ART. XVI.—*The Portuguese in South Kanara.* By J. GERSON DA CUNHA, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., K.C.J., &c.

[Read, 21st January 1896.]

PART I.

A short professional visit to South Kanara, last September, having afforded me an opportunity of studying the extant monuments of the early Portuguese settlements in that interesting region, I have put together a few notes, which, I trust, will be acceptable to the members of this learned Society.

This visit, hurried though it was, brought me into close contact with almost all the sections of its population, and thus enabled me to gather from local sources much valuable information. But as the element of exaggeration is rarely, if ever, absent from oral tradition, I have tested its accuracy by consulting the chronicles of the time.

The Portuguese historians of the 16th and 17th centuries use the word Kanara in a somewhat vague sense. Like Italy, prior to the middle of this century, the kingdom of Kanara was but a geographical expression. Gaspar Correa, in his *Lendas*, speaks of it as a part of Malabar, while Barros, Couto, and other annalists of the period assign to it various boundaries. Simão Botelho, in his *Tombo do Estado da India*, mentions the river Cunbia as separating Kanara from Malabar, while Faria e Souza fixes new lines of demarcation approaching those of recent times. North and South Kanara once formed one great province, a coast line of about 250 miles, with its fourteen harbours, and was divided into 10 talukas, each taluka being sub-divided into Maganes or collection of villages; these again into Monzas or Gramas, *i.e.*, villages, and the latter into Magazas or hamlets, also called Upagramas.

Kanara, although divided into North and South, belonged to the Madras Presidency until 1862, when the North portion was annexed to the Bombay Presidency.

The general aspect of Kanara is charming. It presents a continuously varying panorama of grand and picturesque scenery. The Eastern length is bounded by the Ghauts, which, in some places, as Honore and Ankola, approach near to the coast, whilst in the direction

of Mangalore they are distant from 50 to 60 miles. Mr. Forbes, in his *Wild Life in Canara, &c.* (Lond., 1885, p. 8), writes:—"Nothing more beautiful is to be seen anywhere in Europe or Asia than the coast of Canara. Mountain-spurs from the main range of the Western Ghauts run down to the coast and sometimes extend far out to sea, wooded to the water's edge, and mapping out broad bays or land-locked coves; in other places they flank the estuaries of navigable rivers which come winding among the hills from the east, bordered—as the valleys open out and admit of cultivation—by plains of brilliant green. All this wealth of picturesque outline is bathed in the soft brilliancy of tropical atmosphere; and the effect, to eyes unfamiliar with the scene, is a happy stupor of admiration."

Another writer in *Fraser's Magazine* (New Series, Vol. XI., p. 616) says:—"To the ship sailing past, the shore presents an ever-varying outline—generally a dark serried belt of cocoa-trees, whose roots are washed by the waves, divided at frequent intervals by the gleaming mouths of broad rivers. Rocky headlands, seldom uncrowned with old fort or white pagoda, jut out, forming a succession of winding bays where the long narrow fishing-boats are busy, and the awkward-looking pattimars or native vessels, with their tilted sterns and sloping masts, are lying at anchor. Now and then large towns can be discerned embowered amongst cocoa groves and bananas; further inland knolls and tree-clad eminences are dotted about, and beyond them long rolling upland plains, bright green during the rains, whitening when the grass is ripe, extend far away."

Dr. Buchanan, in his *Mysore, etc.*, speaking of Khundapur, writes:—"I have not seen a more beautiful country than this; and an old fort, situated a little higher up than the town, commands one of the finest prospects that I ever beheld."

Barkur is another pretty town of great antiquity, and the beauty of the women of this place deserves mention. There are sculptures upon temple walls representing warriors, who resemble the soldiers of old Greece. Perhaps, a colony of ancient Yavanas from Northern India was settled here, and the beautiful women may claim descent from them.

Karkal and Mudabidri contain Jain temples, statues, and memorial pillars of exquisite workmanship. Udipi has a coast line, which curves into a bay, protected to the seaward by three islets called St. Mary's Isles. Vasco da Gama, in 1498, on his return voyage from Calicut, set up a *padrão* or landmark there, which he called Santa Maria, while the one left at Calicut was dedicated to St. Gabriel.

Bednur, somewhat northwards, is situate in the midst of a basin, the surrounding country being covered with luxuriant forests. Abd-er-Razzak, the Persian Ambassador, in 1444, on his way to Vijayanagar from Mangalore, passed through Bednur, where the houses were like palaces, the women like celestial houris, and its temples and other buildings marvels of sculpture and painting.

If one were to describe all the interesting features of these lovely Kanarese towns, it would carry him far afield. Besides, no description could fully portray the natural charms of a country, which must be seen in order to be duly appreciated.

What strikes one, however, as strange in the numerous chronicles and poems that have been written by the Portuguese on their dealings with this delightful region, is, with very rare exceptions, their absolute silence about the beauty and the fertility of its soil. Probably, in those troubled times, the conquest, trade, and conversion absorbed men's thoughts, and left but little leisure to admire the charms of Nature. Mr. Herbert Spencer tells us that when mental faculties are largely applied to one purpose, they become disabled for other purposes, as great expenditure in one direction leads to economy in other directions. The Portuguese, having their minds fully engrossed in warfare and arts of an aggressive and material character, the marvels of the universe, which demand a deep and sustained contemplation, did not appeal to their æsthetic sense.

Albuquerque, the greatest Portuguese soldier that ever landed on the Indian shores, speaking of Honore, has only one remark to make, "Onor he cova de ladrões," "Honore is a den of thieves," in his letter to the King of the 1st December, 1513. And St. Francis Xavier, their most holy missionary, writing on the 18th September, 1542, to the members of his Society in Rome, says :—"Tenemos grande esperanza que se han de hacer muchissimos christianos," "We have great hope that a great many Christians will be made," a theme to which he returns often in his subsequent letters, with casual variations, still without even a passing allusion to the beauty of the Eastern countries the saint was privileged to visit and convert to the Roman Catholic Church. But the times were different, and men are much in the habit of reading other ages in the light of their own.

When the fleet of Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut on the 20th May, 1498, an important date whose quatercentenary the civilised world will soon celebrate, Vijayanagar, under the dominion of the Raya dynasty, was the most powerful kingdom of Southern India,

besides Malabar, and extended from one sea coast to the other. Its Western portion corresponded to the province of Kanara, and was subject either to their Viceroys or to Chieftains, who were tributary to their Kings.

From Calicut to Goa, which in 1510 became the capital of their Eastern Empire, the Portuguese called frequently at the fourteen harbours of varied depth and extent, which gave shelter to the boats of the native merchants.

From the time of Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese felt the need of planting, like the ancient Phœnicians, factories or agencies in all lands where they traded, both to dispose of their cargoes and to collect the produce for shipment to Europe. They did not choose new or comparatively unknown spots for their factories and *entrepôts*, but built on historic sites, some of which grew under their auspices to be commercial emporia and centres of political, social, and religious influence, which outlived the decline of the nation as a maritime power.

Although their authority became supreme in the course of the following 20 years over more than 12,000 miles of coast, they never obtained possession of a single province on the continent of India. Thus their power was sustained by a fleet that was fitted out every year with an army corps exceedingly burdensome to a numerically small people, and by between thirty and forty factories, some of which were fortified. And the factory and the fort between them always required a church, which became the centre from which radiated the missionary zeal in all directions. Thus the Kanara coast was in course of time not only studded with factories and forts, but also with churches and convents of Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, Augustins, Theatins, and other religious orders, with their seminaries, schools, orphanages, and such civilising agencies of the modern times.

Gaspar Correa tells us that during the second voyage of Vasco da Gama in 1502, the captain-major anchored at the ports of Onor and of Baticala, where there were many Moorish ships, which were captured and burned. He told the Moors that the King of Portugal, his sovereign, was "lord of the sea, of all the world, and also of all this coast; for which reason all the rivers and ports which have got shipping have to obey him, and pay tribute for their people who go in their fleets: and this only as a sign of obedience, in order that thereby their ports may be free and that they may carry on in them their trade and profits in security, neither trading in pepper, nor bringing Turks, nor going to the port of Calicut, because for any of these

three things the ships which shall be found to have done these shall be burned, with as many as may be captured in them." These words of Vasco da Gama sum up the policy pursued by the Portuguese in India. Thus they claimed dominion over the Indian Sea, and these petty kings, who said that they had the names of kings, but were mere tenants of the king of Bisnagar, were ready to acknowlege this new sovereignty, and pay the tribute demanded from them.

But these attacks on Onor and Baticala or Honawar and Bhatkal, as they are called now, had hardly the shadow of a pretext for them, except that of punishing the pirates, which Defoe would describe as *acting the murderers to punish robbers*, according to a remark by Mr. Stanley, the translator of a part of the *Lendas*.

The twelve years which had elapsed from the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope to the capture of Goa were spent mostly, save occasional skirmishes with the pirates, in establishing tolerably friendly relations with the rulers of the coast. These relations appear to have become more cordial and durable after the conquest of Goa, when Narasinha of Vijayanagar signed a treaty of alliance with Albuquerque. This treaty made his viceroys and tenants tributary to the King of Portugal.

One cannot cease admiring Albuquerque's organizing power. As long as he was alive, this coast enjoyed perfect peace. The fame of the founder of the Portuguese Empire in the East is imperishable. Albuquerque is to be placed in the same category with Alexander and Cæsar, who, by their splendid genius, masterful organisation, ready resource and decisive action in every occasion, laid the foundation of more or less lasting empires. What endeared his memory to the grateful hearts of the Indians was his love of justice, and what embittered his existence in this country was that great flaw in the Iberic temperament of his own countrymen—envy. His life, singularly free from vulgar ambition, full of chivalry, devoted to the service of his country, pure, and delighting in dealing even-handed justice, offers some details of marked interest. Amongst these, his statesman-like firmness, even when wielding a divided authority, and waging unceasingly a calm combat against obstructions of all kinds, engendered by the vilest of human passions, is most conspicuous.

But after Albuquerque's death, the friendly understanding with the native princes, which was, indeed, from the beginning, of a precarious character, although supported by the conciliating manner of the great captain, ceased, and then outbreaks and naval engagements became more frequent.

These periodical conflicts culminated one day in a serious fight. There was no actual *casus belli*, no provocation of any grave nature, but mere wantonness and conceit which characterised the countrymen of Viriato.

Barkur, called Vákkánur in Malayalam and Bacanor by the Portuguese, gave shelter to a small fleet of *paraos* or native boats laden with rice, about to sail to Calicut, for exchanging it with pepper. This town was situated in the country of an allied prince. Nevertheless, "fierce" Sampaio, as Camões calls him, went there from Cannanore, burned the boats, plundered the town and killed men, sparing neither women nor children, nor unarmed peasants. This took place in January 1528.

Lopo Vaz de Sampaio was an able, bold, and brave soldier, but an unscrupulous character. He usurped the Governorship of India, was sent a prisoner to Lisbon, but through his great military talents obtained pardon from the King. The *Lusiads*, which are the creation of their age, often pass over many a prowess and episode of the Portuguese in silence, when they do not add to the glory of the nation. The exploit of Sampaio was, however, of too epic a character, and as the national poet had to refer to it, he appeased the qualms of his conscience by prefixing a stanza in praise of justice. Such lines ought to have been inscribed in golden letters, like the "know thyself" on the Delphian temple of Apollo, on the main gates and portals of every factory and fort in India.

Camões writes:—

"Mas na India cobiça e ambição,
Que claramente põe aberto o rosto
Contra Deos e justiça, te farão
Vituperio nenhum, mas só desgôsto:
Quem faz injúria vil e semrazão,
Com fôrças e poder em que está posto,
Não vence; que a victoria verdadeira
He saber ter justiça nua e inteira."—Canto x., 58.

Sir R. Burton translates it thus:—

"But Inde's ambition, and her Lucre-lust,
for ever flaunting bold and brazen face
in front of God and Justice, shall disgust
thy heart, but do thine honour no disgrace.
Who works vile inj'ury with unreas'oning trust
in force, and footing lent by rank and place,
conquereth nothing, the true Conq'ueror he
who dares do naked Justice fair and free."

Sampaio's victory is then recorded in these terms :—

"Mas com tudo não nego que Sampaio
Será no esfôrço illustre e assinalado,
Mostrando-se no mar um fero raio,
Que de inimigos mil verá coalhado:
Em Bacanor fará cruel ensaio
No Malabar, para que amedrontado
Depois a ser vencido delle venha
Cutiale, com quanta armada tenha:"

Canto x., 59.

This is translated by Burton as follows :—

"Yet to Sampaio will I not gainsay
a noble valour shown by shrewdest blows,
that shall o'er Ocean flash like thunder-ray,
curded with thousand corpses of his foes.
He shall in Bacanor make fierce assay
on Malabar, till owns in terror-throes
Cutiále, beaten with his battered Fleet
the dreadful ruin of a rout complete."

Like the soldier-poet, there are not a few who would also like to forget their crimes and remember only their virtues, especially when one contemplates at this distance of time the heroic deeds of these Western adventurers, whom the Kanarese people, not knowing who they were, called both Yavanas and Franghis, Greeks and Franks.

But whatever they were, they were a sturdy race of men. Even now the entrance of each of these creeks and rivers presents considerable obstacles. How dangerous is the crossing of the bar, how difficult the landing. Still, this handful of men, defying all the perils of the sea and land, of Nature and man, amidst showers of arrows, bullets, and cannon balls from a host of the enemy, rowed quite heedlessly across the unsafe gulfs, creeks, and rivers, armed as these were with palisades, fences, and stockades of all sorts, to the shore, captured the vessels, burned them, sacked, pillaged, devastated the town, and returned to their galleys and then sailed back to Goa, Cochin, or Cannanore, to be fêted with chimes of bells, bonfires, triumphal arches, salutes, flourish of trumpets, and processions of the clergy singing *Te Deums* in the cathedrals of their towns. These modern Yavanas seem really as if they were either pirates or madmen. If piracy was their business, it was certainly attended with great heroism; if madness, there was a method in it.

