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RAMA KAMATI AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

BY SIR CHARLES FAWCETT.

[*N.B.*—The references in the foot-notes are to the following books, unless otherwise stated :—

Anderson.—The English in Western India.

Campbell.—Materials, &c., Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. 23.

Douglas.—Bombay and Western India.

Edwardes.—Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island.

Malabari.—Bombay in the Making.

F.R., L.B., O.C., and B.P.P. refer to records in the India Office.]

The name of Rama Kamati was conspicuous among the Indian inhabitants of Bombay for nearly 50 years at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century. His memory chiefly survives on account of his trial for high treason and other misdemeanours by Governor Boone and his Council in 1720.[1] This afforded a contrast with his previous high position that had a sensational effect for some time. Thus Phipps, who succeeded Boone in January 1722, wrote in 1728 that "everyone of us I believe are

1 An account of his trial and the connected circumstances is given by Malabari, pp. 328-354. This is largely based on Philip Anderson's comments on the trial in his article *A Chapter in the History of Bombay*, 1708-1725, in the Bombay Quarterly Review, (1856) Vol. III, pp. 48-52. The main relevant documents are also reproduced by Campbell, vol. I, pp. 144-150.

sensible that the downfall of Rama Comattee and his Family in the manner it was brought about, is still so recent in people's memorys, that the same is constantly objected as a reason why people of property come not to seek an Assylum under this Government from almost the universall oppression of those around us."[1] In other words his fate was prejudicial to the good name of Bombay. But his prior history (especially the mode in which he achieved his great position and influence) is a matter of interest, on which little light has hitherto been thrown. The main purpose of this article is to add information, which the writer has elicited from records in the India Office, though for the sake of completeness it includes some already known.

So far as I am aware, the first mention of his name in the Bombay records occurs in July 1680. In June of that year a serious coinage fraud had been discovered. No less than 2,350 false *pagodas*[2] had been obtained from the town of Chaul[3] and passed into circulation in Bombay. Under prompt and effective pressure the Shroffs[4] concerned got the false *pagodas* exchanged for good money. New regulations were also framed, under which the number of Shroffs allowed to change money in the Bazar was limited, and those selected had to give security that they would change only "good coins and such as are allowed to pass on the island." The Consultation entry about this continues:—

> "To which intent four of the most ablest Shroffs were made choice off, who gave in security accordingly, and to prevent any abuses that may be put on the treasury by bad money being paid in by any person"—for a considerable number of false *pagodas* had been found in the treasury—"it was thought highly necessary that an understanding and able

[1] Secret Consultn. of 23 February 1728, Bombay Public Proceedings (henceforth called B.P.P.), Vol. 6, p. 52.

[2] A gold coin current in Southern India, generally reckoned as equivalent to 3½ rupees.

[3] A town on the coast of the Kolaba District, about 30 miles from Bombay, as the crow flies.

[4] Hindu money-dealers.

> Shroff should be appointed to attend thereon, and soe *Ordered* that Rama Comaté should be taken into the Hon. Company's service for to attend on the Treasury, being an able Shroff and an inhabitant of very good repute to whome a convenient sallary should be allowed as hereafter shall be thought fitt."[1]

This post of Treasury Shroff was one that he held for fourteen years. The pay cannot have been more than about 25 Xeraphins or some Rs. 20) a month; but it gave him opportunities of advancement, of which he clearly avail himself. The position was regarded as a responsible one, and "Ramajee Comettes Shroff" figures in a list of "Staff Officers at Bombay" in 1684.[2] He did not, however, confine his activities to his work as Shroff. In particular he rendered valuable service during the Sidhi's invasion of Bombay in 1689-90,[3] as we learn from the following passage in a letter from President Harris to Cooke, the Deputy Governor of Bombay, on 30th June 1690:—[4]

> "On the Island is honest Ramajee Comattee, an old trusty servant of the Rt. Hon. Company, and one that has stood by them on the Island all the Warrs and has been very assisting on all occasions, not only in procuring men but encourageing them to fight the enimy &c. He is one the Generall[5] had a great esteeme of for his good services, and knowing him to be a great sufferer by the Warr, promised him encouragement but we need not tell you this, supposeing you know him better then most of us. But those that know him give him a very good character, Wee desire you will give us your opinion about him, and after

[1] F. R. Bombay, Vol. 2, pp. 42-44, 46 and 47—Consultns. of 27 & 28 June and 12 & 13 July 1680.

[2] O. C. 5178.

[3] For an account of this invasion see Anderson, pp. 245-9 and Edwardes, Vol. 2, pp. 83-5.

[4] F. R. Surat, Vol. 92, p. 104 and O.C. 5717.

[5] *I.e.* Sir John Child, who in 1684 was appointed by the Co. "Captain General of all our forces by sea and land in the North of India," and was consequently thenceforth always addressed and referred to by the title of "General."

discourse with him advize us what you think wee ought in charity and honour to doe for one that deserves soe well as he; for his oarts &c. wee hear were outt and spoyled because of his serveing us."

In addition to this agricultural damage, Rama suffered in person. The Diary of the Siege, under date the 14th February 1690,[1] records—" This day Ramojee Comattee Shroff was wounded in the Legg by one of our Shells which broke as soon as fyred out of the Mortar." He must, therefore, have been in the firing line and this indicates some courage on his part. In spite of his losses he was evidently well-off at this time,[2] possessing garden-lands and engaged in money-lending. Thus we find that one Mullah Boppagee (Bapaji), a batty merchant, had been imprisoned in Bombay for some debts owed to " Rammagee Comatee and Mr. Devenish "[3] and Harris ordered his release, as he deprecated arrest or imprisonment for debt in the absence of a Court of Judicature.[4]

The President's recommendation for Rama's official advancement had, however, no result for four years. Bombay was then in a very depressed condition—the revenue for instance had fallen from 62,500 to 17,000 Xeraphins, chiefly because of the destruction of the palm trees, which then formed the main source of agricultural income.[5] Sir John Gayer, who became Governor in 1694, saw the necessity of remedying this; and one of the steps he took for this purpose was the appointment of Rama Kamati as Overseer-General of the Company's revenues upon the Island. In this capacity, he had control of all the " Purvoes " or Parbhu clerks, and other inferiors.[6] This clearly shows the confidence that was felt in his abilities: and at the same time June 23, 1694) his military services were recognised by his

1 F. R. Bombay, Vol. 3, Diary at the end of the Book, p. 31.

2 Thus the Bombay Council in February 1687 reported that they believed him to be " a moneyed man." Forrest's *Selections*, i p. 155.

3 He was a factor in the Co.'s service at Bombay.

4 Letter of 4 Aug. 1691, F. R. Surat, Vol. 93, p. 95. The Court of Judicature was in abeyance from 1689 to 1718.

5 *Cf.* Anderson, p. 273.

6 Campbell, iii p. 282.

appointment as Muster-Master General of all the Hindu soldiers.[1]

The Consultation entry about this[2] is worth reproduction as it shows the high esteem with which he was regarded :—

> "Rama Comotin petitioning that we would take into our consideration how faithfully he had served the Rt. Hon. Company in the late warrs, and several years before and since, and how little sallery he had had for his service, the promises was duely considered, and to our knowledge what he did alleadge was truth ; the same was proved by a certificate under the late Generall Child and Council's hands which said late Generall did severall times promise him that if he did survive the war that he would gratify him answerable to the meritt of his service. Now weighing all this and considering of what import it might be for our Rt. Hon. Masters' interest for the future that such persons who have soe eminently served them should be rewarded agreeable to their meritt for example to others, It was ORDERED that said Rama Comotin should be made Muster-Master Generall of all the Gentues &c. black souldiers belonging to the outguards upon this Island att the sallery of 30 Xs. per month.
>
> And whereas we find that there is very great occasion to appoynt some person to supervise the Purvoes of the Company's revenues on this Island and that no person on the Island hath more knowledge of the Company's affairs than Rama Comotin hath, nor noe person like to serve them

[1] Campbell, iii p. 197. Hindu soldiers were first employed by Gerald Aungier at the time of the threatened Dutch naval attack on Bombay in March 1673, when 500 Rashboots (Rajputs) were raised ; but after the failure of the project, they were disbanded: F. R. Bombay Vol. 1, pp. 26, 27, 39. In 1684 the Co. authorised John Child to raise two companies of Rajputs, but owing to objections made by Child they were not engaged : L.B. Vol. 7, p. 277, and O.C. 5206. The Sepoys here referred to were recruited during the Sidhi's invasion of 1689-90 (Bombay Consultn. of 24 May 1695, F.R. Bombay Vol. 4, p. 74 ; O.C. 5727 ; Bombay letter of 30 June 1690, O.C. 5717). They continued with variations as to numbers till the establishment of the Bombay Army, the well-known "Marine Battalion" being authorised in 1709 (Campbell, iii p. 151).

[2] F. R. Bombay Vol. 4, pp. 6, 7.

so faithfully, it was also ORDERED that the said Rama Comotin should be made Overseer Generall of all the Rt. Hon. Co.'s revenues at the sallery of 40 Xs. per month,[1] and accordingly commissions were granted[2] to impower him for the execution of both the aforementioned Trusts, and it was also ORDERED that his brother Lolla Comotin[3] should succeed him in office of Shroff of the Treasury."

Thus Rama managed to keep up a connection with the Treasury, which subsequent records show lasted till his downfall.

His military office probably did not involve very heavy duties. It is mainly evidenced by monthly entries such as the following :—

"Ramajee Comotin and Dorab Nanaby, having brought in their Muster Rolls of the seven Jentoe Companyes, whose abstract amounted to 2,936 Xs. we ordered a bill to be drawne on Mr. John Gayer for the same."[4]

"The Rolls of the Gentue souldiers for the preceding month being this morning brought in, and the abstracts duly examined and approved of, a bill was ORDERED to be drawn on the Rt. Hon. Co.'s Treasury, for the amount (of) Xs. 3793, payable to Rama Camoty and Dorab Nanabhy."[5]

He would probably, however, have to take part in checking irregularities and frauds, such as are mentioned in the next quotation :—[6]

"On the complaint of Capt. James Hanmer that Ramajee Annat and Cresnajee his son Subedars of two Companys of Gentue soldiers appointed to be continually

[1] It appears that Rama also got a commission on all collections of revenues : Co.'s despatch of 21 Feb. 1718, para. 17, L.B. Vol. 16, pp. 415, 6.

[2] These are reproduced by Campbell, Vol. 3, pp. 197 & 282.

[3] I have not come across any other mention of this brother. He may have been Raghu, father of the Narayan, who petitioned the Council in 1728 (see p. 24 *post*). If so, he appears to have died in 1702.

[4] Consltn. of 1 Aug. 1698, F.R. Bombay Vol. 5, second book, p. 67.

[5] Consltn. of 24 May 1703, F.R. Bombay Vol. 5, third book, p. 32.

[6] Consltn. of 29 Jan. 1715, B. P. P. Vol. 4.

employed at the Works of the Great Breach of Mallabar hill,[1] have been very remiss and negligent in their Dutys a great while, tho' frequently reprimanded, in suffering said Soldiers to absent themselves from their work or to make voyages in Country Boats and Shybars[2] tho' still in the Company's pay, and making false musters by others appearing only on muster day: Taking the same into consideration and unwilling to permitt such abuses without Censure, Agreed that said Subadars with their Coys. be broke and dismist the Co.'s service and that Capt. Hanmer see the same executed and no pay allowed this month of January, which was performed accordingly."

Rama's other office must have been a more responsible one. As already mentioned, Bombay lands were in those days mainly planted with cocoanut trees, and there was comparatively little batty, or rice cultivation. He had had experience of the former kind of farming, as he had leased the trees on Old Woman's Island for some 15 years.[3] He had probably also farmed batty-lands through tenants, as he did in 1706 when he took over "the lands called Puckerawoll lying near Mazagunn towards Bombay," in order to increase their cultivation.[4] In December 1694 he was authorised to farm all the oarts and batty ground belonging to "Moormen," who had assisted the Sidhi when he invaded the Island, "and to make the best advantage he could thereof for

1 This was the "Great Breach" at Mahalakshmi, which was eventually stopped by the *Hornby Vellard*. Its construction lasted for about 100 years (1680-1780), see Campbell, iii, p. 648 and my note in B.B.R.A.S.J., Vol. vii, (Aug. 1931), pp. 21 & 22. The work was actively going on at this period; and soldiers, as well as convicts, were employed on it. It was explained, however, that the former were practically labourers, who were given a military appellation in order that effective discipline might be maintained: Bombay letter of 10 March 1725, para. 65, in Vol. I of "Bombay Letters Received."

2 This was a kind of coasting vessel, *cf.* Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, Vol. 2, p. 175, *n.* 1.

3 Surat letter of 16 Aug. 1691, F.R. Surat Vol. 93, p. 96.

4 Consltn. of 14 March 1706, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 178. Puckerawol probably represents Pakhadi (hamlet) Vol., which was part of the Mazagaol estate (Campbell, Vol. 2, p. 458).

the use of the . . . . . Co." [1]. The lease of Butcher's Island, then called the Island of Cocoanuts or Robin the Butcher's Island,[2] used to be put up to auction annually, and Rama or his son Durga was the highest bidder for several years.[3] In 1706 his ortas, &c., were valued at 15,017 Xs.[4]. He considerably increased his agricultural ventures in 1709, obtaining a lease of all the Co.'s trees on the Island (with a small exception) for three years.[5] A return by the Vereadors shows that the number of trees involved was 18,875.[6] Rama in 1912 alleged that he was a loser over the contract, but consented to a renewal of the lease for nine years at a reduced rental.[7] The extent of his commitments in 1719 is shown by the following account of the rent he owed the Co.:—[8]

> "31st July. Rama Commatee on account Oart Rent for sundry Oarts rented by him for nine years as per Consultation of the 25 September 1712 at 2 larees[9] per tree the (first) six years and the 3 last at 2½ larees per tree, the Oarts being survey'd contains as follows *viz.*,

[1] Campbell, Vol. 1, p. 104. Sir John Gayer and his Council had held proceedings, in which the question of liability to confiscation for assisting the Sidhi was enquired into, see Bombay letter of 11 Feb. 1695, F.R. Bombay Vol. 11, p. 7.

[2] Campbell, Vol. 1, pp. 438, 9, gives reasons for thinking that "Butcher" is really a perversion of the Portuguese name for the island—Putachoes (properly Puteças), which in turn was derived from the Marathi name, Bhatiche Bet. The English name may have led to its supposed connection with a real or mythical butcher called Robin, especially as cattle used to be kept on the island for the use of Bombay.

[3] *E.g.* in 1705, 1706 and 1707: Consltns. of 15 March 1705 and 20 March 1706, B.P.P. Vol. 2, pp. 154 & 179, and Consltn. of 27 Sept. 1707, B.P.P. Vol. 3.

[4] Consltn. of 25 April 1706, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 217. A Xeraphin generally was worth about 12 annas, though in 1713 it was ordered that it should pass for no more than half a rupee: Consltn. of 19 Oct. 1713, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

[5] Consltn. of 25 Aug. 1709, B.P.P. Vol. 4, p. 33.

[6] Consltn. of 24 Dec. 1709, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

[7] Consltn. of 25 Sept. 1712, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

[8] Bombay Journal of 1718-19, p. 233.

[9] A laree was then worth about one-fifth of a rupee.

In Mahim Cocoanut trees 13236, *viz.*,

5587	in sundry Oarts belonging to the Padre Superior at Bandura.	
2571	of the Padrees of Parell	
5078	of confiscated Estates	
13236		
2259	in Bombay.	
15495	at 2½ larees per tree and per Annum Rs.	7747.2.7
One Oart at Parell		
363	trees at per Annum	180
One at Old Womans Island		
556	trees at per Annum	120
Batty grounds at Bombay producing yearly 22 mora 18 para 5 adla at 152.40 per morah ..		354.2.3.
Mallabar Hill at per Annum		36
		8438—35"

The last entry relating to Malabar Hill is interesting: its subsequent use as a fashionable residential quarter could scarcely have been visualized.

Rama, however, farmed other things besides land. A letter of 5 February 1687 mentions his bidding for the "Tobacco Rent" and his punctuality in payment.[1] Though the Bombay Tobacco farm was put up to auction every year, he seems to have secured it continuously for many years, and the records of 1706 give a strong hint that his influence enabled him to put off other competitors. We read that, after the farm had been put up more than once without resulting in any bid, except on a condition that was held to be prejudicial,

> "the Secretary askt 2 or 3 times the severall Casts of people present to make known the Reason why they had not offered for said Tobacco Farme and what they was inclined to propose (but they) made no reply, at which the Generall (Sir Nicholas Waite) sayes he was not surprized haveing bin informed yesterday that a Merchant at Mahim (of) Bramin or Banyan Cast, Person unknown to him,

[1] Forrest's *Selections*, i p. 155.

declared he came from thence last Tuesday the 26th Inst. with intention to give 27,000 Xs. or more for said Tobacco Farme if could not be obtained for less, but was Threatned and discouraged by Ramajee Comattee to proceed therein, and this day after wee arose and dismist the company that appeared in the (Castle) Hall Ramajee Comattee by the mouth of Girderdass Broker offered first 21,000 then 22,000, 4,550 less then lett last year: The Generall Recommends to you Gentlemen maturely to deliver your Opinions whether 'tis not the Co.'s Interest to keep said Farme in their hands and thereby disipate such plain Combinations in Wrong and Prejudice to the United Trade as seems to have bin in all the Revenues, which after a deliberate debate (was) Resolved (accordingly) ....". [1]

Two caste-fellows of Rama, *viz.*, Dolba Bandari and his brother Vissu, who are described as "accute landed Merchants at Mahim" were appointed to manage the Farm.[2] This attempt to break down the "combination" had, however, little success. Six months later, upon a complaint of watering the tobacco, which was substantiated, the two managers were dismissed and fined a sum fixed as equivalent to 25 per cent of that "wrongfully extorted from the Inhabitants." [3] The Farm was then put under the management of the Vereadors,[4] but this resulted in a fall of profits.[5] Probably in consequence of this it was put up to auction again in March 1707 and was secured by Rama for his two sons Durga and Balkrishna, he being the only bidder.[6] He

[1] Consltn. of 18 March 1706, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 191.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Consltn. of 19 Sept. 1706, B.P.P. Vol. 2, pp. 29-31. On 18 Feb. 1724 this fine was held to have been too severe and most of it was remitted: B.P.P. Vol. 5, second diary of 1724, p. 33.

[4] The Vereadors corresponded to Village-officers and were a survival from the Portuguese time: thus the Vereadors of the city of Bassein were among the signatories to the Deed under which Humphrey Cooke obtained possession of the Island. As to the origin of the name see Da Cunha, *The Origin of Bombay*, p. 119 and Malabari, pp. 465, 6.

[5] Consltn. of 27 March 1707, B.P.P. Vol. 2, pp. 148, 9.

[6] Consltn. of 24 March 1707, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 144.

continued to hold it at any rate up to 1714, [1] and again in 1719-20 up to the time of his trial. [2]

But Rama, as befitted one with a surname (Kamati) that primarily meant "Revenue-farmer," [3] did not confine himself to the Tobacco business. In 1706, for instance, he also farmed the Customs of Bombay and Mahim in partnership with Mr. John Vandnuren, the Postmaster.[4] No one else presumed to bid against him, and he managed to get certain Ferry rights included, although these had already been separately leased. [5] Sir Nicholas Waite gave voice to his suspicions in the discussion about it as follows:—

> "(It) is very plain to me as (it) has bin (for) Months past (that there are) untoward Combinations in wrong and prejudice to the Co. in their Revenues in Generall, which as (I have) often declared I have and shall acquiesce unto (only) till the Court of Managers' *fixt Establishment so* variously reported shall come out of England to Bombay."

This last sentence had reference to the reduced establishment of the Co.'s covenanted servants in Bombay, which then numbered only six, including the two Members of Council. [6]

[1] Consltn. of 24 March 1708, B.P.P. Vol. 3; consltns. of 21 March 1709, 15 March 1711, 14 March 1712 and 17 March 1713 in B.P.P. Vol. 4. The record of Consltns. for 1714 is missing.

[2] Consltn. of 5 Feb. 1719, B.P.P. Vol. 4; see also the mention of his Tobacco Farm in Consltn. of 20 Feb. 1720, Campbell, Vol. 1, p. 144, and Malabari, p. 331. It was evidently a profitable business: thus the profit in 1706-7, when the farm was managed for the Co., is shown as Xs. 22,323 (Consltn. of 27 March 1707, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 149). The monopoly was also strictly guarded, and any tobacco unauthorisedly imported was liable to confiscation (Consltn. of 18 Feb. 1707, Vol. 2, pp. 122, 3).

[3] See Appendix to this Article.

[4] The Co. in 1688 directed the Bombay Council to "erect a post-office" at Bombay: L.B. Vol. 8, p. 550. A vernacular history of Bombay states that postal arrangements were introduced in 1694, and this reference to the Postmaster shows that they were in existence at any rate in 1706. This goes against the surmise of Edwardes, ii, 372, 3, that no special postal organization started till about the middle of the eighteenth century.

[5] Consltn. of 26 March 1706, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 189.

[6] Consltn. of 21 May 1706, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 245, and Consltn. of 19 Sept. 1706, *ib.* p. 34. Aislabie and Goodshaw were the two members of Council.

This hindered executive control of the Customs by Co.'s servants, one at Bombay and another at Mahim, as had been the rule since Aungier's time.[1] The farming of the Customs was, however, found to be prejudicial to the trade of the Island. Accordingly in March 1707 those at Mahim were put under an Englishman as before, and it was ordered that "in like manner shall Ramajee Comattee the Co.'s Shroff, for want of Co.'s servants, at present manage the Customs.....at Bombay, where every act may be better inspected then 'tis possible being done at Mahim, should the direction of the Customs be there appointed under Gentues."[2] He was at the same time put in charge of the Arrack Farms of Bombay and Mahim,[3] so that he had the running of no less than five of them,[4] in addition to his other numerous activities. The Arrack Farms were, however, probably not congenial to him, and his connection with them ceased after 1708-9.[5]

On the other hand Rama evidently liked the authority and profit that he derived from control of the Customs, and in August 1717 he persuaded President Boone and his Council to let him farm them again, by offering 5,000 Rs. over what they had brought in the previous year.[6] The question was fully debated and the reasons for this step are given at length; but presumably its continuance was not considered desirable, as at the end of the year the Co.'s servants again took over the Customs.[7] The position of "Customer"—as the Customs-officer was then styled—was one of some dignity; and on the day that Rama took over the office he invited Boone and his Council to a dinner at the Customs House, where the President presented him with a horse and a *surpaw* "for his greater credit and incouragement."[8] This was an

1 Thus the two "Customers" or Customs-officers of Bombay and Mahim had to preside over the two Benches of Justices under Aungier's orders of 2nd Feb. 1670: F.R. Surat Vol. 3, pp. 39, 41, and Malabari, pp. 146, 7.

2 Consltn. of 24 March 1707, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 144.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Viz.* Tobacco, Bombay Customs, Bombay and Mahim Arrack, and Butcher's Island.

5 Consltns. of 24 March 1708 and 21 March 1709, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

6 Consltns. of 9 August & 12 August 1717, B.P.P. Vol. 4, pp. 124-6.

7 Consltn. of 31 July 1718, B.P.P. Vol. 4, p. 114.

8 Consltns. of 12 Aug. & 16 Aug. 1717, B.P.P. Vol. 4, pp. 126, 9.

advance on the "six yards of fine scarlett," which were given him when he farmed the Customs in 1706.[1]

In addition to all this work Rama had charge of the Co.'s coining operations as Mint-Master at the Treasury. Thus we read of "Pillar Dollars"[2] being delivered to him in 1706 to be melted and made into Moghul rupees.[3] In 1712 he coins copper *Duccanees*"[4] "as usual," and in *budgerooks*.[5] In 1719 he is consulted as to the issue of *abasses*[6] by the Treasury.[7] The "Treasury of Rama Comatta" was in fact a recognised part of it;[8] and Secretary Waters,[9] who was charged with breach of trust in his administration of Rama Kamati's estate, referred in his defence to "the Treasury Mint &c., where he (Rama) and his son Baboo[10] presided, one as Head Mintmaster and the other as Chief Treasury Shroff until the very time his troubles commenced."[11] This shows that Rama managed to keep up a close connection with

1 Consltn. of 25 April 1700, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 217.

2 These were Spanish dollars, bearing the figure of the pillars of Hercules.

3 Consltn. of 14 Feb. 1706, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 135.

4 These presumably derived their name from the Deccan, *i.e.*, the Table-land between the Eastern & the Western Ghauts, where they were coined. The name was sometimes spelt *Dugony*, *cf.* Stracheys, Keigwin's Rebellion, p. 32.

5 Consltns. of 21 March & 3 May 1712, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

The budgerook (Portuguese, bazarucco) was a coin of a low denomination and varying metal, see Yule's *Hobson-Jobson* (1903) p. 121.

6 These were Persian coins, so named after the Shaha Abbas I (1587-1629) and Abbas II (1642-1666) *cf.* R.S. Poole, *coins of the Shahs of Persia*, pp. 21 and 26.

7 Consltn. of 16 March 1719, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

8 It is thus mentioned in an account of 3 July 1712 as to the coining of Duccanees in B.P.P. Vol. 4.

9 He was Chief in Persia, when various charges were rought against him, and was recalled to Bombay to answer them (Consltn. of 11 Oct. 1728, B.P.P. Vol. 6). They resulted in his dismissal (Consltn. of 24 Jan. 1729, B.P.P. Vol. 6).

10 This was Balkrishna: *Cf.* Consltns. of 19 March 1725 and 22 Dec. 1727, B.P.P. Vol. 6, where he is referred to as "Baboo Comatee."

11 Consltn. of 17 Jan. 1729, B.P.P. Vol. 6.

the Treasury, and he was generally referred to as "the Co.'s Shroff,"[1] although he had resigned that office in 1694.

He appears indeed to have done a good deal of Shroff's and Broker's work for the Co. Thus he accepted bills for the Co.,[2] and assisted in the disposal of their damaged goods.[3] He sometimes collected fines and other dues for the Treasury,[4] and acted as a mediator in arranging payments.[5] He supplied plate for the reception of a Persian envoy.[6] He also had of course his own commercial business to attend to. The India Office records naturally show only transactions that he had with the Co. Among these we find purchases of lead,[7] iron,[8] tin[9] and sugar,[10] and permission to load 18 chests of opium on one of the Co.'s ships.[11] Judging from the fact that he owned several ships, he must have had a big business. No less than four are mentioned as belonging to him, *viz.*, the *Blessing* of about 180 tons,[12] the *Union*,[13] the *Bombay Merchant*,[14] and the *Recovery*, which he sold to the Co. for Rs. 17,000 and was reported to be "extraordinary well fitted with all manner of stores."[15] The *Union* was commanded by an English mate, supplied by the Co.[16] He also had a Ketch, which traded with Gombroom, the modern Bunder Abbas.[17]

1 *E.g.* Consltn. of 23 April 1706, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 214; Consltn. of 18 Feb. 1707, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 145; and Consltns. of 1 Oct. 1708 and 14 Oct. 1708 in B.P.P. Vol. 3.

2 Consltn. of 26 Jan. 1711, B.P.P. Vol. 4, p. 11.

3 Consltns. of 24 July & 25 July 1717, B.P.P. Vol. 4, pp. 114, 5.

4 Consltns. of 26 Aug., 2 Sept., and 14 Oct. 1708, B.P.P. Vol. 3.

5 Account as to "Cattle for the Troops," B.P.P. Vol. 4, p. 111.

6 Consltn. of 13 Dec. 1707, B.P.P. Vol. 3.

7 Consltns. of 28 Feb. 1709 & 27 Nov. 1712, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

8 Consltn. of 21 Nov. 1709, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

9 Consltn. of 17 Aug. 1713, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

10 Consltn. of 7 Oct. 1713, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

11 Consltn. of 11 Sept. 1707, B.P.P. Vol. 3.

12 Consltn. of 21 Jan. 1707, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 94.

13 *Ibid* and Consltn. of 13 Feb. 1707, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 116.

