain. Thus, if the Vastuka has 5 Gaṇas in its Pāda, the Vidārī shall have only 4 or less; or, if the stanza of the Vastuka has 4 Pādas as it usually has, that of the Vidārī shall have 3, and so on. The *Jānāśrayī* however, clearly defines a Vidārī in Sūtra 66 as a metre of 4 lines, each containing 14 Mātrās, the last 2 being represented by a long letter. In Sūtra 68 we are told that the Gaṇa which immediately precedes this long letter is an Ādi-guru (SII) Caturmātra, as a general rule¹⁶. Similarly, the 4th and the 5th Mātrās in each Pāda are usually combined into a long letter as Sūtra 67 tells us. This metre very much resembles the Sumanā Dvipadī of Virahāṅka at *VJS.*, 3.1. In the illustration under Sūtra 64, I read *bahudhanam iva* for *bahudhanam iha* in line 2. In the first stanza of the second illustration of the Dvipadī, I read *riṣuvāraṇa vāraṇa-dānagandhinā* in the 2nd and *bahuvallabha vallabhaviprayojito / janakānta janaś caralādyā dūyate* in the 3rd and 4th respectively. The Pādas of the Bhaṅga-dvipadī in this case contain 4 Caturmāt-

16. The mss. read *upāntya*, which, I understand, stands for *upāntya ā*; the edition reads *e upāntyaḥ*; but this is neither supported by the mss., nor by the illustrative stanza. *ā* is the *sātavat* Gaṇa (SII) and this is what we actually find in all the Pādas of the illustrative stanza. Consequently, even in the commentary, I read *prāyaḥ ākāro* for *prāyaḥ ekāro*.

ras and a long letter, the first three Caturmātras being Antya-guru (IIS) and the fourth being a Madhya-guru (ISI). My emendations are suggested by the intended Yamaka, the meaning and the constitution of the Pāda. On the other hand, the Bhaṅga-dvipadī in the first stanza of the first illustration under the same Sūtra i.e., 64, contains 3 Pañcamātras (the 1st of which is of the Madhya-laghu (SIS) type, while the other two are of any of the remaining types as seen from the illustration itself), 1 Madhya-guru Caturmātra (ISI), followed by a long letter at the end of all. The Bhaṅga-dvipadī under Sūtra 65 appears to contain 28 Mātrās in each of its Pādas ; of these the 1st is a Sarva-laghu Caturmātra and is followed by 2 Pañcamātras, 2 Caturmātras of the Antya-guru (IIS) type, 1 Caturmātra of the Madhya-guru type (ISI) and a long letter at the end of all. In the third line the correct reading is, I think, *samada-mayūra-madhura-kekārava* instead of *samada-mayūra-madhukara-kekārava*. In the first line the penultimate Gaṇa ought to be Antya-guru Caturmātra (IIS), but actually it is a Pañcamātra ; nor does the reading *līlādhara* seem to be happy. Could it be *lolavara*? See translation.

15. The last of these peculiar metres is the strophic couplet called Rāsaka ; it is made up of a stanza in the Bhaṅgu-rāsaka metre and another in the Avalambana metre. The first of the two metres which constitute this strophic couplet is defined in Sūtra 69 and the second in Sūtra 70. Like Bhaṅga-dvipadī, the name Bhaṅgu (or bhaṅga)-rāsaka owes its origin to the name of the strophic couplet as said above. A stanza in this metre contains 23 Mātrās the last 2 of which are represented by a long letter. The second metre, Avalambana, is defined in Sūtra 70 ; its Pādas ought to contain 12 Mātrās, the last 4 of which are made up with 2 long letters as seen from the illustration. Accordingly I read *sonṭe* for *ñonte* in Sūtra 71 ; *s* is *gaṅgās*, while *ñ* is *rautimayūroṅ* which is out of place here. The illustrations of these two metres given under Sūtra 72 are evidently mixed up and very corrupt ; yet I have tried to reconstruct them with the help of the metrical form of these as defined in Sūtras 69-70 and also the invariable Yamaka. So I read *nakhakṣatāni* in the 2nd line (removing *iti*), take the 3rd and the 4th lines as respectively ending with the words *sākṣi* and *akṣi* (as suggested by the Yamaka) in the first stanza. Similarly, I read *daśanadala-pracitena* as the 1 line, *kṣataja-lavāruṇitena* as the 2nd, *śobhitevādhareṇa* as the 3rd and *tvamasi vilāsadhareṇa* as the 4th line in the second stanza. This emendation is supported also by the meaning of the stanzas. It is noteworthy that the Avalambana of the *Jānāśrayī* is similar to the Avalambana of Hemacandra, *Chandomśāsana* 4.45-48 though the latter contains 13 or 14 Mātrās in each Pāda. The Pragītā Dvipadī of Virahāṅka defined at *VJS* 3.6,

is very similar to our Avalambana though the two names are entirely different. As regards the name Rāsaka given to the strophic couplet formed with stanzas in the Bhaṅgu-rāsaka and the Avalambana metres, we might well compare the strophic Rāsaka defined by Virahāṅka at *VJS.*, 4.37-38 with our Rāsaka. According to Virahāṅka, Rāsaka is a general name applicable to any strophic group of two or more stanzas either in the Prakrit or in the Apabhraṁśa language.

16. As said in Para 11 above, all these 19 simple or mixed metres show an unmistakable influence of Prakrit prosody on the author of the *Jānāśrayī*, who therefore, must be supposed to have great admiration for Prakrit poetry composed in different popular metres. He himself was evidently a great Pandit and prosodist and perhaps even a poet of some merit. It is equally possible that our author's predilection for these Sanskritised Prakrit metres was due to his eagerness to please his patron King Janāśraya, who, we are told, had his name justified owing to his great popularity among his people, and who on that account may be assumed to have a deep liking for popular poetry in the Deśi Bhāṣās. Any way, the discussion of these metres in a treatise which mainly devotes itself to the Sanskrit Mātrā and Varṇa Vṛttas is very striking. Many of these metres, whether simple or strophic, bear a close resemblance with those that are found defined in Virahāṅka's Vṛttajāṭisamuccaya. They are most of them peculiar to the Prakritic languages which usually flourished in the North and were for long 'spoken languages' there. In the south they were cultivated as 'literary languages' and that too among a section of the learned Pandits, the reason being that they bore no relation with the current dialects of the people, which belonged to the Dravidian family of languages. This fact seems to throw a peculiar light on the intellectual make-up of the author of the *Jānāśrayī*. He was evidently a southerner by circumstances; but he had in himself deep-seated love for the metres in the Prakritic languages of his native place somewhere in the North. It seems that he introduced these metres of his old country to his new audience, including perhaps his royal patron King Janāśraya. Considered from this point of view, the words *loke pracarantyo jātayaḥ* of the commentator on 5.45 of our work must mean the metres prevalent among the people of his earlier country and not those of his adopted one, namely the south.