But to return to the narrative. Two years after this engagement at Barkur, the terrible Diogo da Silveira, who had already signalised his passage along the northern coast from Bombay to Bassein, was keeping watch over the Kanara coast. Having heard that a rich merchant, who had dealings with Calicut, was fitting out a fleet of *paraos* to carry rice in exchange for pepper to the latter place, he set sail to Mangalore, burned both the fleet and the town, plundered and laid waste the country around and returned to Goa. This memorable event in the annals of Mangalore took place in March 1530. Both this engagement and the one of Barkur are described at length by the chroniclers.

Twenty-nine years since the havoc and devastation wrought by Silveira at Mangalore had passed away, during which period the Coast principalities of the kingdom of Kanara had paid their *pareas* or tribute, in the form of bales of rice, from the Queen of Garsopa to the Queen of Olala or whoever reigned there, with the intervening viceroys often playing the *rôle* of kings, to the King of Portugal. But the repeated extortions by the Portuguese had caused considerable discontent among them, and all the princes of the Coast were only too glad to get rid of them.

In 1559, during the viceroyalty of D. Constantino de Bragança, news was received from spies, mostly native Christians, who appear to have always had free access to the native Courts, that a conspiracy was being hatched against the Portuguese. The head-quarters of this plot were at Mangalore. No sooner was the Viceroy apprised of the fact than he lost no time in fitting out a fleet apparently to punish a rebellious Moor in the port of that city, but in reality to nip in the bud the rising against the Portuguese power. The preparations for this expedition, which was placed under the command of D. Luiz de Mello da Silva, were on such a scale of prodigality as to become the topic of general amazement. This naval combat, as the chroniclers call it, reduced Mangalore to ashes. The soldiers opened a series of butcheries, and much blood was thus shed. Several pages of Faria and Souza's *Asia Portugueza* are filled with it, as well of the *Decadas*. D. Luiz de Mello took here a Turkish flag, which he placed under a Christian standard, and thus adorned, some time after, with seven other vessels, sailed from Palmeirinha, near Mangalore, to help D. Paio de Noronha against the Malabar princes, and gained a signal victory. Lafitau, describing this action, says:—"Fut une des plus glorieuses pour les portugais, its firent des prodiges d'une extrême valeur."

The Kanarese towns seem, indeed, to possess great vitality. Twice was Mangalore ravaged and destroyed by the Portuguese within thirty years, and each time it sprang up, like the Phœnix of old, from its own ashes. Still the misfortunes of the "prosperous city," for such is the meaning of its name, from the Sanskrit *Mangala*, "happiness, success," and '*pur*' "city" were not over.

Eight years had hardly gone by since the glorious action, as Lafitau calls it, in which D. Luiz de Mello laid waste Mangalore and the adjacent coast to the south, had evoked dismay mingled with admiration from the awe-struck people of Kanara, and Mangalore was again a flourishing town, and this time under the rule of a woman of lofty resolve and strength of purpose.

The Portuguese had, from the day they visited Mangalore for the first time, made it tributary, like many other towns on the seaboard. It had regularly paid a certain number of bales of rice, which was supposed to be of the best quality. Barbosa, describing this place, as early as 1514, says:—"There many ships always load brown rice, which is much better and more healthy than the white, for Malabar, for the common people, and it is very cheap. They also ship there much rice in Moorish ships for Aden, also pepper, which henceforward the earth begins to produce, but little of it, and better than all the other which the Malabars bring to this place in small vessels. The banks of this river are very pretty, and very full of woods and palm trees, and are very thickly inhabited by Moors and Gentiles, and studded with fine buildings and houses of prayer of the Gentiles, which are very large, and enriched with large revenues. There are also many mosques, where they greatly honour Mahomed." (Hakluyt Edition, p. 83.)

Every time the Portuguese sacked and burned a town the tribute was increased. Thus Mangalore was paying, according to Botelho's *Tombo* of 1554, three tributes for each of its small harbours. *Banguo* was paying a thousand bales of rice, the port near the pagoda seven hundred, and the port to the south, called *Talnhe*, an equal number.

The Queen of Olala, who was the mistress of these ports, became eventually recalcitrant, and objected to pay so heavy a tribute. The Factor of the town used all possible persuasion, but failed.

Some of the factories had not yet been fortified, and that of Mangalore was a structure of primitive type. The Factor could not enforce his claims to the payment of the tribute, there being no military force to support him. Moreover, the Queen of Olala was growing every day more refractory and overbearing.

The Viceroy D. Antão de Noronha then applied to the Queen for the grant of a piece of ground for erecting a fort. The Queen not only denied permission, but treated the request with a flippancy and a want of the courtesy due to his high position. The Viceroy, then, to curb—*pôr lhe freio*, as a chronicler expresses it—the insolence of the Queen, equipped a large fleet, which he placed under the command of D. Francisco Mascarenhas. To this he added a smaller one of seven ships, which he confided to the Second-in-command, João Peixoto, and he followed the expedition himself with 7 galleys, 2 galleons, and 5 fustas. The squadron consisted in all of 54 vessels, and there were 3,000 fighting men on board, besides the crews.

They sailed on the 8th of December, 1567, and anchored off Mangalore on the 4th of January. The landing was unopposed, and the troops meeting with no resistance, as they had expected, made light of the enemy. They lit bonfires in their camp and began to eat, drink, and play. The enemy, however, who was all the while lying in wait, taking advantage of the darkness of the hour, and of the distraction of the soldiers, rushed in the dead of night, and at the height of the festivities, into the encampment, and surprised them. The result was a great confusion, during which the Portuguese are said to have killed their own companions, believing them to be the enemy, and a terrible slaughter ensued. Among the dead was Lopo Barros, a son of the great historian, the Portuguese Livy, and among the wounded many distinguished officers. Mathias de Albuquerque, who lived to be a Viceroy of Philip II., when Portugal became an appanage of the Spanish Crown, had a narrow escape. When wounded, he feigned death, but every Kanarese soldier who touched him, tried by kicking and other means to be sure that he was dead. This is called a miraculous escape, and so it apparently was.

The following morning, however, the Portuguese, fully avenged the disaster. Mangalore was taken and razed to the ground, and the Queen fled to the mountains. The Viceroy, seeing himself master of the situation, commanded a fort to be built, the foundation of which was laid on the 20th of January, 1568, and named St. Sebastian, in honour of the saint of the day, and of the reigning sovereign of Portugal. The building was completed about the middle of March. The Viceroy nominated his brother-in-law, D. Antonio Pereira, its commander, and left with him a garrison of 300 men, and ammunition and provisions for six months.

Faria e Souza is severe upon the men who brought on the reverse of the night, previous to the final victory. He blames the vanity more than the self-reliance of his countrymen in despising the enemy. These are his words: "Pues más vanidad que confiança es hazer bizarria de despreciar al enemigo," "It is indeed more vanity than confidence to arrogantly despise the enemy."

The next Viceroy, D. Luis de Athaide, made a treaty of peace with the Queen of Olala, who, besides paying the war indemnity, was compelled to increase, as usual in such cases, the annual tribute of bales of rice, in proportion to the losses suffered by the Portuguese.

The Fort of Mangalore, however, built so hurriedly, could not possibly possess much strength, nor last long. King Philip, in his correspondence with the Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque, which has been published in the *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, Vol. III., alludes to it frequently and urges the Viceroy to render it the best fortified town of the whole of South Kanara. Antonio Teixeira de Macedo was then the Captain of the fort.

It appears that, notwithstanding the efforts of Mathias de Albuquerque to make Mangalore the *entrepôt* and the best fortified town of South Kanara, it fell off in prosperity. While in the time of Barbosa and Varthema, fifty to sixty ships used to load rice here; sixty years later, according to C. Federici, it was a little place of small trade, exporting a little rice.

But, as said before, Mangalore, although pursued by a strange fatality, seems to have been endowed with the power of quick revival. When Della Valle visited the place in 1623, it was again full of life, although the Portuguese Fort was decaying. The Roman traveller describes it as follows:—"Mangalore stands between Olala and Banghel, and in the middle of the bay, right against the mouth of the harbour, into which the Fort extends itself, being almost encompassed with water on three sides. It is but small, the worst built of any I have seen in India, and, as the Captain told me one day when I visited him, may rather be termed the house of a gentleman than a fort." (Venice Edn. of 1667, Vol. II., p. 272.) The Captain of the Fort was then Pero Gomes Pessanha.

Della Valle was a keen observer of the events that were passing in India in the first quarter of the 17th century. I shall have to refer to him again in Part II. of this paper, but, in the meantime, it may be worth while to quote his opinion of the Portuguese of those days. He writes:—"I have mentioned this occurrence at large . . .

to make known to all the world the demeanour of the noble Portuguese nation in these parts, who, indeed, had they but as much order, discipline and good government as they have valour, Ormuz and other sad losses would not be now lamented, but they would most certainly be capable of achieving great matters. But God gives not all things to all." *Ibid.* p. 358.

Evidently valour, without order, discipline, and good government, was of no avail against the host of the enemy in India, although bravery is the keynote of the national temperament, which, like the temperament of all the peoples of Southern Europe, is often more profoundly influenced by sentiment than by reason, the feeling being more acute than logic. A mighty spirit of valour seems, indeed, to move through all the pages of the national poem :—

"Cesse tudo o que a Musa antigua canta,
Que outro valor mais alto se alevanta."

Canto i., 3.

"Cease all that antique Muse hath sung, for now
a better Brav'ry rears its bolder brow."

But bravery without discipline is a negative quality. Want of discipline neutralises the best display of courage and endurance. If the Portuguese had possessed the two combined, and also sentiment along with reason, their power in the East might still be an important factor in the civilization of the world. But, as Della Valle says, "God gives not all things to all." *Però Dio non a tutti dà tutte le cose.*

To this internal enemy was now, about the middle of the 17th century, to be added an external and a more powerful one. The Dutch had crippled the Portuguese power by first capturing Malaca in 1641, then Ceylon from 1656 to 1658, and latterly Cochin and some other settlements on the Malabar Coast in 1662.

These continued losses encouraged the Kanarese princes to defy the Portuguese. Mangalore and other fortresses in Kanara were now reported to be in a weak and dangerous condition, both on account of their own feeble power of defence, and of a new aggressive power rising in their neighbourhood. Shivappa Naik, a Bednur Chief, had grown into a potentate of no mean order from the decay of the kingdom of Vijayanagar, and between 1648 and 1670 held all the surrounding country, being called the king of Kanara.

The Portuguese were now, according to their proverb, between the anvil and the hammer (*entre o malho e a bigorna*). Having frittered away the best opportunities to befriend the natives, and having then

alienated their sympathies, they were now placed between two enemies, the internal and the external, the Indian and the Dutch.

In 1652 Shivappa invested Mangalore and some other towns still in the hands of the Portuguese, but D. Vasco Mascarenhas patched up a hasty peace. The negotiations were again protracted for many years, and not brought to a conclusion until 1671, when the king of Kanara gave sites for the erction of new factories at various places, among them Mangalore, but stipulated that they should be surrounded by only single walls, without embrasures or bastions.

In 1678 there was another outbreak of hostilities, at the end of which one more treaty was signed, whereby Shivappa undertook to supply stone and timber for the factory at Mangalore. This factory yielded, in 1687, 4,688 Xerafins and spent 1,831.

We now come to the last act of the drama. It was a duel fought for a long time, at the end of which both the antagonists were left exhausted. The Naik dynasty of Bednur or Ikkeri, in spite of their repeated treaties of friendship with the Portuguese, was almost always at variance with the latter. In 1713 the Viceroy Vasco Fernandes Cezar de Menezes had a disagreement with Keladi Basappa Naik, King of Kanara. Not coming to terms a squadron was despatched on the 15th of January, 1713, which captured and burnt many ships all along the coast as far as Mangalore, and destroyed much merchandise. These losses brought the Naik to submission, and a treaty was signed on the 19th of February, 1714. These few lines in which I have condensed the events of the whole year are given by Cardinal D. Francisco S. Luiz in his *Os Portuguezes em Africa, Asia, America e Oceania*, Vol. VI., in nearly twenty-five pages, 4to size, with copies of authentic documents.

From this time to the conquest of South Kanara by Haidar Ali in 1763, and its annexation to British India in 1799, the Portuguese Factory of Mangalore passed through further vicissitudes. A treaty was signed with Haidar Ali in 1764, which agreed to the permanency of the Factory, but in 1776 he somehow took possession of it. In 1783 both the Fort and the Factory were destroyed. Negotiations were then opened with Tippu Sultan, and with the British Government at the end of the last century, in order to re-establish the Factory, but all in vain. And thus the last remnant of the Portuguese rule and trade in South Kanara was for ever extinguished.

But these were not the only vestiges of the Portuguese influence in that beautiful country. A large section of its population, professing

the Roman Catholic religion, more than twenty-five churches, some of them larger and more handsome buildings than the churches in Bassein or Salsette, and other monuments, which I shall reserve for Part II. of this paper, testify to the civilising action of that small nation, in times past. Mangalore, the capital of South Kanara, where the largest number of the converts of the Portuguese reside, is now a prosperous town. With the bright prospects of a rapidly advancing community, with all the elements, moral and material, that help to make a people happy, and the abundant resources of a rich commercial city, it is expected that, if the port can be improved and a railway built, it will soon become the emporium of the Western Coast of Southern India.