14 Consltn. of 18 March 1708, B.P.P. Vol. 2.

15 Consltn. of 9 Dec. 1712, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

16 See f.n. 13.

17 Consltn. of 20 April 1709, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

Rama was frequently consulted about agricultural matters. Thus in October 1709 he and the Matteraes [1] were ordered to survey the produce of the Co.'s Batty grounds, and on their report the cultivators were allowed an abatement of rent. [2] He took part in a similar order of abatement in October 1717. [3] In 1713 there was a scarcity of grain owing to the Portuguese having prohibited its export from their territory, and the price of batty had risen so high that several of the labouring class had forsaken their dwellings and gone into the Portuguese country. Rama reported this to the Council and got a grant of 50 morahs of rice from the Co.'s stores, for distribution to the poor inhabitants at a reduced rate. [4]

He must for some time have had regular duties of this kind, for he was one of the five Vereadors [5] of Bombay, and in that capacity was one of the signatories to an agreement of 1711, [6] by which landholders bound themselves to pay an annual tax of 15,000 Xs. in lieu of their liability to Militia service. [7] The Vereadors were periodically elected, [8] and Rama was the only Hindu among the 10 officiators at Bombay and Mahim, who are named in the agreement. The estate-owners were mostly of Portuguese origin, and this was naturally reflected in their representation.

The Vereadors had judicial duties to perform, being empowered to decide "any differences or disputes that might arise amongst the different casts of Inhabitants" residing within their jurisdiction. [9]

[1] *I.e.* the Marathi *mhataras*, elders of the community. They are frequently mentioned in conjunction with the Vereadors.

[2] Consltn. of 4 Oct. 1709, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

[3] Consltn. of 15 Oct. 1717, B.P.P. Vol. 4, p. 187.

[4] Consltn. of 14 Nov. 1713, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

[5] See f.n. 4 on p. 10.

[6] Consltns. of 28 May and 22 Nov. 1711, B.P.P. Vol. 4, pp. 54, 55, 120, 2.

[7] This was a liability of the tenure under which lands were held in Bombay from the Portuguese time, and had been strictly enforced by Aungier and his successors. The Vereadors complained that it was especially irksome during the warfare with Angria.

[8] Consltn. of 25 Feb. 1726, B.P.P. Vol. 6; *cf.* Campbell, Vol. 3, p. 422.

[9] Proclamation as to the establishment of the Court of Judicature in Feb. 1718, B.P.P. Vol. 4, p. 29.

This must have entailed a good deal of work, at any rate up to the establishment of the Court of Judicature in 1718. They then became an inferior Court, from which an appeal lay to the new Court.[1] Rama Kamati was, therefore, a Judge, as well as merchant, broker, Overseer of the Co.'s revenues, Mintmaster, &c.

Furthermore he became a member of the Court of Judicature. His name heads the list of the four Indians appointed to the Bench of ten Justices.[2] The other three were a Portuguese, a Parsee and a Mahommedan. He took his seat as a Justice accordingly at the opening of the Court, with public ceremonial, on the 25th March 1718.[3]

Rama must now have reached the acme of his career. He had an eminent position, wealth and influence. That he retained the confidence of Boone and his Council was still further shown in November 1718, when he was put in charge of all the fighting Sepoys in the warfare against Angria.[4]

This is all the more remarkable in view of the disparagement that the Court of Managers in London had thrown on his employment in 1715. In their Instructions to Boone, as Governor-designate,[5] they directed Boone to scrutinise the sale of a warehouse to him for 500 Xs. "for we are told he is a favourite."[6] The continuous letting of the Tobacco Farm to him, and of the Arrack Farm to one Pasquel Barrett, also came in for condemnation,[7] "We are told" they said "these have so much power in the Island that nobody else dare bid"—a statement that receives support from the Consultation entries of 1706 and other years that have been cited. They again evidently referred to him among others, when they remarked:—"But what most prevents the flourishing Estate of Bombay is, we are assured, that arbitrary way of late

1 *Ibid.*

2 Consltns. of 31 Aug. 1717 and 4 Feb. 1718, B.P.P. Vol. 4, pp. 149 and 23; also Deed of Constitution of the Court, *ib.* p. 27.

3 Consltn. of 25 March 1718, B.P.P.P. Vol. 4, p. 53.

4 Article 6 of the indictment against him, Campbell, Vol. I, p. 146 and Malabari, p. 333.

5 L. B. Vol. 15, p. 582.

6 *Ib.* para. 61.

7 *Ib.* para. 77.

years used of oppressing the People and cramping trade. None can buy or sell at least with freedom but such as are favourites. The rest are secretly or openly opposed, and the Inhabitants must not dare to complain, because they cant be relieved. This must be remedyed."[1] In their despatch of the same date to Bombay they commented on the delivery of copper and tin to Rama for coining, and prohibited his being allowed "the liberty of the Co.'s Coynage."[2] It says a good deal for Rama's personality and ability that, in spite of all this censure, he should have gained Boone's confidence and favour as he did. Boone was undoubtedly an able Governor, who would not easily be taken in by mere appearances, however specious.

Rama's long experience and abilities had in fact made him almost indispensable to the administration of Bombay. Thus Governor Phipps and his Council, after Rama's trial and sentence to life imprisonment, wrote to the Co., in favour of Dolba Bandari as being "*now Rama Commatee is gone* the only person that thoroughly understands the Constitution of the General Posts on the Island and the Interest thereof with regard to our Neighbours."[3] This reveals that the diplomatic must be added to the other departments, in which Rama rendered useful service to the Administration. His astuteness and high caste would no doubt make him a valuable negotiator.

The records show that he used to correspond with Angria and give information thus obtained to the Council.[4] In June 1718 a Proclamation was issued, "forbidding all Persons that live under the Protection of the Rt. Hon. Co. to have any dealings with or take Passes from Cannojee Angria on pain of being esteemed Aiders and Assisters of our Enemys and Prosecuted accordingly."[5] Information that, in breach of this proclamation and his loyalty,

[1] *Ib.* para. 71.

[2] F. R. Misc. 7A, p. 93; Despatch of 5 April 1715, para. 104.

[3] Bombay Letters Received, Vol. 1, para. 23 of the letter; *cf.* Consultn. of 10 Aug. 1722, B.P.P. Vol. 5.

[4] *E.g.* Consultation of 3 Oct. 1717, B.P.P. Vol. 4, p. 165, and Consultn. of 14 Jan. 1719, B.P.P. Vol. 4, mention letters from Angria to Rama.

[5] Consltn. of 9 June 1718, B.P.P. Vol. 4, p. 92, and Consltn. of 17 June 1718, *ib.* pp. 95, 6.

Rama was carrying on treacherous correspondence and illicit trade with Angria reached Boone, and in February 1720 the storm broke. On the 26th of that month the Council ordered a formal indictment to be prepared, with a view to his trial by the Governor and Council,[1] that being the principal Court on the Island, to which appeals lay from the Court of Judicature.[2] The charges mainly centred round two letters alleged to have been written at his orders to Angria and to bear his seal. In one of these he advised Angria of an intended attack on the Island of Kennery; and in the second he sent him an intercepted letter from the Portuguese General of the North to Boone containing important information. In the same letter Rama suggested a night attack on the Island, with a view to the capture of the Governor, who was without any guard except "his own chamber servants." There were other charges of a treasonable, though less serious nature. He was convicted on April 11th, 1720, and the Board's sentence was that "his person be confined to prison during life and his estate forfeited to the Co."[3] Presumably he remained in this confinement until his death, which appears to have taken place between the 31st July of 1725 and 1726,[4] and not in 1728, as has been generally supposed.[5]

It is outside the purview of this article to discuss whether Rama's conviction was justified; nor can any one now reasonably expect to arrive at a safe conclusion on this point. There was, however, certainly evidence which, if believed, justified the verdict.[6]

[1] Campbell, Vol. 1, p. 144; Malabari, pp. 334, 5.

[2] Proclamation as to constitution of Court of Judicature, B.P.P. Vol. 4, p. 20.

[3] Campbell, Vol. 1, pp. 135, 148; Malabari, pp. 334, 5, 341.

[4] Thus the Bombay Journal for 1725, p. 144, shows a debt due from Rama Comatee, under date 31 July 1725, whereas the next year's Journal, p. 167, shows the same debt on 31 July 1726 as due from "Rama Comatee deceased."

[5] It is for instance so stated in the account of Rama Kamati taken from the *Bombay Gazette*, which is reproduced by Malabari, p. 345. The statement may be based on the date of the petition of Rama's son Durga, which was in 1728.

[6] Thus Rama's Secretary Govindji admitted writing at any rate one of the incriminating letters to Angria under Rama's orders, and the seal attached to it was sworn to be his: Malabari, pp. 341, 349. I gather the same applies to the other incriminating letter.

There can also be no doubt that Boone was firmly convinced of his guilt.[1] Boone's use of thumbscrews in an examination of one of the witnesses, *viz.*, Govindji who was Rama's secretary, was a highly reprehensible act, done without the knowledge and consent of his Council; but this torture was used not to extract evidence against Rama, but on a side-issue whether he (Govindji) had been illicitly corresponding with friends outside his prison.[2] It may on the other hand have influenced evidence given against Rama, who probably had many enemies. The main question is whether the two letters produced at the trial were genuine, or had been fabricated, as alleged by Rama.[3] On this point Boone had some correspondence with the Portuguese Captain of the North,[1] which is of interest. On the 12th of May 1720 the latter wrote to Boone with reference to one Antonio Felloe imprisoned for "his infamous practice" in making a false accusation against Rama Kamati. He goes on to say—"His handwriting and the signing of his name show your Honour the falsity of his accusation against Rama Kamati, it being him alone that seeks Kamati's ruin. I have also the goldsmith that falsified the seal, bribed or induced. . . . . by some other means to do it by those who wished to satiate their revenge. . . . . What I have signified to your Honour I can prove from authentic papers. . . . . " Boone in his reply of 23rd May expostulates that he had been misinformed, "and Kamati must indeed hath had both artful and

[1] See his letter of 23rd May to the Portuguese Captain of the North, cited below.

[2] See *Bombay Quarterly Review*, (1850) Vol. 3, p. 50, and Malabari, p. 339. Edwardes, *Gazetteer of Bombay City*, Vol. 2, p. 94, and *Rise of Bombay*, p. 155, cite Anderson's remarks in the Review article as if the letter about which Govindji was questioned under torture was the one alleged to have been written by Rama to Angria and referred to in the second charge against him, whereas the letter in question was one alleged to have been addressed to Govindji and surreptitiously brought into the prison. At any rate that would be the natural impression conveyed to a reader unacquainted with the actual facts.

[3] Thus in the abstract of his answer to the Indictment he concludes with saying that it is easy for those who can forge letters to make a false seal also, Campbell, Vol. 1, p. 147.

potent friends to induce your Honour to a contrary belief. The circumstances of the seal and Captain Felloe's information are but a small part of his charge. I had good reason to be offended with his conduct and to cause an enquiry thereof to be laid before me and upon manifest proofs passed a sentence, which I am convinced the offender himself thinks mild and much less than his demerit."

Boone's opinion that the sentence was a lenient one was not shared by the Government that succeeded his and recorded the view that "Though the then President and Council might act consistently with what appeared to them, yet from the information of our people it is looked upon by the generality of the inhabitants to have been a rigorous measure." [1] On the other hand, it may fairly be said that, if Rama was guilty of the treachery charged against him, he was lucky to escape the death-penalty that ordinarily awaits the spy who is caught out in time of warfare. As the Co. expressed it in their despatch of 26th April 1721, "Such Domestick Treachery is worse than any other because least to be suspected and gives the greatest Encouragement to an Enemy to continue hostilitys." [2]

Twenty-three years later the Co. reversed the conviction, with the following remarks: [3]

> "105. We had this year presented to us by means of Mr. Laurence Parker and Mr. William Henry Draper [4] Authentick Copys of the Memorials of the late unhappy Rama Comattee and Govindjee his Secretary.
>
> 106. We took the same into consideration and We send you herewith our Unanimous Opinion thereupon, grounded on the evidence of the aforesaid Gentlemen and Mr. John Braddyll who voluntarily appeared before

[1] *Bombay Quarterly Review*, (1856) Vol. 3, p. 52. I have not myself come across this passage.

[2] L. B. Vol. 18, pp. 608, 9.

[3] L. B. Vol. 25, p. 682, despatch of 5 March 1743.

[4] He was a covenanted servant of the Co., who was the first Mayor of Bombay and so presided over the Mayor's Court, when it was initiated in Feb. 1728: Consltn. of 23 Jan. 1728, B.P.P. Vol. 6, p. 22.

us, together with the Opinions of Governour Phipps and Mr. Courtney.[1]

107. And being further informed that the said Rama Comattee might suffer in the valuation of that part of his Estate, which was confiscated for the Payment of his Debt to Us, which undervaluation might amount to Four thousand Rupees, We do hereby order that sum be paid to his Heirs.[2]

108. As we can at this Distance of time get no legal Proof concerning any other parts of his Estate, and as we would prevent vexatious Suits that may be carried on out of Revenge, We can only recommend it to you to give us an Account of any Information you may receive of that kind, and how it came to the present Possessors, that we may give out Judgment and Orders thereupon.

109. But if any of those who Counterfeited the Seal, or those who were partys to that Forgery can be Discovered, they ought to be prosecuted with the utmost Rigour as unworthy of living under our Protection, of which Forgery and the Means used to effect it, Mr. Braddyll assures us you may get a perfect Information from the Portugueze."[3]

Copies of the report of the Court Committee on this matter were sent out to Bombay,[4] but are not now forthcoming. Nor have I come across any other reference to the Memorials of Rama and Govindji that are mentioned. It is clear, however, that Parker and Braddyll had a good deal to do with this tardy acquittal, and their opinions must have had great weight with the Court of Directors. Both of them had been members of Boone's Council at the time of Rama's trial, and could therefore speak with some authority.

[1] He was a Member of Council and also a Justice of the Court of Judicature at Bombay for several years. He was its Chief Justice from Feb. 1722 to Oct. 1723.

[2] Rama's son Durga was accordingly paid this sum on 30 Dec. 1723, B.P.P. Vol. 13, pp. 362, 5.

[3] This was no doubt based on the allegations of the Portuguese Captain of the North, which have already been cited.

[4] L.B. Vol. 25, pp. 690, 1.

Parker absented himself from the trial, rightly disapproving of the use of torture by Boone.[1] He was, therefore, in a stronger position than Braddyll, who was a party to Rama's conviction and sentence. The latter's excuse for this change of opinion was doubtless the same as that which he put foward in regard to the similar conviction of Dolba Bandari for complicity in Rama's crime.[2] The record of a Consultation in 1724 about the proposed remission of the fine imposed upon him for this complicity states :—[3]

> "Mr. John Braddyll, a member of the then Council when the Fine of Rs. 6,000 was laid on him in Mr. Boone's time, is desired to give his opinion candidly how far in his Judgment the said Dolba Bandari was deserving thereof, to which he declares that two Evidences appearing at that time against Dolba Bandari for his keeping a criminal correspondence with Angria he could not avoid consenting to Fine him as aforesaid, but he was afterwards made sensible said Evidence had been practised with and tortured to declare what they did against him and as it does now appear to him does think he was Fined without any Manner of Reasons."

His explanation is not a convincing one, for he was aware of Boone's use of torture on Govindji before the conviction of Rama and the trial of Dolba ;[4] only one of the two material witnesses was tortured, not both ; and the torture was applied not in connection with the evidence against Rama or Dolba, but on a different point. On the other hand the allegations of the Portuguese official no doubt came to his knowledge only after the two trials were over.

Both Parker and Braddyll were dismissed by Boone from the

[1] This seems to have set Boone against Parker. For an account of the charges against him and his trial see Malabari, pp. 291-327.

[2] For his trial &c., see Malabari, pp. 345-351.

[3] Consltn. of 18 Feb. 1724, B.P.P. Vol. 5, p. 33.

[4] It was disclosed on 27 March 1720, whereas the conviction of Rama was on April 11th, and that of Dolba on May 14th : Malabari, pp. 338, 341 & 350.

Co.'s service, [1] and forcibly deported from Bombay. [2] This would naturally colour their views against that held by Boone, who (if then alive) was not consulted by the Court of Directors. The others who gave their evidence or opinions to them had no first-hand knowledge of the matter; and the allegations of the Portuguese Captain of the North do not appear to have ever been tested. The acquittal cannot, therefore, be said to be based on satisfactory materials: it was founded on surmise rather than on any legal evidence. The question of Rama's guilt or innocence remains, therefore, unsettled; and it cannot properly be assumed (as has been done)[3] that Rama's conviction was obtained by false evidence.

The acquittal came too late to be of any benefit to Rama Kamati in his life-time, though his only surviving son Durga got Rs. 4,000 out of it. Durga petitioned the Bombay Council in 1728 for relief, saying that he and his family were in a starving condition. [4] No material help seems, however, to have been given him, and an attempt to recover outstanding debts due to Rama Kamati's estate was not very successful. The main outcome of his petition was the discovery that Thomas Waters, when Secretary, had received sums from various debtors in 1721, for which he had not duly accounted. [5] As he was ordered to pay these up, it is to be hoped that Durga ultimately benefitted.

The Council had not, however, entirely overlooked the claim of Rama's family to compassion. His son Balkrishna, who was

[1] Parker in May 1720 (Malabari, p. 323) and Braddyll on 4 April 1721, see Consltn. of that date, B.P.P. Vol. 5. Their dismissal was disapproved of by the Co. in despatch of 24 March 1722, para. 82, L.B. Vol. 18, p. 249. They were restored to Council, but only Braddyll took his seat again on 23 Jan. 1723; Consltn. of that date in B.P.P. Vol. 5.

[2] Consltn. of 19 April 1721 & 20 April 1721 in B. P. P. Vol. 5.

[3] *Bombay Quarterly Review*, (1856) Vol. 3, p. 52; Malabari, p. 344; Douglas, Vol. 1, p. 95; Edwardes, *Rise of Bombay*, p. 155, In *Gazetteer of Bombay City*, Vol. 2, p. 94, Edwardes is more cautious and merely says "there is some ground for holding that the documentary evidence against Rama Kamati may have been forged."

[4] Consltn. of 21 June 1728, B.P.P. Vol. 6, p. 130.

[5] Consltn. of 23 Aug. 1728, B.P.P. Vol. 6, pp. 157-160; and Consultns. of 17 Jan. and 24 Jan. 1729, B.P.P. Vol. 6.

employed in the Treasury at the time of Rama's getting into trouble,[1] was subsequently made Overseer of the Co.'s Oarts or Gardens. He at any rate held this position in 1723-24;[2] and as he had probably assisted his father in the management of the Co.'s lands, he would have been a natural successor. The Tobacco Farm was also put under his management for the year 1725.[3] He died in 1727, leaving a widow;[4] and this may have conduced to his brother Durga's financial straits in 1728.

The above gives the main facts revealed by the records in the India Office regarding Rama Kamati's connection with the Co., though it could no doubt be supplemented by further research.[5] As to his personal appearance the records unfortunately throw no light. We have, however, some material for forming an estimate of his character. Let us enumerate the good points:—*Clever*—he was selected in his youth as "an understanding and able Shroff," and his successful career supplies ample evidence of his intelligence and abilities in many directions. *Honest* and *reliable*—In 1687 his punctuality in payments was commended, and Bartholomew Harris in 1690 referred to him as "honest Ramajee Comattee, an old trusty servant of the Rt. Hon. Co." *Industrious* and *energetic*—indeed one wonders how he found time for all his manifold duties and business. *Devout*—he built several Hindu temples, including the famous one at Walkeshwar in about 1715;[6] in the same year he attended the opening service of the Cathedral, an invitation that was a compliment to his personality and position[7]. *Courageous*—his services during the Sidhi invasion and his being put in charge of all the fighting Sepoys in 1718 clearly point to this. On the other hand he may have been *ostentatious*—thus his nephew Narayen in a petition of 1728[8] complained that Rama

1 See f. n. 9 on p. 15.

2 Consltn. of 10 July 1724, B.P.P. Vol. 5, p. 92; and Consltn. of 4 Sept. 1724, *ib.* p. 119.

3 Consltns. of 19 March and 4 June 1725, B.P.P. Vol. 6.

4 Consltn. of 22 Dec. 1727, B.P.P. Vol. 6.

5 I have not attempted to extract all the information available.

6 Edwardes, Vol. 3, p. 361 and f.n. 2; Douglas, Vol. 1, p. 95.

7 *Ibid.*

8 Consltn. of 23 Aug. 1728, B.P.P. Vol. 6, p. 159.

as their guardian after his father's death in 1702, married him, his brother and his sister "with such pomp and extravagance as was noways suitable to their circumstances and was done purely to aggrandize himself and raise his own credit and reputation," with the result that he found himself, when he came of age in 1715, charged with Rs. 14,000 on account of these weddings, nearly three times the value of his whole estate.[1]

As to his alleged *treachery*, his conviction was upset and we can hope the charge was untrue, especially as he had served with commendable loyalty in the time of the Sidhi's invasion.

His name deserves to be remembered for his prior history and achievements, and not only for his tragic fall from greatness, which in some respects resembled that of Cardinal Wolsey—

"And when he falls, he falls like Lucifer,
Never to hope again."[2]

But, to apply the words Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Wolsey after his fall, let us not dwell on this alone—let us rather—

"Say, Rama, that once trod the ways of glory,
And sounded all the depths and shoals of honour!"[3]

[1] On the other hand Rama put him in possession of his estate without insisting on payment of this sum, and extravagance on weddings has always been common in India.

[2] Shakespeare, King Henry VIII, Act iii, Sc. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*

APPENDIX.

Rama's surname, "Kamati," has been the subject of discussion. Edwardes says[1] it "was probably *Kamat*, to which old documents have affixed a superfluous "i"." But against this theory is the remarkable uniformity with which an extra syllable, whether it be "a", "e" or "in," appears in the spelling of the name. It is difficult to understand why this should be so, if it was represented by no corresponding sound in its usual pronunciation. Nor is there anything to support the variance of "Kamath", which appears in the note about Rama (written by the Hon. Sorabjee S. Bengallee, C.I.E.) on p. 95 of Douglas' *Bombay and Western India*, Vol. I. I sought the assistance of my friend, Mr. P. S. Datar, Translator in the Bombay High Court, to try and clear up this question; and at his instance Mr. K. M. Kumthekar, District Judge of Canara, has been good enough to write the attached note, which seems to me to be conclusive on the point. It may be added that, as Rama was a Brahmin, he had of course no connection with the Kamathis, who belong to the Bania class and who came to Bombay from H. H. the Nizam's Dominions towards the end of the eighteenth century.[2] According to Mr. S. S. Bengallee, Rama's ancestors came originally to Bombay from Goa in the time of the Portuguese, and this supports Mr. Kumthekar's reasoning in his note which follows.

The surname कामत is of professional origin, from original Kanarese कामता the office of revenue farming (of some grade), whence Kamati (कामति) holder of the office. *Cf.* कुलक्करणि कुलकर्णी

Shenvis, *alias* Goud Saraswat Brahmins of Bombay island, in early British times must have been descendants of camp followers of their Portuguese Predecessors, originally from Goa.

Hence their mother tongue Konkani.

In old Konkani, which was the mother tongue of Bombay Shenvis, the word was *Kamat* or *Kamati* in singular, the final "i" being nasalised in plural.

Even now the said surname is *Kamat* in North Kanara and Bombay Presidency generally, but is also taken and written as *Kamati* in a large number of cases in South Kanara and other southern parts of the Madras Presidency.

We of the Bombay Presidency also, even now, in Konkani would call a Kamat as Kamati in vocative, *e.g.* अरे कामति which would be कामतीनो in honorific plural.

Thus both the "i" and the nasal at the end of the surname are explained.

[1] Edwardes, Vol. 2, p. 93, f.n. 2.

[2] Edwardes, Vol. 1, p. 44. The locality Kamathipura derives its name from them.

There can be, therefore, very little doubt that " Comattee " or " Comotin " are the *Portuguese or Goanese forms of* " Kamati". "क" is usually spelt in Goa by " C ", *e.g.* काकुलो=Caculo ; काणकोण=Canacona ; and the " o " for आ or अ is due to Portuguese pronunciation, which is very familiar to our ears in Goa.

Therefore कामति-कॅमती or कॉमॉती Comattee or Comotin.

Even now in Goa the surname is spelt with final " in " or " im ".

Hence the observation of Edwardes that the " i " at the end of the word in the old spelling may be superfluous, is not justified, as is rightly doubted in the letter in question.

That the " i " in Kamati might represent the aspirate in the surname *Kamats*, as given by the Honourable S. R. Bengallee, is also not correct.

There is no aspirate at all in the spelling of the surname as " Kamath."

That is the common modernised spelling in South Kanara and other parts of Madras Presidency, the same as the modernised form *Kamat* in Bombay Presidency. In southern parts they take " t " as representing "ट" and hence they put " th " for त. Hence " Kamath " *stands for* कामत् in Southern India fashion of transcription. For a pure Sanskrit word like तीर्थम they would write theertham. Hence there is no aspirate as such in the word written as " Kamath ", and hence the " i " in Kamati cannot be supposed to represent the aspirate.

ZU DER NEUEN MAHABHARATA-AUSGABE.

Von Hermann Weller.

Dem Uneingeweihten möchte das Tempo, in welchem die einzelnen Lieferungen des zum erstenmal kritisch bearbeiteten Mahâbhârata-Textes erscheinen, vielleicht langsam vorkommen, wer aber die ungeheuren dem Unternehmen entgegenstehenden Schwierigkeiten, die gewaltige Masse des Stoffes und seine verwickelte Schichtung bedenkt, wird mit seiner Bewunderung nicht mehr zurückhalten, wenn er nun das stattliche fünfte Heft, das die seit 1927 erschienenen anderen schon an Umfang bedeutend übertrifft, vor sich liegen sieht. Wahrlich eine gewaltige Leistung: 129 Abschnitte, und damit etwa die Hälfte des ersten Buches, haben schon jetzt ihre kritisch gerechtfertigte Textgestalt gefunden, und wenn wir den Fortgang der Arbeiten von 1927 bis 1931 verfolgen, so haben wir allen Grund anzunehmen, dass sich die weitere Arbeit noch schneller vollziehen wird und die vollständige Bewältigung des ersten Bandes nicht mehr allzulange auf sich warten lässt. Man hat den Eindruck, dass sich der Urwald der Schwierigkeiten mit jedem Schritt der wackeren Pioniere mehr und mehr lichtet, ihr Blick sich weitet und die von dem verdienten Herausgeber, V. S. Sukthankar, angewandte Methode sich bewährt.