JĀNĀŚRAYĪ AND PRAKRIT MĒTRES

Note - 1. In reproducing the text and commentary of Sūtras 40-75 of the fifth chapter of the *Jānāśrayī*, I am generally following the Trivandrum edition of 1949. I have, however, sometimes followed the readings of the mss., which are given in the footnotes, but not adopted in the edition. When I propose an emendation, I adopt it in the text, showing the reading of the mss., or the Trivandrum edition (ed), in the footnotes. Words and letters which are newly added by me to complete the sense are shown in the rectangular brackets. The Trivandrum edition is based on three mss., called *ka*, *kha*, and *ga*; sometimes, a reference is made to them, being reproduced from the footnotes of the Trivandrum edition.

Note - 2. See Introduction para 4 for the use of the different symbols to convey the different Gaṇas. Here only the following are used: आ - आकार (सातवत्) = SII ; इ - इकार (विभातिक्) = ISI ; ई - ईकार (धीवराश्) = SIS ; क् - ककार (विभातिक्) = ISI ; द - दकार (नचरतिद्) = IIII ; व् - वकार (त्रेश्रोःक्वव्) = SSI ; भू - भकार = S ; यू - यकार (कमलिनीयू) = IIIS ; सू - सकार (गङ्गासू) = ISS S stands for a long and I for a short letter. ह् = I.

जानाश्रयी ।

(पञ्चमाध्याये सूत्राणि ३९ - ७५)

वामनिकाद्ये षष्ठो ह् ॥ ३९ ॥

आर्याया आद्येऽप्यर्थे षष्ठो गणो लघुरेव केवलो भवति चेद् वामनिका नाम भवति । यथा —
प्रवितततारककुमुदे गतमेघे शरदि सौम्ये च ।

चन्द्रो विभाति संप्रति हंस इव नभःसरस्येषः ॥ ३९.१ ॥

गीतिरन्त्ये दि वा ॥ ४० ॥

आर्याया अन्त्येऽप्यर्थे षष्ठो गणो दकार इकारो वा भवति चेद् गीतिर्नाम भवति । यथा —
अमदलिकुल[कल]विरुतप्रविततकमला विभान्ति कमलिन्यः ।

भासुरमरकतमणिनिभकोमलमृदुचारुवर्णसंछन्नाः ॥ ४०.१ ॥

ध्रुवोभयोर्नी ॥ ४१ ॥

सैव गीतिश्चतुर्थे गणे यतिरुभयोरर्धयो भवति चेद् ध्रुवा नाम भवति । यथा —

ललनाननानि नीलालकानि ललितानि [लोलनयनानि] ।

राजन्ति बन्धुजीवाधराणि रतिभोगसारसहितानि ॥ ४१.१ ॥

गीतिका सप्तमो यी वा ॥ ४२ ॥

सैव गीतिर्गीतिका नाम भवति सप्तमो गणो यकारः ईकारो वा भवति चेद् । यथा —

त्वामिह धन्यं मन्ये विचित्रधर्मार्थकामसंश्रयासु ।

यस्य चरितं तव मँतं विद्वज्जनवल्लभासु गीतिकासु ॥ ४२.१ ॥

क्वचित् तृतीयश्च, पञ्चमोऽपि ॥ ४३ ॥

कचित् प्रयोगान्तरे उभयोरप्यर्धयोस्तृतीयश्च पञ्चमश्च गणो यकारः ईकारो वा भवति । अपि शब्दादेकस्मिन्नप्यर्धं भवति । प्रयोगे यत्नः कार्यः ॥ ४३ ॥

पूर्णाधार्थागीतिः ॥ ४४ ॥

सैव गीतिः पूर्णाधा आर्यागीतिर्नाम भवति । यथा —

एतत्तद्भुजयुगलं मन्दरगिरिभित्तिषडिताङ्गदवलयम् ।

अस्ति तुमुलशरपादितवर्म रुधिररागसंभृतचर्म ॥ ४४.१ ॥

इत्यार्याप्रकरणम् ।

आर्याजातिः सोपजातिरुक्ता । इदानीमन्याश्च काश्चिज्जातयो लोके प्रचरन्त्यो वक्ष्यन्ते ।

प्रतिपादं पञ्चार्धं च गलितम् ॥ ४५ ॥

पञ्च गणा गणस्यार्धं च पादे पादे भवन्ति चेद् गलितं नाम भवति । यथा —

न स्मरसि किं त्वदीरित-शर-भासुर-तानाम्,

अटवीपु चोग्र-केसरि-शरभासु-रतानाम् ।

अथवा वसन्तदृष्ट्या निशातदन्तस्य

प्रातर्बाधाय शरज्जिज्ञा तदन्तस्य ॥ ४५.१ ॥

चत्वारो निर्धायिका ॥ ४६ ॥

चत्वारो गणाः प्रतिपादं भवन्ति चेत्, निर्धायिका नाम भवति ॥ ४६ ॥

यी वान्त्यः ॥ ४७ ॥

अन्त्यो गणश्चतुर्णां पादानां निर्धायिकाया यकारो वा ईकारो वा भवति ॥ ४७ ॥

कृ तृतीयः ॥ ४८ ॥

तस्याः निर्धायिकायाः प्रतिपादं तृतीयो गणः प्रायेण ककारो भवति । यथा —

बाले बालेन्दुखण्डधारिणा

क्रोधाद् दग्धोऽपि मन्मथाधमः ।

सकलं लोकं हि चण्डमानसो

निशितैर्बाणैर्भिनन्ति मर्मसु ॥ ४८.१ ॥

पञ्च नर्कुटकम् ॥ ४९ ॥

प्रतिपादं पञ्च गणा भवन्ति चेन्नर्कुटकं नाम भवति ।

[यी वा द्वितीयतृतीयौ ॥ ५० ॥]

तस्यैव नर्कुटकस्य द्वितीयतृतीयगणौ यकारः ईकारो वा भवतः ॥ ५० ॥

तृतीयो व् वा ॥ ५१ ॥

तस्यैव नर्कुटकस्य तृतीयो गणो बकारो वा भवति । यथा —

उपरि विधूतभस्मनिकरं प्रवरसुरभितं

५ अस्ति तुमुलसरपातितकर्म ed; (तन्म for कर्म-कग); ६ वसन्तकस्य दृष्ट्या (कग); अथवान्तकस्य सृष्ट्या-Ratnamanjusā; ७ प्राप्ता बोधाय Ratnamanjusā; ८ नक्कुटकम् ed; (नक्कुटकं-ख; नक्कुटकम्-क); ९ भवति ed; १० नक्कुटकस्य-क; ११ निकरप्रवरसुरभित ed