Art. XVII.—*The Antiquity of the Avesta:* By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

[Read 26th June 1896.]

The general opinion about the extant Avesta literature is that it is a faithful remnant of the "Grand Avesta" of the Achemenian times. But as Prof. Max-Muller says, the late lamented Dr. Darmesteter, whose untimely death has caused a great gap in the foremost rank of Avesta scholars, has, by what he calls the historical solution of the question, "thrown a bomb-shell in the peaceful camp of the Orientalists."(1) He asserts(2) that the Avesta, as it has come down to us, is not a faithful reproduction from the "Grand Avesta" of the Achemenian times, but that it has undergone several changes while passing through the hands of the different monarchs of Persia, who undertook to collect them.

To support his theory he dwells upon what he calls two kinds of evidence. Firstly, the historical evidence as collected from the Dinkard and the letter of Tansar, the Dastur of Ardeshir Babegân (Artaxerxes I.) to the king of Tabaristan; secondly, the internal evidence as presented by the Avesta itself.

On the supposed strength of these two kinds of evidence, he says, that a great part of the Avesta had been re-written in the period of the political and religious fermentation, which preceded the advent of the Sassanians; that the greatest and the most important touch and finish were given to it in the reign of Ardeshir Babegân (A. D. 211-241), and that even in the reign of Shapur I. (A. D. 241-272) some final changes were made in it. Thus Dr. Darmesteter brings down the antiquity of the Avesta, which scholars like Haug and his Vedic school had placed in a remote period, preceding even the Achemenian times, to as late as the third century after Christ. The object of this paper is to examine some of the points, which Darmesteter dwells upon, to support his theory. This paper does not pretend to examine in

(1) Prof. Max.-Muller in the *Contemporary Review*, Dec. 1893.

(2) Le Zend Avesta III. The Vendidad, 2nd Ed.

detail the great question of the Antiquity of the Avesta from all standpoints, but aims to examine it from a few standpoints suggested by Darmesteter as facts of historical and internal evidence.

Firstly, we will enter into the subject of the historical evidence about the later origin of the Avesta. The history of the collection of the Avesta, as given in the Dinkard(3) is as follows:—

In the times of the Achemenian emperors one copy of the "Grand Avesta" was deposited in the royal archives of Istakhar (Persepolis) and another in the royal treasury of Shapigân. The one in the royal archives was destroyed by Alexander the Great(4) during his conquest of Persia. The literature so destroyed was written, according to Tansar(5) upon 12,000 ox-hides. It consisted of 1,000 chapters. The other copy in the royal treasury was taken possession of by the Greeks, who carried it away and got it translated into their language. Perhaps it is this translation that Pliny refers to, when he says that Hermippos of Alexandria (3rd century B. C.) had, with the assistance of Azonax, translated into Greek 20,000 verses of the writings of Zoroaster. During the times of the Parthian dynasty when there was a religious anarchy in Persia, Valkhash (Vologeses I.), with a view to restore the religion, tried to collect the Avesta literature destroyed by Alexander.

But the most successful attempt was made by Ardeshir Babegân, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty. The services rendered by Ardeshir to the cause of the Zoroastrian religion are therefore thus commemorated in the Afrin î Rapithavan: Hamâzor Farohar-i-Ardasher Babegân bâd, avâ hamâ Farohar-i-ârâstârân va vinâstârân va vinârtârân-i-din khudâe bad, *i. e.*, "May the guiding spirit of Ardeshir Babegân be one with us together with the guiding spirits of those who restore, arrange and look into the religion of God." Ardeshir was helped in this noble cause by a learned Dastur named Taosar or Tansar. Although, as said above, one attempt was made by Vologeses I. before Ardeshir, and although two more attempts were made after Ardeshir by Shapur I. and Shapur II. to restore the ancient literature and religion, it is only Ardeshir's more important attempts that are commemorated in the above Afrin. Now Darmesteter lays great stress upon the abovementioned

(3) West's Dinkard, p. xxxi., 413-14.

(4) Viraf, 1-8.

(5) Journal Asiatique Tome III. (1894), p. 516.

account of the Dinkard and upon a letter by Tansar to the king of Tabaristan, wherein he explained to a certain extent how he wished to proceed in the work of helping his royal master Ardeshir in the cause of uniting the ancient Persian empire, of reviving the ancient literature, and of restoring the ancient religion. On the strength of these two documents, he says that the Avesta literature, as it has now come down to us, is, to a certain extent, meddled with by Tansar. It appears from Macoudi that Tansar belonged to the Platonic sect, and so according to Darmesteter, Tansar had introduced into the Avesta his Platonic views. Working upon that speculation he tries to show that there are several Greek elements in the Avesta. Not only that, but there are several other elements—Budhistic, Brahaminical, Jewish, etc., which show, he says, that the Avesta now extant are not very old.

Firstly, we will examine the evidence produced by Darmesteter from the historical documents, and see how far his conclusion is based on solid ground.

He takes his stand upon the general statements of the Dinkard and of the letter of Tansar, and boldly draws inferences which would not be justified by a detail examination of the passages. Let us examine the statements about the different sovereigns of Persia who collected the Avesta, and who worked, so to speak, to bring about Iranian renaissance. Firstly comes Valkhash. The Dinkard says of him that " Valkhash, descendant of Askan in each district, just as he had come forth, ordered the careful preservation and making of memoranda for the royal city, of the Avesta and Zand, as it had purely come unto them, and also of whatever instruction, due to it, had remained written about, as well as deliverable by the tongue through a high priest, in a scattered state in the country of Irân, owing to the ravages and devastation of Alexander and the cavalry and infantry of the Arûmans." (6)

Darmesteter refers from this passage that as Valkhash had a hand in the collection of the Avesta, the modern Avesta had some interpolations of his time, and that some post-Alexandrian elements had crept into it. But the passage does not admit of this inference. It very clearly says that he had ordered the careful preservation of the Avesta and Zand, as it had *purely* come into them.

(6) West, p. 413.

(Hoshangji and Haug's Pehelvi Pazend Glossary, Haugs's essay, p. 150.) Valkhash was so zealous to preserve the religious scruples of his creed, that he once refused to go to Rome at the invitation of Nero, lest by going by the sea-route he polluted the water and thus broke one of the commandments of the Vendidad, which forbade the pollution of water. His brother Tiridates was a priest. Now how can a king like him, who was so closely connected with a priestly family and who himself so earnestly observed all religious scruples, allow any interpolations in the collection of the old Avesta? How can he tolerate the smallest addition of any foreign element?

After Valkhash comes Ardeshir Babegân. He is spoken of by the Dinkard as the next collector of the Avesta. Tansar's letter to the king of Tabaristan also refers to this matter. The Dinkard says:(7)

"And that Artakhshatar, king of kings, who was son of Pâpak, came for the restoration of the monarchy of Irân, and the same scripture was brought from a scattered state to one place. The righteous Tôsar of the primitive faith, who was the priest of priests, appeared with an exposition *recovered from the Avesta*, and was ordered to complete the scripture from that exposition. He did so accordingly, to preserve a similitude of the splendour of the original enlightenment, in the treasury of Shapigân, and was ordered to distribute copies of the information provided."

From the above passage of the Dinkard, Darmesteter infers that "it appears that the Ardeshir compilation contained two classes of texts—texts that were incorporated as they were and other texts that were conjecturally restored by Tansar, the Pôryôtkês, so as to make a collection that should be an exact reproduction of the Vîstâsp Avesta, the lost treatise of Shapigân, which is as much as saying that the Ardeshir Avesta is a compound of texts anterior to Tansar and texts emanating from Tansar, the whole being an ideal restoration of the primitive Avesta." We beg to submit that the above passage of the Dinkard does not at all allow of such an inference. How can an unprejudiced reader come to that inference when the passage very clearly says that Tosar. . . appeared with an exposition *recovered from the Avesta* and was ordered to complete the scripture from that exposition?"

(7) West's Dinkard, p. xxxi.

Again, we must take into consideration the character of the two chief actors of this second period of Irânian renaissance, the character of both, the king and his Dastur, of Ardeshir and Tansar. Ardeshir through his grandfather Sassan, belonged to the sacerdotal race. According to Agathias he "was initiated in the doctrine of the Magi, and could himself celebrate the mysteries."(8) How can such a king, himself versed in the learned lore of his religion, give a free hand to his Dastur to introduce into the religious scriptures any foreign element that he liked. It could do in the case of a king not versed in religious lore, but not in the case of a king like Ardeshir who, by birth and education, belonged to the sacerdotal class versed in their religious books. If Tansar had taken any liberty, Ardeshir could have at once stopped him.

But now let us examine the character of Tansar himself. According to the Dinkard he was a "Paoiryô-tkaêsha," *i.e.*, one of the old order of faith, and so naturally averse to any innovations and to the introduction of any new elements in the old religion and in the old scriptures. This is confirmed by the tone he adopts in his letter to the king of Tabaristan. He expresses his displeasure at the new order of things subsequent upon the religious anarchy in the reign of the preceding dynasty. He says: (9)—

"At last, by the corruption of the men of those times, by the disappearance of the law, the love of novelties and apocrypha, and the wish for notoriety, even those legends and traditions passed away from the memory of the people." How then can we expect a Paoiryô-tkaêsha of Tansar's type and views to introduce into the religion and religious scriptures notions foreign to the old faith? While speaking about the characters of the two principal actors of the second period of Irânian renaissance, it will not be out of place to examine briefly a few important parts of Tansar's letter on which Darmesteter rests so much.

Firstly, Darmesteter attaches great importance to that part of the letter wherein Tansar writes to the king of Tabaristan that king Ardeshir does away with those customs which do not suit the necessities of his time. Now this does not show that Ardeshir, through his Dastur Tansar meddled with the old religious scriptures. It simply means that he modified several customs which, looking to the circumstances of the changed times, acted harshly and unjustly.

(8) Darm. Vend., 2 Ed. XLI. (9) Ibid, p. XLIII.

Again, Tansar's words ([10]) این شاه مسلط است بردین mean that "the king is the ruler over the religion," *i.e.*, the king is superior in points of religion or is the head of the Church. What Tansar meant was that the king was the spiritual and temporal head of the country. It seems that the translation given by Darmesteter, *viz.*, "the Shahinshah has power over the religion" is beyond the mark. It stretches the meaning too much. When Henry VIII. assumed in England the power as the spiritual head of the Church, he did not make all possible changes either in the religious observances or the scriptures. Again, Tansar's words ([11]) دین را تا رای بیان نکند قوامی نباشد mean that

"If the religion is not described (or explained) by reason, it has no steadiness." Darmesteter's rendering of بیان کند as "enlightened" carries the idea that Tansar meant addition or modification, but the words merely mean "description." The fact that this passage of Tansar's letter does not refer to the addition of any new notions or ideas is proved by another part of Tansar's letter quoted above, wherein he himself expresses his displeasure against the introduction of novelties.

Again, the fact that Tansar's letter does not refer to any changes or additions in the Avesta scriptures is more than proved by a cursory examination of some of the rules and laws referred to by Tansar. Let us see if some of the points referred to by Tansar are found in the present Avesta, with which he is supposed to have taken great liberty.

The king of Tabaristan complains of some innovations on the part of Ardeshir. Now, if according to Darmesteter's theory Tansar had taken liberty with the Avesta, we should have found those innovations in the Avesta; but, as a matter of fact, we do not find them. For example, the king of Tabaristan objects to Ardeshir's division of the different professions into four classes. ([12]) The Avesta division of the professions is as follows:—1 Âthravan (the clergy), 2 Ratha-êshtâr (the army), 3 Vâçtrya (the cultivators), and 4 Hutokhsh (the artizans).

Ardeshir's division, according to Tansar's letter, is as follows:—

The king is at the head of all. Then follow:

1 Açhâb-i-Din, *i.e.*, the clergy.

2 Mukâtel (mardân-i-kârzâr), *i.e.*, the army.

([10]) Journal Asiatique Tome III. (1894), p. 212.
([11]) Ibid, p. 213.
([12]) Ibid, p. 517.

3 Kuttâb, *i.e.*, the writers. This class includes clerks, medical men, literary men and scientific men.

4 Muhanâ, *i.e.*, the men of the ordinary class of work. This class includes merchants, agriculturists, workmen, &c.

A superficial examination of these two divisions, the one of the Avesta and the other of Tansar, shows that they widely differ. Now if Tansar took liberty with the Avesta, why did he not replace the Avesta division which "did not suit the necessities of the present" by the new division? If Tansar's object was to establish the unity of the throne by the unity of the Church, instead of meddling with philosophic subjects like those of the Logos and the Ideas which the generality of the people did not care for, and which could no way strengthen the power of Ardeshir, he ought to have first of all handled subjects like this and the following which had drawn the general attention, and which had, according to the king of Tabaristan, displeased the people. He ought to have introduced them into the Avesta, to give them the stamp of religion. The fact that Tansar did not do so and that the extant Avesta gives quite another division shows that Tansar had not taken any liberty with the Avesta.

Then the next important subject, referred to by Tansar in his letter, is the subject of punishments for scepticism and for criminal faults, such as theft and adultery. For example, Ardeshir ordered that the adulterer must be punished by having his nose cut, that the brigand and the thief must be punished by being made to pay large fines, &c. Now, if Tansar had taken liberty with the Avesta, and, if, as he says, Ardeshir had "ordered these precepts to be inserted in the Book of Laws" (ketâb-i-sunun), we should find them in the present Avesta, at least in the Vendidad. But we do not find anything of the kind in the Avesta, which shows that Tansar had not meddled with the Avesta.