Dieser Fortschritt drückt sich auch in der immer weitergehenden Sichtung des handschriftlichen Materials aus. Auf der einen Seite konnten neue Handschriften herangezogen werden, so vor allem von Abschnitt 26 an ein wertvolles, mit der kaschmirischen Version verwandtes Śâradâ-Manuskript, auf der anderen Seite stellte es sich heraus, dass vom dritten Abschnitt an 14 Handschriften ohne Schaden für die textkritischen Untersuchungen ausgeschieden werden konnten. Am Schluss des 90. Abschnittes (Heft 5, S. 410) berichtet der Herausgeber, dass der kritische Apparat von hier ab nur noch haus 36 Handschriften bestehe; es sind folgende: die genannte Śâradâ-Handschrift, 5 Vertreter der Kâśmîrî-, 3 der Newârî-, einer der Maithilî-, 4 der Bengâlî-, 9 der Devanâgarî-, 2 der Telugu-, 6 der Grantha- und 5 der Malayâlam-Version. Auch das zu Anfang des vierten Heftes angekündigte gekürzte Verfahren trägt wesentlich dazu bei, einen

rascheren Fortgang der Arbeit und eine klarere Übersichtlichkeit für den kritischen Apparat zu gewinnen: einfache Schreibfehler werden *übergangen oder stillschweigend verbessert, unbedeutende, z. B.* die häufigeren Verbindungspartikeln betreffende Varianten einer einzelnen Handschrift bleiben regelmässig unbeachtet, falls alle anderen Handschriften der betreffenden Lesart entgegenstehen; gegebenenfalls müssen zusammenfassende Bemerkungen, wie "einige, wenige Handschriften," die Registrierung der einzelnen Lesarten ersetzen; unwesentliche Unterschiede in der Schreibung häufiger Wörter werden gewöhnlich nicht berücksichtigt, bei Eigennamen genügt eine einmalige oder zweimalige Anführung der immer wiederkehrenden Varianten. Selbstverständlich wird jede irgendwie wichtige Einzelheit wie bisher mit der grössten Sorgfalt verzeichnet. [1]

Die Teilnahme an der Diskussion über textkritische Schwierigkeiten seitens verschiedener Gelehrten wird von dem Herausgeber begrüsst und für seine Arbeit fruchtbar gemacht. In seinen "Epic Studies," die zum erstenmal in JBBRAS, 4, 157 ff. erschienen und nun wohl als zwanglose Annalen weitergeführt werden, sucht er gegenüber den Ansichten anderer Gelehrten seine Methode und seine Textgestaltung zu verteidigen und zu rechtfertigen, und wir haben schon wiederholt Gelegenheit gehabt, hier Proben seines reichen Wissens, seines philologischen Taktes und Scharfsinns, seiner Sachlichkeit kennen zu lernen. Dabei steht er der Kritik nicht nur abwehrend gegenüber, sondern weiss ihr auch positive Werte zu entnehmen. Aus seinen Epic Studies II, S. 191 ersehe ich, dass er M. Winternitz' kritische Bemerkungen und Anregungen besonders freudig willkommen heisst. Winternitz ist ja der Vater des grossen Plans einer kritischen Gesamtausgabe des Riesenepos und verfolgt deshalb mit besonderer Aufmerksamkeit und Liebe *das Werden und Gedeihen des Werkes. Sein mit* Begeisterung aufgenommener Vortrag auf dem Oxforder Kongress hat uns in klaren und schönen Worten die Geschichte, Bedeutung

[1] Sukthankar teilt mir mit, dass ihm nun auch die sämtlichen Kollationen übergeben worden sind, welche Geheimrat Lüders und seine Schüler auf Grund von den in Europäischen Bibliotheken befindlichen Hss. angefertigt haben.

und Zielrichtung dieses einzigartigen Unternehmens gezeigt, und so muss ein Gedankenaustausch dieses Gelehrten mit Sukthankar, wie er uns z. B. in Indologica Pragensia I, 61 ff. und Epic Studies II entgegentritt, von grösstem Werte sein. Leider kann hier aus Raumgründen auf eine Erörterung der dort behandelten, Allgemeines und Einzelnes betreffenden Probleme nicht eingegangen werden. Aber zu Walter R u b e n s scharf kritisierender Arbeit "Schwierigkeiten der Textkritik des Mahābhārata" (Acta Orientalia, ediderunt Societates Orientales Batava Danica Norvegica, vol. VIII, 1930, p. 240-256) müssen wir uns eingehender äussern, da sie die Grundlagen der Sukthankar'schen Methode betrifft.

Nach Ruben sind die von der klassischen Philologie dem Textkritiker gestellten Aufgaben hier noch lange nicht erfüllt: die Heuristik, das Sammeln und Ordnen des gesammten Materials der Handschriften und Testimonien zu einem Stammbaum ist überhaupt unmöglich, die recensio, d.h. die Herstellung des Textes des Archetypus kann zuverlässig nur in einem der vier von Ruben aufgestellten Fälle typischer Konstellationen geschehen, nämlich da, wo die nördliche und die südliche Überlieferung übereinstimmen. Die emendatio, d.h. die Herstellung des Textes des Verfassers, und schliesslich die "höhere Kritik", d.h. die Scheidung der vom Verfasser benützten Quellen, diese beiden das Werk des Herausgebers eigentlich krönenden Ziele seien nicht berücksichtigt worden[1]. Auch die Handschriften werden einer scharfen Kritik unterzogen und selbst die wichtige Ś-Handschrift unterscheidet sich nach Ruben nicht von den anderen. Es sei nicht möglich, "auch nur z w e i Hss. direkt zueinander in Beziehung zu setzen" (S. 242), die testimonia erlauben keine einseitige Entscheidung zu gunsten e i n e r Rezension, ebenso problematisch sei schliesslich jedes inhaltliche Kriterium.

Das ist wahrlich ein trübes Bild der Lage, ein Bild, das geeignet wäre, weithin pessimistische Stimmungen zu erwecken. Doch so meint es Ruben wohl kaum: er sagt ausdrücklich (S. 240), er wolle die Prinzipien der formalen Philologie in m ö g l i c h s t g r e l l e r

[1] Neuerdings werden die Aufgaben der Textkritik von den klassischen Philologen etwas anders formuliert, s. Gercke-Norden, Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft, 1. Bd., 3. Aufl. 2, 1.

(von mir gesperrt) Beleuchtung vorführen, er selbst stellt fest, dass man ein Recht hat, "an einen Archetypus zu glauben und der Tradition einiges Vertrauen entgegenzubringen" (S. 243), er selbst billigt da und dort Sukthankars Verfahren, zweifelt nicht an seinem philologischen Takt und anerkennt, "dass die Forschung jetzt durch Su(kthankar) ein gediegenes Fundament bekommen hat" (S. 256). Und dass die Schwierigkeiten, mit denen die Textkritik—nicht nur des Mahābh., sondern fast der ganzen Sanskrit-Überlieferung—zu kämpfen hat, gross sind, ist ja leider eine von allen unangenehm genug empfundene Tatsache. Nun aber lese man auch Sukthankars Entgegnung, der das dritte Heft seiner Epic Studies gewidmet ist. Es darf hier als unwiderlegliches Ergebnis festgestellt werden, dass es ihm gelungen ist, die trüben Wolken zu zerstreuen. Er hat sich nicht nur höchst glücklich verteidigt, sondern auch die Eigenart des handschriftlichen Materials und der Textüberlieferung an treffenden Beispielen so klar beleuchtet, dass seine Methode nur gerechtfertigt erscheint. Er hat damit die genaue Prüfung der Textverhältnisse, deren Aufschub Ruben in der Einleitung zu seiner Arbeit tadelt, zu einem guten Teil geleistet. Wohl ist es berechtigt, dem Textkritiker die Ideale der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft vor Augen zu stellen, aber wir glauben mit Sukthankar, dass die Textkritik des Mah. ein Problem sui generis ist, dem gegenüber selbst jene altbewährten Methoden versagen müssen oder wenigstens nur zum teil angewandt werden können. Auch hier sollte zwar, wie in der klassischen Philologie, "die Herstellung eines dem Autograph (Original) möglichst nahekommenden Textes" (Gercke-Norden, Einl. in die Alt. 1.Bd., 3. Aufl. 2,1) als Aufgabe gelten. Aber wie sonderbar nehmen sich diese Worte aus, wenn sie auf unseren Gegenstand angewendet werden! Die Paradoxie beruht auf dem Begriff Original. Das Original einer Sanskritdichtung und das einer klassischen Schrift sind zwei ganz verschiedene Dinge. Von Autographen will ich überhaupt gar nicht reden. Und handelt es sich um einen klassischen Schriftsteller, etwa um Cicero, so steht vor dem Geist des Forschers eine ganz bestimmte Zeit, ein ganz bestimmter, sprachlicher, literarischer Typus, eine mehr oder weniger scharf umrissene Persönlichkeit: im indischen Fall verwirren Jahrtausende den Blick, und der rückwärts fliegende Geist findet keinen Ruhepunkt in einer klar

gezeichneten Epoche oder vor der charakteristischen Gestalt eines in greifbarer Lebendigkeit dastehenden Autors. Und vollends im Mahābhārata! Wo ist das Original einer ganzen Literatur, wo soll man es nur vermuten? Wo ist der Autor? Wenn sich aber der Begriff des Originals so verflüchtigt, kann man auch nicht von einem Archetypus reden. Auch hier dürfen wir uns nur an die scharfe Definition des Wortes halten, um sofort einzusehen, dass wir nichts damit anfangen können. Archetypus ist die Vorlage, bei der die erste Spaltung begann (Gercke-Norden, Einl. 2, 2). Da das Mah. zuerst nur mündlich verbreitet wurde, konnte es nicht ausbleiben, dass man es schon frühe verschieden rezitierte. Als es dann endlich schriftlich fixiert wurde, spiegelten schon die ersten Niederschriften die Ungleichmässigkeiten der Überlieferung wieder. Sukthankar muss diese Unsicherheit gefühlt haben, als er in seinen Epic Studies III, S. 276 das Verwandtschaftsverhältnis der verschiedenen Versionen graphisch darzustellen versuchte: die Wurzel seines Stammbaumes ist ihm nicht der Archetypus, sondern das "Ur-Mahābhārata"; dagegen bezeichnet er die vermutlichen Vorlagen der einzelnen Versionen als Archetypi, und nimmt für die Vulgata einen Zwischen-Archetypus an. Am besten ist es, den Begriff des Archetypus in der Textkritik des Mah. überhaupt beiseite zu lassen; denn er gibt nur zu Verwirrungen Anlass. Und wenn es einen Archetypur im eigentlichen Sinn je gegeben hätte, er liesse sich nicht mehr feststellen: die ganze Überlieferung des Sammelwerkes und die weitgehende Kontamination der Hss. würden es unmöglich machen. Dazu kommt, dass die Bücher (Parvan) des Grossen Epos auch einzeln überliefert wurden: eine Erscheinung, die an die Gepflogenheit erinnert, bestimmte Dramenakte einzeln aufzuführen und niederzuschreiben.

Was ist also hier möglich? Ich möchte das Ziel der mühevollen Arbeit so formulieren: kritische Darstellung der Tradition. Hieraus ergeben sich u. a. die Ausscheidung wertlosen Handschriftenmaterials und unechter Teile, d. h. offenkundiger Zusätze, ferner die Darbietung der Lesarten, und die anhangsweise Beifügung grösserer Interpolationen (Appendices). Unsere Formel schliesst aber auch die Forderung ein, bei aller Schärfe der Kritik möglichst konservativ zu verfahren. Auf diese Weise wird ein Text erarbeitet.

der die von Lüders vorgezeichnete Aufgabe erfüllt, die älteste Form des Textes herzustellen, die auf Grund des handschriftlichen Materials zu erreichen ist (Deutsche Literaturzeitung 1929, Heft 24, Sp. 1143). Das handschriftliche Material selbst aber bringt es mit sich, dass wir zu einer älteren Textform als etwa der vom fünften Jahrh. n. Ch. nicht vordringen können. Hiemit ist der Ausscheidungstätigkeit eine Grenze gesetzt. Wollte man etwa unter Berücksichtigung religionsgeschichtlicher Erscheinungen in der Zeit vom 4. Jh. vor bis zum 4. Jh. nach Chr. Ausscheidungen vornehmen, so würde man ins Uferlose geraten und schliesslich gerade das zerstören, was das Mahābhārata ist, ein in vielen Jahrhunderten zusammengewachsenes Sammelwerk und Symbol indischen Wesens. Die an das Mah. sich anschliessende Einzelforschung über bestimmte Abschnitte, Sagen, Anschauungen u.s.w. ist dadurch durchaus nicht behindert: sie muss selbstverständlich ältere und jüngere Schichten schärfer trennen.

Fragen wir uns, ob die neue Mah. Ausgabe eine kritische Darstellung der Tradition gibt, so können wir nur mit einem entschiedenen Ja antworten. Die fünfte Lieferung, die nunmehr erschienen ist, kann als ein weiterer, schlagender Beweis für die Richtigkeit und Fruchtbarkeit der Methode gelten.[1] Die nördliche Rezension hat sich hier wieder bewährt, und, was dieses Heft besonders eindrucksvoll macht, ist gerade die Behandlung der zahlreichen Interpolationen, die mit überlegener Meisterschaft durchgeführt ist. Die hier aufgenommenen Abschnitte enthalten u. a. die Früh- und Jugendgeschichte der Panduiden. Die Vulgata und besonders die südliche Rezension zeigen hier, wie Sukthankar in seiner Editorial Note 4 nachweist, unverkennbare Einschübe, wirres, sekundäres Zeug, unnötige Wiederholungen, Machwerke von Epigonen. Halten wir diese mit den auffallenden, in Editorial Note 3 besprochenen Hinzufügungen zu der Śakuntalā-Episode u.a. zusammen, so tritt der Charakter der beiden Rezensionen immer klarer zu tage. Auch in Heft 5 wird man bei vielen unter den Text gesetzten Stellen finden, dass ihre Ausscheidung nicht allein durch den handschriftlichen Befund, sondern

[1] Inzwischen ist die sechste Lieferung erschienen, die den vorausgegangenen an Exaktheit nichts nachgibt.

auch durch innere Gründe gerechtfertigt ist. So enthält 9
einfältige Aufzählung körperlicher Eigenschaften und ist s
ungeschickt. Dem śroṇībhareṇa zuliebe folgt im nächs
das metrisch falsche und späterer Literatur angehörend
bhareṇa (kavarī-bhāra im Nārada-pañcarātra!). Sehr hä
Interpolationen folgendem Handschriftenkomplex gen
D4 (marg. *sec. m.*) S: D4 hat also aus einer S-Handschrift
und zwar gedankenlos, wie u.a. die einen derben Widers
1, 92, 27 enthaltende Strophe 929* zeigt. Lehrreich für
dieses Handschriftenkomplexes ist auch der nach 1, 96, 2
festgestellte Einschub 1002*, dessen erste Zeile lautet:
kṣapayitvānyān asaṁkhyeyaparākramaḥ. Dieser Eins
identisch mit der echten Stelle 1, 96, 43: hier aber lautet
Zeile: akṣataḥ kṣapayitvārīn saṁkhye 'saṁkhyeya-vikra
dem eingeschobenen Verse fehlt also der in saṁkhye 'sa
liegende Alaṁkāra: dieser ist aber sicher echt, denn in d
bung begegnen ähnliche Schmuckmittel öfters: so in de
Reihe desselben Śloka: sutāḥ sāgaragā-sutaḥ; 94, 38
svapuraṁ gatvā *puraṁdara-puropamam*; 96, 31 balinau
bala-vikrama-śālinau; 96, 53 dharmātmā kāmātmā; 97, 5
tvaṁ śrutīr vettha vettha vedāṁś ca sarvaśaḥ; auc
vaikartanaḥ karṇaḥ karmaṇā u.s.w.

Ich habe oben dem Konservativismus das Wort
deshalb billige ich sogar die Aufnahme eines an sich ver
Textes, wofern er sich *aus dem handschriftlichen Befu*
ein Beispiel für diesen Fall scheint mir die Stelle 1, 93, 32
sein. Hier muss etwas nicht stimmen. Denn 33 wieder
nur alle Gedanken der Strophe 32, sondern teilweise
Wörter: śaśāpa—śaptavān; vasūṁs tān—vasūn aṣṭau.
verdächtig ist das in 33 wiederholte evam. Dem Zusar
nach würden 32 und die erste Zeile von 33 genügen. I
D[1] findende Vereinfachung ist oberflächlich:

evaṁ śaśāpa bhagavān vasūn aṣṭau tapodhanaḥ
mahāprabhāvo brahmarṣir devān krodhasamanvitaḥ

Hier ist der Gedanke unterschlagen, dass der Heilige sich
Askese hingab. Der Einwand, es handle sich in unseren
epische Breite, ist für diesen Abschnitt hinfällig; denn hi
die Erzählung rüstig fort.

An manchen Stellen ist gegen die handschriftliche Überlieferung Hiatus emendiert worden: so 91, 3 rājarṣayo āsan (warum nicht rājarṣaya?); 100, 2 niśīthe āgamiṣyati; 103, 4 kanyā anurūpā (Cæsur!); 107, 19 sicyamānā aṣṭhīlā abhavac—(nach aṣṭhīlā Cæsur!); 110, 20 mārge avīrya—(Cæsur!); 110, 28 yadi āvām u.s.w. Wie weit man mit diesen Verbesserungen gehen darf, ist mir nicht klar.[1] Ich glaube zwar, dass wir in Fällen wie yadi āvām sicher den alten Text vor uns haben. Aber der Fälle, wo hi, ca, api vielleicht nichts als Flickwörter zur Verdeckung eines alten Hiatus sind, gibt es viele; wo ist die Grenze, bis zu welcher wir bei der Emendation gehen dürfen? Soll man z. B. auch in 27c tyaktakāmasukhe hy āvām das Wörtchen hy streichen und mit K4 āvām lesen? Auch in 26a anye 'pi hy āśramāḥ? Bei Cæsur-Hiatus kann Nachlässigkeit Späterer vorliegen, und ab und zu mag das auch sonst der Fall sein. Einen echt vedischen, metrisch einwandfreien Hiatus haben wir in 1, 86, 1d bahūny asmin saṁprati vedayanti; hier ist nämlich bahūni asmin zu lesen!, trotzdem so anscheinend eine Silbe zu viel entsteht: solche Verse sind bekanntlich im Veda, besonders in den Upanischaden, sehr zahlreich; vgl. z. B. auch 1, 85, 2c tyajanti sadyaḥ seśvarā devasaṁghāḥ; 85, 4d bhūyaś cedānīṁ vada kiṁ te vadāmi; 85, 8c tān vai tudanti prapatataḥ prapātaṁ; 85, 16a ghrāṇena gandhaṁ jihvayātho rasaṁ ca; 85, 24a catvāri karmāṇy abhayaṁkarāṇi und b: bhayaṁ prayacchanty ayathākṛtāni; 86, 2a āhūtādhyāyī gurukarmasv acodyaḥ; und c: svādhyāyaśīlaḥ siddhyati brahmacārī u.s.w. Solche Verse entstanden besonders leicht bei einem Tonfall, wie ihn 86, 2c (das letzte Beispiel) und 85, 2c (das erste Beispiel) zeigen.

Der eine Silbe zu viel enthaltende, sicher alte Vers 1, 69, 40ab retodhāḥ putra unnayati naradeva yamakṣayāt bietet das Beispiel eines Hiatus, der durch Diphthongisierung der beiden Vokale—a und u—ausgeglichen wird.

Noch einige Kleinigkeiten. 138 Colophon, Lesart jagṛtuha? Wohl Druckfehler für jatugṛha. — 139, 2ab: Dieser Vers kehrt fast

[1] Fälle von regelrechtem Sandhi-Hiatus wie in 750* (nach 1, 74, 12)—kāma iva—gehören wohl nicht hierher. Sukth. schreibt mir (8.11.31) zu der Hiatus-Frage: "I may say that I have emended *only* when the MSS. are in wild confusion, showing that the hiatus was deleted *after* the bifurcation of the versions." Also auch hier anerkennenswerte Zurückhaltung Sukthankars!

gleich wieder in 4ab : hier dürfte ein Fall vorliegen, wo ein dreizeiliger Śloka (2) durch Streichung zu verbessern ist ; 2ab wäre also zu beseitigen. — 146, 6^{b} : pravakṣāmi, lies pravakṣyāmi ?

Nur kurz sei noch bemerkt, dass das fünfte Heft sich auch durch reichen Bilderschmuck auszeichnet : die sehr schönen farbenfrohen, in die Stimmung des Epos trefflich einführenden Illustrationen können auch dem fernstehenden einen Hauch der indischen Wunderwelt vermitteln.

Tübingen.

A LEGENDARY HISTORY OF THE BOHORAS

Dewan Bahadur Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri

is always interesting to watch the interplay of legend and ; it is the more so in the case of India, where one can pursue ermixture of Hinduism and Islam.

ere is a *risāla* in Arabic in the collection of Arabic, Persian du Manuscripts—Arabic Manuscript No. 4—of the Royal Society, Bombay Branch, called *Risālat at-tarjamat 'a li firqati Bohrat al-bāhira*.[1] Though not very valuable historical point of view, still the *Risāla* furnishes a good e of this interplay of history and legend and intermixture uism and Islam.

e subject-matter of the manuscript adds one more to the of legends already existing about the first appearance of n Gujarat for proselytising purposes. It has not been ed so far, and although it possesses little historical value, hought that its publication might place additional material ands of those interested in the subject.

Translation.

NING TRACT CONCERNING THE BRIGHT SECT OF THE DRAS.[2]

praise is due to God, for there is no Divine grace regarding ce (to Him) but by His help, and no guidance except through owing the way. May benediction and peace rest on His use, His merciful gate, the place where (divine) inspiration

See Fyzee's *Descriptive List*, pp. 7-9 of the Journal of the Bombay of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, Vol. III, Nos. 1 and 2

The *Risāla* is in Arabic, and below it in the text is a Persian g of it. The translation given here is of the Persian version of the *Risāla*. My friend, Mr. Asaf A. A. Fyzee, has gone over both the original and the Persian version and made some additions to my on, for which I am very thankful. He hopes to publish the *Risāla* iginal Arabic later on.

descended and His book, the holy and auspicious name o is Muḥammad, the Chosen One, who has been sent (with a r for all those living in Arabia and for those who live outside (meaning, the rest of the world). And may benedictio rest on the pure Imams descended from him (the Prophet) venerable and great persons and the companions who hav refuge by taking hold of his skirt and on them who have f (the path of) that Chief.

After this praise and benediction, this is an account I have composed about the circumstances of an intelligent nity known in the land of India as Bohoras (بهره), and what their affairs are, and (as to) what their origin is, and from whom they have received the gift (blessing) of (the tance of) the path of the true faith, which is Islam, and religion, which if a person follows it, he enters the house o (Paradise).[1] Thereafter I say that this community, (is) as regards its exterior and rightly guided as regards its They (its members) say their prayers regularly. They also the fast. They follow (in their actions) the Book and the p of the Sunnat. They do not disobey any injunctions of th and the Sunnat, and they do not violate even one usage its usages). They have got their own guide who shows th way, and he is appointed for inviting them always to travel the true path. He orders them and he prohibits them obey his orders and avoid what he prohibits. They do no obedience to him. They do not transgress his orders, w appears or goes away. It is for this reason that in reali guide is their headman and has authority over them. there is a proper law and constitution amongst them to w (the Chief) enforces obedience and by which he trains (k check, controls) the members of his sect. And when tha according to whose advise they do their business and to whe refer all their affairs, dies, they appoint another in his pla shows them the way like the one who showed it, and who

[1] The Persian version omits the very important words the author states ' and I am one of them, may God never make m from them ', showing that the author is a Bohora.

after their welfare like the (other) one who did so. It is possible for one from amongst his sons to be appointed in his place if he has got proper qualifications for being so appointed. But if there is any one amongst scholarly strangers, who is more learned than his sons then a learned stranger is appointed. After he (the Dā'ī) has appointed another,[1] they hasten to obey him, and become obedient to his orders, without demur or difficulty and without casting doubt on his (the appointer's) behests.

Such is their creed and such is their way. This is their religion and (this is) their custom. In former times, verily, they were following ways other than this way in Gujarat, till there came to them a person from the Yemen, a friend from amongst the friends of God, a pious man from amongst the pious men, perfect in knowledge and deed, free from faults and errors. His name was Mawlānā 'Abdul'l-lāh al-'Ābid. He was possessed of nobility and dignity. He found his way into Cambay and came across a man whose name was Kākā (uncle) Kīlā and whose wife's name was Kākī (aunt) Kīlī, in a field. Kākā Kīlā asked that person, 'Who art thou and from where hast thou come?' That person replied, 'I come from the country of the Arabs and I want to drink water. If you have got water, give it to me.' He said, 'O brother Arab, indeed there is a well here but the water is very deep and salt; who can therefore bring (you) sweet water?' That person said, 'Where is it? Take me to the well', and he took him to the well. That person then said, 'If sweet water begins to flow from this well, will you join my creed and leave yours?' He said, 'Yes, it is for you to bring faith unto me and oblige me by doing so'. Then that person shot an arrow into the well, that arrow struck a rock and the rock split. Water began to flow and it (stone) became shattered to pieces. The man saw this splitter of stones (miracle worker) and he was convinced that he should embrace Islam. That Walī then converted his wife in that very field, a well known place. Islam brought much good to the two of them, and with the Walī they endeavoured (to convert people) by way of gratitude.

Thereafter that abovementioned great man 'Abdu'l-lāh went

[1] This is the doctrine of *Naṣṣ* (نص) whereby the Da'ī appoints his successor.

inside the town and there made manifest his intellectual miracles[1] which made the whole world wonderstruck (dumbfounded) and demonstrated something to the Bohoras, by which all of them became his followers. He then visited the headman of the house of worship (temple) of that town. He presented the headman with a proposition which silenced him. He made him listen to a description of miracles. Then that headman embraced Islam, and admitted his superior knowledge. He then came into Cambay. In one of their temples there was an elephant made of iron which was suspended in the air (standing in space), without the support of a pillar. The Walī made an effort to throw down that elephant. In the overthrow of the elephant was witnessed a wonderful act (miracle). Thereupon the idol worshippers repented of their (idol) worship, and they entered the path of the worship of Allāh, possessor of greatness and power.

The King, whose name was Saddar[2] Jayasing and who was in the city (town of Cambay), was also surprised, and became very thoughtful as he saw the great miracle. Then he asked, 'Whose deed was it in respect of this elephant who was suspended in the air (standing in space) since a long time by divine power?' They said that a traveller had come from the Yemen and that he did it and that he was inviting people to join his creed, which was the religion of Islam. He eschews all gods, excepting the Highest and he orders that idols should be broken and forbids the worship of idols. The King thereupon became very angry and called out troops to capture him. The King was brought there. When the troops approached that holy man, they saw surrounding him a big moat in which a huge fire was burning in flames. They were, therefore, unable to enter the moat, nor could they by any strategem approach the holy man. They informed the King about it. He then came forward and beseeched him and said, 'Make a way for me so that I can come to you. Thereafter, if (I find that) you follow the path of God, I will become your follower'. He then gave permission and the fire cooled down, to such an extent that

[1] This refers to the Bohora belief in their intellectual superiority over the other sects.