श्रवणभुजङ्गगवक्त्रमस्ता दहनकणमुचा ।
 धवलितमिन्दुखण्डकिरणैः क्षरदमृतलवैः
 कपिशमयूखभिन्नतिमिरं नयनमवतु षः ॥ ५१.१ ॥
 इदं^१ वरं विजृम्भमाणः कुमुदानन्दः
 स तु नवनीतपिण्डसदृशस्तिमिरविमथनः ।
 रजनिकेशोप्युपैति शनकैर्गानं नीलं^२
 सरस इव [च सरो] नीलं [सु] विपुलं हंसः ॥ ५१.२ ॥
 षडधिकाक्षरा ॥ ५२ ॥
 प्रतिपादं षट् गणा भवन्ति चेद्, अधिकाक्षरा नाम भवति ॥ ५२ ॥
 युङ् न क् ॥ ५३ ॥
 तस्या अधिकाक्षरायाः प्रतिपादं युग् गणः ककारो न भवति ॥ ५३ ॥
 क् तृतीयः ॥ ५४ ॥
 तस्या अधिकाक्षरायाः प्रतिपादं तृतीयो गणः ककार एव भवति ॥ ५४ ॥
 यी वान्त्यः ॥ ५५ ॥
 तस्या अधिकाक्षरायाः प्रतिपादमन्त्यो गणो यकार ईकारो वा भवति ॥ ५५ ॥
 क्वचिदाद्योऽपि ॥ ५६ ॥
 तस्या अधिकाक्षरायाः क्वचित् प्रयोगान्तरे आद्योऽपि गणो यकारः ईकारो वा
 भवति । यथा—
 विकसितनीलोत्पलौचितं मदनबाणदीपनं
 ध्रुवमैधुचषकातिशायिनं दयितंमुखसमर्पितम् ।
 सुतनु निषेवितवतोऽधरं तनुतरंगविह्वलं
 न^१ च वागाधिकाक्षरा तैर्था श्रुतिमनोऽभिनन्दिनी ॥ ५६.१ ॥
 शीर्षकं गीतिकापरा ॥ ५७ ॥
 सैवाधिकाक्षरा गीतिकापरा भवति चेत् शीर्षकं नाम भवति । यथा—
 विचरन्ति महेन्द्रगोपका नीलशाङ्खलश्रियः
 स्तोत्रं ग्रहचन्द्रभास्कराञ्छादयन्ति नीरदाः ।
 मेघोदरैरचारिणी च विलसति तटित् समन्ततः
 प्रणदन्ति वनस्थलीषु मुदितमनसश्च चातकाः ॥
 कुटचकुसुमाधिवासितौः सिलिन्द्रकन्दलवनान्तसेविनश्च ।
 वान्ति पवनाः प्रवासिनां कुर्वन्ति च सोत्सुकानि मानसानि ॥ ५७.१ ॥
 एकैकवृद्ध्या ललित-सुभद्रा-विद्रुम-वंशपत्रै-कुञ्जर-पुष्पदन्त-माळाः ॥ ५८ ॥

१२ इदं वरं एष विजृ० ed ; १३ रजनीकरो ed ; १४ नील ed ; १५ नीलोत्पलार्चितमदन० ed ; १६ ध्रुवं मधुचषकाद्यतिशायिनं ed ; १७ निषेवितवति (निषेवितयवति - खग) रतिरहस्तनु० ed ; १८ नववाग० ed ; १९ यथा च श्रुति० ed ; २० मेघोदकचारिणी ed ; २१ वासित सिलिन्द्र० ed ; २२ वंशपुष्प (खग) .

हृत्पदनामैकानि सप्त शीर्षकाणि भवन्ति । तत्र ललितस्य पादः सप्त गणा भवन्ति अन्ते गीतिका च । सुभद्राया अष्टौ अन्ते गीतिका च । एवं शेषाणि शीर्षकाणि एकैकवृद्धा ज्ञेयानि ॥ ५८ ॥

निर्धायिकामध्यं त्रिकलयम् ॥ ५९ ॥

उक्तप्रकारं शीर्षकं निर्धायिकामध्यं भवति चेत् त्रिकलयं नाम भवति । आदावधिकाक्षरा मध्ये निर्धायिका अन्ते गीतिका एवमेतास्त्रिकलयमिति ॥ यथा —

विकसितकुसुमं निशागमे [पूर्णं] चन्द्रर्षाधितं
संकोचमुपैति पङ्कजं अमर एषं सोऽसुकः ।

विनदन्ति मनोहराणि केदारोदरसंस्थिताः

कान्तासहिता विचिन्त्य किमपि कळहंससारसाः ॥

शौर्द्धिलरूढैरिवेन्द्रगोपकैः

पुष्पैर्विभान्ति च बन्धुजीवकाः ।

शर्वैर्य इव [च] विकीर्णतारकाः

विकसितकुसुमा विभान्ति शीर्षकाः ॥

सप्तच्छदमकरन्दमुद्विहाय कुसुमातिपातिलोलुपानि ।

मधुकरकुलानि सादरं श्रयन्ति कुसुदानि रेणुपाण्डराणि ॥ ५९.१ ॥

गणास्त्रयो भङ्गद्विपदी ॥ ६० ॥

त्रयो गणाः प्रतिपादं भवन्ति चेद् भङ्गद्विपदी नाम भवति । गणाधिकारे वर्तमाने पुनर्गणग्रहणं चतुर्लघूनां पञ्चलघूनां च सर्वेषां गणानां चाभेदेन ग्रहणार्थम् । इतरथा हि चतुर्लघू-
नामेव ग्रहणं स्यात् ॥ ६० ॥

चत्वारः पञ्च षट् सप्त वा ॥ ६१ ॥

तस्या भङ्गद्विपद्या न केवलं त्रय एव गणा भवन्ति । चत्वारो वा पञ्च वा षट् वा सप्त वा भवन्ति ॥ ६१ ॥

भान्ते वा ॥ ६२ ॥

तस्या भङ्गद्विपद्याः प्रतिपादं गुरुरन्ते भवति वा न वा ॥ ६२ ॥

त्रिंशद्धा परमा ॥ ६३ ॥

त्रिंशल्लघवो यस्या भङ्गद्विपद्याः सा भवति त्रिंशद्धा परमा अधिका भङ्गद्विपदी । ततः सर्वाभ्यो भङ्गद्विपदीभ्यो या परमा सा त्रिंशद्धा भवति । तदधिका नास्ति ॥ ६३ ॥

द्विपदी गीतिकापरा ॥ ६४ ॥

सैव भङ्गद्विपदी द्विपदीत्युच्यते गीतिकापरा भवति चेत् । उदहरणम् —

क्षीणमम्बु वापीषु सरित्सु च सांप्रतं

रक्ष्यमाणैर्बहुधनमिव भाग्यविपर्यये ।

तस्यपांसुरेषा च विशुष्कवनद्रुमा

बद्धचोरमौतेव मही परितप्यते ॥

२३ नामानि (खग) ; २४ बोधितं ed ; २५ एव ed ; २६ शालारूढैः ed ; २७ सप्तच्छदमकरन्दं विहाय ed ; (-मकरन्दमविहाय - खग) ; २८ रक्ष्यमाणं बहुधनमिदं ed ; २९ मतएव ed ;