In the Pehelvi commentary of the Vendidad (VIII.-236 (74) Spiegel, p. 122), we find an allusion to the punishment of a brigand (raçdâr). It is there said on the authority of a commentator Gogoshasp that a brigand, if he continues in his evil profession, may be at once put to death without waiting for a formal order from the Dâto-bar. The same punishment is ordered on the authority of one Vakhshâpur. Now it appears from this, that the punishment

here referred to is not at all in accord with the punishment referred to by Tansar in his letter as that "ordered by him to be inserted in the Book of Laws." On the other hand it is more in accord with that spoken of by Tansar, as prevalent in the ancient times. This shows that Tansar had nothing to do with the Avesta. Not only that, but he had nothing to do even with the Pehelvi commentaries written much later than the original Avesta. If he had no free hand in the later Pehelvi commentaries, how can he have a free hand in the original Avesta itself.

Again we find in the Pehelvi version of the Vendidad a number of names of eminent Dasturs, who had made comments, such as Gogoshasp, Dâd-farrokh, Âdar-pâd, Khoshtanbujid, Vakhshâpur, but we do not find anywhere the name of Tansar. This is a very strong proof that Tansar had no hand at all, not only in the original Avesta but even in the much later Pehelvi versions.

Lastly take the case of Tansar's reference to the social custom of marriage. He says, that Ardeshir "prohibited that a man of high family should marry a girl of a lower family, with a view to preserve the purity of blood." Now, we find no prohibition of this kind in the present Avesta. If Tansar had taken liberty with it as alleged, he would have put in this prohibition in the Vendidad. The only prohibition referred to in the Vendidad is that a Mâzdayaçnân should not join in marriage with a Daêva-yaçnân.

In examining the so-called historical evidence of Darmesteter on the later origin of the Avesta, we now come to Shapur, the third important actor of the period of renaissance, after whose time he thinks the Avesta canon was closed. Darmesteter is of opinion that foreign elements crept into the Avesta even after Ardesir's time, and so he attaches great importance to the following passage in the Dinkard about Shapur.

"Shahpûhar, king of kings, and son of Artakhshatar, again brought together also the writings which were distinct from religion, about the investigation of medicine and astronomy, time, place, and quality, creation, existence, and destruction . . . . that were scattered among the Hindus and in Arum and other lands ; and he ordered their collection again with the Avesta, and the presentation of a correct copy of each to the treasury of Shapigân. (West's Dinkard P. Texts IV. p. 414; Darm. Le Zend Avesta III., p. XXXII).

Darmesteter says that "This is a confession that part of the Avesta

was translated or imitated from foreign sources." Nothing of the kind. It appears to be clear from this passage that here the question is about the collection of medical and other scientific works *other than those of religion* ([illegible]) How can they have been embodied in the extant Avesta which, according to Darmesteter himself, is "only a liturgical collection, and it bears more likeness to a Prayer Book than to the Bible." What the Dinkard says is merely this, that Shapur got collected, both from the East and from the West, works on scientific subjects. They were not all embodied in the Avesta, but as the last sentence of the above quoted passage says "the presentation of a correct copy of each to the treasury of Shapigan" was ordered by the king. The words in the text [illegible] (*i. e.*, he ordered their collection again together with the Avesta-Peh. Paz. glossary, p. 150) mean that Shapur ordered the collection again of this scientific literature together with that of the Avesta, and ordered a copy of each to be preserved in the royal library of Shapigân. The words do not admit of the interpretation of "reunir et incorporer dans l'Avesta les fragments d'un intérêt scientifique" as Darmesteter understands them.

If, as Darmesteter says, the above passage is an allusion to his theory that additions were made to the Avesta even in later times, then, as a matter of fact, we must find these writings on medicine, astronomy, and such other scientific subjects in our present Avesta. But we do not find them at all. Therefore, the only inference we can draw is this, that the passage in the Dinkard does not at all allude to any subsequent additions to the Avesta itself, but to the Pehelvi works.

In closing this short survey of Darmesteter's conclusion based on the historical evidence of the Dinkard and of Tansar's letter, we must bear in mind that in the very passages where the Dinkard speaks of the restoration of religion, and of the religious scriptures, and on which Darmesteter lays great stress in support of his theory, Alexander, the Greek of Greeks, is spoken of as "the evil-destined villain Alexander" and allusions are made to his ravages and devastations. Again, the very document on which Darmesteter bases his theory, *viz.*, Ibn al Muqaffa's letter of Tansar speaks of the harsh conduct of Alexander towards the Persians. He thought of killing the princes and nobles of Irân so that during his march

towards India they may not rise against him. But the good advice of his tutor Aristotle prevailed, and he divided Irân into petty principalities, so that the rulers may fight among themselves and not join into an open rebellion against his rule. Again in the body of the letter itself, Tansar alludes to the fact of Alexander's burning the sacred books. (13)

Now Darmesteter represents Tansar as borrowing foreign elements for his Avesta from these very Greeks, whose hero Alexander he (Tansar) himself runs down, and so do the Dinkard and other Pehelvi works. How improbable to think that a religious and sacerdotal monarch like Ardeshir, and a Paoiryo-Tkaêsha Dastur like Tansar should think of introducing into their scriptures the notions and beliefs of those very Greeks who had brought about the ruin of their country and religion, a ruin, the painful memory of which was fresh in their minds, and which continued to remain fresh for some time longer. Nothing can be more improbable than this.

But look to this question from another point of view. What did Valkhash and Ardeshir and Shapur aim at? What was the religious renaissance for? The Greeks had possibly left the mark of their invasion on the politics, as well as on the social and religious life of Irân. It was this mark of the Greeks that had brought about the political, social, and religious anarchy. It was to obliterate these marks that Valkhash, Ardeshir, and the Shapurs worked. It was to obliterate these marks that was the aim of the renaissance of Ardeshir's time. Now what can be more improbable than to think that those who worked hard in that work of renaissance should, instead of obliterating these marks of Greek influence, perpetuate them, by bodily introducing Greek elements into their very scriptures.

Again, if there be any country, whose religious ideas the Persians would not like to have incorporated into their religious books, it would be Grecee or India. Again, if there be anybody who could be said to have introduced into Zoroastrianism these so-called Greek and Indian elements, Tansar should be the last person, because from his very letter to the king of Tabaristan, to which Darmesteter attaches so much importance, we learn that as a true Zoroastrian, he found the

(13) "Tu sais qu' Alexandre brûla á Istakhar nos livres sacrés ecrits sur douze mille peaux de bœuf," Journal Asiatque T. III, p. 516,

Greeks, Indians, and others wanting in good religious manners and customs (آداب دینی). Referring to the country of the Turks, Greece, and India, Tansar says (I give Darmesteter's translation). (14) Quant aux bonnes mœurs religieuses et au service du Roi, ce sont des faveurs qu'il (Le Dieu) nous a octroyées et qu'il leur a refusées." Again further on he says: "Toutes les sciences de la terre sont notre lot." Thus we see that Tansar believed that his fatherland of Irân, possessed all the sciences of the world, and that that his country was favoured by God with all good religious customs which the other countries were deprived of. Now, how can you expect a man with such a belief to borrow elements for his scriptures from Greece and from other countries ?

Again, what is more probable ? That, if, in order to suit new circumstances, he was allowed the liberty to meddle with the Avesta, he should take liberty with those parts which treat of philosophic subjects, or with those that treat of the social manners and customs, with which the generality of people have to do ? As a religious reformer, it would be his duty not to add new philosophic ideas with which the people on the whole had little concern, but to change some of the old social usages which required a change under the new circumstances. If allowed a free hand Tansar would have at first changed some of the customs mentioned in the Vendidad, which clearly point that they belonged to very old times.

For example, it appears from the Vendidad that during the olden times when it was written, the use of metal as money was very little known. Animals were the medium of exchange or barter. A medical practitioner is required to be paid not in coins, but in animals. (15) If he cured the head of a family he is to be given a small ox as his professional fee; if he cured the ruler of a village, a large ox ; if he cured the lady of the house, a she-ass and so on.

This scale of medical fees must have existed a long time before the Achemenian rulers, some of whom had Greek doctors on their staff. Now then, if Tansar had a *carte blanche* from his sovereign to take liberty with the Avesta, and to add, omit, or modify, of course, the first thing he would have done would have been to strike off from the Vendidad the above system of payment and to introduce a

(14) Journal Asiatique, Tome III., p. 547.

(15) Vendidad VII., 41-43.

new system of payment by coins. There are several other old customs in the Vendidad which suited the times when it was written, but in the times of Velkhash or Tansar, were more honoured in their breach than in their observance. So, had Tansar taken liberty with the Avesta, instead of meddling with some philosophic ideas, he would have at once changed some of the customs mentioned in the Vendidad. But the very fact that the Vendidad has come down to us, as it was written in some pre-Achemenian times, shows that Tansar could not have taken any liberty with the sacred writings of the Gâthas ascribed to Zoroaster himself.

The chief point which should determine the age when the different writings of Zoroastrian literature were written, is the mention made therein of the names of historical personages. The Farvardin Yasht contains a long list of the departed worthies of ancient Irân. It contains the names of eminent men, who lived upto two centuries after Zoroaster, and who did yeoman's service to their country. For example, the name of Saêna Ahum Stuto (Saêna Ahum Studân of Afrin î Rapithavan) who, according to the Pehelvi Zarthosht-Nameh, died about two hundred years after Zoroaster, is commemorated there (Y. XIII., 97). Now, if according to Darmesteter, the Zoroastrian canon was not closed up to the time of Shapur, why is it that we do not find in the Farvardin Yasht any names of the Achemenian, Parthian or Sassanian dynasties. Those dynasties have produced a number of men worthy of being commemorated for their services to the cause of their country and religion. Take the case of Valkhash (Vologeses I.), whose services to the cause of Zoroastrian religion were highly spoken of by the Dinkard together with those of Ardeshir. Now if liberty was taken, as alleged, by Tansar, and his predecessors with the Avesta, surely the name of Valkhash would most assuredly have been added to the long list of the worthies of Irân in the Farvardin Yasht. Ardeshir's services to the cause of Zoroastrian religion were really very great, and so they were commemorated in the later Pazend prayer known as the Afrin i Rapithavan, together with those of Zoroaster, King Goshtasp, Asfandiar, and others. Now if the Sassanian princes took liberty with the Avesta, why is it that the name of Ardeshir Babegân is not included in the list of Farvardin Yasht. Ardeshir's son Shapur I., who also is spoken of in the Dinkard as having had a part in the revival of the religion, could have added the name of his illustrious father in the list of Farvardin

Yasht. The very fact that Ardeshir's services were remembered in the later Pazand prayer, but not in the Avesta itself, shows that no liberty was, and could be, tolerated with the writings of the Avesta.

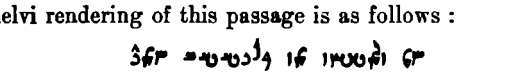
Having examined the historical evidence, now let us examine a few important points of internal evidence advanced by Darmesteter. He points to several passages in the Avesta, and traces in them foreign elements and infers that those foreign elements had crept into the Avesta in later times. We will first speak of what he calls the Parthian elements.

Professor Darmesteter refers to a name in the Avesta, which he thinks points to a later origin of the Avesta. It is that of Alexander. In the Hom Yasht, they say of Hom that "he overthrew the usurping Kereçani, who arose longing for sovereignty, and said: "Henceforth no priest will go at his wish through the country to teach the law." Professor Darmesteter says that the Kereçani referred to here is Alexander. He says that here a foreign invasion and persecution is alluded to, and that, therefore, it is a historical allusion to Alexander's conquest of Persia. In support of his theory, he rests upon the Pehelvi rendering of the word which is rendered as Kilisyâk (Kihisyai). In the Pehelvi Bahaman Yasht, Alexander is spoken of as Alexander the Kilisyâk." Hence Darmesteter says that the Kereçani spoken of in the Hom Yasht is Alexander, and that therefore this text is post-Alexandrian.

Now the first question is that in the Bahman Yasht, Kilisyâk is used as a common noun. It is used as an appellation to say that Alexander was a Kilisyâk, whatever you choose to understand by that term. In the same way, the Pehelvi commentators also, while giving a Pehelvi rendering of the passage in question, take the word Kereçani or Killisyak to be a common noun.

The Avesta passage runs thus

The Pehelvi rendering of this passage is as follows :



This Pehelvi rendering clearly shows that the commentator has taken the word Kereçani in the sense of a common noun. He has rendered it in the plural number. If, according to Darmesteter, the

Pehelvi translator meant by Kilisyâk, Alexander, why should he have used the plural number.

There is another consideration which shows that by Kereçani the Hom Yasht did not mean Alexander. In the Pehelvi books, wherever, Alexander is spoken of, he is always spoken of, as Alexeidar, Akandgar, Alasandar, or in some other similar form (Virâf-Nameh I., 4; West's Dinkard, Bk. VIII., ch. I., 21; Bahman Yasht II., 19; III., 34; Bundehesh XXXIV., 8 Minokherad; VIII., 29). He is never spoken of as Kilisyâk. In the Bahman Yasht the word Kilisyâk is once used, but mind, there it is used with his original name Akandgar. As we have said above there the word is not used alone but simply as an appellation. Just as in some books (for example the Virâf-Nameh I., 4) he is spoken of as Arumayâk, *i.e.*, the Roman, so in the Bahman Yasht he is spoken of as Akandgar,-i-Kilisyâkih, *i.e.*, Alexander the Kilisyâk. In all other books he is spoken of by his own name written in different ways. Now, if in all these Pehelvi writings Alexander was spoken of by his own proper name, why should he not have been spoken of by that name by the Pehelvi commentator of the Hom Yasht, if, at all, he meant to express that Kereçani was Alexander.