[2] Siddharaj.

you might say that it was no fire. The King went near him and stood there and said, 'O holy man of perfection, in reality the religion that we follow is ancient, and the religion to which you invite us is modern ; we therefore have no faith in it. Is there anything to prove that your religion is true and ours false ?' He said, 'Certainly. O King, you always bow before this big idol, and greatly respect (venerate) it, but the idol does not talk to you nor hear your prayers. It neither injures nor benefits you. But I bow before such a Great God, that from him I do not hope anything but good and I am not afraid of any one else but Him. He is living. He accepts my prayers when I pray to (remember) Him and listens to my words when I utter them, and gives ear to my complaints when I complain. By the power given to me by (this) high God I have become powerful over all things, so much so that if I desire it I can order this idol to speak, and it would speak in a language which you can understand, and will state that you are not on the right path, and it will accept my greatness and give proof of the fact that my act (miracle) was performed through (the grace of) God ; so that if you agree to accept (enter) my religion I shall make your idol speak'. The King then said, 'We agree to accept your religion if you do something to show us that yours is the true religion and ours false'. The holy man then ordered the idol and the power of speech came to it and it said, 'Here is the Walī, he is the truth, and the King is false; he (the King) is not in the right path ; his idolatry is something which is vile'. Thereupon the King was astonished as well as those who were with him, his companions as well as his co-religionists. He made them see (the miracle) with their own eyes, and hear with their own ears, in order that they may accept the greatness of that holy man and witness the proofs he gave of truth, for the purpose of entering his religion and remain and be confirmed in obedience to him. The King could not but cut off his sacred thread, and under him all the idol worshippers cut off their sacred threads. It is said that the weight of the sacred threads cut off on that day was estimated to be 260 seers. Their religion was thus destroyed by him and religion of Islam was proclaimed. Truth came and falsehood disappeared. Verily falsehood deserves disappearance. Islam appeared and the signs of Islam were verified.

Many in the land as well as in the town of Cambay and several other places in Gujarat became Muslims. And Islam was propitious for the King whose name was Saddar (Siddharaj) Jayasing and he was also known as Bharmal. He was the first of those who entered Islam, and it was he who afterwards became the perfect agent and the excellent guide, Mawlānā Saifu'd-dīn.....and his excellent ancestors.....and he (Saifu'd-dīn) was their excellent ancestor and their great father. His son Mūllā (Mawlawī) Ya'qūb was the person to whom the affair was entrusted when Saifu'd-dīn died [1]. Therefore his son, Ya'qūb, was confirmed in his life time. Then a behest was received from Ya'qūb to his son, by name Mullā Isḥāq, who was brought up by him till he attained youth. Then for a time orders were received for succession amongst the sons of those who were near him (in family relationship) and for a time for those who were far off (distant) and strangers, till the time came when [2] the affair (the leadership—office of the Dā'ī) came to our Lord and the Guardian of our affairs, the true guide in the path of Allāh, the permanent, the one who causes affairs to flow in the right path, Saiyidnā and Mawlānā Zainu'd-dīn, may God prolong his life till the day of judgment! Now he is at present the leader of our affairs and those who are with us rely upon him and we refer to him in matters concerning our faith.

The appearance of Islam in the province of Gujarat at the hands of the said 'Abdu'l-lāh,[3] possessor of good actions and shining miracles and knowledge of dreaded signs which induced people.....contrary to the practice of Dā'īs took place in the auspicious A.H. 460. His place of abode was in the town of Cambay. His grave is also there. It is well known and has become a place of pilgrimage. Some of the Yemenite learned men called him Lamak ibn Mālik al Ḥamādī. Now he is the source from which he sprung (?).....that is the perfectly pious, the unique scholar Hibatu' l-lāh. Mūsā from the people of Shīrāz, and this Shīrāzī derived (his knowledge) from his father, from his illustrious ancestors, until, the ultimate source reaches one

[1] This passage is corrupt and cannot be read with certainty.

[2] This whole passage from 'the affair.....to concerning our faith' is left out in the Persian version.

[3] The excellences of 'Abdu'l-lāh are omitted in the Persian version.

of the perfect companions of the Prophet, and he was Salmān, may God be well pleased with him, about whom the Prophet, (on whom may God bestow salutation and peace) had said that Salmān is one of the *Ahl-i-bayt* (People of the House). There are various high offices given to Salmān-i-Fārsī, and also greatness, specially before the Prophet, before whom none else carried such respect as he. He is one of the greatest of the companions. And 'Alī, the Chosen one, may God bestow peace on him, was asked a question about Salmān and he replied, he is one who had learnt the whole of the science, from first to last. He is a limitless ocean. He is one of us, one of the *Ahl-i-bayt*. He remains near us and his daily allowance is five lacs. All Khalīfs are his equals. He gave alms and ate food earned from work done with his own hands. He never accepted anything from any one. For residence he had built a house under the shadow of which walls and trees sought shelter (*i.e.*, he had no house, he slept under the sky). He possessed only a blanket which he spread as mattress. On one occasion when a particular community approached Salmān, while he was Commander (Governor) at Ctesiphon, and weaving baskets with his own hands, they asked him, 'For what purpose do you do this? You are a nobleman.' Then he said, 'I like that I should work with my hands for my food.' It is related from 'Ā'isha, may God show her mercy,[1] that she was to follow him. She (on whom be salutation and peace) [2] was pleading for Salmān sitting near the Prophet at night time when he left.[3] The death of Salmān took place in the time of Khalīf 'Uthmān, God reward him, at Ctesiphon in the Hijrī Year 35. About his age there is disagreement. 'Abbās, the son of Zaid, has said that the age of Salmān is 350 years.[4] It is said that Salmān had met Jesus, the son of Mary, on whom be salutations. He had read the *Taurāt*, Book of Moses and the *Injīl* (Christian Gospel).

The meaning of the word ૦ખરા (*bohra*, strictly *bohōra*) is 'merchant'. The people of Gujarat call a person who buys and

1 This shows that the *translator* is a Sunnī.

2 This is not in the Arabic, as the writer is an *Ismaili*.

3 The text is corrupt here.

4 The Arabic version is "and as for two hundred and fifty, there is no doubt".

sells, a *bohāra* (بوهار). It is said, that concerning this, there is another opinion. But this (explanation) is the most manifest and the best known.

When it (my narrative) has reached this stage, I close this narrative, called the illuminated narrative of the brilliant community of Bohoras, with praise to the highest God, who possesses supreme power, and with benedictions on the Prophet Muḥammad, whose auspicious name is Muḥammad the Messenger, and may they descend on his pure family. For us God is sufficient. He is our able advocate.

Finished on the 7th of Ṣafaru'l-Muẓaffar.

A.H. 1265 (A.D. 1849)

Scribe: Munshī Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn Ārā'ī.

'Saddar Jayasing' is the hero of this legend. He has figured in other legends also. He is no other than Siddharaj Jayasing (A.D. 1094-1143), the King of Gujarat, who was known for his tolerance of the religion of all his subjects, Parsi, Mahomedan and Hindu, and impartiality of treatment. Muḥammad 'Ūfī (A.D. 1211) in his *Jāmi'u'l-Ḥikāyāt* gives the story of a poor Musalman preacher of Cambay whose mosque the Hindus had instigated the fire worshippers [1] of the place to destroy complaining to Siddharaj, who left his capital on a swift camel, alone, with a view to make personal inquiries, and after being satisfied that the Hindus were in the wrong, getting the mosque rebuilt at their expense after punishing their chief men.[2]

Siddharaj lived in his capital city of Anhilwad and not at Cambay, though the text of the legend shows him as living at the latter place. A variant of the story, however, while not changing the residential city of the King, makes the missionary travel to

[1] Elliott and Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 188. 'Ufi calls them ترسا, which would ordinarily mean Christians, but the word is used as well for fire worshippers. See also *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 512.

[2] Siddharaj and other Hindu Kings of Gujarat treated those early preachers with great kindness. This perhaps induced them to settle in Gujarat, chiefly in trading centres and make converts. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 26.

the capital, and it was there that the army sent to capture him encountered a wall of fire.[1]

Mr. Fyzee in his *Descriptive List* states that the author of this document is one Ḥājī Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn Ārā'ī, himself a Bohora, but on close examination it appears that the *Risāla* is anonymous. He is merely the scribe who has also copied out (in A.H. 1265) the *Mirāt-e-Sikandarī*[2] for that well known Oriental Scholar A. K. Forbes, when he was the Judge at Ahmedabad. The account of the conversion of the Bohoras given by him agrees in very few particulars with that given by the author of *Mirāt-e-Aḥmadī* in his *Khātima*. The *Khātima* is translated under the title of '*Supplement*' into English by Syed Nawab Ali, M.A., and C. N. Seddon, Esq., I.C.S. (Retd.), in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XLIII. The account appears at pp. 108-109 of that volume.[3] But as the rendering is 'free and in parts condensed',[4] it suffers in this particular case in accuracy; for that reason, a fresh translation is given below.[5]

THE SECTION OF MUSALMANS CALLED BOHORAS.

Many of them are engaged in trade, and in every city and province of India, Arabia or Persia wherever there is trade to be pursued, this community has gone and settled, but its place of origin is Gujarat. As to the cause and mode of their conversion to Islam and the reason of their being named Bohoras, various versions are current amongst the high and low (public). But the one which is worthy of belief is this, *viz.*, that their conversion to Islam was due to the guidance of a learned saint, Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī by name. His tomb is in Cambay. He is known there as Pīr Parwāz, and even now, many of the smaller (=Shī'a) faction of the Bohoras from the surrounding parts go there for pilgrimage, with offerings. At the time when the Mullā arrived in this country

1 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 26.

2 This copy is Persian Manuscript No. 8 in the collection of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

3 In the footnote, they refer to Enthoven's *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. I, p. 197, *et seq.*, one of the best accounts in this connection.

4 *Vide* p. 13 of the Foreword.

5 Persian Text, pp. 129-31 of the *Khātima*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. L.

the port of Cambay was an extensive capital town, and the people of Gujarat ignorant of Islam. Their leader was a fire-worshipper.[1] All the people had great faith in him and were his disciples. The Mullā therefore thought out this plan, that he should first approach that saint, and pretend to be his disciple, and then with trenchant arguments, rational and revealed, drive him to the acceptance of Islam, and get him to agree with him, and then commence to show the Path to others, and convert them to Islam. With this object he passed several years in the service of the saint. He learnt their language, studied their books and acquired mastery over their science. He then gradually put the enlightened saint in possession of the truthfulness of the religion of Islam and made a convert of him. Some of the disciples followed their saint and became converts.

At last, when the minister of the Raja of the time, who was the Ruler, heard the story of the conversion of the saint to Islam, he entered his service, and elected to follow his creed and became a Mahomedan. But the saint, the minister and the other new converts kept their belief in Islam concealed, and on account of the fear of the Raja tried their best to keep it secret, till the time when according to the well-known hemistich.

Why talk of the Police Constable and the Police Superintendent ? Even the King knew of it.

The news of the minister's conversion to Islam reached the Raja. Thereupon he put himself into the position of getting information about it, and one day unawares went to the minister's house. He saw him in the attitude of bowing (رکوع) and became angry. When the minister knew the reason of the visit of the Raja, and when he perceived the anger of the King to be

[1] Nawab Ali and Seddon's rendering is a "chief" saint, *i.e.*, they read the word as گبرای and not گبرای . The latter word means a fire-worshipper. These fire-worshippers were living in Cambay, in the time of Siddharaj and were his subjects, is also plain from Ufi's account. That given in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 26, would seem to show as if the saint was a Hindu and thus support the rendering of Messrs. Nawab Ali and Seddon. I have taken the text as printed by them in No. L. The word گبرای may be translated as "Pagan". The Brahmin अग्निहोत्री who also tends fire perennially may be, it is suggested, included in it.

due to the suspicion of his offering *namāz* (prayers) and (therefore) bowing the body, and prostrating (touching the ground with his forehead),[1] grace of God favoured him and through divine inspiration he replied at once, that he was bending down and getting up in search of a serpent which he had seen in a corner of the house (room); and was making an effort to remove it; and when the Raja looked into that corner of the house, at the call of God, the Highest, he did see a serpent. He therefore believed the excuse given by the Minister, and the Raja's suspicion was removed. In the end the Raja also became a convert to Islam in his heart, but in the interests of public peace he kept his state of mind secret. When his death approached he willed that he should not be cremated like infidels but buried in accordance with the usages of the Musalmans. In short as the Mawlānā was a Shī'a all of them preferred that faith. When Patan became the capital city a large number and a great multitude of the Bohoras were living in that place.

The reason why they are called Bohoras is that in the Hindu community, even now there are many Brahmins and Banias whose surname (لقب) is *vōra*, and from generation to generation they are known and called by that surname. The body of persons that trod the high road of guidance of the teaching of Mawlānā Muḥammad Alī belonged to that section which bore this surname, or it may be that their learned saint who was first enlightened by the light of Faith (Islam) may have been a *vōra*, and therefore his followers became known by the surname of Bohoras. Other reasons which are given are weak (not worthy of credence).[2] God is the greatest knower of Truth.

1 The words in the text are افتان و خیزان falling and rising. Messrs. Nawab Ali and Seddon render them 'moving up and down', but the words immediately preceding are رکوع و سجود attitudes in a Muslim's prayer-offering which accord more with kneeling and rising than "moving up and down".

2 (*a*) For a sample of such reasons see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 24, where fanciful derivations of the word are given, one of them being Beherah, birth-place of the great Bohora missionary 'Abdu'l-lāh.

(*b*) The fact mentioned here that the saint who became a first convert to Islam belonged to the Brahmin or Bania caste lends support to the rendering of Messrs. Nawab Ali and Seddon.

The *Mirāt-e-Aḥmadī*, as the above extract shows, does not give the name of the Raja or his minister. However, the *Khātima* narrates several stories as to Siddharaj's conversion. They are as follows:

"Accounts of saints who have been buried in the city of Naharwalah (Anhilwad) or Patan.

Sayyid Muḥammad Brahman.—Sayyid Aḥmad who is known as Shaikh Jahan has stated in his book *Manāzil-ul-Awliyā*, (Resting places of Saints), which includes the account of the saints of Patan, that in the fortieth year after the commencement of the reign of Siddharaj Jayasing, Sayyid-us-Sādāt (chief of the Sayyids) Sayyid Muḥammad Brahman, after dressing in the garb of a Brahmin, entered the service of Raja Siddharaj Jayasing. He cooked his food every day and gave it to him to eat. Twenty years passed away like this. One day, it appeared to the Raja, that that man though wearing the sacred thread of a Brahmin was not a Brahmin but a Musalman. He called him in private and questioned him and said, 'You are not a Brahmin but a Musalman.' The Sayyid helplessly replied, 'Yes, I am a Musalman.' The Raja wished to throw him into fire alive, but the Sayyid at once entrusted his soul to God (gave up the ghost), and turned himself into a heap of fresh roses. The Raja called his men and ordered them to tie up the flowers in a sheet and bury them on the bank of the tank. His tomb is still existing near the Sahasra Ling Tank."

After giving an account of two other saints—Bābā Ḥājī Rajab and Shaikh Aḥmad Dehlawī, who are said to have lived in Pātan during the reign of Siddharaj Jayasing, the author of the *Mirat* makes the following general observations about him:

"Some persons say that although Sayyid Muhammad Brahman had converted Siddharaj Jayasing to Islam, he (subsequently) became an apostate and a renegade. According to another tradition it has been said that Hadrat Bābā Ḥājī Rajab who had come from Rūm, in the 75th year of the reign of Siddharaj to Pātan, in A.H. 616 and died there in A.H. 670 had converted him and taught him to repeat the *Kalma-i-Shahādat* (creed of Islam), and that (thereafter) he disappeared. Some others believe that Bābā Ḥājī Rajab killed him. However, it has not been definitely ascertained whether he was converted to Islam or killed. From

information given by some yogis, the Hindus believe that Raja Siddharaj Jayasing is still alive, and that he was neither converted to Islam nor killed, but that God the Highest made him disappear. God knows the truth but the story of his disappearance cannot be believed. Any way Siddharaj Jayasing is not 'seen by men'.

Mahomedan writers go so far as to suggest that the great Jain Ācharya Hemchandra Suri, in whom Siddharaj had great faith, had also been converted. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 26.)

Lieut. Connoly has published an article on Ujjain, a city with a considerable Bohora population, in Vol. VI of the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, where he gives the same story with some variations as derived from original Bohora sources. He says that 'Ya'qūb was the first of his sect to put his foot in India, having left Egypt and landed at Cambay: A.H. 532 (A.D. 1137). Egypt was then under the rule of the Fatimide Khalīf, Mustansir Billāh. And Sadras Singh governed the Hindu kingdom of Piran Pattan then.[1] The Guzerat chronicles, though very confused at this period, agree better with the above date for Siddha or Jayasing of which Sadras may be a corruption was King of Anhulwara in 1094.' The narrative then proceeds on lines which have some features in common with those in the manuscript. He is said to have lived with a gardener whom he converted. Kākā Kīlā is described here as a gardener, and in the manuscript as an agriculturist. Subsequently Ya'qūb is said to have converted "the son of a Brahmin". In the manuscript, the Dā'ī is represented to have converted the head of a Hindu Temple, who must have been a Brahmin. The story then proceeds to narrate the conversion of the King (Sadras) and his two Dewans, the brothers 'Tārmall and Bārmall' 'who used frequently to visit a temple at Cambay, where an iron elephant was suspended in the air by a magnet.

1 Chronologically this does not seem correct, as this Khalīf died in A.H. 487 (A.D. 1095) and his grandson reigned from A.H. 524-544 (A.D. 1129 to 1149). Siddharaj reigned from A.D. 1094 to 1143. If we take A.H. 460 (A.D. 1067) to be the correct year of the first appearance of the missionary whatever his name was, then it could not be in the reign of Siddharaj. If we take A.H. 532 to be the year then it becomes possible.

The manuscript refers only to the fact of the suspension of the elephant, but not to the contrivance (*viz.*, "a magnet" as stated here), thus intensifying the miraculous powers of the worker. 'Yā'qūb removed the magnet, and was also victorious in a contest with the Brahmins'. Instead of 'a contest' our author refers to the Dā'ī's challenge to the King to make the temple image speak, in which the King lost and he won. 'Sadras and his court, won by such a succession of miracles, embraced the religion of their author.' Their example was soon followed by many others. The sect kept up an intercourse with Arabia and assumed the name of Vyuvuharees or Bohoras. [1]

Forbes' commentary on this story is that there is a strange jumble of names and events in it. "Sadras Singh" may well be Sudera Jesingh, the name by which Sidh Raj is popularly known in Guzerat, but the two dewans, Tārmall and Bārmall, (our author refers to only one of them, Bhārmall) must be the brother of Tej Pal and Wustu Pal, the ministers of Veerdhuval Waghela. Again the story of the King's conversion would apply better to Koomar Pal, or Udjye Pal, of whom such tales are elsewhere related. [2]

That Koomar Pal (A.D. 1143-74) had many Bohoras as his subjects both at Patan and Viramgam is related in Koomar Pal Charitra written about A.D. 1150, and so tolerant of religions were the two dewans, that although devoted Jains, they still built sixty-four mosques for Mahomedans. [3]

There is confusion as to the name of the first missionary, as there is confusion as to the year of his appearance, which is given either as A.H. 460 or A.H. 532. The manuscript gives the name

[1] The reason given here for their assuming this name accords with that given in the *Mirāt-e-Aḥmadī* and in the manuscript, as Vyuvuharees, mean, primarily those who keep up communication, and then traders, businessmen.

[2] *Rāsmālā* edited by Principal Rawlinson, Vol. 1, p. 328, footnote.

[3] *Koomar Pāl Charitra* written in Hindi from *Koomar Pāl Prabandh* (Sanskrit) of Jinmandangani, by Shrimad Lalit Vijay and published by the Adhyātma Jnān Prasārak Mandal, Bombay (1915), p. 15 of the Introduction. They, however, seem to have punished a wealthy Muslim trader of Cambay, by name Ṣiddīq, and attached his goods.

as 'Abdu'l-lāh ; so does the footnote on p. 108 of Messrs. Syed Nawab Ali and Seddon's translation of the *Khātima* of the *Mirāt-e-Aḥmadī*. Incidentally the footnote also gives a different version of the conversion from that given by the author of the manuscript as well as that given by the author of the *Mirāt* himself. In the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, s.v. Bohoras, we find as follows :

'Some of the Shia Bohoras claim to be descended from refugees from Arabia and Egypt but the majority are of Hindu origin, their ancestors having been converted by Ismā'īlī missionaries. The first of them is commonly stated to have been called 'Abd Allah and to have been sent from Yaman by the Imām of the Musta'li Ismā'īlī sect and to have landed in Cambay in 460 (1067) and there to have initiated an active propaganda. But other accounts give Muḥammad 'Alī whose tomb is still reverenced in Cambay, as the name of the first missionary in India (ob. 532-1137). The Chalukya dynasty of Anhilwad was then reigning over Gujarat and the Ismā'īlī missionaries seem to have been allowed by the Hindu Government to carry on their propaganda without interruption and with considerable success.'

Lieut. Connoly gives yet a third name, that of Ya'qūb.

Lieut. Connoly in his article cites a Bohora authority, so do Messrs. Syed Nawab Ali and Seddon in the footnote to p. 108 of their translation. They cite *Būstan-i-Ma'rifat* (1901) written by a Bohora in Gujarati. There is yet a third book, written also by a Bohora called *Mausim-i-Bahār*. It is as is usual with Bohora religious works, written in Arabic script but in the Gujarati language, *i.e.*, such Gujarati as is current amongst the sect. The author is Miyān Ṣāḥeb Muḥammad 'Alī Walad-e-Mullā Jiwābhā'ī and the year of compilation A.H. 1298 (A.D. 1880). It is divided into three parts, the first dealing with the history of the Prophet, the second with that of the Imams, and the third with that of the Dā'īs or missionaries. Its full name is *Mausim-i-Bahār fi Akhbār ul-Ṭāherīn ul-Akhyār*. The third part is sub-divided into five sections, Introduction, three other sections and the last or *Khātima*. The second section deals with the Dā'īs in Gujarat and the third with those at Ujjain and Surat. On p. 155 of this book one very short reference is found on this point. It is to this effect: "Some years after the year 400, a mission came from the Yemen to

India. He (Yūsuf bin Sulaimān) is the chief of that mission."[1]

This somewhat accords with what is found in Vol. IX, Part II, p. 27 of the *Bombay Gazetteer* which says that according to Bohora accounts there was at the time great want of zeal amongst Yemen people and strong faith among the people of Gujarat. This tempted the high priest, Yūsuf bin Sulaimān, to come and settle at Sidhpore. But that is said to have been about A.H. 946 (A.D. 1559).

The alleged miracle of making Hindu idols speak seems to have proved handy, as Nur Sat Sāgar (Pīr Nūru'd-dīn) is said to have converted the King of Anhilwada of his time, Bhima II (1179-1242) to Islam by performing the same miracle.[2]

[1] چار سو نی کتنا که ورس نا بعد یمن سی هند نی طرف دعوة آوي، دعوة نا آپ رب چهی،

[2] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 38 (Khojas).

METEOROLOGY IN THE ṚG-VEDA.

By Rao Saheb Mukund V. Unakar.

CHAPTER I.

PREFATORY.

Interest of the Work.—The Ṛg-Veda Saṁhitā is admittedly the oldest literary record of the Aryans. The work contains much valuable meteorological information for the Punjab area, and deductions can also be drawn from it regarding long-period climatic changes. The main interest of the present work lies in the antiquity of the data.

Sources of Information.—European scholars have expended a large amount of labour on Ṛg-Vedic studies and I have levied numerous contributions from them. My source of information has been Griffith's popular translation of the Ṛg-Veda supplemented by (1) Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, (2) Max Müller's translation of hymns to the storm Gods in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXII, (3) Max Müller's *Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. I, (4) *Bṛhaddevatā* or a descriptive list of Vedic Deities, (5) A. C. Das's *Rig Vedic Index*, (6) Wallis' *Cosmology of the Rig-Veda*, (7) Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic Index* and portions of a few other works. I have also gone over the stanzas in original Sanskrit which relate to meteorological matter and which are given in the Appendix. There is an amount of Ṛg-Vedic literature which remains to be seen. The authorities are sometimes at variance with one another and there is room for differences in interpretations.

Arrangement adopted.—I have adopted the following method in the extraction and presentation of my material. I first collected together from the Ṛg-Vedic hymns meteorological attributes of various deities. These were subsequently divided under different categories and arranged in sub-sections. It was then easy to identify the particular deity with a specific meteorological

phenomenon. The meteorological interpretations of the various deities given at the end of a section thus follow as a direct consequence of the various attributes mentioned in previous sub-sections. In these interpretations I have given scope to my own ideas and point of view.

Scope of Inquiry and Lines of further Work.—The present work is based on a study of the Ṛg-Veda only, but it is realised that for a fuller and detailed account of ancient meteorology and past climates one will have to study critically not only the Ṛg-Veda but will also have to read over the later Vedas and classical literature and interpret the whole from the fresh point of view so obtained. For very early periods, this study will also have to be supplemented by Avestic evidence which cannot be ignored in any critical study of the Ṛg-Veda.

CHAPTER II.

INTRODUCTORY.

Extent of the Ṛg-Veda.—The Ṛg-Veda Saṁhitā contains a little more than a thousand hymns or songs composed, seen or perceived by various sages in adoration of various deities. There are altogether about eleven thousand stanzas. Same ideas are repeated with variations, and monotony prevails in the hymns to a considerable extent. About 250 hymns are dedicated to Indra alone and it is surprising to see how so many variations of the same theme should be possible. These variations make the selection difficult.

Antiquity of the Ṛg-Veda.—The orthodox school regards the Ṛg-Veda as an embodiment of all knowledge and therefore eternal. Modern scholars differ as regards the period at or during which the Rig-Vedic hymns were composed. While on the one hand Macdonell (*Sanskrit Literature*) would put the chronological limits of the hymns between 1200 B.C. and 500 B.C., Tilak (*Orion* and *Arctic Home in the Vedas*) would go to 4000 B.C. or 6000 B.C. or earlier. Indeed, Das (*Rig Vedic India*) goes to geological epochs for matter contained in some hymns. All scholars agree, however, in believing that the Ṛg-Veda is the oldest literary document of

the Aryans. Internal evidence shows that the period of composition of the hymns extended over a very prolonged period and it is enough to restrict this inquiry to this historical period. Meteorological evidence regarding the probable dates of the Ṛg-Veda is discussed in Chapter IX.

Geographical Limits of the Ṛg-Veda.—From the data regarding rivers, mountains, sea and desert to be found in the Ṛg-Veda it may be safely concluded that the bulk of the hymns were composed when the Aryans occupied the tract of country roughly represented by the modern Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province with some extensions of settlements round these limits. In this connection it has been said that no distinct reference or allusion to the foreign origin of Indians is traceable either in the Ṛg-Veda or in later Sanskrit literature. The Meteorology of the Ṛg-Veda is thus the meteorology of this tract of the country (*Vide* Chapter V—6).

General Nature of Ṛg-Vedic Gods.—Vedic deities are considered as factors in the physical and moral order of the world. They are deified representatives of the phenomena or agencies of nature. Certain great cosmical functions are predicated of nearly every leading deity. The myths are metaphorical explanations of the observed natural phenomena. This material view in interpretations of deities is also adopted by a certain school of Sanskrit commentators and by European scholars generally. Another school interprets the deities as personifications of divine powers, while a third school gives greater prominence to the spiritual and metaphysical significance of the deities. These latter interpretations are irrelevant to our purpose.

Ṛg-Vedic Cosmogony.—Earth, heaven and the intermediate space is the favourite triad of the Ṛg-Veda. The intermediate space is the atmosphere which is often called the sea of air and the abode of celestial waters, and which is the seat of the principal meteorological activities. Eleven Gods are addressed as being in heaven, eleven in mid-air and eleven on earth.

Ṛg-Vedic Cosmology.—The creation of the world was regarded as a work of art or as a formal sacrifice or as a process of generation exemplified in the union of light and water at dawn and in the thunderstorm. In the last case light was the germ and the waters

were the bearers of the germ. There are three principal applications of the metaphor of parentage, *viz.*, temporal, generic and local. These ideas will be useful in the chapters that follow.