अवसीदति श्रमासहं गात्रं महिषस्य घर्ममूर्च्छितस्य ।
बहुपोष्यबालपरिजनं गृह्णतन्त्रमिवातुरं निरुद्यमस्य ॥ ६४-१ ॥
इयमपरा द्विपदी—

करुणाकर निष्करुणेन वायुना ।
रिपुवार[ण] वारणदानगन्धिना ।
बहुवल्लभ [वल्लभ]विप्रयोजितो
जनकान्तं जनश्रवताद्य दूयते ॥

अधुना मधुकरबन्धुना बन्धुकेन सरजस्कक्रेसरेण ।
भवतेव जगद्बन्धुना कुलमण्डन मण्डितानि भूस्थलानि ॥ ६४-२ ॥
क्वचिद्विदारी मध्ये ॥ ६५ ॥

क्वचिद्वियोगान्तरे भङ्गद्विपदीगीतिकयोर्मध्ये विदारी भवति । विदारीलक्षणमुत्तरत्र
वक्ष्यति । यथा—

अभिनवकन्दलीकुसुमकेसरलोलेवरस्थलीमुस्ताः
कुसुमितकुट्टैजसुराभिपरागाविराजितसानुकाननाः ।
समदमयूरमधुरैकेकारवपूरितकन्दरोदराः
ससलिलमुखरजलदमलिना गिरथो रमयन्ति मानसम् ॥

केतकसूचिभिदा मरुता
बकुलरजांसि समुद्रहता ।
अभिसुखदयितजनोऽपि जनः
सोऽसुक एव बलात् क्रियते ॥

अवनुन्नातपरेणुना करेणुनाथमलिनेन तोयदेन ।
उपगिरिसुदन्तविद्युता सकलं जगदर्च्यते मनोभवाय ॥ ६५-१ ॥
विदारी भान्ताश्रतुर्दश लघवः ॥ ६६ ॥

[गुर्वन्ताश्रतुर्दश लघवः] प्रतिपादं भवन्ति चेत् विदारी नाम भवति ॥ ६६ ॥
मिश्रः पञ्चमः प्रायः ॥ ६७ ॥

तस्या विदार्याः प्रतिपादं पञ्चमो लघुः पूर्वेण वा लघुना परेण वा मिश्रो गुरुर्भवति
प्रायः ॥ ६७ ॥

उपान्त्यं आ ॥ ६८ ॥

प्रायः इति वर्तते । तस्या विदार्याः प्रतिपादमन्त्यस्य समीपे प्रायः आकारो भवति
अ[न्य]त्रानियमः ।

सायसुराभिरजधूसरया
मृदुमलयानिलह्नंपित्थ्या ।
कामिजनो नवमालिकया

३० जनकान्तो ed ; ३१ लीलाधर - ed ; ३२ कुट्टच ed ; ३३ मधुकरकेकाराव ed ; ३४ उपा-
न्या mss ; ए उपान्त्यः ed ; ३५ एकारो ed ; ३६ क्षपितया ed ;

विगलितमानमनाः क्रियते ॥

त्रयोविंशतिर्भङ्गुरासकम् ॥ ६९ ॥

भान्ता इति तु वर्तते । गुर्वन्तास्त्रयोविंशल्लघवो यथेष्टं मिश्रिता भवन्ति चेद् भङ्गुरासकं नाम भवति ॥ ६९ ॥

द्वादशावलम्बनम् ॥ ७० ॥

[द्वादश लघवः प्रतिपादं भवन्ति चेदवलम्बनं नाम भवति]

[सोऽन्ते ॥ ७१ ॥]

तस्य प्रतिपादमन्ते प्रायः सकारो भवति ॥ ७१ ॥

उभे रासकम् ॥ ७२ ॥

उभे भङ्गुरासकावलम्बने सहिते रासकमित्युच्यते ॥ यथा—

कथं ब्राह्मूलत्रिकदेशनिवेशितानि

गृहसेऽद्यं वसनेन किमङ्ग नखक्षतानि ।

लक्ष्मङ्गनालिङ्गनलङ्गमनङ्गसाक्षि

क्षलक्ष्मा तव भरति तृतीयमिवेदमक्षि ॥

दशनद[ल]प्रचितेन ।

क्षतजलवारुणितेन ।

शोभितेवाधरेण

त्वमसि विलासधरे[ण] ॥ ७१.१ ॥

गाथा ॥ ७३ ॥

गाथेदानीं वक्ष्यते ॥ ७३ ॥

सार्षी ॥ ७४ ॥

सा च गाथा आर्षीति ज्ञेया । ऋषेरेवेयमित्यर्षी । पञ्चस्वनुष्टुबादिजगत्यन्तेषु सा गाथा भवति ॥ ७४ ॥

पादैश्चतुर्भिः षड्भिर्वा ॥ ७५ ॥

सा गाथा चतुर्भिर्वा षड्भिर्वा पादैः स्वजातीयैर्वा विजातीयैर्वा भवति । यथा—

पश्यसि पश्यसि परदोषमात्मदोषं न पश्यसि ।

भर्तारमथ धनं च कुलं च हित्वा किं किं हससि ॥ ७५.१ ॥

दश धर्मं न जानन्ति घृतराष्ट्र निबोध तान् ।

मत्तः प्रमत उन्मत्तः श्रान्तः क्रुद्धो बुभुक्षितः ।

त्वरमाणश्च भीतश्च कामी चोरश्च ते दश ॥ ७५.२ ॥

इति जानाश्रय्यां छन्दोविचित्यां जात्यध्यायः पञ्चमः समाप्तः ॥

Adhyaya V, (Sūtras 39 to 75).

N.B. See N.B.2 on p. 69 for the meanings of the technical terms like *d* or *dakāra* and the like.

It is Vāmanikā, when the sixth (Gaṇa) is *h*, (even) in the first (half) of the Āryā 39.

If the sixth Gaṇa even in the first half of an Āryā consists merely of single short letter, it is called Vāmanikā. As :—

'At present in the autumn, this moon shines brightly like a swan in the lake-like sky, where stars resembling night-lotuses are scattered everywhere, from which the clouds have departed and which looks lovable (on that account).

(Note :— All the three adjectives in the first half must be taken with the word *nabhaḥ-sarasi* in the second half and not with *śaradī* which is fem. in gender ; further, both the words *pravitata-tāraka-kumude* and *nabhaḥ-sarasi* are to be taken as Upamā-Samāsas and not as the Rūpaka ones, as shown by the adjective *gata-meghe* in particular. That an Upamā, and not a Rūpaka, is meant in the stanza, is also clear from the simile *kaṁsa iva*.)