One fact more. In most of the above Pehelvi works, wherever the harm done by Alexander to the Zoroastrian religion is spoken of, he is always spoken of as Alexander the Gazashté (גשוט) *i.e.*, the cursed, an epithet generally applied to Ahriman or the devil. Some such other epithet is often applied to him (Viraf-Nameh I., 4; Bahman Yasht. ([16]) II., 19; Dinkard VII., ch. I., 21). Now if we take that, as Darmesteter says, the passage in the Hom Yasht refers to the religious persecution by Alexander, why is it that we do not find either in the Avesta passage itself or its Pehelvi rendering any usual expression of hatred with the mention of Alexander's name.

Again, if the Avesta writer wished to make an allusion to the religious persecution by Alexander, why should he have chosen the Haoma Yasht for it? We know nothing of Alexander's special hostility to Haoma. In his invasion the Greeks generally destroyed some of the Persian fire temples; so if there was any part of the Avesta where an appropriate allusion to Alexander's persecution could have been made with propriety, it was the sacred pieces in honour

([16]) West, Pehelvi Series I. and VI.

of fire and not the Yasht in honour of Haoma. All these considerations lead to show that it is a mistake to take Kereçani to be Alexander.

Darmesteter points to another name in the Avesta and connects it with a historical event, and thereby tries to show that the Avesta, as they have come down to us, have a later origin.

It is the name of Azi Dahâka (Zohâk of Firdousi). From the fact that the Pehelvi Bundehesh draws his descent from one Tâz, a brother of Hoshang and from the fact that the Shah-Nameh calls him a Tâzi, *i.e.*, an Arab (عرب ی تاز), and from the fact that Bawri, identified with the later Babylon, is spoken of in the Avesta as the place of Azi-Dahâka, Darmesteter infers that it is a reference to the settlement of the Arabs along the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris, an event which took place in the second half of the Arsacide period. Hence he infers that the Avesta which refers to this historic event must have been written a long time after Alexander. But from the mere fact that Zohâk was descended from one Tâz who was the founder of the tribe of Tâziks, latterly known as the Arabs, and from the mention of the name of Bawri identified with the later Babylon, we have no sufficient grounds to infer that it is an allusion to the historical event of the occupation of Chaldea by the Arabs in later times. Neither the Avesta nor the Pehelvi Budehesh say that Zohâk was an Arab. The Bundehesh, did not take Zohâk to be an Arab. It simply says that he was descended from one Tâz. It is only Firdousi that calls him an Arab; and it is perhaps from the fact that Zohâk was descended from Tâz and that the Tâziks, latterly known as the Arabs, were also descended from Tâz. Thus then, if the Bundehesh, did not recognize Zohâk as an Arab, how can Tansar or some of his predecessors recognize him as such?

Again, even taking it for granted that Tansar or the people of his time knew Azi-dahâk to be an Arab, how could Tansar or some one else in the latter half of the Arsacide period (whom Darmesteter supposes to have taken some liberty with the Avesta) have connected the historical event of the occupation of Chaldea by the Arabs with Azi-dahâk. The event having happened only about one or two centuries before their time must be fresh in their minds through oral traditions. So how can either Tansar, an intelligent man, who is represented as having studied the philosophy of adjoining countries, or any other man of his stamp, be supposed to connect a recent historical event

with a man of the times of the Peshdâdyan dynasty, a contemporary of Faridun, who lived several hundred years before the event. To suppose that Tansar or men of his stamp mixed up a historical event that had recently occurred and connected it with a man who lived several hundred years before the event is paying a very poor compliment to men of Tansar's intelligence, who are otherwise credited with a knowledge of the philosophies of adjoining countries.

Again Bawri, the name used in the Avesta for Babylon, suggests another consideration. We find from the cuneiform inscriptions that Babylon was one of the countries conquered by Darius. In the Behistun inscriptions Babylon is spoken of as Bâbiru (Spiegel's Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften, p. 4, Oppert's Les Inscriptions des Achéménides, p. 24). This word Bâbiru shows that in the Achemenian times the old word Bawri had already begun to assume its later form of Babylon. Bawri is an older form of Bâbiru. Hence the text wherein the passage of Bawri occurs must have been written a long time before the Achemenians, and the conclusion of Darmesteter that "The texts in which the Arab Azi Dahâka appears as reigning in Babylon belong to a time when the Arabs were already settled in Mesopotamia" is groundless. Had that been the case the writers would have used Babiru or some other later form for Babylon and not the older form of Bawri.

Again, what is said of Zohâk can be said of Darmesteter's attempt of connecting one Zainigau, alleged to be a contemporary of Afrasiâb, with an historical event of the later Parthian times. In the first place the word Zainigau has up to now been translated both by European and Parsee scholars, and among them by Darmesteter himself (Zend Avesta II. S. B. E.) as a common noun. But now Darmesteter, to support further his theory, finds in Zainigau, an Arab who was killed by Afrasiâb, and thinks that the allusion refers to the subsequent events of the Arab invasions, which occurred in the later Parthian times. Here again as in the case of Zohak, we are led to believe, that a learned man like Tansar or others of his stamp were altogether ignorant of history, that they did not know when Afrasiâb lived, and that therefore they mixed up historical events which had occurred only a century or two before their times with some other event which occurred a long time before. Again, in connection with this event, Dr. Darmesteter says,

on the authority of Tabari (17), "the legendary history of Yemen tells of the Tubbâh Abu Kurrub's invasion into Mesopotamia and his struggles with the Turânians of Adarbaigan." But Tabari makes this Tubbâh a contemporary of Kings Gushtasp and Bahaman of Persia (18). If that is the case, then it appears, according to Tabari, that the Arabs had a foôting in Mesopotamia in the time of king Goshtâsp, *i. e.*, several centuries before the Parthian rule. Thus the arguments based by Darmesteter (that the texts in which Zohak is made to settle at Bawri and in which Zainigau is represented as being killed by Afrâsiab are texts written in the latter half of the Arsacide period) upon the assumption that "the oldest periods known when the Arabs settled along the Euphrates and the Tigris in the second half of the Arsacide period" fall to ground.

Another point, that Darmesteter dwells upon to support his theory, is this that "the Avesta seems to ignore the existence of an Iranian empire. The highest political unity is the *dahyu*, a name which in the inscriptions of Darius denoted the satrapies, *i. e.*, the provincial kingdoms . . . the highest political power is the daṇhupaiti, the chief of a dahyu." Hence he infers that the Avesta was written in the times of the Parthian dynasty after the fall of the empire when there were so many provincial kings but no Shahinshah, no emperor.

But here Darmesteter commits a mistake in taking a dahyu in the sense of a satrapy in which it is used in the inscriptions of Darius. We ought to take it in the sense in which it is used in the Avesta itself. In the Avesta it is not used in the sense of a provincial kingdom but in that of an extensive country.

There is a passage common to all Afringans (Westergaard Afringân 1-14) wherein the worshipper asks the blessings of God upon all the good reigning sovereigns. Just as in the Farvardin Yasht are invoked the Fravashis of the holy men of all countries, Îrân, Turân, Sairim Saini (China) and Dahi, so here blessings are invoked upon all good reigning sovereigns (Khshathrayân daṇhupaiti). The Avesta praises good order and peaceful rule. It says "down with the tyrant." ("Dush-padshâhân âvadashân bâd," Nirang-kusti. "Dânâ pâdshâ bâd

(17) Zotenburg I., p. 504.

(18) "Ce roi vivait du temps de Gouschtasp et de Bahman." Zotenburg I., p. 505.

duzdânâ avadashân bad" Afrin), but may good kings flourish in all parts of the world. Now if the word 'daṇhupaiti' used in this passage meant a mere provincial chief, the passage would, according to Darmesteter, point to several provincial chiefs. If that is so, it requires an explanation why Tansar who is supposed to have taken liberty with the philosophic part of the Avesta and who wanted to bring about the unity of the empire through the unity of the church, did not alter this passage. This is a passage which was, as now, recited daily in hundreds of fire-temples of Iran and in thousands of houses, and therein the blessings of God were invoked upon all the ruling provincial chiefs. Ardeshir is represented by Darmesteter on the authority of Tansar's letter to have tried to extinguish the sacred fires of the provincial kingdoms to preserve the unity of the empire by the unity of the royal fire. It is strange then that he should have allowed to remain this most important passage in the Avesta which acknowledged the sovereignity of several provincial rulers.

This consideration tends to show that the word daṇhupaiti does not refer to mere provincial chiefs and that the argument based on the meaning of this word is vague. In his French translation Darmesteter says:—

"Vîshtâspa lui-même dans les Gâthas n'a point la physionomie d'un Roi des Rois. C'est un prince qui a donné sa protection á Zoroastre contre d' autres princes : rien ne le distingue des dahyupaitis ordinaires." (18) What Darmesteter means by this passage is this that there was no empire even before the Achemenians. There were a number of provincial chiefs. Granted. Then what grounds have Darmesteter to conclude that the fact that the Avesta ignores the existence of an Iranian empire shows that it was written in the times of the provincial chiefs of the Parthian dynasty? It may as well have been written in the times of the provincial chiefs of the *pre*-Achemenian times.

Let us look to this question from another point of view. If the present Avesta does not speak of an Iranian empire and of a king of kings, the Cuneiform inscriptions do speak of a king of kings ("khṣâyathiya khsâyathiyânâm," Behistoun I-1). Now if the Cunei-

(18) Zend Avesta III., p. xli.

form inscriptions recognise an empire and a king of kings, it is clear that their contemporary writings the "Grand Avesta" must have also recognised a king of kings. The question then is Who did away with the mention of this king of kings from the Sassanian Avesta? The answer perhaps would be that either Valkhash or somebody in the Parthian times, finding the Iranian empire divided into small provincial kingdoms, removed from the Avesta the passages referring to the king of kings. If that was the case, why did not Tansar, who is represented as taking all possible liberties with the Avesta, re-insert similar passages which would have been of great use to him in uniting the power and the authority of his new master and emperor Ardeshir. To establish the unity of the empire, he wanted the unity of the church. So a re-insertion of similar passages ought to have drawn his attention first of all in revising the Avesta, if he at all took liberty with it by adding to or by modifying the original.

We now come to the subject of the Greek influence upon the Avesta.

To support his post-Alexandrian theory, Darmesteter points to an instance of the Greek influence upon Zoroastrian schools. He refers to the four periods of three thousand years each, referred to by the ancient Persians as the period of the duration of the world. The *pre*-Alexandrian doctrine of the Persians described by Theopompus as quoted by Plutarch is "that Oromosdes ruled for 3,000 years alone and Areimanios for 3,000 more. After this period of 6,000 years had elapsed they began to wage war against each other, one attempting to destroy the other; but finally Areimanios is to perish, mankind is to enjoy a blessed state of life; men will neither be any more in need of food nor will they cast shadows; the dead are to rise again; men will be immortal and everything is to exist in consequence of their progress."([20])

Now the Pehelvi Bundehesh refers to the same doctrine, but according to Darmesteter it differs in the description of the first two periods. The Bundehesh says: "Auharmazd through omniscience knew that Aharman exists and whatever he schemes he infuses with malice and greediness till the end; and because he accomplished end by many means, he also produced spiritually

([20]) Haug's Essays, 2nd ed., p. 8-9.

the creatures which were necessary for those means, and they remained three thousand years in a spiritual state, so that they were unthinking and unmoving with intangible bodies. The evil spirit, on account of backward knowledge, was not aware of the existence of Aûharmazd; and afterwards he arose from the abyss and came in unto the light which he saw. Desirous of destroying, and because of his malicious nature, he rushed in to destroy that light of Aûhurmazd, unassailed by fiends, and he saw its bravery and glory were greater than his own; so he fled back to the gloomy darkness and formed many demons and fiends, and the creatures of the destroyer arose for violence." (West's Bundehesh I., 8-10.)

Now, Darmesteter says that the latter doctrine of the Bundehesh is quite mystical. He says: "That period of spiritual ideal existence of the world preceding its material and sensible opposition reminds one strikingly of the Platonic ideas, and it can hardly have entered Zoroastrianism before Greek philosophy penetrated the East."

In the first place, Theopompus has made a brief reference to the four periods of the world's duration. He has summed up in his words the Zoroastrian doctrine about these periods. So, as long as he has not given any detailed description of those periods as given by the Bundehesh, one cannot affirm that there is a difference between these two statements of the same doctrine. The very fact that he has tried to describe the last two periods and not the first two, rather shows that perhaps he did not clearly understand what Darmesteter calls "the mystical spirit of the Zoroastrian doctrine."

Now, for the Platonic ideas, one must look to the Farvardin Yasht, which speaks at some length of the Fravashis or Farohars which are, as Dr. West says, the immaterial existences, the prototypes, the spiritual counterparts of the spiritual and material creatures afterwards produced, and which are therefore compared to the 'ideas' of Plato. A comparison of some points in the description of the 'ideas' of Plato and the Fravashis of the Avesta will clearly show whether it is the Avesta that has borrowed or Plato that has borrowed.

Let us see "of what things," according to Taylor, the best translator of the Parmenides, there are ideas. He says: "There are ideas only of universal and perfect substances and of whatever contributes to the perfection of these, as, for instance, of man,

and whatever is perfective of man, such as wisdom and virtue." Thus, according to Plato, all perfect substances in the universe have ideas.

In the Avesta it is the vegetable and the animal world that has Fravashis, and not the mineral world. The earth has its Fravashi as the home of animal and vegetable life. It is only the life-bearing creation that has the Fravashis, not the lifeless. To speak scientifically it is the objects of the organic kingdom that have the Fravashis, and not those of the inorganic kingdom.