Nature of Ṛg-Vedic Data.—Ṛg-Vedic hymns were prayers for moral and material advancement and for the all important rain and floods, repeated at the sacrificial sessions where the gods were invited to attend and to partake of the oblations and the Soma juice. And yet it is not nature-worship pure and simple; the central idea is control of powers underlying natural phenomena by means of sacrifice through faith to a beneficial end. But the space actually occupied by positive prayer and sacrificial texts is limited. A large space in the hymn is covered by the description of the characteristics, activities and achievements of the deity invoked. As the principal object of prayer was rain and water, the ever-renewed warfare between the beneficial thunder-wielding god Indra and the malevolent powers of darkness and the demons of drought who withheld the rain of heaven is referred to most frequently.

It should not be supposed that European scholars have reached anything like completeness in their interpretations of these hymns. Many hymns are dark as the darkest oracle, and success on the explanation of the hymns can be attained, if ever, by labours of generations of scholars. It is for this reason that I have utilised Griffith's popular translation of the stanzas in the present work. A popular translation would to some extent eliminate the personal bias of a Vedic scholar. The hymns contain meteorological matter expressed in various ways by various sages, and many modern ideas find their happy and appropriate expression in the verses. The limits of the subject have been carefully drawn and my interpretations are mostly confirmed by those of one or other of the European scholars. I believe they are not overdone.

Meteorological Metaphors of the Ṛg-Veda.—In the Ṛg-Veda the physical elements are seldom directly named by appropriate meteorological terms. The language used is metaphorical, but the context clearly shows the meteorological meaning. Thus the atmosphere is often called the sea, being the abode of celestial waters. The waters are frequently called by such names as mothers, floods, streams, rivers, milk and so on. They are

contained in the rain-clouds which are dripping, moving and roaring and which are metaphorically termed cows or cattle, the water dropping from their udders. The big rain-cloud is a bull or a buffalo or a cask. Further these moving and lowing rain-cloud cows are spoken of as being enclosed by a large and more or less stationary mass of cloud, figuratively called a mountain or a cave or a rock or a dragon or a demon. In the mythical language rain falls when the demon is laid low and the cows released. Sometimes clouds form the ridges of the sky, and the battlemented array of autumnal clouds on the horizon are the forts or castles. Again the morning clouds connected with dawn are also cows, which term, with a further stretch of the figure, is also applied to light rays. Thus the cow, which to the Ṛg-Vedic Indian represented real wealth and was most desired, was the term applied metaphorically to other desired objects such as rain-clouds, rain-streams, rivers and light rays. Lightning is a whip or an arrow or an axe or a red apple, while thunder is the voice of heaven or the lowing of the cows or the psalm of the storm gods. Dew is honey or nourishment, and rain or water vapour is sometimes clarified butter.

CHAPTER III.

PRINCIPAL METEOROLOGICAL DEITIES.

(1) Varuṇa—The Encompassing Sky.

Connection with All-Pervading Law.—Varuṇa represents the encompassing sky, the word being derived from a root which means to cover or encompass. Dwelling in the serene heights of heaven, he is the great lord of the laws of nature or of natural order. The maintenance of the positions of the heaven and the earth, the motion of the sun in the sky and of the wind in the firmament are all regulated by his laws. He is a regulator of the months and the seasons. His peaceful sway is explained by his connection with the regularly recurring celestial phenomena, while his activity displays itself pre-eminently in the control of the most regular phenomena of nature.

Connection with Waters and Water Vapour.—Varuṇa is the king of the air and of the sea, the latter being often regarded as identical with the former and is frequently connected with the waters either of the firmament or of the earth. He presides over the rivers and the oceans and is also connected with the ærial waters. He overspreads the mighty sea of air, is clothed in a covering cloud of clarified butter. He bedews the pasturage with butter and the regions of the air with meath or sweet refreshing water vapour. The waters of the rivers are said to flow into his throat, as if it were a pipe with ample mouth.

Connection with Regular and Periodic Rains.—With Maruts and Indra, Varuṇa is also thought of as a bestower of rain. It is however implied that the action of the other gods in shedding rain is subordinate to that of Varuṇa. A hymn to Varuṇa, which is prayer for rain, conveys a calm and serene impression, altogether different from hymns to other rain gods. The rain is fraught with the mist of heaven ; it is the milk of heaven and streameth down with sweetness.

Chronological Position of Varuṇa.—It will be seen later that Varuṇa is a heritage from an older age and belongs to the Indo-Iranian period when the ancestors of the Hindus and the Parsees lived together. His streams are said to flow from days aforetime in accordance with his laws and magic power.

Meteorological Interpretation of Varuṇa.—These characteristics of Varuṇa seem to show that the God belongs primarily to that period when rains were associated with a quiet atmosphere or were at any rate less stormy and were more regular in their periodic occurrence. The characteristic metaphorical association with milk, butter, honey and sweetness would perhaps indicate experience of quiet snowfall.

(2) Maruts—Depressional Storms.

Birth and Precursors.—The generic origin of the Maruts is from Rudra, the red boar of the sky, and Pṛśni, the spotted sky. It is the vedic cosmological generation of the union of light and water referred to before. The red glow of the sky is the first germ and the cloud patches in the sky become the bearers of the

germ. The Maruts are said to have yoked spotted deer to their chariot drawn by a red deer as a leader. One cannot but call to mind the characteristic appearance of the sky, spotted with little cloud balls or patches before the approach of a disturbance. The meteorological precursors are, therefore, the red glow in the sky, the cloud patches and the brightness of the cloud patches. The Maruts are also said to have yoked the winds for coursers, and the winds are said to have engendered the Maruts from the womb of heaven. The puffs of winds are the next precursors.

Connection with Lightning and Thunder.—The Maruts are said to glow like kindled flames of fire and gleam like serpents. They are glittering with golden ornaments, ride on golden cars, armed with golden spears, swords and battle-axes. They are said to have been born of the laughing lightning, and the lightnings laugh upon the earth beneath them when they shed rain. The voice of rain clouds which the Maruts are uttering is the thunder which follows the lightning.

Connection with Winds.—The noise with which the Maruts are associated is the noise of the winds in allusion to which they are sometimes called singers chanting their psalms and singing aloud like heroes. They are said to speed with a roar over the ridges of the sky ; fierce comes the Maruts' thundering voice like that of conquerors. Loud roaring with the winds they upraise themselves, shakers of all, like gales of wind they travel.

Connection with Rain.—They drive forward the big clouds like wanderers on the way. They scatter clouds about the sky. On the steeps they pile the moving clouds. When they inundate the earth they spread forth darkness even in daytime with the water-laden rain-cloud. Through desire to rain, they come with storm of hail, roaring in onset, violent and exceeding strong. When they harness to their cars their spotted deer urging the thunderbolt, forth rush the torrents of the dark red stormy cloud and moisten like a skin the earth with water floods. They uplift the rain from the ocean and pour the torrents down ; their rain clouds are never dry. They enlarge the bounds so that the kine must walk knee-deep. They drop the offspring of the cloud, long, broad and inexhaustible. They pour from the great cask the watery cloud. They urge the roaring rivers. They set the storm

cloud free to move and rain-floods flow over desert spots. They animate and quicken even the desert.

Connection with Destruction.—They make the mountains rock and reel when with the winds they go their way like creatures drunk with wine. Like wild elephants they eat the forests up when they assume their strength among the bright red flames. Before them the shrubs fly swift as whirling wheels. They overthrow what is strong and whirl about ponderous things. The Maruts are invoked to avert their blazing shaft which smites a waving tree as when the worm consumeth it. Sometimes the lightning armed with gory teeth crunches up cattle like a well-aimed dart.

Revolving Motion.—They spring forth like spokes where none is last in order. They are carried by steeds flying on their tortuous path through mid-air. They are of one mind, having no eldest, no youngest and no middlemost amongst them. They are impetuous; of these loud roarers none is last. Like spokes of car wheels in one nave united, they raise their voice and chant their psalm as singers. With eulogies and hymns sages follow their army, troop by troop and band by band and company by company. They strew each other with their blasts, these hawks. They strive together roaring like the wind.

Motion of Translation.—Their cars move onward as they go to victory. They halt not when they travel through the air. They advance like steers in rapid motion and being of one mind they come like swans who seek their nests. Their coursers weary not when speeding on their way and rapidly they reach the end of their path. They are visible from afar. No one knows whence they sprang; they and they only know each other's birth. They have simply come from a region most remote.

Western Origin.—The sages wish that none of the rivers Rasā, Krumma (probably Kurum), Anitabhā, Kubhā (probably Kophen or Kabul), all affluents of the Indus, nor the river Indus herself, should hold the Maruts back, (*i.e.*, stop them in their motion of translation); their way should not be obstructed by the watery Sarayu (also a river in the Punjab). The Maruts are said to have Sindhu as their mother (origin) and are asked to guard Sindhu well and to succour Krivi in their need. (The Krivi are a tribe

supposed to have dwelt on the borders of the modern south-east Punjab and the north-west of the United Provinces.) The conjoint stream of the Rāvi and the Chenāb is supposed to bear the name Marudvṛddhā (increased by the Maruts) before it joined the Indus. The Maruts are said to have clothed themselves in robes of wool on the banks of the Parusṇī (Rāvi). Again the poet says "Maruts, what balm soever Sindhu (Indus) or Asiknī (Chenāb) hath, or mountains or the seas contain, ye carry on your bodies, ye who see it all; so bless us graciously therewith." Indeed the Maruts are said to abide in the mountains or dwell on the lofty mountains. The Maruts go where they have resolved to go without being kept back by the mountains as they race along. Before them the mountains bend down. They have simply come from a region most remote. Now the rivers mentioned in the foregoing description are to the west of the Punjab and the mountains through which the Maruts come can be the frontier hills. The western origin of the Maruts seems to have been known by the Ṛg-Vedic poets.

Meteorological Interpretation of the Maruts.—From constant association of the Maruts with lightning, thunder, wind and rain as well as from other traits mentioned above regarding their motions it becomes clear that the Maruts represent storm-gods or moving depressions in the Ṛg-Veda. One is strongly reminded of the phenomenon of cold front rain. Once the poet says "who knows the birth of these or who lived in Maruts' favour in days of old what time their spotted deer was yoked." Their western origin seems to show that Maruts originally represented western disturbances of the winter type. In later periods the distinction appears to have disappeared and Maruts meant depressions or disturbances of all kinds and of all seasons.

(3) Parjanya.

Description and Associations.—Parjanya is the god of rain accompanied with thunder, lightning and winds and is the generator of plants and living creatures. In several places the word means rain-cloud. He is closely connected with the phenomenon of rain-storm in which the rain cloud becomes an udder, a pail or a

water skin. Often likened to a bull, he is characteristically a shedder of rain. His activity is described in very vivid terms:—

Like a car-driver whipping on his horses
He makes the messengers of rain spring forward.
Far off resounds the roaring of the lion,
What time Parjanya fills the sky with rain-cloud.
Thunder and roar, the germ of life deposit,
Fly round us on thy chariot water laden,
Thine opened water skin draw with thee downward
And let the hollows and the heights be level.
Thou hast poured down the rain-flood, now withhold it;
Thou hast made desert places fit for travel,
Thou hast made herbs to grow for our enjoyment,
Yea! thou hast won thee praise from living creatures.
They who lay quiet for a year, the frogs,
Have lifted up their voice, the voice Parjanya has inspired;
Soon as the rain time in the year returneth
These who were heated kettles gain their freedom.

From the foregoing short description it is clear that the Parjanya rain is accompanied with thunder lightning and some wind and is what is now called thunderstorm rain occurring in summer. The god is said to change his figure as he willeth being sometimes sterile and sometimes begetting offspring, sometimes giving and sometimes not giving rain like a cow which sometimes gives and sometimes does not give milk. Sometimes rain floods flow over desert places.

After-effects of Parjanya Rain.—After Parjanya has quickened the earth with moisture the plants shoot up and food springs abundant for all living creatures. The awakening of the frogs after a year at the beginning of the rainy season conveys an exact impression of what Parjanya represents meteorologically.

Connection with Gods of European Countries.—Max Müller (*India—What can it teach us* ?) thinks that the word is akin to Perkunas, the god of thunder in Lithuanian, to Percunos in old Prussian and to Perkons in Lettish, but says that there is no trace of the word in Greek or Latin or Celtic or even Teutonic. This would seem to indicate that the phenomenon represented by the

god was more important in the Punjab than in European countries.

Meteorological Interpretation of Parjanya.—It should be inferred that Parjanya represented the first burst of the monsoon rains. In the Ṛg-Veda only three hymns are addressed to him.

(4) Indra—The Successful Fighter.

Necessity of Indra.—The general description given so far of the peaceful sway of Varuna, the stormy activity of the Maruts, and the recurring phenomenon of Parjanya would carry an impression that the Ṛg-Vedic Indians enjoyed beneficent weather conditions. But we have now to see that adverse conditions in the shape of droughts and darkness did prevail and a god had to be invoked to fight against and put an end to these adverse conditions. This god was Indra. The fact that nearly a fourth of the Ṛg-Veda is devoted to the praise of Indra would seem to show that adverse meteorological conditions did prevail and that the Ṛg-Vedic age was not wholly a golden age when weather was fine, rains were regular and everything was to be had in plenty over the Punjab.

His great Mythical Fight with the Drought Demons.—These adverse meteorological conditions were supposed to have been caused by various demons. Details about the nature of these demons will be given in a subsequent chapter but in general it may be said that they occasioned prolonged droughts, obstruction of rain streams, obstruction of rivers and obstruction of light. Often the distress caused by these demons was considerable. The pious worshipper then offered his prayers to Indra, and Indra rose to the occasion and entered upon the fray. He smote the dragon with his thunderbolt and obtained the much needed rains, floods or light. He is regarded as constantly renewing the conflict which mythically represents the constant renewal of the natural phenomenon.

The Fight against Adverse Meteorological Conditions.—The adverse meteorological conditions would take the form of an overcast sky for prolonged periods, or, in other words, an obstruction of the sky by a huge mass of dark cloud film which remained stationary for prolonged periods, or of large but detached cloud masses occasionally appearing and disappearing, or of a battlemented array of thick clouds against the horizon. These appear

to have been termed cloud mountains or cloud rocks or cloud forts. Exhilarated by Soma, armed with his thunderbolt and generally escorted by the Maruts, Indra bursts open the cloud mountains, pierces the cloud rocks, shatters the cloud forts, and obtains the much needed and desired rains, floods or light. The character of the struggle is threefold: continuous as during a prolonged cloudiness, occasional as during the production of a thunderstorm and periodic as at the end of the rainy season. As Vṛtra is the chief of the demons, the bursting of a cloud mountain appears to be the most frequent exploit. This demon Vṛtra has been described to be nothing more than the accumulation of vapour shut up in or obstructed by a cloud. Indra, with his thunderbolt or lightning influence, divides the aggregated mass and vent is given to the rain which then descends upon the Earth. This may occur during winter as well as during the monsoon period. It seems that the cleavage of a cloud rock produced a monsoon thunderstorm, and that the shattering of the cloud forts, which are often called autumnal, represents the struggle at the end of the rainy season.

Release of Rain Streams.—The primary exploit of Indra is the liberation of the rain streams from clouds which are apparently barren or unproductive. In mythical language it is the release of the cows from mountains, rocks or forts where they lie hidden or concealed by demons. Indra is thus a rain-bestower when it is most needed, and rises above the other gods in the estimation of the Ṛg-Vedic Indians.

Release of Light Beams.—With the liberation of the waters is connected the winning of light and of the sun. It will be seen later that the Ṛg-Vedic Indian was as anxious for light and the sun as he was for the rains. Winning of light was a secondary influence consequent on the release of the waters. But it was also a primary object probably during winter.

Release of River Floods.—It has been thought and seems probable that the mountains and the rivers, though often aerial, were sometimes terrestrial. Indra digs out channels for the rivers and lets loose to flow the seven rivers (of the Punjab). He slew the dragon lying on the mountain and, like lowing kine in rapid flow descending, the waters glided downward to the ocean. The

release of the river floods would be a natural consequence of the monsoon rains but there has not been found any direct reference to the summer floods so common in the Punjab rivers; some indirect references are however traceable.

Help in Earthly Battles.—Sometimes the line between the mythological and the historical battle is not clearly drawn and references are made to the victory of Indra over earthly enemies. Indeed, as the great lord of battle, Indra is more frequently called upon than any other deity as the helper of Ṛg-Vedic Indians in their earthly conflicts with Dāsas or Dasyus.

Indra's Appearance and Power.—One whole hymn deals with various colours with which Indra is associated but his general appearance appears to be tawny. The gigantic size of Indra is dwelt upon in many places, while his greatness and power are lauded in most unstinted terms. In him the deities are said to have stored manliness, insight, power and might. He fixed fast and firm the earth that staggered and set at rest the agitated mountains as they shook. He begat fire between two stones or generated lightening between heaven and earth.

Indra the Supreme God of the Ṛg-Vedic Indians.—From the foregoing description it will be seen that Indra is an irresistible warrior whose mighty arms win victory and whose inexhaustible liberality bestows the highest good on mankind. He is a friend in need and becomes a friend in deed—the supreme tutelary god of the Ṛg-Vedic Indians during that part of the Ṛg-Vedic age when difficulties in the shape of droughts and earthly enemies were frequent.

Meteorological Interpretation of Indra.—Indra obtains rains, floods and light, but these three effects are so mixed up in the hymns dedicated to him that it seems very difficult to assign any definite season or seasons to each. Probably the rains referred originally to the monsoon season and then extended to winter, the floods appear to refer to the rainy season but must refer to summer also, while light referred to winter as well as to autumn. Meteorologically Indra is that beneficent factor which can successfully put an end to adverse conditions of drought and darkness. He is a successful meteorological fighter.

(5) INDRA-VARUṆA. CHANGE IN THEIR RELATIVE IMPORTANCE DURING THE ṚG-VEDIC AGE.

Historical Account.—In comparing historically Varuṇa and Indra it should be noted that the Iranians and the Punjab Aryans originally lived together and worshipped the same gods. In the Indo-Iranian period the importance of Varuṇa was greater than that of Indra. A schism appears to have taken place and the Zoroastrians migrated westward. One of the differences is said to consist in the Iranians giving greater preference to Mithra the Sun-god, a deity most frequently conjoined with Varuṇa in the Ṛg-Veda, and in not acknowledging the supremacy of Indra. In Irān, Varuṇa remained only as the name of the material heaven and of a mythical region which was the seat of the mythical fight between a storm-god and a storm-fiend, while Indra's name is found in the Avesta as that of a demon or a malignant power. In the Punjab, the importance of Varuṇa and Indra remained about equal in the earlier Ṛg-Vedic period but in later Ṛg-Vedic times Indra the beneficient successful fighter outshone and superseded Varuṇa the peaceful personification of law and order.

Account in the Ṛg-Vedic Hymns of Rivalry and Adjustment.—One hymn is a colloquy between Indra and Varuṇa in which each of these leading gods puts forward his claims to superiority. The poet decides in favour of Indra. Ultimately Varuṇa's sphere becomes ethical or moral, while Indra becomes a bestower of material boons. Days of passive sway and peaceful and regular living, which are the characteristic features of Varuṇa, appear to have been followed by days of struggles for existence and energetic action, which are the characteristic features of Indra.

Meteorological Interpretation of the Accounts—It has been mentioned that Varuṇa was connected with eternal laws and regular recurrence of periodic meteorological phenomena, while Indra with constant warfare against adverse meteorological factors. In the Indo-Iranian period life should have been easy and periodic climatic variations did not affect the struggle for existence of the people who probably lived over the regions round about the frontier[1]

[1] Varuṇa cut the channels of the Indus for her forward course while Indra dug the channels of and impelled the Beas and the Sutlej.

hills. Then they may be supposed to be pastoral with less agricultural operations demanding plenty of rains. After separation, the Iranians who migrated north-westwards, where climatic conditions were colder, felt the necessity of Mithra or the Sun-god, while the Indians under grand displays of the strife of the meteorological elements felt the necessity of Indra the beneficent and successful fighter against adverse and irregular meteorological conditions. A change in climatic conditions can thus be deduced from a change in the relative importance of the gods. Varuṇa represents a period of normal climatic features, while Indra represents a period of droughts which had to be got over through his influence. (See also Chapter IX.)

(6) Indra-Maruts: Change in their Relative Importance during the Ṛg-Vedic age.

Account in Ṛg-Vedic Hymns of their Friendship and Rivalry.—Being identified in the phenomena of thunderstorm, the Maruts appear as Indra's friends and allies in many passages of the Ṛg-Veda. In one hymn however Indra appropriates to himself the sacrifice intended for the Maruts and the sage conciliates Indra by telling him that the Maruts were his friends and apologises before the Maruts for having allowed Indra to enjoy the offerings intended for the Maruts. In another hymn Indra boasts of his own exploits and declines the friendship of the Maruts; the Maruts praise Indra; Indra repents of his unkindness; and the reconciliation is effected. The hymns appear to be a vindication of the separate or at least preferential worship of Indra without comprehending at the same time, as a matter of course, the adoration of the Maruts, and embody the idea that Indra, however powerful by himself, could not dispense with the assistance of the Maruts.

Meteorological Interpretation of the Accounts.—We have seen that the Maruts represented western disturbances of the winter type. Subsequently when monsoon rains became important the idea of the Maruts was extended to monsoon depressions also We have also seen that Varuṇa who gave regular and peaceful rains was superseded by Indra the successful fighter against

adverse meteorological factors. Thus, while Indra gained popularity, the Maruts gained in the extent of their influence. In a thunderstorm, both the depressional storms and Indra's beneficent influence had a common basis. All rain was thunderstorm rain. For really good rain Indra's beneficent influence had to take the help of the depressional storms. The tale of Indra-Varuṇa ends in supersession of Varuṇa by Indra; the tale of Indra-Maruts ends in a reconciliation between the two. Chronologically, copious winter rains, as represented by Maruts, preceded monsoon rains and drought conditions, represented by Indra. (See also Chapter IX).

CHAPTER IV.

MINOR METEOROLOGICAL DEITIES.

(1) Savitar—Sūrya—Sun-God.

General Nature—Connection with Heat, Cold and Waters.—The Sun-god literally means generator, arouser, stimulator. Savitar is the divine power of the Sun personified, while Sūrya is the more concrete deity. In Ṛg-Veda, the Sun is a beneficent not a maleficent deity. There are frequent prayers for sunlight, daylight, fair weather, warmth. The refulgence of his glow is an object of praise. The god blesses men with shine, with perfect daylight, with cold, with fervent heat and lustre; Agni blesses men with his fires and Sūrya warms them pleasantly; the god drives those who hate the worshipper far away and keeps them distant from the Sun. On the other hand the passages in which there are references to the Sun's burning heat are few. The god is asked to grant a sheltering home that wards the fierce heat off on every side; also the foes are burnt as the Sun burns the earth; men go to Rudra and Agni for shelter as they go to the shade from fervent sunlight and heat; Indra consumeth the malicious man with the rays of Sūrya. There are a few allusions to the Sun's connection with waters. His function as distributor of heat, rain and cold is called his triple law. His rays are of threefold nature. They are agents in sending down rain and in its reabsorption. Dark

is their descent, the birds (rays) are golden coloured; up to the heaven they fly robed in the waters. Again they descend from the seat of order and all the earth is moistened with their fatness. In one place the Sun-god is said to lead the rivers which flow expanded at his sending them forth. This might refer to the summer floods of the Punjab rivers caused by snow melting.

Meteorological Remarks.—These attributes of the Sun would lead one to an inference about colder conditions of climate during Ṛg-Vedic age. There is some evidence to show that in the Indo-Iranian period cold conditions prevailed. In the first farquard of the Vendidad, the sacred book of the Zoroastrians, it has been stated, "The fifteenth of the good lands and countries I, Ahura Mazda (Supreme God), created was the seven rivers (Punjab). Thereupon came Angra Manya (the Devil) who is all death and he counter-created by his witchcraft abnormal issues in women and *excessive heat*." Considering the climatic features of the Punjab it cannot be argued that hymns relating to the Sun's heat were written in one locality and those relating to cold weather in another. (See also Chapters VIII and IX.)

(2) Agni—God of Fire and Light.

Sacrificial Importance.—Agni is naturally of primary importance as the personification of the sacred fire which is the centre of the ritual poetry of Ṛg-Veda. As a conductor of sacrifice he is repeatedly called a messenger who moves between heaven and earth and a great priest carrying oblations offered by men to gods. By his intercession he causes rain to fall. As having the spark of vitality and being so widely diffused in nature, Agni naturally came to be described as the germ of all that exists.

Triple Character.—His universality is shown by his triple birth and character. He exists as Sun in the heavens, as sacrificial centre on earth and as lightning in the waters of the firmament. The abode of the celestial Agni in the waters of the firmament is one of the best established points in Vedic mythology. To a Ṛg-Vedic Indian lightning makes the clouds to rain; the thunder heraldeth rain; there can be no rain without lightning and thunder. Agni is the child of the floods, the germ of the waters and quickeneth

the waters' seed. As lightning is a form of Agni, Indra is more frequently coupled with Agni as a dual divinity than with any other god. It is noteworthy that lightning is rarely associated with Varuṇa.

Connection with the Seasons.—In his character of the Sun he is sometimes said to establish and regulate the seasons of the year. He knows the proper seasons of the year or the sacrificial sessions. The seasons and the sacrifices were so intimately connected in the thoughts of the ancients that Agni is called the guardian of the seasons.

Domestic Connections.—As a sacrificial centre in every home, Agni is more closely connected with human life than any other god. His association with the dwellings of men is peculiarly intimate. He is the only god to whom the epithet lord of the house is applied. He is a guest, a kinsman, a friend and a mighty benefactor of his worshipper. He is a god whom forefathers kindled. Such characteristics seem to point to an older order of things when Agni was less sacrificial and as the centre of domestic life produced an intimate relation such as is not easily found in the worship of other gods.

Meteorological Remarks.—Rainfall in the Punjab as associated with the Maruts and Indra appears to be closely connected with lightning. All such rain appears to be thunderstorm rain. Agni's beneficent domestic connections would lead one to infer a colder climate at least when the Agni cult was first instituted. They support a similar inference deduced from the beneficent nature of the Sun-god.

(3) Vāyu, Vāta or Wind-god.

General Character.—Wind moves on the paths of the mid-region of air as his will inclines him. His chariot goes crashing and hath a voice of thunder. His flight is swift and impetuous. He is hard to be checked. Reference is sometimes seen to the fresh morning breeze. Somehow Wind is less connected with the Maruts, though they are said to have been generated by wind from the womb of heaven. He is sometimes connected with Indra. He is specifically connected with Parjanya. Wind and Parjanya are two bulls who stir up the regions of the water. Forth burst the

winds what time Parjanya quickens earth with moisture. Wind is borne onward by the clouds that thunder.

Allusion to Two Winds.—There are two or three passages in which two winds are mentioned. Two several winds are said to blow from Sindhu (Indus or Ocean) from a distant land; one breathes energy, the other drives disease away. The steed of Vāta impelled by the Gods is said to have his home in both oceans in eastern and in western sea. There is also a reference to two winds which age not. The two winds should refer to winds of the two seasons.

Meteorological Remarks.—Although Maruts which represent winds moving from one region to another in a depressional storm are of paramount meteorological importance, the regular sweep of the winds, or variable winds, represented by Vāyu or Vāta does not appear to represent any active meteorological element except when connected with Parjanya or the first burst of the monsoon. This would seem to show that there was no regular and continuous rainy season in the Punjab. Rain mostly occurred either without high winds as with Varuṇa or in connection with depressions and thunderstorms as with Maruts and Indra.

(4) Rudra—The Ruddy Roarer of Heaven.