(The Āryā is called) Gīti, if the sixth (Gaṇa) in the latter (half) is either *d* or *i*. 40.

If (even) in the latter half of the Āryā the sixth Gaṇa is either *dakāra* (i.e., IIII) or *ikāra* (i.e., ISI), it is called Gīti : As : 'the lotus plants shine beautifully, having their lotuses surrounded by the sweet humming of the swarms of the hovering bees and being covered with a soft, delicate, lovely colour resembling the bright emerald gem.'

It is called Dhruvā when in both (the halves), (the Yati is) after the fourth (Gaṇa). 41.

The same Gīti is called Dhruvā when the Yati is at the fourth Gaṇa in both the halves. As :—

'The graceful faces of the lovely ladies, possessed of bluish locks, tremulous eyes, (and) lower lips which resemble a Bandhujiva flower, shine beautiful, being endowed with the essence of the enjoyments of Love'. 41.1.

(The Gīti is called) Gītikā when the seventh Gaṇa is *y* or *i*. 42.

That same Gīti is called Gītikā when the seventh Gaṇa is either *yakāra* (i.e., IIIS) or *ikāra* (i.e., SIS). As :—

'I regard you fortunate, whose deeds are highly valued in the pretty songs which are dear to learned men and which are based on wonderful (topics pertaining to) Dharma, Artha and Kāma'. 42.1.

Sometimes, even the third and also the fifth (Gaṇa is so). 43.

Sometimes, in an alternative employment, even the third and also the fifth Gaṇa in both the halves are either *yakāra* (IIIS) or *ikāra* (SIS). By the word *api* (*it is suggested that*) this happens even in one half (only). Efforts should be made for (finding out) such an employment.

When the half is made whole it is called Āryāgīti. 44.

That same Gīti is called Āryāgīti when its half (Gaṇa i.e., the 8th) is made whole. As :—

'This is that pair of arms, whose armlets have been rubbed against the walls of the Mandāra mountain, whose armour is torn by the fierce arrows and whose shield is tinged with the redness of blood'. 44.1.

Here ends the section on Āryā.

The Jāti called Āryā together with its sub-divisions is defined. Now hereafter, some other Jātis which are in vogue among the people shall be defined.

(That metre is called) Galita when there are five and a half (Gaṇas) in every Pāda. 45.

If there are five full Gaṇas and a half of it more, the metre is called Galita. As :—

‘Do you not remember the flashes of the arrows discharged by you, when they devoured the lives of fierce lions and Śarabhas in the forest . . . ?

(If there are) four (Gaṇas in each Pāda) it is Nirdhāyikā. 46.

If there are four Gaṇas in each Pāda it is called Nirdhāyikā.

Its last (Gaṇa) is either *y* or *i* 47.

The last Gaṇa of all the four Pādas of Nirdhāyikā is either *yakāra* (IIS) or *ikāra* (SIS).

k is the third. 48.

The third Gaṇa in every Pāda of that Nirdhāyikā is generally a *kakāra* (ISI). As :—

‘The wicked Manmatha (God of Love) of fearful intentions strikes all people with sharp arrows at their vitals, even though he was angrily burnt to ashes by the wearer of the young crescent moon, oh young girl.’

(If there are) five (Gaṇas in a Pāda, it is called) Narkuṭaka. 49.

In every Pāda, if there are five Gaṇas, it is called Narkuṭaka.

(Its) second and third (Gaṇas) are *y* or *i*. 50.

Of that same Narkuṭaka, the second and the third Gaṇas are *yakāra* (IIS) or *ikāra* (SIS).

Or, its third (Gaṇa) is *b*. 51.

Of that same Narkuṭaka, the third Gaṇa may optionally be a *bakāra* (i.e., SSI). As :—

‘May the (third) eye (of Śambhu) protect you, which has the clouds of ashes above it blown off and which is rendered fragrant by the puffs from the mouth, releasing sparks of fire, of the serpent placed on the ear, which is white-washed with the rays of the crescent moon from which drops of nectar are oozing out and which has dispelled the darkness by its tawny lustres.’ 51.1.

‘But that moon too gradually rises up to the blue skies, as a swan moves from one lake to another blue and expansive lake, now gracefully growing in lustre, crushing the darkness, looking like a ball of fresh butter and being the delight of the night lotuses.’ 51.2.

(If there are) six (Gaṇas in a Pāda, it is) Adhikākṣarā. 52.

If there are six Gaṇas in each Pāda, it is called Adhikākṣara.

The even (Gaṇa) is never a *k*. 53.

Of that Adhikākṣarā, the even Gaṇa in each Pāda is not *kakāra* (i.e., ISI).

(But) the third must be *k*. 54.

Of that Adhikākṣarā, the third Gaṇa in each Pāda is *kakāra* (ISI) alone.

y or *i* is its last (Gaṇa). 55.

Of that Adhikākṣarā the last Gaṇa in each Pāda is either *yakāra* or an *ikāra* (i.e., IIS or SIS).

Sometimes even the first is so. 56.

Of that Adhikākṣarā, sometimes, i.e., in some employment, even the first Gaṇa is either *yakāra* or *ikāra* i.e., IIS or SIS. As :—

‘Oh fairbodied girl, while I enjoy your lower lip, which is covered with blooming blue lotuses, which inflames the shafts of the god of Love, which sur-

passes an unfailing goblet of wine, which is offered in the mouth of the lover, (and) which is restless owing to slight throbbing, (your) speech containing many letters is not so gladdening to the ear and the mind (as this lip).'

(Note :—The adjectives of *adhara*, which is evidently meant, are intended to be applicable to both the *adhara* and the *madhu*, yet the qualities of the former excel those of the latter, as said in the first adjective in the second line. The blue lotuses in the case of the *adhara* are the dark-blue glances from the half-closed eyes of the girl. In the end, the speaker says that the profuse words of love from the mouth of the fair one are not so delightful as her lower lip when it is in the lover's mouth, though this latter makes her absolutely silent and unexpressive of her love.)

(It is) a Śiṛṣaka, when followed by a Gitikā. 57.

If this same Adhikākṣarā has a Gitikā immediately following it, it is called a Śiṛṣka. As :—

'The red insects which are the beauty of the green verdure, move about the rain-clouds slightly cover the planets, the moon and the sun. Now the lightning moving in the interior of the cloud flashes all around and then the Cātaka birds raise their loud notes in the sylvan regions, with delighted minds.

And then, as soon as the winds begin to blow, surcharged with the fragrance of the Kuṭaja flowers, gently embracing the tops of the beds of the sprouts of the Śilindhra flowers, so soon they make the minds of the journeying lovers uneasy'.