Now, what is the case with the 'ideas' of Plato? According to Plato, all existing objects have their ideas, whether they belong to the organic kingdom or to the inorganic. The ideas are the realities, and the substances of which they are the ideas or models are non-realities or mere imitations of the ideas.

Again, according to Plato, whatever contributes to the perfection of perfect substances have 'ideas.' For example, not only has a man an 'idea,' but wisdom and virtue, which contribute to the perfection of man have ideas. So have justice, and beauty, and goodness. Now, in the Avesta, we have nothing like this. We have no Fravashis of these abstract qualities of justice, beauty, or goodness.

Then, what does this show? That the Avesta borrowed from Plato or that Plato borrowed from the Avesta? The system of the Avesta is simple. All the life-bearing or organic substances only have their Fravashis or spiritual parts. The dead people have their Fravashis, because they had them in their living condition. But Plato, as it were, developed his own system from that of the Avesta. He extended the notion even to the objects of the inorganic world and to qualities which led to perfection, and again mixed up with the question, the notion of realities and non-realities. Thus we find that Plato's system is more intricate than that of the Avesta. What conclusion then is possible? That the more developed and intricate system is later than the simple one; that it has worked out its development or completion from the original simple one. Thus one sees that the Avesta system is older than that of Plato.

Darmesteter attributes these Platonic ideas in the Avesta to the times of the Neo-Platonists, the school founded by Philo Judæus. But we have seen above that the Farvardin Yasht, a part of which treats of the Fravashis, must have been written long before the

Christian era, because the names of kings like Valkhash, who did yeoman's service to the cause of Zoroastrian religion, do not occur there. Therefore, the notion of Fravashis could not have entered into Zoroastrianism through Neo-Platonism.

The other instance of a Greek element in the Avesta which Darmesteter points to in support of his theory of the post-Alexandrian origin of the Avesta is that of Vohumano. He supposes that the definition of Vohumano (Bahaman) in the Avesta is well-nigh the same as that of the Logos of Philo Judæus. From this alleged similarity he asserts that Vohumano is the Avesta adaptation of the Platonic Logos, and that, therefore, the Avesta texts which treat of Vohumano are of later origin, of post-Alexandrian period. Not only that, but all the Ameshaspentas, of whom Vohumano is a type, also are a post-Alexandrian development.

M. Bréal, in one of his learned articles in the "Journal des Savants" (Dec. 1893, Janvier et Mars 1894), very cleverly refutes this line of Darmesteter's reasoning. We learn from Plutarch that the notion of the Ameshaspentas is a pre-Alexandrian, and not a post-Alexandrian development of the ancient Iranian religion. Plutarch in his Isis and Osiris (Chs. XLVI. and XLVII.) makes the following statement about the ancient Persians. From the fact, that all along, Plutarch has been quoting Theopompus of Chios (B. C. 300), M. Bréal thinks Theopompus to be his authority. Haug, however, thinks Hermippos of Smyrna (B. C. 250) to be his authority. Whoever his authority may be, whether Hermippos or Theopompus, a period of about 50 years makes very little difference about the antiquity of this statement. It says, "Oromasdes sprang out of the purest light; among all things perceived by the senses that element most resembles him; Areimanios sprang out of darkness, and is, therefore, of the same nature with it. Oromasdes, who resides as far beyond the sun, as the sun is far from the earth, created six gods (the six Ameshaspentas, the 'archangels'): the god of benevolence (Vohumanô); the god of truth (Asha-vahishta); the god of order (Khshathra-vairya); the god of wisdom (Armaiti); and the god of wealth and delight in beauty (Haurvatât and Ameretât). But to counterbalance him, Areimanios created an equal number of gods counteracting those of Oromasdes. Then Oromasdes decorated heaven with stars, and placed the star Sirius (Tishtrya) at their head as a guardian. Afterwards he created twenty-five other gods (Yazatas) and set them in an egg,

but Areimanios forthwith created an equal number of gods who opened the egg; in consequence of this, evil is always mingled with good." (Haug's Essays, 2nd Edition, 9-10.)

I wonder why Darmesteter has not given any explanation of this statement of Plutarch based on the authority of either Theopompus (B. C. 300), or Hermippos (B. C. 250), which clearly destroys the theory of the post-Alexandrian development and of the Neo-Platonic origin of the notion of the Amesha Spentas. The passage very clearly shows that the ancient Persians before the Neo-Platonists had the notion, not only of the Amesha Spentas, but also of the counteracting demons.

Again, in considering this subject we must bear in mind that the notion of the Amesha Spentas is a part and parcel of the notion of the two spirits or of the so-called Dualistic theory. Now this notion of the two spirits, the Spenta Mainyu and the Angra Mainyu, is specially Zoroastrian and pre-Alexandrian. Prof. Darmesteter himself admits this (The Vendidad, 2nd ed., p. lxi). Therefore the notion of the celestial council of the Amesha Spentas, which is a part and parcel of the original notion of the two spirits must be primarily Zoroastrian. There is one other consideration. If the Avesta has borrowed the notion of Vohu-mano and the Amesha-Spentas from the Greeks, which part of the Avesta it is that has done so? Prof. Darmesteter does not say that the whole of the Avesta was written afresh in post-Alexandrian times, but he says that only foreign elements were added. Now we find the Amesha-Spentas in a number of passages in, almost the whole of the Avesta. So if the Amesha-Spentas are a foreign element then the whole of the Avesta is post-Alexandrian, a conclusion which Darmesteter himself does not admit.

For an explanation why the Neo-Platonism has some of its notions resembling those of the Zoroastrians, one must look to what the Neo-Platonism was based upon. "Taking the sublimer doctrines of Plato, this school endeavoured to form a new philosophy which should, not only establish an agreement between Plato and Aristotle on all leading points of speculation, but also harmonize the Grecian and Oriental modes of thought . . . Neo-Platonism sought to blend in one grand system all systems of philosophy, all systems of religion . . . The value of Neo-Platonism consisted in its endeavour to preserve the whole treasure of every system of philosophy; since it is, in truth, an advance of philosophy, to have gained a large

store of different ideas, and a wide review of the different directions of philosophical thought." (*Beeton.*)

"Du IIIe siecle de l'ere chrétienne jusqu'a VIe les Neo-Platoniciens entreprirent de fondre la philosophie orientale avec la philosophie greque. Des tentatives analogues avaient été faites précédemment par des philosophes juivs d' Alexandrie, par Aristobule peut etre et certainement par Philon dans le Ire siècle." Herein lies, then, the key why some of the notions of the Avesta resemble those of the Neo-Platonists. It was the Neo-Platonists who took some of their notions from the Persian religion and philosophy as from other religions and philosophies. Darmesteter has just missed the key note, and so has tried in vain to find reasons for the similarity of notions in the Avesta and in Neo-Platonism.

This very consideration and the above quoted statement from Plutarch destroy the theory based by Darmesteter upon the names of the three demons, *viz.*, Indra, Saurva and Naunghaithya, opposed to the three Amesha Spentas, Asha Vashista, Khshathra Vairya and Spenta Armaiti. From the fact that the names of the three demons are also found in Brahminical works, he thinks that they represent foreign Brahminical element borrowed by the Avesta in later times. He says "it appears clear thereby that their present character is not the result of a prolonged evolution in the inner circle of Zoroastrianism." The above statement from Plutarch contradicts this *in toto*, and clearly points out that the notion of the Amesha Spentas and their counteracting opponents the 'daevas' is specially Zoroastrian and pre-Alexandrian.

Again, Darmesteter points to two passages of the Avesta wherein he supposes there are references to Gaotama Buddha and to his religion. Firstly, the word Buity (Vend. XI.,7 ; XIX., 43) which he thinks to be the same as Bqodha, is a word which refers to one of the evil forces of the soul. The word occurs among other similar words which speak of moral vices. This shows that it is not a proper noun. Again, Darmesteter points to the word Gaotama in the Farvardin Yasht (13) and says that it is a reference to Gaotama Buddha. As it was "under the Indo-Greeks (first century before Christ) that Buddhism spread widely in the eastern provinces of Irân, and as in the first century of our era Kanishka's coins present in an instructive ecclectism all the deities of the Indo-Scythian empire, Greek gods, Brahmanical devas, Buddha and the principal Yazatas of Mazdeism," he concludes

that "if the alleged allusions to Buddhism are accepted, the Avesta passages where they occur cannot have been written earlier than the second century before our era." But then the question is if the Farvardin Yasht wherein occur these passages were written so late as the second century after Christ, why is it that we do not find therein the names of men like Vaḫkhash who had done, according to the Dinkard, important services to the cause of the Zoroastrian religion. The list of the historical personages in the Farvardin Yasht was closed long before the Christian era.

Darmesteter speaks at some length about what he calls the Jewish elements in the Avesta. This part of the question has been very ably lately handled by learned scholars like Dr. Mills and Dr. Cheyne, who have tried to show that the Jewish scriptures owe a good deal to Zoroastrian scriptures. I will allude to one point only and close, and that is the subject of the Deluge. Darmesteter sees, like others, in the second chapter of the Vendidad, a description of the Deluge. I have shown elsewhere ([21]) that though there are several points which are similar in the Hebrew sketch of Noah and the Avesta sketch of Yama or Jamshed, the second chapter of the Vendidad refers, not to the Deluge, but to the founding and building of the city of Airyana-Vaêja.

([21]) J. Jamshed, Hom and Âtash.

ART. XVIII.—*Akbar and the Parsees.* BY R. P. KARKARIA, ESQ.

[Read 8th August 1896.]

When the Emperor Akbar, disappointed with the faith of Islam, professed by his fathers and by the State, started on an earnest enquiry after the best religion for men, he resolved to examine all the existing creeds that he could, and bestow patient toil on the discovery of the truth. If he could not discover any one among the existing religions which could satisfy his need, he resolved to find out the true elements in each, and combining them together, to set up a new faith. For this purpose he assembled the representatives of many sects and various creeds at his court, and built a special palace for their meetings, called the Ibadat-Khana, at Fatehpur-Sikhri. There he himself presided over their discussions, encouraging everyone to come out with his views without fear of repression. All the great religions of the world were represented before the Emperor. First and foremost was, of course, Islam, the nominal State religion, whose learned doctors naturally disliked such discussions and had scant sympathy with the enlightened object of their Emperor. They had, however, to be present and argue, as best they might and could, for the excellence of their religion above all others, and refute the claims of rival creeds. Used hitherto to be treated with special favour at court and to look down upon these creeds with contempt and intolerance, they did not always behave well under these novel circumstances, and betook themselves to strange methods of defence. This led on occasions to great confusions and uproar, when the meetings had to be adjourned to let the heated passions cool down. Even the Emperor's presence was at times not respected, and the bigoted Ulemas taunted and threatened his trusted advisers like Abul Fazl, Faizi, and Bir Bal, whom they held responsible for all his religious vagaries, in the face of their royal master. One of these, a grandee named Shahbaz Khan, once said openly to Bir Bal at one of these meetings: "you cursed infidel, do you talk in this manner? It would not take me long to settle you!" Whereupon the Emperor scolded him in particular, and all

the other Ulemas in general, saying: "would that a shoeful of excrement were thrown into your faces!"[1]

Then there were the expounders of Hinduism, the faith of the vast majority of Akbar's Indian subjects. He listened attentively to their doctrines and favoured their views. He not only discussed with them in public, but saw them privately in his palace, and was influenced much by them. The historian, Badaoni, gives a curious instance of how the Emperor used to receive these men. "A Brahman named Debi," says he, "who was one of the interpreters of the Mahabharata, was pulled up the walls of the castle sitting on a *charpoi*, till he arrived near a balcony which the Emperor had made his bed-chamber. Whilst thus suspended, he instructed his Majesty in the secrets and legends of Hinduism, in the manner of worshipping idols, the fire, the sun, the stars, and of revering the chief gods of these unbelievers."[2]

Akbar's surroundings, his Rajput wives, his Hindu advisers and generals, like Todar Mal and Bir Bal, his taste for Sanskrit literature and philosophy, which he had translated into Persian, made him lean considerably towards Hinduism. Buddhism, too, was brought to his notice and was also not without influence upon him. Professor Max Müller says that "Abul Fazl, the minister of Akbar, could find no one to assist him in his enquiries respecting Buddhism."[3] But Badaoni says distinctly that "Samanas" were interviewed by Akbar along with the Brahmans. Now, these "Samanas" are rightly interpreted by Professor Cowell and Mr. Lowe as Buddhist ascetics, "Shramanas," in fact. Professor Max Müller himself seems to have conjectured this, as he puts this query to the word of Badaoni on p. 90: "Is not Sumani meant for Samana, *i.e.*, Shramana?" The cause

---

[1] Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Calcutta edition, by Moulvi Agha Ahmed Ali, vol. ii., p. 274.

There are two essays on Akbar's religion, *viz.*, Vans Kennedy's in the *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, 1818, and Prof. H. H. Wilson's in the *Quarterly Oriental Magazine*, Calcutta, 1824. Kennedy had not got Badaoni before him, but relied on an extract from that historian given in a later Indian compilation the *Gool-e-Rana*. Wilson was the first to use Badaoni. I have not used either, or Rehatsek's imperfect translation of passages from Badaoni (Bombay, 1869), because I have gone to the original sources themselves.

[2] Badaoni, Calcutta edition, vol. ii., p. 257. Lowe, p. 265.