General Character.—Rudra is the father of the Maruts or storm-gods. Etymologically the word means a roarer signifying the sound of storms, or the red or brilliant god. He is called the wild boar of the sky, the red, the dazzling shape. He appears to have represented not the storm pure and simple but rather its baleful side in the destructive agency of lightning. This would account for his deadly shafts which kill men or cattle and for his being the father of the Maruts who are armed with lightning. He is, however, not purely malevolent like a demon; his healing powers are mentioned with special frequency.

Meteorological Remarks.—Rudra appears to be a personification of the red glow of the sky at the time of the morning and evening twilights which is believed even to this day as a precursor of rain in parts of India. Being the father of the storm-gods the consequences of the storms exist in him as attributes, which may be incidental.

(5) Ṛbhus and the Seasons.

General Remarks.—The meteorological seasons have been treated in a subsequent chapter; owing to specific importance from the point of view of the sacrificial sessions, the seasons were sometimes personified and honoured as deities. They were called Ṛbhus' regulations, and Ṛbhus as cosmic powers were closely connected with them. Myths connected with the Ṛbhus appear somewhat obscure, and ingenious explanations have been offered. Thus their repose for twelve days in the house of the Sun is taken to represent the twelve days of the winter solstice. They are said to renovate the earth through the recurrence of the seasons. Definite meteorological statements in connection with these deities are important, but the metaphorical and the obscure character of the hymns would preclude one from making them.

(6) Miscellaneous Deities Connected with Fire or Light, Water and Their Minglings.

Mātariśvan—Celestial Carrier of Fire or Light.—He is a divine or semi-divine being who is said to have brought Agni from heaven. He is identified by some with the Wind-god but may be called the medium of light and heat propagation.

Trita Āptya—Watery Third-Fire.—He is probably the third or lightning form of Agni or a producer of lightning. In the heights of heaven, like a smelter, he is said to fan Agni, to sharpen Agni. The characteristic epithet applied to him is watery. The God goes back to the Indo-Iranian period, as his name and epithet are found in the Avesta.

Ahirbudhnya—Dragon of the Deep.—He is a divine being who lives in the depths of the ocean of air. He is born of floods and sits beneath the streams in middle air. There seems to be something hurtful in his nature.

Apāṁnapāt—Child of the Waters.—He shines bright in floods, unfed with fuel, germ of many. He grows in brightness in the lap of waving waters. He is lightning concealed in or produced from rain-clouds and dates back to the Indo-Iranian period.

Vena—Gandharva—Cloud Spirit or Rainbow.—Vena is apparently the loving Sun as he rises in the dew and mist of morning.

Gaudharva is a bright celestial being sometimes thought of as dwelling in waters with his spouse Apsaras or water nymph. They illustrate the union of light with waters. He may be interpreted to be a rainbow.

Dadhikra—Divine Horse of the Morning Sun.—He is described as a kind of divine horse and is probably a personification of the morning sun. Etymologically the name implies *scatterer of* thickened milk, *in allusion to* the rising Sun spreading dew and hoar frost like milk.

CHAPTER V.

QUASI-METEOROLOGICAL DEITIES.

(1) *Soma—The Drink of the gods.*—By the side of the cult of fire the Soma sacrifice forms a main feature in the ritual of the Rg-Veda. The whole of the ninth book, containing 114 hymns, is devoted to Soma. The descriptions consists mainly of incantations while the TERRESTRIAL SOMA PLANT is pressed by stones and the juice flows through the woollen strainer into the wooden vats ; after this it is offered as a beverage to the gods.

Soma is also CELESTIAL whose abode is heaven, from which it is said to have been brought on earth by an eagle or falcon. The falcon may be the lightning which rends the clouds and brings down sweet rain. It may be a mythological *account of the simple* phenomenon *of descent* of lightning darting from the cloud and causing a fall of ambrosial fluid water of the cloud. In metaphorical accounts the Terrestrial Soma is identified with the purification of the Celestial Nectar accompanied by rain and lightning. Lightning is in some verses *connected* with purification of Soma, which in all probability alludes to the purification of the Celestial Soma, and may have reference to the phenomenon of thunderstorm. The heavenly Soma is said to combine with solar rays in the clouds and thus cause rain to descend.

It has been held by some that Soma also means the MOON-GOD. The hyperbolic terms in which the Soma hymns are expressed might have been a consequence due to an inner consciousness of the coalescence or of the triplé nature of the Soma as

the plant on earth, as rain in the firmament, and as Moon-god in the heavens.

(2) *Indra—Soma : their Connection.*—Indra is pre-eminently addicted to Soma. Exhilarated with wild joy, he enters into the fray with the demons of drought and conquers them. The draughts which he drinks are said to lift him up like violent gusts of wind. The juice is said to flow for Indra's sake. As brightness mingles with the moon in heaven, the offered Soma yearns to mix with Indra. Being intimately connected with Indra and Vṛtra, Soma comes to be spoken of independently as a great fighter and a giver of rain. This connection between the two gods may mean that Indra is some beneficent meteorological influence which receives support from some lunar influence.

(3) *Uṣas—Dawn.*—Uṣas is the most graceful production of Vedic poetry. The poet's fondness for her seems to show how deeply his mind was impressed by the splendid glories of the dawn. Descriptions of dawn are however of interest to students of atmospheric optics. The meteorological interest lies in her association with the white or red or dark-red morning clouds brightened by the approach of the dawn, or with misty skies, or morning dews, or watery regions of the firmament, in which she is represented as bathing. The destruction by Indra of the chariot of the dawn-goddess is interpreted to mean the obstruction of the dawn by a thunderstorm. Specific mention of this phenomenon which is not of frequent occurrence but is only occasional, would seem to show that early morning was not the usual time of occurrence of a thunderstorm.

(4) *Aśvins—Twin Heralds of Dawn.*—The Aśvins are represented as denoting either the twilight or the morning star. Their connection with any definite phenomenon of light is obscure ; they may represent the commingling of light and darkness, or zodiacal lights. Their physical basis is a puzzle even to the oldest Indian commentators. The time when these gods appear is the early dawn, while it is still dark, but the grey of the morning is beginning to appear or when darkness still stands over the ruddy morning clouds. At the yoking of their car Uṣas is born. Of all the gods the Aśvins are most closely connected with honey. They are lovers of sweetness. They sprinkle meath with their honey-

wherever they go and refresh their paths therewith. The
ears their honey in her mouth or they bring delicious honey
bees. They bring nourishment and possess that healing
which they deposit in the waters, in the trees and in the
The honey-whip may be taken to represent the stimulating
life-giving breeze of the early morning or the early morning
The pleasant sprinklings of the honey would then represent
l nourishments received by the plants from copious dews of
arly morning. All nature receives the first stimuli at the
of the appearance of these gods; and plants and herbs are
osed to have their greatest value at this time by Indian
cal men.

(5) *Āpaḥ—Waters.*—The waters are praised as goddessesg
ur hymns of the Ṛg-Veda. Waters are described as flowing
the heavens, or wandering as dug from the earth, or flowing
by nature. They are bright, purifying and speeding to the
n. They flow forth when sent by Indra. The poet asks:
e is their spring, where is their foundation, where is their
st centre? Sūrya attracts them with his bright beams,
a digs paths for them to travel. They bear off all defilement.
have their healing power; they drive disease away. Most
herly physicians, they are parents of all that standeth, all that
eth. The waters appear to be of primary importance to the
Vedic Indian; this explains the frequent occurrence of prayers
rainfall and for the inclusion of so much meteorological
ter in these religious and sacrificial hymns.

(6) *Rivers—With incidental reference to Knowledge of untain, Sea and Desert.*—About 30 Rivers are mentioned in
Ṛg-Veda. Mention is often made of the 'sapta sindhavaḥ'
seven rivers. It is interesting to note that the same expression
pta Hindu occurs in the Avesta. The rivers are the Indus, the
asvatī and the five rivers of the Punjab—Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi,
s and Sutlej. The names of frequent occurrence are those of
Indus and the Sarasvatī. The Indus is said to be rich in horses,
s, robes and ample wealth. The Sarasvatī however is a sacred
er and the region appears to have acquired a certain sanctity;
limitless unbroken flood is said to be swift moving and comes on
th a tempestuous roar. The description given of the Sarasvatī

can hardly apply to the small stream now known under that name and there is evidence to show that in the Ṛg-Vedic age it was large and was the last of the rivers of the Punjab and therefore an iron gate or real frontier to the east. Rivers in those days were not easily fordable. There are references to transport over water floods in boats and an easy ford is said to be pleasant. In one hymn, the rivers Beas and Sutlej are asked by the sage to bow lowly down, to be easy to be traversed and to stay with their flood below the axles of car and wagon.

The rivers have their course from the MOUNTAINS. Forth from the bosom of the mountains the Beas and Sutlej are said to speed down their waters. The Indus is said to speed over precipitous ridges of the earth. The mountains are said to distil the rain drops and, resting firm, rejoice in freshening moisture. They are said to be snow-covered and rich in treasures.

The course of the rivers is from the mountains to the SEA or OCEAN. The seven mighty rivers are said to seek the ocean. The floods are said to be longing for the sea. In one or two passages there appears to be an account of a sea voyage where the words of the text do not admit of any other interpretation. It is a matter for consideration whether under ancient geographical conditions the sea was not nearer to south Punjab than it is now.

THE DESERT is mentioned in the Ṛg-Veda. Rain floods are said to flow over desert lands. Indra inundated thirsty plains and deserts and when Parjanya gives rain he makes desert places fit for travel. Springs in the desert were fully appreciated. Agni is compared to a fountain in the desert and sacrificial gifts are said to refresh Indra like water brought to men in desert places. In one place the poet says : "The desert plains and steep descents, how many leagues in length they spread." If Sarasvatī was a mighty river flowing to the sea and if it is now lost in the sands it can be inferred that the Rajputana desert is gaining ground to the north and east of it.

Changes in the configuration of the Punjab rivers and in the sea or gulfs into which they discharge their waters and in the extent of the Rajputana desert have occurred even in comparatively recent times and they can be carried backward to Ṛg-Vedic period. But for causing any change in climatic features, the

changes should be of an order of magnitude which would take one to very old periods approaching the dates of geological transformations which are not considered here and which would form a distinct subject for meteorological and climatic speculations.

(7) *Forests, Fields, Animals.*—The FOREST hymn shows a fine appreciation of nature. The forest queen is praised as sweet-scented, redolent of balm; she is the mother of all sylvan things, who tills not but hath stores of food. The burning of the forest is however mentioned with special frequency in connection with Agni. Agni compasses all forests with glowing flame and leaves them blackened with his tongue: he shaves the earth, as a barber shaves a beard, when the wind blows on his flame and fans it. In one place there seems to be an allusion to the clearance of the jungle by fire for the advance of the settlers. Immense forests would mitigate the heat of the sun and may have produced an appreciable effect on rainfall and considerable effect on retention of rain-water.

THE LORD OF THE FIELD is praised in one hymn. There are references to ploughing, sowing and reaping. A god dews the corn with moisture, bedews the pasture of the kine. Rain is said to swell the corn by moisture sent from heaven. The word Yava is mentioned with special frequency as the principal article of vegetable food and may be a generic name for any sort of grain. The word means barley even to this day and it is probable that it meant barley in the Rg-Vedic age also; its generic significance was probably derived from its cultivation and production on a very large scale and to an extent which was greater than for any other kind of grain. As barley is a winter crop, winter rains appear to be a predominant feature of the climate. It is said that rice, which is a monsoon crop, is not specifically mentioned; but as Parjanya, who apparently represents the first burst of the monsoon, is the generator and nourisher of plants giving abundant food for all living creatures, it is probable that crops were raised in the monsoon season also.

Amongst ANIMALS the cow occupies a prominent place and has already acquired a certain amount of sanctity in the Rg-Veda. She is described as food which moves on feet. Naturally she had great utility and value. The horse is another animal of value

particularly in warfare. Wealth in steeds and abundance of cows is prayed for. Amongst wild animals mention is made of the wolf, the lion, the wild boar, the bear, the jackal, gaura, buffalo, deer, hyena, antelope and a few others. The tiger is not mentioned, while the elephant may have been regarded as a strange creature, being called a beast with hand. This is of some significance as the natural home of these animals is even now outside the limits of the Punjab then occupied by Ṛg-Vedic Indians.

(To be continued.)

SOME PECULIARITIES OF THE SORAṬHI DIALECT.

By D. R. Mankad.

The Gujarati language is spoken today in many distinct dialects,[1] out of which the provincial dialect spoken by the people occupying the province called Soraṭh is for many *reasons, greatly* interesting to a philologist. The pure Soraṭhi dialectal variations which may be noticed today, are mostly to be found in the spoken language of Kāṭhis, Āhirs or Āyars, Chāraṇas, Mers and other tribes. There is also an extensive literature expressed in this mixed dialect and preserved as folk-lore, which is lately being published by Mr. J. K. Meghani.[2] That these people have often preserved forms and words *almost in their Prākrit* and Apabhraṁśa stage, can be ascertained even by a cursory knowledge of the dialect. A detailed study of this dialect shows that it is considerably influenced by Sindhi, Kachhi, Mārawāḍi and slightly also by Hindi.[3]

[1] See specimens given by Sir George Grierson in LS. Vol. IX. Part II.

[2] Specially his Rasadhāras, Bahāravaṭiās, Raḍhiāḷi Rāt and Ṛtugito which last, presents some very interesting philological (chiefly phonetic) variations.

[3] *Duhās like* :—

Pāṇī miḍe pāk
Mel māḍuje manamem
Tuṁ to jī niyār
Tuṁ keḍe pāṇithī nipajyo
—Kāṭhiāwāḍi Duhā, p. 57, by G. D. Raychurā.

or

Uttar śedyuṁ kaḍḍhiyuṁ
Ḍuṅgarn ḍammariyā
Haiḍo talafe maccha jīn
Sājaṇa sambhāriyāṁ
—Soraṭhi Bahāravaṭiā I., App.

may be taken as complete remnants of the Kachhi dialect, though the instrumental in the first duho is purely Gujarāti. But, even otherwise many terminations directly imported from Kachhi, (which is nothing else but a dialect of Sindhi) are found interspersed all throughout the literature. Gen. jī, change of neuter into masculine gender, etc., are some instances in point. Mārawāḍi influence is more marked in marriage songs, which form a special collection in Meghani's Chuṇḍaḍi. Gen. *rā*, change of '*ta*' to '*tha*' are comparatively frequent. Hindi influence is not so marked. Gen. *kā* is of course seen, but otherwise it is very rare.

The complex nature of this half-developed dialect necessitates a brief inquiry into the antecedents of the people whose vehicle of expression it has been for a long time.

KAṬHĪS.

First, to consider about the Kāṭhīs Campbell states that they came to Kāṭhiāwād (cir. 1400 A.D.) from Sind through Cutch. He also narrates that the Kāṭhīs themselves preserve a tradition describing their origin from the blow of a stick by Karṇa, at the time of Virāṭa's Gograhaṇa, a Mbh. incident. Some, according to Campbell, may be connected with Kathmanḍu, the capital of Nepāl.

Captain Wilberforce-Bell, too, says[1] "They are generally supposed to have migrated from Sind to Kachha where they settled at Pava and afterwards in Sorath at Thān." He also notices the legendary origin in the Mbh. incident.

It is necessary here to point out that the Mbh. knows no such incident and that the legend owes its origin probably to the general tendency, of most of the present tribes, of connecting themselves with some illustrious ancient family.

It seems that at the time of Alexander's invasion, a people named by the Greeks as Kathaioi dwelt on the banks of the Indus, whom the Cambridge History of India[2] takes to be Kshatriyas, pointing out at the same time that the common designation of the warrior caste seems to have been applied, in this case, to a particular people.

Dr. Macdonell,[3] speaking about the Kāṭhas of the famous Kāṭhaka Śākhā, states that they are now mostly seen in Kāshmere, but in the days of the Greeks they were in the Punjab and Kāshmere. But he has cited no authority for this statement, probably showing thereby that he also had the above Kshatriya-Kathaioi theory in view. This error in the identification of the Kshatriya and Kathaioi was probably due to McCrindle, who

1 The history of Kāṭhiāwād, pp. 67-68.
2 Vol. I, p. 349.
3 History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 175.

equated[1] the Kathaioi with Kshatriyas. That this was erroneous was pointed out by Prof. S. Majmudār Shāstrī in his notes on the text of MacCrindle thus :[2] "The Kathioi were the Kaṇthas (Pāṇini, II, 4, 20) or the Krathas (Mahabharata, VIII, 85, 16). To take it as Kshatriyas, as has been done by Dr. McCrindle and in the Camb. H. I. (Vol. I), is not very satisfactory. For the word Kshatriya does not refer to any particular nation or tribe, but is the common name for all the warrior tribes or castes."

But in his discussion about the Kathaioi, McCrindle regards the following names as having been derived from this word :[3] "Kathis, Kathi, Kathias, Katris, Khatris, Khetars, Kettaour, Kattair, Kattaks and others. One of these tribes, the Kathis, issuing from the lower parts of the Punjab, established themselves in Saurashtra and gave the name of Kathiawad to the great peninsula of Gujarat."[4]

The above discussion brings out two possible alternatives as to the origin of the Kāṭhis—(1) Kathaioi, if we believe in McCrindle, or (2) Kanthas or Krathas according to Dr. S. Majumdar Shastri. Their origin from the Kanthas would seem to be borne out by the still existing name Kaṇṭhāḷ, given to the shore of the Ran of Cutch.[5] Ptolemy also knew a gulf named Kaṇṭhi and McCrindle identifies[6] it with the present 'Gulf of Kachha'.

But there is still another line of argument, which probably leads us nearer to the origin of the Kāṭhis. McCrindle in the long list of the tribes whose names he believed to have been derived from or akin to Kathaioi, enumerates Kattaks. If there is any connection between Kathaioi, Kattaks and our Kāṭhis, the matter, I think, can still be pushed earlier. In the Vedic times there was a Kāṭhaka Śākhā, which gives us a Saṁhitā and an Upaniṣad ;

1 McCrindle's Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy, ed. by S. Majumdār Shāstrī, pp. 157-58.

2 *Ibid*, p. 375.

3 *Ibid*, p. 158.

4 McCrindle has blundered here. It is Kāṭhiāwād that is a Peninsula and not Gujarāta.

5 It is however possible that the word Kaṇṭhāḷ is to be derived from Kāṇṭhā or Kaṇṭha.

6 *Ibid*, p. 158.

and it seems probable, at least philologically, that our Kāṭhis were perhaps connected with these Kāṭhas. That the Kāṭhas occupied the Punjab once, according to Macdonell, lends further support to this identification, as Kāṭhis also are said to have migrated from almost the same districts.

But for the purpose of philological investigations, it is quite sufficient that the Kāṭhis came into Kāṭhiāwād, from Sind *via* Cutch.

Āyars, or Āhirs, another tribe, whose dialect we are going to investigate, are a wandering pastoral people mostly moving from one place to another for pastures for their cattle. They are said to have formed marital connections with Rajput tribes like Solaṇkis, Vāḷās and Paramārs.[1] Captain Wilberforce-Bell points out[2] "Ptolemy, the Greek, mentions them as Ahiriya," which seems to be incorrect as there is no mention of the Ahiriya in Ptolemy. But, he, like Campbell, thinks, that the Āhirs formerly lived on the banks of the Indus and in all probability migrated to Saurāshṭra owing to the influx of Mahomedans into Sind from Persia,[3] while W. Crooke',[4] finds their connection with Abars, a Scythic tribe, as affirmed by some, not plausible. Their matrimonial relations with the Rajputs, indicate that they were once a ruling and fighting race. In the Mahābhārata there is ample evidence to this effect.[5] Nakula in his Digvijaya had to defeat Ābhiras, on the banks of the Indus (Sindhukulasaṁśrita). They are said to have been reduced to the present servile condition as a result of the extirpation of all the Kshatriyas by Paraśurāma.[6] Before this legendary incident, however, they were Kshatriyas. That they were connected with Aioi mentioned by Ptolemy seems probable;[7] but though the connection of serpent worship with Aioi seems to be quite possible, it cannot be positively affirmed of the Āhirs

1 Gujarūta Sarvasaṅgraha, p. 104.

2 *Ibid*, p. 53.

3 *Ibid*, p. 53.

4 E.R.E., i, 232; however *cf.* Enthoven : Tribes and Castes of Bombay : Ahirs.

5 Mbh., II, 35, 9-10 ; III, 192, 33-35.

6 Mbh., XIV, 30, 14-16.

7 *cf.* Ptolemy's Ancient India, ed. by Majumdār, p. 350.

who were originally called Ābhirs, which form of the word is a philological handicap for connecting them with Ahis, who are mentioned in the Ṛgveda.

Even these Āyars are said to have come to Soraṭh from Sind, *via* Cutch.

Chāraṇas, another tribe using Soraṭhi are known to have been intimately connected[1] with both the Kāṭhis and Āyars and thus must have accompanied them to Kāṭhiāwād.

For Mers, a tribe also using this dialect I would simply refer to Indian Antiquary, June 1922,[2] where following Dr. Bhagawanlal Indraji, they are identified with the Maitraks and Mihirs. They also appear to have come through Sind.

The influence of Sindhi and Cutchi that we shall find in the investigation of this dialect can thus be historically explained.

UTSARGAS

Remote Demonstrative Pronoun *ī*

The Soraṭhi dialect is conspicuous by the total absence of both the remote demonstrative pronouns *e* and *te* which are so widely used in the other dialects of the Gujarāti language. The use of this *ī* in the nominative as well as in the oblique cases is to be found throughout in the Soraṭhi literature.[3] This extensive use of the pronoun *ī* has, it seems, influenced other pronouns also. *te* and *je* of Gujarāti proper are often used in Soraṭhi as *tī* and *jī*, but mostly in oblique case only. Sir George Grierson shows[4] the use of *ī* in the Zālāvāḍi

[1] *cf.* Gujarāta Sarvasaṅgraha, p. 105.

[2] *cf.* also Mhers. an article by V. P. Vaidya, in Nāgarīka, a Gujarāti quarterly, Vol. VI, No. I, where the author has traced the details of the migrations of these people.

[3] See:

I—Kāṭhiāwāḍi Duhā, by Raichura, pp. 39, 40, 92, 97, etc., Soraṭhi, Bahāravaṭiā by Meghani I, 10, 33, etc.

(इणे)— *īṁṇe*—Soraṭhi B. I, 91.

īthī—Kaṭhi, D. P. 18.

(इनो) īno— *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[4] Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IX, Part II., p. 419.

and Paṭṭaṇi dialects. But in both these cases it appears in oblique cases. Thus this *ī* happens to be a peculiarity of Soraṭhi.

Beames has given a list of the two demonstrative pronouns in different languages that he has examined.[1] He gives for Sindhi, remote demon. Pr. *i*, *hī* and *he*; but Dr. Trump, believes[2], them to be *hī*, *he* and *hiu* which result into *i*, *e* and *iu* respectively in Lāḍi dialect, by the elision of *h*. This *ī* of the Lāḍi seems to be identical with Soraṭhi *ī*. This would be further justified by our previous ethnological discussions which have shown that all those tribes were, at one or the other time, residing in Sind.

Guj. *e* comes from *etad*. *Etad* yields in Prakrit *eam*. But *etad* also shows, another form *iṇam* in Prakrit. Prof. N. B. Divatia has incidentally shown[3] that this *iṇam* may be derived either from *etena* or from its gen. form. Moreover Siddhahema[4] considers *iṇam* as an accusative or nominative form. In Śaḍbhāṣāchandrikā it is taken[5] as a nom. form. But how can we account for this *i* in the forms of *etad* in Pr.? Beames writes:[6] "But it is perhaps useless to seek for the origin of the modern forms in any written work. They have their origin, in all probability, in a much lower stratum of popular speech." But he does not investigate further. Many Prakrit forms and phases, which are not explained by the extant Prakrit grammars, are often solved by a reference to the Vedic grammar. It should be remembered that according to the view,[7] that is now being widely accepted, Prakrits existed side by side with the classical Sanskrit from the earliest times.

In the Vedic language we find, together with *etad* and other pronouns a pronominal form *im*; but it is not certain whether it is a remote or a near demon. pronoun. Sāyaṇa explains[8] it

1 Comparative grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, 1872-79, by John Beames. ii, 317-18.

2 Grammar of the Sindhi Language, by E. Trumpp, Leipzig, 1872, p. 198.

3 Gujarati Language, Vol. II, p. 28.

4 VIII, 3, 79.

5 Bombay Sans. and Pr. Series, p. 124.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 317.

7 An Intr. to Comp. Philology, by Gune, p. 148.

8 ṚV. VI, 53, 5-6.

by the accusative form of *idam*. But Macdonell [1] translates it by 'Him' which shows that it may have been used as a Remote demon. pronoun also. This *im*, if taken as an accusative form would directly yield *i* as the original pronoun. That this *i* or *im* should have any connection with *etad* does not seem probable, but confused memory of a forgotten age may have given rise to the optional form *iṇam* in the forms of *etad*.

The above discussion, thus, shows that the Vedic language evinces the existence of a pronoun *ī* which may be identified with Soraṭhi *ī*. Like the peak of a submerged mountain, this Soraṭhi *ī*, even now, reminds us of the Vedic age!

2

Nom. Plural Termination *U* or *Uṁ*. [2]

Examples.

Masculine.

Guj. proper.		Soraṭhi.	
Sing.	Plural.	Sing.	Plural.
pāṇo	pāṇā—o	pāṇo	pāṇā—o—u
hāth	hāth—o	hāth	hāth—o—u
bhāyado	bhāyadā—o	bhāyado	bhāyadā—o—u

N.B.—I have noted in the case of Soraṭhi the optional plural of endings, but they are heard in the speech of the educated only.

Feminine.

Sing.	Plural. (Guj. Proper)	Plural. (Soraṭhi)
Gāy	Gāy—o	Gāy—o—uṁ
Chopḍi [3]	Chopḍi—o	Chopḍi—o—uṁ
Gaṅgā	Gaṅgā—o	Gaṅgā—o—uṁ [4].

[1] Vedic Grammar of Students, p. 220.

[2] For its use see:

Soraṭhi B. i, 19; Kāṭhi. D.P. 6, 19, 26, 42; Raḍhiāḷī Rāt 6, etc. *it is very diffuse.*

[3] Beames does not recognise the existence of ī and ū endings for Guj. nouns (pp. 196-97); but long ī endings in Gujarāti are quite usual.

[4] *e.g.* ovī pachehīś Gaṅgāuṁ āve to ya māre śuṁ.?

NEUTER.

Sing.	Plural. (Guj. Proper)	Plural. (Soraṭhi)
Chhokarum̐	Chhokarām̐—o	Chhokarām̐—o—um̐
Zāḍ	Zāḍ—o	Zāḍ—o—um̐.

The above illustrations will make it clear that whatever the gender and whatever the ending of a noun may be, in Soraṭhi it always takes in Nom. pl., along with other terminations, *u* and *um̐* masculine showing *u* and the other two genders *um̐*.

In Prākrit, Masculine nouns ending in *i* and *u*, and Feminine nouns ending in *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u* and *ū* take in Nom. pl. along with other termination *au* or *u*.[1] In Apabhraṁśa the same has been retained. Moreover, in Apabhraṁśa, for neuter nouns there is an exception. Those nouns that had a *ka* at the end, took *u* in Nom. and Acc. sing.[2] It is a known fact that this addition of *ka* was, once, very extensively used.

Modern Aryan languages, also show this *u*. For nouns ending in *u*, there is a universal ter. *u*. But in Sindhi, the use of this *u*, is very wide. In Feminine, Sindhi shows *u*, for *ā*, *a*, *i* and ī endings.[3] As Sindhi has lost the Neuter, it will be seen that neuter Apabhraṁśa terminations have influenced other genders.