By the addition of one (Gaṇa) each time (are obtained) Lalita, Subhadrā, Vidruma, Vamśapatra, Kuñjara, Puṣpadanta and Mālā (Śiṛṣakas). 58.

There take place seven Śiṛṣakas as named above. Among them, seven Gaṇas make the Pāda of Lalita and there is a Gitikā at the end ; eight Gaṇas make that of Subhadrā and a Gitikā at the end. Thus the remaining Śiṛṣakas should be known by the addition of one Gaṇa every time.

It is a Trikalaya when it has a Nirdhāyikā in the middle. 59.

If the Śiṛṣaka as described above has a Nirdhāyikā in the middle of it, it is called a Trikalaya. Thus in short, first an Adhikākṣarā, then a Nirdhāyikā in the middle, (and) finally a Gitikā at the end, these three form a Trikalaya. As :—

'At the advent of the night, the day-lotus which had its flower open, now closes itself, being oppressed by the full moon. This bee has become uneasy. The Kalahāṁsas and the Sārasas accompanied by their mates, raise their pleasant voices, being stationed in the inside of the Kedāras and thinking about something.

Here, the Bandhujivaka trees appear very charming with their flowers looking like the Indra-gopa insects mounted upon the green verdure. There, the Śiṛṣaka plants with their open flowers resemble the nights bespangled with stars.

The swarms of bees, having left behind them the juice of the Saptacchada flowers and being extremely greedy after neglecting (other) flowers, fondly resort to the night lotuses, turned whitish with their pollen.' 59.1.

Three Gaṇas (make a Pāda of a) Bhaṅga-dvipadī. 60.

If there are three Gaṇas in each Pāda, it (i.e., the metre) is called Bhaṅga-dvipadī. The mention of a Gaṇa again (in the Sūtra), even when the governing word *gaṇa* is still available (from Sūtra 15), is meant for the adoption of all the Gaṇas, whether the Caturmātras or the Pañcamātras, without any dis-

inction. Otherwise, the Caturmātras alone (which are meant by the word *gaṇa* in Sūtra 15) would have been available.

Or, four or five or six or seven (Gaṇas make its Pāda). 61.

Of that Bhaṅga-dvipadī, there are not merely three, but also four, five, six or even seven Gaṇas.

A *bh* (i.e., a long letter) stands optionally at its end. 62.

Of that Bhaṅga-dvipadī, a long letter may or may not be at the end of every Pāda.

The longest (among them) contains 30 *h* (i.e., short letters). 63.

That Bhaṅga-dvipadī which has thirty short letters (i.e., Mātrās), is the last, the longest, among them. Hence, the one which is longer than all the other Bhaṅga-dvipadis, contains thirty Mātrās. There does not exist any which is longer than that. Note : *h* or a *laghu* signifies both a short letter and an akṣara Mātrā ; see introduction, para 4.

It is (called) a Dvipadī, when a Gītikā follows it immediately. 64.

That same Bhaṅga-dvipadī is called Dvipadī, if it is immediately followed by a Gītikā. Illustration :—

‘The water in wells and rivers is now exhausted like the ample treasure, though well protected, at the (evil) turn of one’s fortune. And this earth, with the forest trees completely dried up and its dust well heated, pines away like the mother of an imprisoned thief.

The body of the wild buffalo, who is oppressed by heat, droops down, being unable to bear any exertion, like the troubled household affairs, which require the feeding of many children and dependents, in the case of an idle man.’ 64.1

Here is another Dvipadī :—

‘By the ruthless breeze, which moves about being charged with the odour of the elephant’s rut, are tortured the persons who are separated from their dear ones, today, oh compassionate one, oh conqueror of your enemies, oh lord of many beloved ladies and beloved of your people!’

(Note : Every line begins with a vocative).

Now are the spots on the earth adorned by the Bandhūka flower, whose filaments are covered with pollen and which is a friend of the bees, as they (i.e., spots) are adorned by you, who are the friend of the world, oh ornament of your family’. 64.2.

Sometimes a Vidārī is (put) between (the two). 65.

Sometimes, in a different employment (of the metre), a Vidārī is placed between the Bhaṅga-dvipadī and the Gītikā. The definition of a Vidārī (the author) will give later. As :—

‘The mountains, looking darkish owing to the water-filled thundering clouds, please the mind, as they have their lovely table-lands looking wavy owing to the filaments of the fresh flowers of the Kandalī plants, their topmost forests overspread with the fragrant dust of the flowering Kuṭaja plants, (and) the interiors of their caves filled with the sweet notes of the impassioned pea-cocks.

A (loving) person, though his beloved mate is in front of him, is yet made uneasy by the breeze, which is opening the Kataka buds and wafting with itself the pollen of the Bakula flowers. (cf. *Megha*. 3).

The whole world is worshipfully offered to the god of love by the rain-cloud, which is dark like the lord of a she-elephant, which has dispersed the day-light resembling the dust, and which is prominently displaying its lightning,

in the vicinity of the mountain'. 65.1.

Vidārī (is a metre, where) there are fourteen short letters (i.e., Mātrās, in a Pāda) with a long letter at the end. 66.

If there are fourteen Mātrās (the last two consisting of a long letter) in a Pāda, the metre is called Vidārī. 66.

The fifth (Mātrā) is usually combined (with either the fourth or the sixth). 67.

Of that Vidārī, in every Pāda, the fifth short i.e., Mātrā is generally combined either with the earlier Mātrā or with the following one, so as to form a long letter. 67. *Note* : *Laghu* is an Akṣara Mātrā, see note on 63.

The penultimate (Gaṇa) is ā. 68.

The word *prāyaḥ* continues. Of that Vidārī, in each Pāda, there is generally, the *ākāra* (i.e., SII) as the penultimate (Gaṇa). There is no rule about the others. 68.

'A passionate lover has her mind dispossessed of pride by the Navamālīkī creeper, which is dusky with the fragrant pollen of the evening and which is shaken by the gentle breezes from the Malaya mountain'. 68.1

Twenty-three (Mātrās make the Pāda of) a Bhaṅgurāsaka. 69.

The word *bhāntāḥ* still continues. If in a Pāda, twenty-three Laghus i.e., Mātrās with a long letter at the end, are mixed up in any way, it is called Bhaṅgu-rāsaka. 69.

Twelve (Mātrās) (make the Pāda of) an Avalambana. 70.

If there are twelve Laghus i.e., Mātrās in each Pāda, (the metre) is called Avalambana.

S stands at the end (of the Pāda). 71.

At the end of each Pāda, there is generally a *sakāra* (SS). 72.

The two together make a Rāsaka. 72.