[3] *Introduction to Science of Religion*, p. 24.

of his hesitation seems to be the misinterpretation of Blochmann, who, following Arabic dictionaries, calls them "a sect in Sind who believe in the transmigration of souls (tanasuk)."[4]

Besides Mahomedans, Hindoos and Buddhists, Akbar took great care to have the representatives of the great Christian faith of which he had heard. He requested the Portuguese authorities at Goa to send him missionary priests who could expound the mysteries of their faith. Learned and pious priests were accordingly sent from Goa to Akbar's court. An account of their travels and mission may be read in Hugh Murray's "Discoveries in Asia" (vol. ii.). But the best account of what they did at the Mogul court, and of their influence on the monarch, is doubtless that contained in the work of the Jesuit Father Catrou, who based his "History of the Mogul Empire" on the manuscript Memoirs of the Venetian physician, Manucci, who resided for 48 years at the Mogul court. I am glad to be able to state that my friend Mr. Archibald Constable, who has given us a scholarly edition of Bernier, is going to edit the complete work of Catrou from a rare manuscript which he has recently secured. Bartoli's Italian History is also very important in this connection. Akbar's attitude towards Christianity is a very interesting problem, not free from uncertainty and doubt, and may be treated on another occasion. The Mohamedan historian notes that "learned monks also came from Europe, who are called *Padre*, and have an infallible head called, *Papa*, who is able to change religious ordinances as he may deem advisable for the moment, and to whose authority kings must submit, brought the Gospel and advanced proofs for the Trinity. His Majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion, and, wishing to spread the doctrines of Jesus, ordered Prince Murad to take a few lessons in Christianity under good auspices, and charged Abul Fazl to translate the Gospel."[5]

There were, moreover, Jews, Sufis, Shiahs, Hanefites, and various other religious and philosophical sects represented before Akbar, who wanted to listen to all, theologian and philosopher, orthodox and heterodox, heretic and schismatic, rationalist and mystic, to know every shade of opinion, to receive every ray of light that he could obtain from any quarter.

---

[4] *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. i., p. 179.

[5] Badaoni, vol. ii., p. 260; Lowe, p. 267.

There was one religion which was distinguished by its great and hoary antiquity as well as its purity, which, if it could only attract the royal enquirer's notice, could not but influence him greatly, owing to its conformity with much of Akbar's object. That was the ancient religion of Zoroaster, which, after a long spell of persecution, had been driven out of its home in Persia to seek a shelter in a corner of Akbar's dominions. This religion was historical, and must have forced itself on his notice in several ways. "Notwithstanding their paucity," says Count de Noer, the German historian of Akbar, "and political insignificance, the opinions of the Parsees exercised considerable influence on the great minds of India towards the close of the 16th Century."[6]

What Akbar did to get acquainted with this religion, and what was his attitude towards it, are the questions I propose now to consider. That he came to know this religion, and some of its chief doctrines, is certain. But how far he was influenced by it, and how much of it he adopted in the new faith that he constructed, is problematical. There is a tradition among the Parsees themselves that a priest of theirs had been called from Naosari, in Guzerat, to Akbar's court under strange circumstances, and that he so far succeeded in forcing upon the Emperor's mind the truth and excellence of his religion as actually to convert him to the Parsee faith by investing him with the sacred shirt and thread-girdle, *sudreh* and *kusti*, the outward sign of adopting that faith. The circumstances under which this priest, whose name was Mehrjee Rana, was called to Akbar's court were these exceedingly strange ones, according to the tradition. A Hindoo priest, deeply versed in the arts of magic and sorcery, Jugut Guru by name,[7] once performed a miracle in the presence of the Emperor and his court, by sending up and suspending a large silver plate high in the sky, which looked like another sun shining in the heavens, and challenged the professors of all the religions assembled to take this new sun down, and test the powers of their faiths. Akbar, of course, called upon the Ulemas to do this and refute the Hindoo. But they could not do it themselves. Hence they were in anxious search of some one who could do this and disgrace the infidel. They were told

[6] *Emperor Akbar*, vol. i., p 21 (I quote from Mrs. Beveridge's excellent translation, which is in many respects superior to M. Maury's French).

[7] *Sic* in the tradition; but, of course, Jagat Guru is a title assumed by the the heads of various Hindu sects.

that a priest in Naosari could do this, if he were called. At their suggestion Akbar sent for him. He came; he saw; he conquered. By reciting his prayers and by other incantations he broke the power of the Hindoo's magic, and the pseudo-sun came down, plate as it was, and fell at Akbar's feet! Akbar was astonished, as well he might be. The Parsee priest was received with awe. He expounded his faith to Akbar, and convinced him so well as to make him a Parsee. This is the Parsee tradition, long cherished by the people and circulated in various forms in prose and verse. There are some poems about this triumph of Mehrjee Rana, sung by Khialis, or itinerant minstrels, and others in Guzerat and Bombay.[8]

But now as to the validity of this tradition. After a diligent search I can find no historical proof of it whatever. None of the numerous great histories of this reign notice it at all; and it need hardly be said that, if such a highly improbable, if not impossible, event happened at all, it must have been mentioned and detailed by the writers who are generally very fond of relating the marvellous. Badaoni, who mentions many other so-called miraculous or thaumaturgic feats of *jogis* and Mahomedan saints, as, for instance, that of the *Anuptalao*, the lake filled with copper coins, does not say a word about this. There is nothing about it in the *Dabistan*, the other great authority for Akbar's religious history. Neither the Akbar Nama of Abul Fazl, the official history, nor the excellent Tabakat-i-Akbari of Nizam-ud-din, mentions it. Nay, not even the name of Mehrjee Rana, the Parsee priest, occurs anywhere in any historical work as having gone to Akbar's court at all. A paper has been put into my hands by the present descendants of this Mehrjee Rana, who still live in Naosari, in which what are called historical authorities are given for the abovementioned traditions. The writer of this quotes what purport to be passages from three famous historians of Akbar, *viz.*, Badaoni, Abul Fazl, and the author of the Tabakat-i-Akbari, in each of which the tradition is fully and emphatically mentioned. But, strange to relate, I do not find just those passages in these historians! They are conspicuous by their absence in the

[8] These poems, which are mere doggerel, were composed, I find on enquiry, by hireling rhymesters a generation or two ago, as may be seen from the language in which they are written. There were several such professional rhymesters who composed any number of such doggerel verses in praise of anybody who paid them for their labour.

excellent editions of Badaoni and Abul Fazl, published by the Bengal Asiatic Society in the *Bibliotheca Indica*! The copyist says that they are to be found in the copies at Agra, from which a Mahomedan Munshi had transcribed them for the information of the Parsees. But this may be dismissed as an instance of interpolation on the part of that Munshi, very likely a forgery by the copyist himself. If passages are wanted in Persian manuscripts, there is nothing so certain as that they will appear somehow! One who has any experience of Persian historians and their manuscripts will readily understand this. Sir Henry Elliot, who knew them all intimately, mentions several instances of impudent and interested frauds by Persian compilers, and warns us to be on our guard against "the blunders arising from negligence and ignorance; the misquoting of titles, dates and names; the ascription to wrong authors; the absence of beginnings and endings; the arbitrary substitution of new ones to complete a mutilated manuscript; the mistakes of copyists; the exercise of ingenuity in their corrections and of fancy in their additions."[9]

Let us now look to the historical sources for the reign of Akbar about his relation to the Parsees. Abul Fazl, as is well known, has only one short chapter, Ain 77, book i. on Akbar's religious opinions. He does not dilate on them in his great work, because he meant to write a special treatise on this subject. But that treatise unfortunately he did not live to write. The fullest account of his religious views may be obtained, and their progress traced, in the great work of Abdul Kader Badaoni. The only passage in his whole work where he mentions the Parsee religion is this:—"Fire-worshippers also came from Naosari in Gujarat, proclaimed the religion of Zardusht as the true one, and declared reverence to fire to be superior to every other kind of worship. They also attracted the Emperor's regard, and taught him the peculiar terms, the ordinances, the rites and ceremonies of the Kaianians. At last he ordered that the sacred fire should be made over to the charge of Abul Fazl, and that, after the manner of the Kings of Persia, in whose temples blazed perpetual fires, he should take care it was never extinguished night or day, for that it is one of the signs of God, and one light from the many lights of His creation."[10]

The author of the *Dabistan*, the famous book on the various

[9] *History of India and its Historians*, vol. I., p. 11, ed. 1848. Vol. I., p. 18, ed. Dowson, 1867.

[10] Vol. ii., 261, Cal. ed.; W. Lowe, p. 269.

religious and philosophical sects of the time in Asia, which may be called a veritable encyclopædia of Oriental religions, gives a fuller and more detailed account. "In like manner," he says, "the fire-worshippers, who had come from the town of Naosari, situated in the district of Guzerat, asserted the truth of the religion of Zoroaster and the great reverence and worship due to fire. The Emperor called them to his presence, and was pleased to take information about the way and lustre of their wise men. He also called from Persia a follower of Zardusht, named Ardeshir, to whom he sent money; he delivered the sacred fire with care to the wise Shaikh Abul Fazl, and established that it should be preserved in the interior apartment by night and day, perpetual henceforth, according to the rule of the Mobeds, and to the manner which was always practised in the fire-temples of the Kings of Ajem, because the *Iti Set* was among the sentences of the Lord,[11] and light from among the lights of the great Ized. He invited likewise the fire-worshippers from Kirman to his presence, and questioned them about the subtleties of Zardusht's religion; and he wrote letters to Azer Kaivan, who was a chief of the Yezdanian and Abadanian, and invited him to India. Azer Kaivan begged to be excused from coming, but sent a book of his composition in praise of the self-existing being, of reason, the soul, the heavens, the stars, and the elements, as well as a word of advice to the King; all this contained in fourteen sections; every first line of each was in Persian pure *deri*; when read invertedly it was Arabic, when turned about, Turkish, and when this was read in reversed order it became Hindi." [12]

This shows clearly that the priest Ardeshir of Kerman took a prominent part in leading Akbar to Parseeism. The discussions at Akbar's court between the various religious and philosophical sects were carried on with ability; and, to judge from the specimens of them that we have in this *Dabistan*, and also in the *Akbar Nama*, their representatives must have been learned men. The arguments brought forward by the various disputants show great acumen and knowledge, and I do not think that an obscure priest in a corner of Guzerat would have been able to take part in discussions showing such skill and dialectical ability. They show a knowledge of other religions and other general information about history and philosophy

[11] *Sic* in Shea and Troyer. There is a slight discrepancy here between the original and the translation, but this is immaterial for our purpose.

[12] Troyer and Shea, vol. iii., pp. 95-6.

which it is vain to look for in a priest of Naosari. Ardeshir was, on the contrary, known as a learned doctor of Zoroastrianism, and he was considered of importance enough to be invited all the way from Kerman in Persia, and it is recorded in the *Dabistan* that money for his travelling expenses was sent by Akbar.[13] Another circumstance also points to this. Ardeshir was invited some years after Mehrjee Rana is supposed to have gone to the Mogul court. This shows that Akbar must have been dissatisfied with the priests from Naosari whom Badaoni mentions, and, seeing that they could not teach him much, determined to go further afield and invite Ardeshir and other Parsees from Kerman.[14] Mehrjee Rana may have gone to Akbar's court, as his family possesses a grant of 300 *bigahs* of land from the Mogul court, said to have been given by Akbar to Mehrjee on his departure from Delhi.[15] But that he took any great part in the religious and philosophical discussions that were carried on in the Emperor's presence, cannot be maintained. Badaoni, as well as the *Dabistan*, merely says that fire worshippers came from Naosari, and does not single out one of them as having done anything noteworthy. Then, where is the reason for exalting Mehrjee above his fellow-travellers? And, then, who were those other persons who had gone from Naosari to Delhi? Naosari itself stood in need of religious enlightenment three centuries ago, and could not be supposed to spare much of it for Delhi. Akbar must, out of curiosity, have called Parsees from his own recently conquered province of Guzerat for

---

[13] *Vide* Bloohmann in *Jour. Ben. Asiat. Soc.*, 1868, p. 14.

[14] The Editor of the *Farhang-i-Jehangiri*, prepared under the orders of Akbar, says that Ardeshir was deeply versed in the lore of the Parsees and was a great scholar of the Zend Avesta. Now the fact that he was specially invited all the way from Persia clearly shows that the Parsi priests of Guzerat who had previously been to Akbar's court were found wanting in any knowledge of the meaning of the Avesta. This is proved also by the general state of ignorance in which the Indian Parsees then were steeped.

[15] The testimony of this grant, too, is very doubtful, as it is not in the name of Mehrjee Rana, but of his son, and was granted several years after that priest's death. The services for which it was given are also not mentioned in it, and the land may have been given for services quite other than those pretended by the priest's family. Now, as Mehrjee Rana's name is not mentioned in any historical book whatever, and is not found even in this family-grant, the mainstay of his family's pretended claim to his having worked the miracle and converted Akbar, I am disposed to doubt the fact of his ever having gone to Akbar's court at all.

information, but, seeing that he could not get much out of them, he had to call others from Persia. This, I think, is a legitimate inference.[16]

The state of the Parsees of Guzerat at those times abundantly confirms this inference, that none of them could have possessed the requisite ability to take any part in the learned and philosophic discussions of the Ibadatkhana. We have some historical records which prove clearly that their standard of knowledge was very low and that there were no men among them of even ordinary learning. They were a down-trodden people among unsympathetic aliens, entirely absorbed in obtaining a decent livelihood. This very Mehrjee Rana and his family were farmers, supporting themselves by tilling the ground. The clergy and the laity were alike ignorant and indifferent. The Parsee historical manuscripts called *Revayets*, of which there are a goodly number—enable us to judge of the state of knowledge among these people during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They lay bare a state of the grossest ignorance about religion and even its most ordinary and elementary matters. It is a matter of notoriety among Parsees that for centuries their ancestors in Guzerat knew very little about their religion. The compiler of the *Parsee Prakash*[17] is constrained to say, under year 1478:

---

[16] Persia, the original home of the Zoroastrian religion, was the place from which the ignorant Parsees of India themselves sought and obtained information and knowledge of their own religion during the fifteenth, sixteenth and following centuries. *Vide* Anquetil du Perron, *Zend Avesta*, Tome Ier. p. ccexxiii. Prof. Max Müller also supports the same inference about Ardeshir. "We have," says he, "the Zend Avesta, the sacred writings of the so-called fire-worshippers, and we possess translations of it far more complete and far more correct than any that the Emperor Akbar could have obtained from Ardeshir, a wise Zoroastrian whom he invited from Kerman to India."— *Science of Religion*, p. 24.