Beames observes for this *u* or *um̐*;[4] "No satisfactory reason for this form has been shown. Even if we admit that the '*o*' of Pr. plurals has been changed to *u*, this does not account for the anusvāra, which is too important a feature to have crept in by accident. It may have been extended to the nominative from the oblique cases of the Apabhraṁśa pl. (see Lassen, p. 464) as is often the case in other languages." Yet I offer two alternative explanations for this phenomenon, of which the second seems to me to be even more plausible than the theory of the Apabhraṁśa oblique cases.

1 Intr. to Prākrit, by Woolner, p. 31 ff.

2 See Purātattva, a Guj. quarterly, Vol. I, p. 363 ff.

3 Beames, *Ibid*, ii, 196-97. But Beames is not correct here. Nouns with *u* and *ū* endings do not take any ter. which is accepted for Sindhi by Dr. Trumpp (see *Ibid*, p. 106).

4 *Ibid*, p. 209.

(1) As is shown above the use of the term. *u*, in Prākrits and Apabhraṁśa, was very wide. There appears in every language an age of unification, when in the absence of great grammarians the language becomes a language of the people, and minor and rigid distinctions are forgotten. Something of the sort may have happened here also.

(2) We have also seen above that a *ka* was added to the noun-stems very extensively at one time or other. Prof. N. B. Divatia recognises[1] the force of this *ka*. We may, therefore, suppose that the process that was limited to Neuter in Apabhraṁśa was made universal, and every noun, after the model of the Apabhraṁśa neuter nouns with the optional *ka* endings, took *u* or *uṁ*.

3

Elision of *h*.

The aspirate *h* seen in words like *thame, mhane*, etc., has been considered as an after-effect of its shifting places in some of its antecedent forms. Though this sound exists in some parts of Gujarat, it is elided in Soraṭhi and some other dialects. For this absence of *h*-sound it is argued that men have acquired the habit of this false pronunciation, due to the faulty system of spelling adopted in the Government Vernacular Reading Series. But it is the experience of many that even illiterate people, quite innocent of modern culture, have a tendency to elide this *h*, at least in Soraṭhi.

The reason for this elision of *h* is phonetic, the tendency for aspiration, a well-known phenomenon in philology being absent in this case. Marathi elides it in (आमचे) *āmache* and preserves it in *āhmī*. Sindhi shows it in *avhīṁ, tavhīṁ*, etc., and drops it in *asiṁ, āuṁ*. In Hindi this aspiration is very wide. In Soraṭh itself Junāgadh people would pronounce *sāmo* as *sāhmbho*, while people on Unā side would have *hūnuṁ* for *unuṁ*. Thus the retention of *h* is optional. It has been already seen that Soraṭhi is very much allied to Kachhi, and Kachhis are almost notorious for this elision of *h*. The first person Singular which preserves the aspiration in all

[1] GLL. i, 190-96.

the modern Aryan languages of India has dropped it in Kachhi and Sindhi *aṁuṁ*. But amongst Kachhis the tendency for not aspirating is even more marked than amongst Sindhis. Plurals like *tavhiṁ*, *avhiṁ*, are conspicuous by their absence in Kachhi, as in Lādi. Again if you ask an average Kachhi to pronounce *kahyuṁ* he will express it as *kiyuṁ* or *kiuṁ* or even *kyuṁ*. It will be seen that *kahyuṁ* by the elision of *h* and by the process of Pratisamprasāraṇa will yield *kiuṁ*. This tendency of avoiding aspiration is thus seen in Kachhi and Soraṭhi alike.

4

PAST PASSIVE PARTICIPLE[1] TERMINATION *ṇuṁ* (ણું)

Gujarati proper.	Soraṭhi.
bolāyuṁ	bolāṇuṁ
lakhāyuṁ	lakhāṇuṁ

The fact that these forms change according to the gender of the subject indicates their participial character.

Roots of all descriptions have this termination applied to them in Soraṭhi. In Sindhi also it is applied to some P.P.P.s.[2]

But Dr. Trumpp simply calls them irregular, while Beames compares some of these with the corresponding irregular P.P.P.s. in Sanskrit.[3] But even our Sanskrit grammarians, on account of the break in the Vedic traditions, have often explained forms, for which they could not account, as irregular.[4] Today when the Vedic language itself is studied scientifically, we must try to find out the causes of these apparent irregularities, in the Vedic language. Thus we find that in Vedic grammar along with *ta* there was also a *na* as the termination of P.P.P. This *na* was applied to roots ending in long vowels, or in *ch*, *d* and *j*.[5] And keeping in view

1 For its actual use see Soraṭhi B. i, 20; Kāṭhi. D. P. 11, etc.

2 Dr. Trumpp (*Ibid*) p. 272 ff.

3 *Ibid* iii, p. 139.

4 A similar case is seen in Prākrit. Hemachandra, in his Deśināmamālā, has enumerated many words as deśi, which can be and are being traced to Sanskrit, to-day.

5 See Vedic Gr. pp. 183-4.

the fact that in Sindhi where it exhibits this termination, it is *applied to roots having ā endings*, it can be argued that this *na* which in Sindhi was as yet vague and uncertain, became universalised in Soraṭhi passing as it did through Kachhi.

This *ṅuṁ* termination is not noted by any one. Even Grierson, though he has incidentally given one illustration, has not discussed it.[1]

5.

Absence of wide *e* and *o*.

The wide sound of *e* and *o* heard in Gujarāti and Mārawāḍi distinguishes them from all other modern Aryan languages in India. The genesis of these wide *e* and *o* has been ably discussed by Prof. Divatia.[2]

No one can deny its existence in Gujarāti, but speaking of the Gujarāti language as a whole it should be stated that its use is partial, it being absent in some parts of Kāṭhiāwāḍ. This will be proved by the fact that students in those parts, when commencing their English studies, are frequently unable to pronounce the wide sounds of that language. This is a difficulty experienced by all the teachers there. I have myself seen Hālārīs, ridiculing the wide pronunciation of words like *Chopḍi* of Bhāvanagari students studying at Rajkot and other places. The absence of this wide sound, at least in Hālār and Soraṭh, is indisputable.

Prof. Divatia has traced the process of wide *e* and *o*, thus:

upaviśati=uvavisai=uvaisai=baisai=bese

kah punah=ka uṇa=kavaṇa=kóṇa

In both these cases according to him, the intermediate *ai* and *au*, are first changed to *ay* and *av* by what he calls the pratisamprasāraṇa process, and then result into wide *e* and *o*. I am in full agreement with this derivation; yet I propose to examine the

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 427.

[2] See GLL i, 125-56; also his paper "Phonogenesis of the wide *E* & *O* in Gujarati" read at the first Oriental Conference.

genesis of the short *e* and *o* as heard in Soraṭhi. He has shown that the antecedent *baisai* has to pass through a form like *baysai* in order to yield the wide sound of the resulting *e*. So also *kauṇa* has to pass through the *kavaṇa* stage. But if we suppose that in both these cases, *baisai* and *kauṇa* directly pass to *bisi* and *kuṇa* stages, these latter forms would yield the short *e* and o. We can derive both the wide and short sounds from the same process, suggested by Divatia thus :—

upaviśati=uvavisai=uvaisai

= baisai — baysai=bese
= baisai — bisi=bese

So also

kah punah= kauṇa — kavaṇa=koṇa
kah punah= kauṇa — kuṇa=koṇa

It should be noted that the above process has the advantage of *bījalāghava*. But it may be objected that these transitional forms *kuṇa* and *bisi*, yielding the short sound, are never used in literature. As a matter of fact they are seen [1] in some of the ancient Gujarati works. In Vimalaprabandha the editor gives the following quotation in his preface :—

> "Kṣīravṛkśa fālyāṁ diśi, ekalu chaḍi tatra *bisi* tu dhana pāmi utāvalu e vichara."[2]

Vimalaprabandha itself shows the form *bisi* used at two places. [3] *Kuṇa* is actually used even now amongst Kāṭhis and Āyars.

It will, thus, be seen that the short sound for both these *e* and *o*, heard in Soraṭhi, is not a myth but an established fact which could be corroborated by strictly scientific philological investigations.

1 On the contrary the above transitional *baysai* is found nowhere.
2 See Vimalapr. Ed. by M. B. Vyas, preface p. 36.
3 See *op. cit.* pp. 37 and 38.

6.

i, FOLLOWING A CONSONANT IS NOT CHANGED TO LAGHUPRAYATNA YAKĀRA.

In Gujarati proper, in many places an *i* following a consonant is often changed to a laghuprayatna yakāra, as :—

akhi=akhī=Aṁkhya.[1]

Similarly the *ya* in words like *gāṁṭhya*, *riṭya*, *jāṭya*, *lāvya*, *bolya*, etc., is to be traced to an earlier *i*. But in all these words Soraṭhis, like Suratis, invariably use *aṁkha*, *gāṁṭha*, *riṭa*, *jaṭā*, *lāva*, *bola*, etc., thus showing their tendency to drop the final *y* or strictly to change the final *i* to *a*, for it is difficult to believe that Soraṭhi ever had this laghuprayatna *y* which was afterwards dropped yielding an *a* ending.

This tendency of changing *śiva* to *śava* has exposed Gujaratis to the ridicule of others.[2]

But Soraṭhi avoids this *y* very scrupulously ; not only does it not show *y*, in the above cases but even in those forms of the past tense like *pākyuṁ*, *vāgyuṁ* which are evolved from earlier past participial forms, it very frequently shows forms like *pākuṁ*, *lāguṁ*, etc. Mr. Meghāni has, at one place, used the form go for *gayo*.[3]

But the absence of the knowledge of this tendency of avoiding *y* has led to many textual misrepresentations. Sir George Grierson uses the spelling *lāvya*, *āvya*, in the specimen of Hālāri.[4] Mr. Meghāni, too, has the same tendency of showing this *y*. The reason of this illusion is that in these parts the actual pronunciation is something like *lāiva*, *āiva* etc.[5]

1 For other examples and full discussion see GLL i, 224 ff.

2 Cf. gurjarāṇām mukham bhraṣṭam, etc.

3 *Rasadhārā*, i, p. 14.

4 *Ibid*, p. 427.

5 See, koi bijum hārye chhe ? *Dādāji ni vāto*, p. 65.
have dhupa lāvya, dīpa lāvya—*Kaṇkāvaṭi*, p. 42.
uṭhya elā—Rasadhārā, iii, 67.

In actual practice, however, this *y* is either totally absent showing an *a* ending or as noted above the penultimate shows either a *y* or an *i* ; as *lāva lāyyā or lāivā*. This penultimate *i* may result from the *Pratisaṃprasāraṇa* and *metathesis of y*, but as I have already said, the Soraṭhi does not show this *y* at all. Therefore, the presence of this penultimate *i* should be explained by the process of *metathesis of final i* seen in earlier forms. Pronunciations like *laivā* may be due to the first tendency. I note that Grierson has spelt *māryo* as *māryo* and *māiro* in his specimen of Surati.

7

e AND *u* OF THE ABSOLUTIVE.

These are not much used, but in Soraṭhi Bahāravaṭiā they are used three or four times.

hāṁke lāu	i, 82
dove le	i, 83
melu dyo	i, 47, etc.

These examples are so very outstanding that they must be noted as a peculiarity of the Soraṭhi dialect.

Comparative study shows that Marathi has *ūna* for the absolutive termination, and Sindhi has *e* and *o*; Beames notices only *e* for Sindhi[1] but according to Trumpp, passive verbs in Sindhi take '*o*' for the absolutive.[2]

This *e* is derived by all from Prākrit *ia*, but '*o*' of Sindhi, noted by Trumpp has not been satisfactorily explained anywhere.

It will be remembered that in Prākrit there was for the absolutive, *ua* along with *ia*.[3] As *ia* by dropping the final *a* and by guṇa yields *e*, so *ua* by the same process would yield Sindhi *o*, and by simply dropping *a*, would give Soraṭhi *u*. Guṇe suggests[4] the derivation of the above *ia* from Skr. *ya* or *tya* and *ua* from Skr. *tva* which seems plausible.

8

NOM. PLURAL ENDING *āṁ*.

gīdhāṁ māṁsa bhrakhaṁt—Kathi D.p.5.
sāyāṁ māguṁ itāro—Kathi D. p. 50 (It is voc. here).
ivāṁ nāmāṁ—Soraṭhi B. i, 91.

The above examples show its existence. This termination is also seen in Nom. pl., in Sindhi and Punjabi feminine nouns of a

[1] *Ibid* iii, 232.

[2] *Ibid.* 281-83. Trumpp, for Guj. Absolutive notices a form like *lakhini* and quite erroneously derives it from *ia*, perhaps taking the final *i* as the termination.

[3] Guṇe: *Op. cit.* p. 249.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 250.

ending.[1] Soraṭhi uses it everywhere, irrespective of the gender of the noun. It is a bit difficult to explain this *āṁ*. Prākrit and Apab. had *ā* for Nom. pl. in Masc. and Fem.[2] But the anusvāra seen in Soraṭhi, Sindhi and Punjabi is difficult to explain. Some people have a tendency to nasalize the finals of some words. This tendency may be said to be present here also, though I am not quite sure of that.

I would like to mention here, a phenomenon, the nature of which is not clear to me. Some verses like the following are met with :—

(1) śyāma ugāri raṇa rahe
e rajapūtāṁ rīt—Kāthi. D. p. 3.

(2) caṁcaḷa apacaḷa camakavo
ati āra ghaṇā rośa
e turaṁgaṁ paṁc guṇa
pāṁce tariyāṁ dośa—Kathi D. p. 54.

also on 55 tariyāṁ dośa is used.

(3) gaṇa māthe gaṇa kare
i to vahevārāṁ vaṭ
avagaṇa upara gaṇa kare
ene seja taḷāyāṁ khaṭ—Kathi D.p. 67.

(4) tera triyā trahuṁ karaliyo
paṁcoryo kekāṇa
pacīsa varaseṁ arāṁparāṁ
puruśāṁ eha pramāṇa—Kathi D. p. 85.

(5) śira paḍe dhaḍa laḍe
truṭe bakhatarāṁ kor—Kāthi D. p. 99.

Out of these examples (1), (3) and (5) have this termination in the sense of genitive, while in (2) and (4) its case is doubtful to decide ; it may be gen. or loc. Moreover the practice of dropping terminations is often seen amongst poets as a poetic license. Thus it may even be our nom. pl., *āṁ*, though it seems less plausible as even nom. pl. would be a termination and that fact would go against the abovementioned poetic license. I therefore think that the *āṁ* to be seen in the above stanzas may be a gen. or loc. termination.

[1] Beames : *Ibid* ii, 196.
[2] Guṇe : *Ibid* p. 206.

Gen. *āṁ* may be traced to Sk. gen. pl. *nām* and loc. *āṁ* may be evolved from *māṁ* itself an evolute of Pr. *mmi*.

9

Declension of Pronouns, Adjectives, P.P.P.s. and Numerals.

(1) ā kavaṇīuṁ=ā konī.[1]
(2) tāriyuṁ to no maḷiyuṁ=tāri to na maḷī.[2]
(3) vātuṁ vagatāḷiyuṁ=vāto vigatvāḷi.[3]
(4) cijuṁ Cakhāḍiuṁ=cijo cakhhāḍi.[4]
(5) kaḍyuṁ maṇḍyuṁ kaḷvā=kado maṇḍi kaḷvā.[5]
(6) e cāruṇe na cūke=e cārne na cūke.[6]
(7) uparchaliyuṇ ajā vātuṁ ema j valu=uparchali vāto.[7]

It will be clear from the above examples that pronouns [(1) and (2)], adjectives [(3) and (7)], P.P.P.s. [(2), (4) and (5)] and numerals [(7)] were declined even as their respective substantives were declined. In Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apab, pronouns, adjectives, participles and numerals take the same gender, case and number as their substantives. In Gujarati proper, these parts of speech are affected by the gender but generally not by the case of their substantives. It will be seen that the above examples remarkably agree with the practice in Sanskrit & Prakrit.

This tendency is marked in Sindhi also. Trumpp remarks,[8] "The general rule, that the adjective must agree with its substantive in gender, number and case holds good in Sindhi likewise". Though I cannot say whether this is the case with pronouns and P.P.P.s., yet it is no wonder that Soraṭhi, which is so intimately connected with Sindhi and Kachhi, should intensify the processes seen there.

This inclination to intensify the inherited tendencies is probably due to the careless and indifferent nature of the speakers. This indiffer-

1 Soraṭhi B. i, 83.
2 Soraṭhi B. i, 83.
3 Kāṭhi. D. p. 26.
4 Kāṭhi. D. p. 68.
5 Kāṭhi. D. p. 28.
6 Kāṭhi. D. p. 40.
7 Kāṭhi. D. p. 83.
8 *Ibid*, p. 145.

ence to accuracy has produced some remarkable forms, totally incorrect grammatically. There is a verse,

vātuṁ reśe vīr
bhala taṇi bhāṇanyuṁ—Kāṭhi. D.p. 75.

which shows an absurd phenomenon; for it is to be explained as a form of *bhāṇa* with gen. *ṇi* and nom. pl. *uṁ*, showing a confused and combined use of these terminations. *Meṁthi* seen in Soraṭhi B. i, 27, is another example in point, though it only shows a double termination of the same case, due to pure confusion.

Conclusion

These are some of the distinct peculiarities of the Soraṭhi language. A wide range of investigation is still left to future workers. Soraṭhi phonology which presents many interesting features is altogether ignored here. Many other aspects also are left out of consideration. Yet let us recount the conclusions of the present survey.

At the outset, we had called this a half-developed dialect. This is fully borne out by our discussions. We have found that many peculiarities seen in Soraṭhi are to be traced to their ultimate Sindhi forms. Sindhi itself is in the process of evolution, for many of its present phonological, phonetic and grammatical features show that it is still in Apabhraṁśa stage. The same characteristic is evinced by Soraṭhi, which is, as we have seen, a dialect of the tribes that have evidently migrated to Soraṭh from Sind and Cutch.

The tribes that speak Soraṭhi have preserved, intensified and even unified many features seen in Sindhi and Kachhi as exceptions, even though many centuries have elapsed since their separation from the original stock. One of the reasons of the above phenomenon is illiteracy and the concomitant general indifference to accuracy, which are always marked in wandering and unsettled tribes. Moreover want of culture would, at transitional periods, keep such tribes in the same state, effects of transition being seen only in levelling up difficulties and avoiding intricacies and irregularities of exceptions and variations.

We can see, however, that even now this dialect preserves

traces of its migratory movements. Language mirrors the past history of its speakers very faithfully, if only we know how to interpret it.

Vedic *i* like a peak of a submerged mountain still exists in Soraṭhi. The universal absolutive termination *ṅuṁ* even today preserves its Vedic origin. Agreement of pronouns, etc. in gender, number and case with their substantives, reminds us even now of Apabhraṁśa days. The tendency of avoiding aspiration clearly shows the migratory movements of the speakers from Sind *via* Kachh. So does the short sound of *e* and *o*, which is seen both in Sindhi and in Kachhi.

All these features point to past history. They also indicate two clear tendencies—one of general indifference to accuracy, and the other of unification and avoidance of variations.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

'Akṣara'—a forgotten chapter in the History of Indian Philosophy ; by Dr. P. M. Modi, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Sanskrit, Samaldas College, Bhavnagar, 1932. Pp. xii+121+56 (appendices).

This is the thesis presented by Dr. Modi for the Ph. D. Degree in the University of Kiel.

This is a thought-provoking work. Dr. Modi has traced the theory of 'Akṣara' from the earliest Upaniṣads up to the times of the Vedāntasūtras. He displays learning, industry and acuteness. He is not afraid of differing from such great *savants* as Prof. Hopkins, Dr. Deussen, and very often crosses swords with them. He starts with a comparative table setting forth the meanings attributed by Indian ācāryas and Western translators to 'akṣara' in the eleven passages of the Bhagavadgītā where it occurs in a philosophical sense. He shows how the Chāndogya and Bṛhadāraṇyaka, the early prose Upaniṣads, speak of both akṣara (impersonal Absolute) and puruṣa (personal Absolute) and how they are not concerned to decide whether the final reality is personal or impersonal. He then proceeds to the earlier metrical Upaniṣads (like the Kaṭha and Muṇḍaka) and holds that they placed *puruṣa* higher than *akṣara*, that both were regarded as the goals and both were styled *vidyās*. The next stage is reached in the Bhagavadgītā which accepts the distinction between akṣara and puruṣa taught by the earlier metrical Upaniṣads and also says that puruṣa is beyond (*para*) akṣara. The Gītā develops the theory that meditation on puruṣa is preferable to that on akṣara, because the former is easier than the latter ; and the Gītā says that puruṣa presides over akṣara which is the abode (*dhāman*). Gītā identifies Kṛṣṇa with puruṣa and is always careful not to identify puruṣa with *brahman* which is identified with akṣara. The Gītā teaches three paths of absolution, the *Sāṅkhya*, *Yoga* and *Upāsanā* or *bhakti* and that akṣara or puruṣa can be reached by anyone of these paths. Sāṅkhya and Yoga in the Gītā mean respectively 'renunciation' (with knowledge) and 'path of actions' (with knowledge). They are not two steps on the same path (as Śaṅkarācārya says) but two

paths to either of the two goals, *viz.* akṣara and puruṣa. The learned author then examines the twelfth *parvan* of the Mahābhārata and finds that therein the tenets of four different schools are set out, *viz.* the Aupaniṣadas (chap. 182-253), the Sāṅkhya (chap. 302-317), Yoga (chap. 308) and Pāñcarātra (chap. 334-352). Dr. Modi takes great pains to point out how the Sāṅkhya in the Mahābhārata differs from the classical sāṅkhya, how both Hopkins and Deussen are wrong in their interpretation of chap. 308, how the Mahābhārata mentions two schools of Yoga, one founded by Hiraṇyagarbha and the other by Rudra. He states that the Pāñcarātra school in the Mahābhārata completely identifies akṣara and puruṣa under the name of Nārāyaṇa, that according to that school the supreme Reality is possessed of contradictory attributes. Dr. Modi then comes to the treatment of akṣara in the Brahmasūtras. He believes (p. 92) that he has discovered the key to the elucidation of that somewhat abstruse and recondite work. According to Dr. Modi, the Sūtrakāra discriminates between akṣara and puruṣa and the most striking feature in the sūtrakāra's view of the Highest Being (*para*) is the systematic and rational interpretation which he gives for the first time in the history of Indian Philosophy to the twofold contradictory statements regarding the attributes of the supreme one.

The author of the Brahmasūtras, according to Dr. Modi, does not regard akṣara as lower than puruṣa but rather treats the two as identical and holds that the distinction made between the two in some texts is for the purpose of meditation only and that the same Supreme Being called *para* is to be meditated upon as akṣara or puruṣa. Thus though akṣara taught in the ancient Upaniṣads and the Gītā is still recognisable even in Bādarāyaṇa's sūtras, even the traces of akṣara disappear in the work of Śaṅkarācārya, the renowned successor of Bādarāyaṇa. It is hence that Dr. Modi describes the history of akṣara as a forgotten chapter.

One is constrained to say that the learned writer's treatment of the Brahmasūtras is scrappy and wanting in lucidity and logical sequence. It would have been very convenient if the author had collected in the appendix all the principal original Sanskrit texts, particularly of the Upaniṣads and the Brahmasūtra.

The above is only a very brief and most inadequate summary

of the principal topics discussed in this interesting and instructive book. In spite of the drawbacks pointed out above the work deserves to be carefully read by all students of ancient Indian philosophy, particularly Vedānta, even though one may demur to some of the assumptions and interpretations of Dr. Modi.

P. V. K.

PALLAVA GENEALOGY. By Rev. H. HERAS (Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay).

This carefully executed work comprising three charts and some twenty pages of notes, represents an earnest attempt to solve to some extent at least, the tangle of Pallava history. The author holds that there was only one Pallava dynasty, an unbroken line of twenty-four kings, and that the manner of dividing their pedigree into two portions is totally improper. The conquest of Kāñchipuram, the first significant achievement of the dynasty was accomplished by Kumāraviṣhṇu I, and the event was signallised by the assumption of the title of Mahārājā by the ruling king and by the adoption of Sanskrit instead of Prākrit as the official language. These and other interesting conclusions which the author has drawn would demand the serious attention of those interested in the early history of South India.

B. G. M.

THE SPHOṬASIDDHI OF ĀCĀRYA MAṆḌANAMIŚRA WITH THE GOPĀLIKĀ OF ṚSIPUTRA PARAMEŚVARA. Edited by S. K. RĀMANĀTHA ŚĀSTRĪ, Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 6, Pp. 304. Rs. 3.

The Madras University deserves to be congratulated for being the first to bring out an edition of this rare and ancient work. The Sphoṭasiddhi of Maṇḍanamiśra is a short work in 37 kārikās in which the great Maṇḍanamiśra expounds the abstruse doctrine of sphoṭa with a few brief explanations in prose. Pāṇini himself was aware of this doctrine, as he mentions a predecessor named Sphoṭāyana. Pātañjali in his great bhāṣya says that in the Saṅgraha of Vyāḍi one of the principal topics of discussion was the question whether śabda is nitya or kārya. The Vākyapadīya of

Hari also elaborately examines the theory of sphoṭa. Maṇḍana miśra several times refers to the kārikās of Hari. The commentary Gopālikā is a learned one. The editor in his Sanskrit introduction goes into the question of the life and times of the commentator. At the end, an attempt is made to identify all the quotations occurring in the text and the commentary. All lovers of Sanskrit and particularly of the philosophical literature therein will most heartily welcome this work.

P. V. K.

ĀSANAS. PART I. (Popular Yoga. Vol. I) 1933. Pp. 16+183 Rs. 3-4-0. PRĀNAYĀMA. Part I (Popular Yoga. Vol. II) 1931. Pp. 15+156. Rs. 2-8-0. Both by SHRIMAT KUVALAYĀNANDA, KAIVALYADHĀMA, Lonavla, India.

The authorities of the Kaivalyadhāma are to be congratulated on the publication of these two volumes, the first of their projected popular Yoga series. Yogic exercises have from times immemorial been known in this country to confer physical and spiritual benefit on those who practise them, and they have recently been subjected to the test of modern science and have stood it well. The Kaivalyadhāma of Lonavla has been doing very valuable work in spreading the knowledge of the theory and practice of Yoga at the Ashram and through its quarterly Yoga-Mīmānsā. These two books are based on direct traditional teaching, original scientific research and wide practical experience of the author. They are addressed to the layman, and are, therefore, less technical in character, severely practical. General psychological and anatomical explanations, however, have not been omitted and they serve to add to the utility of the handbooks. They are very profusely illustrated and might well serve as self-instructors. The succeeding volumes in the series will be awaited with interest.

B. G. M.

KATYAYANA SMṚTI SĀRODDHĀR. Text (reconstructed), Translation, Notes and Introduction, by P. V. KANE, M.A., LL.M., Pp. xlii+372, Bombay 1933. Rs. 4.

Mr. Kane has already well-known works like the History of Dharmaśāstra to his credit. The idea of publishing a reconstruction of some Smṛtis occurred to him, as he says in his preface,

while engaged in writing the history of Dharmaśāstra. He has already published a reconstruction of Śaṅkha-Likhita in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute at Poona (*vide* Vols. VII and VIII) and he has offered a collection of quotations from Kātyāyana in the present volume. A reconstruction of Kātyāyana on these lines was made in 1927 by Mr. Narayan Chandra Bandopādhyāya when he published about 800 verses at Calcutta. He collected passages from five works only *viz.* the Dāyabhāga, the Vivāda-ratnākara, the Smṛti-candrikā, the Parāśara-Mādhavīya, and the Vīramitrodaya.