The two namely, the Bhaṅgu-rāsaka and the Avalambana together make a Rāsaka. As :—

'Why, how do you conceal by your garment, the nail-marks placed at the base of your arms and at the Trika (by your lover)? The fish-banner god is bringing you a third eye, as it were, which is the witness of Cupid and * * * *. You are as it were adorned with this your lower lip, which is graceful, slightly reddened with the drops of blood and thickly marked with the tooth-bites (of the lover)'. 72.1

Hereafter the Gāthā. 73.

The Gāthā shall hereafter be described.

It is Ārṣī. 74.

And that Gāthā is to be known as Ārṣī (i.e., archaic or irregular). It is called so, because it belongs to the Ṛṣi alone (and so must not be employed by the ordinary poets of today). That Gāthā is found in any of the five Jātis beginning with the Anuṣṭubh and ending with the Jagatī.

It is (endowed with) four or six Pādas. 75.

That Gāthā appears with four or six Pādas, either of the same or of the different types. As :—

'You see the faults of others every now and then; but you do not see your own fault. Why do you laugh after abandoning your husband, property and family? 75.1.

The following ten do not understand Dharma, O Dhṛtarāṣṭra ; know them. They are :— The proud, the intoxicated, the mad, the exhausted, the wrathful, the hungry, the man in haste, the frightened, the passionate and the robber ; these are the ten.' 75.2.

Thus ends the fifth chapter, dealing with the Jātis, in the Jānāśrayī Chandovicitī.

APPENDIX

दोन विजापुरी फर्मानांचा परिचय

विश्वेश्वर अंवादास कानोले, नांदेड.

ज्या दोन विजापुरी फर्मानांवर आमचे विद्वान् मित्र डॉ. पी. एम्. जोशी, मुंबईराज्याचे डायरेक्टर ऑफ आर्काइव्हज, यांनी याच ग्रंथांत इंग्रजीत माहितीपूर्ण टांचण लिहिले आहे, त्या दुर्मिळ व महत्त्वाच्या फर्मानांवर, परिचयात्मक दोन शब्द लिहितांना मला संतोष वाटत आहे. वीस वर्षांपूर्वी जेव्हां मी सुप्रसिद्ध महाराष्ट्र कवि वामनपंडितांसंबंधी नांदेडच्या शेष घराण्याचें संशोधन करित होतो तेव्हां मला हीं दोन फर्मानें मोठ्या प्रयत्नांनं उपलब्ध झालीं. वामन पंडित हे शेष घराण्यांतील होते या अनुसंधानें जेव्हां मी १९३२ मध्ये संशोधनास प्रारंभ केला तेव्हां नांदेड येथें वामन पंडितांच्या माहितीवर प्रकाश पाडणारीं कांहीं महत्त्वाचीं कागदपत्रें व ग्रंथ उपलब्ध झाले. नांदेडच्या शेष घराण्यावरील माहितीचा संशोधनात्मक लेख महामहोपाध्याय पोतदार अभिनंदन ग्रंथांत (Commemoration Volume) मीं लिहिला आहे. त्यावरून नांदेडच्या मूळ शेष घराण्याची माहिती किती प्रयत्नपूर्वक जमविली आहे याची आपणांस कल्पना करतां येईल. सुप्रसिद्ध शेष घराणें पुढें काशीस (Benares), स्थाईक झालें. विश्वेश्वर क्षेत्रांत कृष्ण पंडित शेष प्रभृति अनेक शेष पंडितांनीं बनारसला अलौकिक कीर्ति संपादन केली व व्याकरणपीठ (School of grammar) काशीस कायम केले. तें मूळ घराणेंहि गोदाकांडावरील नांदेडचें. शेष घराणें मूळ नांदेडचें कसे, पुढें तें काशीस कसे गेलें व स्थाईक झालें, या घराण्यांत दक्षिणेंत नांदेड व इतर ठिकाणीं कोणकोणते विद्वान् पंडित व ग्रंथकार झाले इत्यादि विविध माहिती पोतदार अभिनंदन ग्रंथामध्ये विद्वान् वाचकांना आढळून येईल. येथें ज्या दोन विजापुरी फर्मानांचा मी परिचय करून देणार आहे तीं कवि वामनपंडितांच्या माहितीवर प्रकाश पाडण्याच्या दृष्टीनं किती महत्त्वाचीं व अपूर्व आहेत त्याचें थोडें स्पष्टीकरण मी करणार आहे. कवि वामन पंडित अर्थात् सुश्लोककार वामन हे शेष घराण्यांतील होते असा पहिला उल्लेख राजाराम प्रासादि या संतचरित्रकारानें आपल्या श्रीभक्तमंजरीमाला या ग्रंथांत १५० वर्षांपूर्वी केला आहे. वामन हा विजापूरचा राहणारा होता, त्याचें गोत्र वासिष्ठ असून उपनाम शेष होतें. ही चरित्र-निदर्शक माहिती राजाराम प्रासादीनेंच आपल्या ग्रंथांत प्रथम दिली आहे^१. फार्सी व संस्कृत पंडित म्हणून वामनाची ख्याति विजापूर बादशहाच्या दरबारांत विशेष होती व वामनाची अगाध विद्वत्ता व शहाणपण पाहून त्यास बाटवून मुसलमान करावे अशी बादशहास इच्छा झाली व वामनांनं बादशहाचा धिःकार करून काशीला प्रयाण केलें इत्यादि माहितीहि

१. विजापुरीं द्विजोदरीं । जन्मले वामन निर्धारी । ज्ञान जयाचें वसिष्ठपरी । वशीष्ट गोत्री ते जाणा ॥ ३४ ॥ उपनाम म्हणती जन शेष । बोलका तैसाचि जेवि शेष..... ॥ ३५ ॥ बाल्यदेशेंत वामन । फारशी भाषेंत अतिप्रवीण । अनेक कळा अंगिं जाण । चातुर्य पूर्ण सकळिक ॥ ३६ ॥ तेथील अविंध अविचारी । पातशहा जो कां विजापुरी । छलकबुद्धि तयाची भारी । आत्रड करी वामनाची ॥ ३७ ॥ अति चतुर परि सोवळा । येणे नावडे कचेरिला । या लागीं अविंधे विचार केला । अष्ट तयाला करावा म्हणूनी ॥ ३९ ॥ राजाराम प्रासादी कृत भक्तमंजरी, अध्याय ३९.