Mr. Kane has culled together his verses from over twenty authors. He has further enhanced the value of his collection by the addition of critical and illustrative notes as well as a translation in English. The volume is thus of much greater use to a student of Hindu Law and Dharmaśāstra than the other edition mentioned above.

The Smṛtis are the principal source of Hindu Law; the number of them is variously computed, and many of these are not available. The principal Smṛtis are about twenty in number, though the list may go up to about a hundred. Only some three or four of these, such as Manu, Yājñavalkya, Parāśara are considered as authoritative and generally followed in all the Schools. The principal commentaries are on these Smṛtis, though the commentators in their glosses refer to the other Smṛtis.

Of the more important Smṛtis thus referred to by the commentators Kātyāyana occupies a very prominent place among the Smṛti writers on Law and Procedure. Next to Nārada and Bṛhaspati, he is cited on Vyavahāra more frequently than any other writer in such commentaries and digests as the Mitākṣarā, the Smṛti-candrikā, the Vīramitrodaya and the Vyavahāra-mayūkha. The original text not being available, its extent can only be gauged by reference to the number of passages on each topic cited in the commentaries. Mr. Kane has given a comparative table showing the number of verses on several topics in Yājnavalkya, Nārada and Bṛhaspati; and from this Mr. Kane rightly infers that the extent of the Kātyāyana Smṛti, even on a modest computation, must be about 1500 verses.

Of the total quotations collected together in this volume

practically half have reference to Procedure and Evidence; thus, it can be clearly seen that Kātyāyana was considered by the commentators to represent the high watermark of Smṛti literature on judicial procedure. His views about law and rules of procedure are advanced like those of Nārada and Bṛhaspati, and in certain matters such as definitions in general and elaboration of rules about Stridhan, he is even in advance of these two writers. He has given numerous definitions such as those of Vyavahāra, Prāḍvivāka, Stobhaka, Dharmādhikaraṇa, Tīrita, Anuśiṣṭa, Sāmanta, etc. He seems to have been the first to invent some new terms. For example, he defines Paścātkāra as a judgment given in favour of the plaintiff after a hot contest between plaintiff and defendant, while the term Jayapatra is restricted by him to the judgment given on admission by defendant, or a judgment dismissing the suit on various grounds. He has also laid down a stringent rule that if a man abandons a ground of defence or attack and puts forward a less stringent one he would not be allowed to put forward again the stronger ground after a decisive judgment of the court. This resembles the 4th exception to section 11 of the Indian Civil Procedure Code about *res judicata*.

Though Kātyāyana has nowhere expressly mentioned Nārada, he has elaborated the four pādas or stages of vyavahāra which were briefly described by Nārada. Kātyāyana seems to have taken Bṛhaspati as his model in the order and treatment of the subject to be dealt with. He clearly follows Bṛhaspati. Verses 29-30 published in the present volume show that Kātyāyana had before him the division of 18 titles of law into "dhanamūla" (Civil) and "hiṁsāmūla" (Criminal) made by Bṛhaspati. Similarly the discussion about the decision by Dharma, Vyavahāra, Caritra and Rājaśāsana in verses 35-51 is an elaboration of the teaching of Bṛhaspati on the subject.

While discussing the last stage of Rājaśāsana, Kātyāyana lays down the rule that a king ought not to decide against texts, and that the king must decide in accordance with Śāstra, and when there was no text, by the usage of the country. Verses 44-51 lay down these rules. Verse 48 lays down that there should be a record of usages kept under the Royal Seal.

As Kātyāyana refers to Bhṛgu, and Bṛhaspati, he is later than

them. He is quoted by Mitākṣarā, Aparārka, and other writers of the 11th and 12th centuries as a Smṛtikāra of equal authority with Yājñyavalkya, Nārada, and Bṛhaspati. Medhātithi on Manu refers to Kātyāyana the rule that in case of conflict between the dictates of Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra, the king should prefer the former. Medhātithi flourished between 825-900 A. D. Viśvarūpa (on Yāji) who flourished in the first half of the 9th century quotes 11 verses of Kātyāyana. Viśvarupa looked upon Kātyāyana as a great Smṛti writer like Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Bṛhaspati. This position he could not have attained in a century or two. Hence Kātyāyana cannot be placed later than 600 A. D., and as he is later than Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Bṛhaspati, hecould not have flourished before the 3rd or 4th century A. D. Therefore, the Smṛti of Kātyāyana must, according to Mr. Kane, be placed between 300-600 A.D.

Kātyāyana Smṛti thus appears to belong to the period of Hindu revival under the Guptas. It appears from some of the references that questions like kings' ownership and jurisdiction were discussed in those days.

It would be worth while to study the gradual change of Law on several topics from Kauṭilya to Kātyāyana, and further on. It would form an interesting study to students interested in the reform of Hindu law.

The author has given very critical notes on several verses, and as an instance the reader might profitably refer to the learned note on verse 560 at pages 229-230, which testifies to the close study of the texts as well as of the case-law.

The book is thus a very valuable reconstruction of the text. It would be useful to the lawyer as well as to the student of Dharmaśastra, and Mr. Kane has rendered a very great service by his publication of the book.

S. Y. A.

Sangita Bhava. By Maharana Vijayadevji of Dharampur. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Pp. xv+316. Rs. 20.

This very handsomely produced volume is the first, of the projected series of six, whose aim is to provide the kind of literature that could prove positively helpful to those generally interested

in Indian Music. This practical objective which has guided the author in the selection of his material and its arrangement, distinguishes it from the bulk of the literature on the subject which is principally academic in outlook. It is written in four languages, English, French, Hindi and Gujarati, so as to ensure for it a wider appeal than has been achieved by other books on the subject; but the high price, which is perhaps justified by the excellence of the get-up may well put it beyond the reach of the ordinary reader, and thus defeat, at least to some extent, the author's main object.

The present volume deals with Raga Bhairava and its feminine counter parts, Bhairavī, Bengali, Madhu-Mādhavi, Bairāri and Sindhavī. Mr. Vakil's foreword and the author's own preface advert to the present conditions of Indian music and the possibilities of its progressive development. A brief resume of the origin, history and characteristics of Indian music is followed by short descriptions of the Ragas and of their component notes.

But the special feature of the work is the staff notations of the Rāgas which the author has offered for the benefit of Western Students. They are merely suggestive, intended to denote the main structure of the melodies. The innovation will doubtless prove of interest to many.

B. G. M.

THE ṚGVEDĀNUKRAMAṆI OF MĀDHAVABHAṬṬA. Edited by C. KUNHAN RAJA. Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 2, Pp. 365. Rs. 3-8-0.

This work will be very useful in understanding the Ṛgveda and its traditional interpretation. The work is a reconstruction carried out by Dr. Raja by putting together all the kārikās found in a commentary of Mādhava (not the brother of the famous Sāyaṇa) on the Ṛgveda. Dr. Raja in his learned introduction states how he planned the work and gives very interesting information about Mādhavabhaṭṭa, his probable date and his position among the commentators of the Ṛgveda. The kārikās here collected deal with svara, ākhyāta, nipāta, śabdavṛtti, ṛṣi, chandas, devatā and mantrārtha. The whole work is a creditable performance.

P. V. K.

ĪŚĀDI-DAŚOPANIṢAT-SAṄGRAHA; second edition by V. P. VAIDYA, B.A., Bar-at-Law, Bombay. Re. 1.

This is a handy volume containing the text of the ten principal Upanishads. The type is bold and clear and does credit to the premier Sanskrit press in India, *viz.*, the Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay. For one who does not want to read the enormous bhāṣyas of the Ācāryas and who is content to read the text of these ancient writings this is a useful publication.

P. V. K.

CASTE AND RACE IN INDIA. By G. S. GHURYE, Ph.D. (Cantab.), Reader in Sociology, UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1932. Pp. 209. 10/6 net.

Dr. Ghurye has prepared this monograph with considerable care and has used throughout what may be called the scientific method in treating his subject. It is a matter for congratulation that a book of this kind should have been written by a Hindu scholar. The writer knows his facts at first hand, and though he is critical, he has a sympathetic interest in the past so that he does not misinterpret it, and he has a full grasp of modern tendencies so that he is able to detect the weaknesses of a system, that might have once served some useful function in social development but that acts as an obstacle in the process of nation-building and social solidarity to-day. Besides, he is not a propagandist. In treating this intricate subject, Dr. Ghurye has referred to original sources of information, wherever he could do so. The first chapter gives the outstanding features "of Hindu Society when it was ruled by the social philosophy of caste, unaffected by the modern ideas of rights and duties." In differentiating the Caste System from the class system that obtains in the West, Dr. Ghurye has rightly pointed out that the former is based entirely on birth. It is also inelastic while the class system based on wealth is by its very nature elastic. How caste groups were evolved and how the system went on developing since very early times and the causes of the development have

been described by the author in the subsequent three chapters.

The next chapter is an informative essay on Race and Caste, and it is here that we find the author making a judicious use of his anthropological knowledge. The assumptions and conclusions in this chapter can be tested and verified not by means of sentimental considerations but by the application of scientific criteria only. In a further chapter, a useful résumé is given as to how the elements of caste exist even outside India. True, the rigidity of the caste based on the element of birth is hard to find outside the system that has existed among Hindus, but the author's conclusion that "well-marked status groups within a society, distinguished from one another by rights and disabilities, separated from another by the absence of freedom of intermarriage, may, therefore, be considered to be a common characteristic of the mental background and social picture of the Indo-European cultures" strikes as above controversy. In fact, the recent Nazi decree about intermarriage in Germany gives further support to this conclusion. The Hindu caste system has undoubtedly developed its distinctive feature, and that is the determination of status by birth alone.

The eighth chapter, "Caste: Recent and Contemporary", is one of the most interesting features of the present book, and Dr. Ghurye has done well in giving quotations from the writings of responsible British officers to show how a political angle is responsible for the conceptions of political arrangement that must result in fortifying the caste spirit and in preventing the unification of the Hindu society and the development of Indian nationhood. Special significance attaches to this chapter because we do not find even a trace of political bias throughout the whole of the book. Dr. Ghurye has very carefully kept himself within the bounds of sociological research, and he has quoted chapter and verse to establish every statement that he makes. He quotes James Kerr, the Principal of the Hindu College at Calcutta, who wrote in 1865 "It may be doubted if the existence of the caste is on the whole unfavourable to the permanence of our rule. It may even be considered favourable to it, provided we act with prudence and forbearance. Its spirit is opposed to national union." The discussion of the material in this chapter is bound to take us into

the region of current politics, and this is no place to do that. Suffice it to say that the recent proposals for communal representation unfortunately bear out the conclusions which Dr. Ghurye as a student of sociology has developed on the strength of historical facts. In fact, there is no better device to perpetuate caste differences and caste animosities than to introduce communal representation into the fabric of our legislative bodies, and even into the fabric of our administrative machine. Dr. Ghurye has done signal service in pointing out how these recent developments are bound to defeat the attempts building up of national unity. This chapter, while it brings the treatment of the subject up to date, is of importance to students of constitutional problems.

In treating the contemporary condition of the caste system, Dr. Ghurye has shown how a large number of the old disabilities imposed by the caste system on the " lower castes " have disappeared, owing to the laws introduced by the British Government. After all, all that society can do is to remove social disabilities and to enforce equal social treatment. The forces of equality and equity have started working, and ultimately they are bound to prevail. To right what is wrong in the old system is wisdom. Even to replace the old system, if it be at all possible, by a new system which is at once equitable and workable, is wisdom. But to perpetuate suspicion and hatred on the strength of what happened in the past is neither wisdom nor commonsense.

Collection of accurate facts about caste is a task that must be taken up by students on a larger scale than has been hitherto done. Books on Indian sociology are so few, that any addition to them should be welcome to students. Dr. Ghurye deserves congratulations for his work particularly for the able and impartial manner in which he has handled the subject. Dr. Ghurye has evidently taken considerable pains in getting his facts, and though all his conclusions may not command universal assent, he has certainly exhibited admirable impartiality in giving facts and in deducing his conclusions. We hope before long he will be able to write a comprehensive work on Hindu Sociology.

M. D. A.

IMPERIAL FARMANS (A. D. 1577 to A. D. 1805) granted to the ancestors of His Holiness the TIKAYAT MAHĀRĀJA. Translated into English, Hindi, and Gujarati, with notes. By KRISHNALAL MOHANLAL JHAVERI, M.A., LL.B. News Printing Press, Bombay.

This is a handsomely printed volume of the *farmans* granted by the Mogul Emperors to the successive Acharyas of the Vallabha Sampradāya between the years 1577 and 1805. The *farmans* are printed fac simile, with their translations in English, Hindi and Gujarati, and a note on Viṭṭhaleshwara and his Vidvanmaṇḍana is appended at the end. The volume is bound to prove of interest to the students of history of the Sampradāya.

JAME JAMSHED Centenary Memorial Volume. Pp. 561+41, Bombay 1932.

Jame-Jamshed is one of the oldest Newspapers in Bombay and it deserves to be congratulated on the completion of a hundred years in its useful career. This bulky Memorial volume published by the Centenary Working Committee contains a large number of interesting articles, in English and in Gujarati, on a good number of subjects connected with the history of Parsis and their culture from ancient times to the present day.

JAINISM IN NORTH INDIA : 800 B. C.—A. D. 526. By CHIMANLAL J. SHAH. Longmans, Green & Co., 1932. Pp. 292. 42.

The literature on Jainism may not be extensive, but it is certainly not quite so meagre as the author of this work would seem to suggest. He has indeed paid a tribute to the researches of the Savants who have done so much to unravel the history and thought of Jainism ; for he has based his book on those researches and he has frankly admitted that he has made no new discovery. His sole aim is to narrate the history of the rise and growth of Jainism in Aryavarta from 800 B. C. to 526 A. D., and he has achieved it creditably. He shows a remarkable first-hand knowledge of the authorities—both original and secondary—from which he quotes copiously. A full index and a comprehensive bibliography add to the usefulness of the work.

TRAILS TO INMOST ASIA. By GEORGE N. ROERICH Yale University Press, Newhaven. $ 7·50.

The famous Central Asian Expedition which was organised by the Trustees of the Roerich Museum, New York, and led by the Russian impressionist painter, Prof. Nicholas Roerich, has received wide publicity, both at its inception and at the various stages of its progress. On his return Prof. Roerich recorded his own impressions—mainly artistic and spiritual—of their wanderings in the Altai-Himalayas. Even so the present work will assuredly be welcomed; it is a full and authoritative narration of the wanderings of the expedition and its labours which occupied five years. And it comes, besides, from the pen of one who is variously qualified to write it. Mr. G. N. Roerich was one of the expedition and is the son of its leader; and he is a linguist and antiquarian of note.

The main object of the expedition, we are told, was "to create a pictorial record of the lands and peoples of Inner Asia"; and in this their success was complete. The five hundred paintings by Prof. Nicholas which were brought back by the expedition and which are now on permanent exhibition at the Roerich Museum, New York, furnish a unique panorama of the life and art of one of the least known regions of the Eastern continent. Some of them have been reproduced as illustration in the present work.

The other two objects of the expedition were to explore the possibilities of archæological research and to collect ethnographic and linguistic material illustrating the culture of these regions. But with regard to the former, their achievement was meagre; in certain tracts other scholars had preceded them, and in others they were prevented by circumstances from carrying on their work. Their pursuit of the other object, however, met with a large measure of success. They were able to collect a number of Tibetan and Mongolian books; and the present author studied the sacred texts of the Bon religion, the literature and history of the nomadic tribes of eastern and northern Tibet, and compiled materials for a Ded-Mongol dictionary as also a collection of local songs and ballads.

The book is well printed and illustrated and has a useful index.

B. G. M.

RISE OF THE PESHWAS. By H. N. SINHA. Indian Press, Allahabad. 1931. Rs. 5.

This is the first volume of a projected series of three, which will together trace the rise, decline and fall of the Peshwas. The present volume deals, roughly, with the first half of the 18th century; a period of great Maratha expansion during which the Marathas, from being a local principality spread their power and influence far and wide and came to nurse imperial ambitions. Mr. Sinha has presented a very readable account of these very eventful fifty years; but the book is too short and summary to be an exhaustive standard work on the subject like Sardesai's, and it does not possess enough literary quality to be regarded as a work of interpretation such as is Ranade's. It may prove a useful and readable guide, however, to students of Maratha history; but its usefulness is considerably marred by the absence of an index and a bibliography. I would also protest against Mr. Sinha's orthography of Maratha names which he spells after the Bengali fashion, and not as a Maratha would write and spell them. "Somabanshi" to take a single instance, ought to have been written as "Somavanshi".

B. G. M.

PĪYUṢAPATRIKA: A MAGAZINE. Edited by HARISHANKARSASTRI, NADIAD. Annual subscription Rs. 3.

This monthly maintains a tolerably high level of Sanskrit scholarship. Most of the articles are in Sanskrit. The printing is good and the general get-up is attractive. We cordially welcome this journal.

P. V. K.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Megalithic Remains in South Sumatra. By Dr. A. N. J. Th. à Th. Van Der Hoop. Translated by William Shirlaw. (W. J. Thieme & Cie, Zutphen, Netherlands.) Pp. 192 with 226 illustrations and 17 maps.

Kadamba Kula. By Geo. M. Moraes, M.A. (B. X. Furtado & Sons, Bombay.) 1931. Pp. 504. Rs. 15.

A Primer of Indian Logic according to Annambhatta's Tarkasangraha. By S. Kuppuswami Sastri. M.A., I.E.S. (P. Varadachary & Co., Madras.) 1932 Pp. 364.

The Mauryan Polity. By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A. (Madras University Historical Ser. No. 8.) 1932, Pp. 394. Price Rs. 6.

Finnisch-Ugrisches aus Indien. By Wilhelm Von Hevesy. (Manz Verlag, Wien.) 1932 Pp. 382.

Die materielle Kultur des Kabulgebietes. By Dr. Bruno Markowski. (Verlag Asia Major, Leipzig.) 1932. Pp. 154 and 35 plates.

Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature. By Har Dayal, M.A., Ph.D. (Kegan Paul Trench Trubner & Co., Lond.) 1932. Pp. 392. Price Rs. 18.

Studies in Cola History and Administration. By K. A. Nilkanta Sastri. (Madras University Historical Ser. No. 7.) 1932. Pp. 210. Price Rs. 4.

Ganga-Puratatvānka: Special archæological number. (Ganga Office, Sultangunj, Bhagalpur.) 1933. Pp. 337. Rs. 3.

Sangameswarakrodum on Jagadisa's Siddhantalakshanam. By G. Sangameswara Sastri. (Andhra University Ser. No. 7.) 1933. Pp. 68. Re. 1.

The Company of the Indies in the Days of Dupleix. By W. H. Dalgliesh, Ph. D. (Chemical Publishing Co., Easton, Pa,) 1933. Pp. 238. Price $ 2.

Vedic Variants. Vol. II—Phonetics. By M. Bloomfield & F. Edgerton. (Linguistic Society of America, University of Pennsylvania.) 1932. Pp. 570.

Raja Bhoj. By Visveswaranath Rec. (Hindustani Academy, Allahabad.) 1932. Pp. 410.

Chitraprabhā: Commentary on Haridikshita's Laghuśabdaratna. By BHAGVAT HARI SASTRI. (Andhra University Ser. No. 6.) 1932. Pp. 450. Rs. 4.

The Unadisutras in various recensions. By T. R CHINTAMANI, M.A. (Madras University Sanskrit Ser. No. 7, Part I.) 1933. Pp. 282. Rs. 3.

Indian Women and Art in Life. By K. H. VAKIL, B.A., LL.B. (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.) 1933. Pp. 35. Rs. 2.

Chronology of the Early Tamils. By K. N. SIVARAJA PILLAI, B.A. (Madras University.) 1932. Pp. 284. Rs. 5.

Vibhramaviveka of Mandanamisra. Ed. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, M.A., I.E.S., and T. V. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR. (Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.) 1932. Pp. 25. Ans. 12.

History of the Rashtrakutas. By BISHESWAR NATH REU. (Jodhpur Archæological Department.) 1933. Pp. 151. Rs. 2.

Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais: (Brit. Mus. MS. Sloane 1820) of Fr. FENICIO. Ed. by J. CHARPENTIER. (Wilhelm Ekman University Fund, Uppasala.) 1933. Pp. 358. Kr. 20.

Message of Śakuntalā. 1933. pp. 50. Annas 8. } By R. V. SHAH,
Wife. 1933. Pp. 28. Annas 8. } (Ahmedabad.)

Tolkappiam, Facs. I. By R. VASUDEVA SARMA, M.A., B.L. (Trichinopoly.) 1933. Pp. 48. Ans. 12.

Story of Kālaka. By W. NORMAN BROWN. (Smithsonian Institute, Freer Gallery of Art Oriental Studies, No. I.) 1933. Pp. 150 and 39 plates.

Buddhist Annual. Vol. IV, Nos. 1-2. (1931-2). (W. E. Bastian & Co., Colombo.) Re. 1-8.

Al-Andalus. Revista de las Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada. Vol. I, Fasc. I, 1933.

Sharadashram Varsnika. Shake 1855. Ed. by Y. K. DESHPANDE. (Sharadashram, Yeotmal, C.P.) 1933. Pp. 116. Re. 1-8.

Administration Report, 1106 M.E., of the Archæological Department, Travancore State. Pp. 25.

Sir Anthony Sherley and his Persian Adventure. Edited by Sir E. Denison Ross. (George Routledge, London. Broadway Travellers.) 1933. Pp. 293. 12/6.

Obituary

I

Dr. Sir JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, Kt., C.I.E., LL.D.

The Society lost one of its oldest members by the death of Sir Jivanji Modi, on Tuesday, 28th March 1933 at his residence at Colaba in Bombay. Sir Jivanji was born in October 1854. He was educated at the Elphinstone College and graduated in Arts in 1877. Side by side he qualified himself as a priest in his community. He made a special study of Avesta and directed his attention to the study of Zoroastrian literature, and studied French and German publications also on the subject to keep himself abreast of the researches of Western Scholars in this field.

In 1893 he was appointed Secretary of the Parsi Punchayat Funds. During his tenure of office for 37 years he rendered valuable service to that community in organising and increasing the Punchayat Funds to a large extent and putting them on a sound basis.

Sir Jivanji became a member of this Society in 1888 and was a member of its Managing Committee from the year 1899 to the year of his death. He was one of its Vice-Presidents from 1907; and was President of the Society in 1929 and 1930. In 1918 the Society awarded

him the Campbell Memorial Gold medal for his scholarly work, and he was made a Fellow in 1924.

His interest was not confined only to Zoroastrian subjects, but he was also interested in a number of learned activities. He was an active member of many institutions such as the Cama Oriental Institute, the Anthropological Society of Bombay and others; and he always made it a point to attend every one of the meetings of the Committees of which he happened to be a member.

Besides being a voluminous writer on Persian, Pehlavi, antiquarian, anthropological and religious subjects, he was a linguist of ability. He made many contributions to the Society's Journal as well as to the publications of many other Societies, besides publishing a number of books himself. The Society owes him a debt of gratitude for the keen interest that he took in its management, activities and welfare.

He had travelled much in the East as well as in the West, and had the distinction of having been the recipient of high honours from some of the foreign learned Societies as well as Governments. He was a Fellow of the Bombay University from 1887 up to the present year. The honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him in 1931 by the University in recognition of his services to Oriental scholarship. The Government of India conferred upon him the title 'Shams-ul-ulama' in 1893, the distinction of 'C.I.E.' in 1917 and the honour of Knighthood in 1931.

Upright in character, amiable in disposition, helpful to every student who approached him, he led a pious and a studious life. By his death Bombay has lost one of its most eminent scholars in the field of Oriental learning, and a great gentleman.

II

G. K. NARIMAN.

Another loss to the Society was the death of Mr. G. K. Nariman on 4th April 1933 at the age of 60. He was an eminent linguist, Orientalist and journalist, and was a member of this Society continuously from 1917. He was a frequent contributor to journals and newspapers on a variety of subjects; and his contributions were always characterised by impartiality of outlook and reliability of information.

Among his books the following may be mentioned :—

1. *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism;*
2. *Iranian Influence on Moslem literature;* (From the Russian of Inostrazev.)
3. *Priyadarśikā;* (Transd. jointly with Jackson and Ogden.)
4. *The Religion of the Iranian Peoples.* (From the German of C. P. Tiele.)

He translated many other articles from various languages. He was well versed in Persian, Sanskrit, Arabic, Zend, German, French, Russian, Tibetan, and many vernaculars of India and Burma. During the Great War Government utilized his knowledge of languages by appointing him an assistant Censor. He was actively connected with many other societies

as well. Almost the whole of his valuable library was presented to this Society by his brothers in memory of the many studious hours passed by Mr. Nariman in our Library.

While expressing our gratitude for this munificent gift, we feel that the memory of a scholar could hardly be perpetuated in a more appropriate manner than by such a gift.

TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ . . . . a	औ . . . . . au	ठ . . . . . ṭh	भ . . . . . bh
आ . . . . . ā	क . . . . . k	ड . . . . . ḍ	म . . . . . m
इ i	ख . . . . kh	ढ . . . . . ḍh	य . . . . . y
ई . . . . . ī	ग . . . . . g	ण . . . . . ṇ	र . . . . r
उ . . . . . u	घ . . . . . gh	त . . . . . t	ल l
ऊ . . . . . ū	ङ . . . . . ṅ	थ . . . . th	व v
ऋ . . . . . ṛ	च c	द . . . . . d	श . . . . . ś
ॠ . . . . . ṝ	छ . . . . . ch	ध . . . . . dh	ष . . . . . ṣ
ऌ . . . . . ḷ	ज . . . . . j	न . . . . . n	स . . . . . s
ए . . . . . e	झ . . . . . jh	प . . . . . p	ह . . . . . h
ऐ . . . . . ai	ञ . . . . . ñ	फ . . . . . ph	ळ . . . . . ḷ
ओ . . . . . o	ट . . . . . ṭ	ब . . . . . b	

ं (*Anusvāra*) . . . . . ṁ	× (*Jihvāmūlīya*) . . . . . ḥ
ँ (*Anunāsika*) . . . . . m̐	≍ (*Upadhmānīya*) . . . . . ḥ
ः (*Visarga*) . . . . . ḥ	ऽ (*Avagraha*) . . . . . '

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

Arabic.

ا . . . . . *a*	ز . . . . . *z*	ق . . . . . *q*	ـِـ . . . *i* or *e*
ب . . . . . *b*	س . . . . . *s*	ک . . . . . *k*	ـُـ . . . *u* or *o*
ت . . . . . *t*	ش . . . . . *sh*	ل . . . . . *l*	ـَا . . . . *ā*
ث . . . . . *th*	ص . . . . . *ṣ*	م . . . . . *m*	ـِي . . . *ī*, *e*
ج . . . . . *j*	ض . . . . . *ḍ*	ن . . . . . *n*	ـُو . . . *ū*, *o*
ح . . . . . *ḥ*	ط . . . . . *ṭ*	و . . . . . *w*	ـَی . . . . *ai*
خ . . . . . *kh*	ظ . . . . . *ẓ*	ه . . . . . *h*	ـَو . . . . *au*
د . . . . . *d*	ع . . . . . *c*	ي . . . . . *y*	silent t . . *h*
ذ . . . . . *dh*	غ . . . . . *gh*	ء . . . . . ʾ	
ر . . . . . *r*	ف . . . . . *f*	ـَـ . . . . . *a*	

Persian.

پ . . . . . *p*	چ . . . . *ch*	ژ . . . . *zh*	گ . . . . *g*

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4. Every paper consisting of more than 10 pages of type-script or equivalent must be accompanied by a summary not exceeding 150 words in length.

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