राजाराम प्रासादीनें आपल्या ग्रंथांत दिली आहे. राजाराम प्रासादीची सर्वच माहिती विश्वसनीय नसली तरी तीत बराच तथ्यांश असावा असे वाटते. वामनाचे आडनाव शेष होते व विजापूरच्या बादशहाच्या दरबारापर्यंत त्याच्या विद्वत्तेची प्रसिद्धि व रज्जुवात होती ही गोष्ट कागदपत्रांनेहि सिद्ध होत आहे. १७५ व १८३ हिजरीचे, वामन अनंत शेषाचे जे दोन विजापुरी परवाने उपलब्ध आहेत त्यावरूनहि वामनाचे घराणे कांहीं काळ विजापुरास राहात असावे हे स्पष्टपणे दिसून येते. विजापुरी फर्मानांतील वामन अनंत शेष हा प्रसिद्ध कवि वामनाचा आज्ञा होता व वामन जन्माला येण्यापूर्वीपासूनच वामनाचे घराणे विजापूरच्या दरबारांत मान्यतेस चढले होते असा फार महत्त्वाचा शोध या कागदपत्रांने लागत आहे. हा वामन अनंत शेष पहिल्या अली आदिलशाहाच्या वेळेस विजापूरच्या महल किताबखान्याचा म्हणजे Imperial Library चा curator असावा असे अनुमान करता येते. “हवाला महल किताबखाना” या उल्लेखावरून शाही किताबखान्याचा वामन अनंत In charge अधिकारी असावा अथवा त्याच्या मुशाहिऱ्याची तैनात किताबखाना खात्याशी संबंधित असावी हेहि शक्य दिसते. विजापूरच्या बादशहाने असार महाल, मेहतार महाल इत्यादि सुंदर इमारती बांधल्या होत्या ; त्याप्रमाणेच महाल किताबखाना नांवाचीहि एक सुंदर इमारत विजापुरास असावी. कारण अली आदिलशाहा हा विद्याप्रेमी व ग्रंथसंग्रहालयाचा मोठा पुरस्कर्ता होता अशी त्याची इतिहासांत ल्याति आहे. “हमरिकाब चाकर दिवान आला” इत्यादि उल्लेखावरून वामन अनंत शेष हा बादशहाच्या हमरिकाब म्हणजे समवेत राहणारा दरबारी पंडित होता असे दिसते. याच बादशहाच्या खास सहीने व हुकमाने (His Majesty's order) बासाद मुबारक मुख्य मुस्ताफाखान व दासोपंडत सरखेल (अर्थमंत्री) यांना लिहिण्यांत आले की वामन अनंत बादशहाकडे चाकरीस आले आहेत त्या ना १ माहे सफर हिजरी १८३ व सुहूर सन १७५ या दिवसापासून वार्षिक एक हजार होन मुशाहिरा ठरविला गेला आहे. या फर्मानावर अनेक फार्सी व अरबी राजशिके आहेत. त्यांत “नादेअलियन मझरूल अजायब” हा शियांचा प्रार्थनेतील श्लोक व बादशहा आणि प्रधानाचा शिक्षा वगैरे महत्त्वाचे शिके आहेत. आणि शेवटी प्रसिद्ध सेनापति किश्वरखान याचा मुलगा मुंजमनखान महालदार किताबखाना व नारो गंगाधर हेजिव यांच्या सद्यांचे नामनिर्देश आहेत. या दोन्ही फर्मानांचे वाचन व चर्चा डॉ. पी. एम्. जोशी यांच्या लेखांत सविस्तर आलेली असल्यामुळे मी यासंबंधी अधिक विस्ताराने लिहीत नाहीं.

या फर्मानावरून व शेषघराण्यासंबंधी शोधलेल्या कागदपत्रावरून सुप्रसिद्ध महाराष्ट्र कवि वामन पंडितांसंबंधी जी महत्त्वाची माहिती प्रकाशांत येते त्याचा थोडक्यांत सारांश असा—

शेषांचे विद्यामंडित प्रसिद्ध घराणे मूळगोदातटाक नांदेडचे. शेषघराण्याची एक शाखा सुमारे ५०० वर्षांपूर्वी नांदेडहून काशीस जाऊन कायमची स्थाईक झाली. काशीस जाणारा मूळ पुरुष विष्णुपंत शेष होय. काशीच्या शेषशाखेत कृष्णपंडितादि अनेक थोर विद्वान व ग्रंथकार झाले. त्यांचा सभापति म्हणून अद्यापहि मानसन्मान आहे. दक्षिणेंत नांदेडचे शेष निरनिराळ्या राजांच्या आश्रयाखाली होते. राधामाधवविलासचंपूवरून कांहीं शेष पंडित हे छत्रपति श्रीशिवाजीमहाराजांचे वडील शहाजीराजे यांचे आश्रित होते असे दिसून येते. विजापुरी पंडित

१. काशीच्या शेषांवर On the Sheshas of Benares या मधल्याखाली विजगा-पट्टणे S. P. V. रंगनाथस्वामी यांनी १९१२ नोव्हेंबरच्या Indian Antiquary Volume XIII मध्ये माहितीपूर्ण लेख लिहिलेला प्रसिद्ध आहे.

वामन अनंत शेष व त्याचा भाऊ तिस्रो अनंत शेष यांना आदिलशाही निजामशाही बादशहा-कडून इनाम जमिनी व वार्षिक मुशाहिरें होते अशीं बरींच कागदपत्रें उपलब्ध झालीं आहेत. शेषघराण्याचा मूळ पुरुष रामकृष्णपंत शेष. याचा काल सुमारे तेराव्या शतकाचा धरतां येईल. रामकृष्णपंतास तीन पुत्र होते, गणेशपंत, विठ्ठलपंत, व बोपाजिपंत. गणेशपंतापासून निघालेली शाखा हल्लीं नंदिडास आहे. विठ्ठलपंताच्या शाखेंत कवि वामन पंडित यांच्या वंशपरंपरेचा समावेश होतो. काशीस गळली शाखा या तिघांपैकीं एका शाखेंतील होय.

मूळ पुरुष रामकृष्ण शेषाचा जो दुसरा मुलगा विठ्ठलपंत त्याचा मुलगा अनंतपंत शेष होय. या अनंताचा मुलगा वामन अनंत हाच या विजापुरी फर्मांतांत उल्लेखिलेला व अलोआदिलशाहाकडून गौरविलेला दरबारी पंडित होय. हा वामन अनंत विजापूरच्या शाही कुतुबखान्याचा ग्रंथपाल किंवा क्युरेटर होता. यास चादशहाकडून त्याच्या विद्वत्तेबद्दल एक हजार होन वार्षिक मुशाहिरा होता. याचा मुलगा तानाजी पंडित होय. आणि त्याचाच पुत्र सुप्रसिद्ध महाराष्ट्र कवि वामन पंडित होय. कवि वामन पंडितांना सहा मुलें होतीं. त्यांपैकीं रघुनाथ शेष हा बापाप्रमाणेंच जाडा पंडित व चांगला कवि होता. या रघुनाथ शेषांनं भागवत दशम स्कंधावर 'कृष्णकौतुकलीला' नांवाचें दहा सर्गांत एक उत्कृष्ट मराठी काव्य रचलें आहे. कवि वामनाच्या घराण्याचा वंशवृक्ष खालीं दिला आहे.

मूळपुरुष

रामकृष्णपंत शेष (नंदिडे)