[17] This work in Guzerati is a compilation in the form of annals, and is based upon materials which are selected and used uncritically. It is by no means an authoritative work, but one which must be consulted with caution and judgment. So far as it is based on solid authenticated facts, it is reliable. But in many instances its authorities are doubtful. For instance, much of the information about the early history of the Parsees in Naosari, Guzerat, is derived from a manuscript book which purports to be a *copy* of original documents, written by an interested party. The compiler of these annals, *Parsee Prakash*, had not seen the original documents, which were not accessible. Hence, he had to [illegible] on the mercy of this

"After their arrival in India from Persia, the Parsees day by day grew in ignorance of their religion and ancient customs and traditions, and in religious matters they were very unenlightened." Their ignorance was so great that they at last tried the expedient of sending messengers to Persia, asking information about religious matters from the Zoroastrians in Persia, who were kind enough to answer these queries. The first letter of religious information thus received was in 1478, and is very curious. In it information is given about the most elementary points of religious observances in which the Parsees of Naosari and Guzerat were found wanting. And such is the ignorance of the priesthood of Naosari about their sacred languages and writings that the Dasturs of Persia recommend them to send a "couple of priests to Persia in order to learn Zend and Pahlavi and thereby be able to know their religious practices."[18] After 1478, frequent letters were sent to Persia, and the answers received from the Dasturs, were recorded and treasured up in what are called *Revayets*. For instance, in a letter sent in 1527, the famous "Ardai Viraf Nama," which contains the Parsee traditional representation of heaven and hell, was transmitted to India as no copy existed there of even this famous book.[19] In 1559, many more books were asked for from Broach and sent there by the Dasturs of Persia.[20] Even as late as 1627, a copy of the "Vispered" was asked for from Persia.[21] Even the *Vendidad*, one of the most important parts of the Parsee sacred writings, which had originally been brought by the refugee Parsees to India, was lost by their descendants, who had to do without it for a long time, till Ardeshir, a Persian priest from Sistan,

---

copyist, who has put in things laudatory of his family and party. The interpolated passages from the Persian historians to which I have alluded above are also to be found transcribed in this manuscript copy of supposed original documents. For historical purposes such a book is worthless, as anybody can pass off any book of documents as copied by him from the originals. The industry of the compiler of this *Parsee Prakash*, Mr. Bomanji B. Patel, in culling information from old files of newspapers is, however, great and commendable. To the historian with the critical faculty in him, this compilation will prove a good mine of materials; but it is of very little authority in itself.

[18] *Revayet of Barjor Kamdin* Manuscript No. 353, Moolla Firoze Library Bombay, p. 335.

[19] *Revayet of Kamdin Khambatti*, p 67.

[20] *Revayet of Barjor Kamdin*, p. 343.

[21] *Revayet of Darab Hormuzdyar*, p. 455.

came to Guzerat, about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and gave them a copy, which they translated and from which all their modern copies are derived.[22] Jamasp Hakim Vilayati, another learned Persian priest, says, in the preface to his Pahlavi Furhang (MSS. Moolla Firoze Library, app. 2, No. 3), that the Parsees of Guzerat had to do without the *Farokhshi*, another most important sacred book, for nearly 1,000 years, till he gave them a copy of it in 1722.[23]

There is still stronger contemporary evidence of the state of gross ignorance of the Parsees, priests and laity alike, of Naosari and other parts of Guzerat, in the sixteenth century, the very age of this Mehrjee Rana. This is in a book written in the thirties of the sixteenth century by a Parsee from Hormuzd in Persia, giving a straightforward and true account of what he saw during his travels in Naosari and the neighbouring cities. He was accompanied by another Persian, and both of them were merely lay merchants and not very learned at all. Yet even they were shocked at the gross

[22] Anquetil du Perron *Zend Avesta* Tome I, pte. I., p. cccxxiii. Westergaard, vol. I., *Zend Avesta*, p. x, also Geldner *Avesta*, 1893, p. xvi.

[23] Anquetil du Perron, p. cccexxvi. and Jamasp in MSS. Moolla Firoze Library, Bombay, app. 2, No. 3. "The Parsees in India about a thousand years after their immigration, were no longer in possession of the genuine Hôm plant, nor of the Frohoram Yasht. Jamasp accordingly prepared this copy for his Indian co-religionists, at the special request, in fact, of Mobed Rustomji, as we may read between the lines. . . . He heard at Bombay that Rustomji meanwhile had died. After seven days he travelled to Surat, where he was received by the three sons of Rustomji. Here he presented to the Parsees the Frawardin Yasht which he had brought with him, and the Hôm plant. On May 23rd, 1723, he returned to Bombay, and there transcribed the Frawardin Yasht in Persian characters." Karl Geldner, *Avesta* Stuttgart, 1896, Prolegomena, p. vii. n. Cf. Dr. J. Wilson in Journal, B. B. R. A. S., vol. V., p. 506. Dr. Geldner elsewhere notes that at the time of Jamasp and Rustomji this 13th or Frawardin Yasht was in existence in the Indian Yasht MSS. p. xlv., n. 2. It is however absent from most of them, as will be seen from Dr. Geldner's own accounts of these MSS. The chief book in which it is found, Dastur Peshotun Sanjana's MS. *Khordeh Avesta*, is of doubtful date. The learned Doctor says about it that "its colophon has been removed by a second hand, but *copied*, at all events, *from the original which is gone*; it bears the date A. Y. 994, A. D. 1625," p. xii. In absence of the original colophon, the date put in it by a later hand must be considered highly doubtful. The dates of Indian MSS. present a very puzzling question to inquirers owing to many forgeries and false dates inserted to increase the value of spurious later copies.

ignorance of their faith in which the Parsees of Guzerat were then hopelessly steeped. These people did not even know the most elementary facts of the faith they professed, and this Persian Parsee makes the melancholy observation that they were no better than the *durvands* or non-Zoroastrians around them. Nay, the Parsees of Guzerat knew their pitiable condition, and acknowledge it in the letter of invitation they sent to this Persian, whose name was Kaoos, in these penitential words: "Though you are laymen, you are our priests; for our laity in India do not know their religion, and our faith is corrupted by our having gone astray. And all our laity have accepted the ways of *durvands*, or infidels, and *there are none to aid them in religious knowledge.*" This was written by the leader of the Naosari society which was supposed to contain our pretended learned men. We will not quote further from this interesting account, called the "Kissaeh-Kaoos va Afshad," which is the first part of a book called the *Hadesa Nama*, or an account of the evil days of the Parsees. In truth, it furnishes a gloomy picture of the degraded state of that people in the middle of the sixteenth century. *Ex uno disce omne.* This is typical of several centuries. This period has been neglected in the "History of the Parsees," by my learned and respected friend, Mr. Dosabhai Framjee Karaka, C.S.I., but I am hopeful that this and other defects in his work will be remedied in the new edition now preparing.

Now let us turn to the influence of the Parsee religion upon Akbar. That he studied it deeply and was struck by it, is clear. But what did he adopt of it, when he constructed his *Tauhid-i-Ilahi*, his "Divine Monotheism," upon the good that he found in the existing religions? As I have shown elsewhere, Akbar at first established a pure and simple monotheism, without any symbols or any rites. But later on, when he saw the necessity of outward visible symbols to express the inner ideas, he took the Sun for his great symbol of God. As Tennyson makes him say:—

> Let the Sun
> Who heats our Earth to yield us grain and fruit,
> And laughs upon thy field as well as mine,
> And warms the blood of Shiah and Sunnee,
> Symbol the eternal.

This veneration for the Sun he may be said to have taken from the Parsee religion, which, as is well known, venerates the Sun as the great symbol of the Eternal. Father Catrou ambiguously says in

his rare work : " He adopted from the Pagan worship the adoration of the Sun, which he practised three times a day: at the rising of that luminary, when it was at its meridian, and at its setting.[24] Hinduism had also something to do with this inclination of Akbar towards sun-worship. Badaoni says that Bir Bal gave him this : " The accursed Bir Bal tried to persuade the Emperor that since the sun gives light to all and ripens all grain, fruit and products of the earth and supports the life of mankind, therefore that luminary should be the object of worship and veneration ; that the face should be turned towards the rising and not towards the setting sun, *i.e.*, towards Mecca, like the Mahomedans, which is the west ; that man should venerate fire, water, stones and trees, and all natural objects, even down to cows and their dung ; that he should adopt the sectarial mark and Brahmanical thread. Several wise men at Court confirmed what he said, by representing that the sun was the 'greater light' of the world and benefactor of its inhabitants, the patron of kings, and that kings are but his vicegerents. This was the cause of the worship paid to the sun on the *Nauroz-i-Jellali*, and of his being induced to adopt that festival for the celebration of his accession to the throne."[25] Thus, as in every thing else, so in this, Akbar, owing to his strong eclectic bent, combined several things together. Tennyson's *Hymn to the Sun* is a beautiful embodiment of Akbar's ideas about it.

I

Once again thou flamest heavenward, once again we see thee rise,
Every morning is thy birthday gladdening human hearts and eyes,
Every morning here we greet it, bowing lowly down before thee,
Thee the Godlike, thee the changeless, in thine everchanging skies.

II

Shadow-maker, shadow-slayer, arrowing light from clime to clime,
Hear thy myriad laureates hail thee monarch in their woodland rhyme,
Warble bird, and open flower, and men, below the dense of azure,
Kneel adoring Him the Timeless in the flame that measures time.

Akbar's eclecticism is also to be found in the other thing that he may be said to have taken from the Parsee religion—the veneration of fire. We have seen how he ordered Abul Fazl to take charge of the sacred fire and to feed it continuously, thus keeping it always burn-

[24] *Moghul Empire*, p. 121.

[25] Vol. ii., p. 260, Lowe, p. 268 ; also cf. *Dabistan*, vol. iii., p. 95.

ing, as in the fire-temples of the Persians. But the Hindoos, too, have a kind of fire-worship, and Akbar must have been influenced by them, too, in this. Badaoni mentions the fact that "from early youth, in compliment to his wives, the daughters of the Rajahs of Hind, he had within the female apartments continued to burn the *hom*, which is a ceremony derived from sun-worship."[26] I think Badaoni's learned translator, Mr. W. H. Lowe, is wrong in his note on this *hom* when he says it is "the branch of a certain tree offered by Parsees as a substitute for *soma* juice."[27] The *hom* ceremony of the Hindoos is, as Blochmann rightly notes here, a kind of fire-worship, and has nothing to do with the Parsee mystic "hom" juice, in most of their sacred rites. Fire-worship, therefore, like sun-worship, Akbar must have taken from the Parsee religion and partly also from the Hindoo. The pious care with which he ordered the fire to be kept burning is, of course, peculiar only to the Zoroastrians, who are unique in this matter. The Hindoos offer sacrifices to the god of fire, but are not so solicitous about keeping it pure and always burning.

Another matter in which Akbar was brought into connection with the Parsees and indirectly influenced by them was the Calendar. Being displeased with everything Mahomedan, he tried to get rid of as many institutions and opinions connected with the established faith as he could. One of the chief of these was the Mahomedan Lunar Calendar, which was in vogue for a long time in India. He altered it and adopted the Parsee Solar Calendar, with the old Persian names of the months and days, Farvardin, Ardibehesht, &c., and Hormazd, Bahman, &c. The era he changed also, making it, like the ancient Persian kingly era begin with his accession. According to the *Ain-i-Akbari*,[28] Akbar changed the era and established his Ilahi or Divine era after the Parsee model in A. H. 992, or A. D. 1584.[29]

"His Majesty," says Abul Fazl "had long desired to introduce a new computation of years and months throughout the fair regions of Hindustan, in order that perplexity might give place to easiness. He was likewise averse to the era of the Hijra, which was of ominous signification, but because of the number of short-sighted ignorant men who believe the currency of the era to be inseparable

[26] Vol. ii., p. 61, Lowe, p. 269.
[27] P. 269 note.
[28] Bk. iii., intro.
[29] Jarrett, vol. ii., p. 31.

from religion, His Imperial Majesty, in his graciousness, dearly regarding the attachment of the hearts of his subjects, did not carry out his design of suppressing it. . . In 992 of the Novi lunar year [A. D. 1584] the lamp of knowledge received another light from the flame of his sublime intelligence and its full blaze shone upon mankind. . . The imperial design was accomplished. Amir Fathu'llah Shirazi, the representative of ancient sages, the paragon of the house of wisdom, set himself to the fulfilment of this object, and, taking as his base the recent Gurgani Canon, began the era with the accession of his Imperial Majesty. The splendour of visible sublimity which had its manifestation in the lord of the universe commended itself to this chosen one, especially as it also concentrated the leadership of the world of spirituality, and for its cognition by vessels of auspicious mind, the characteristics of the divine essence were ascribed to it, and the glad tidings of its perpetual adoption proclaimed. The years and months are natural solar without intercalation, and the Persian names of the months and days have been left unaltered. The days of the month are reckoned from 29 to 32,[30] and the two days of the last are called *Roz-o-Shab* (Day and Night)."

Badaoni's account of this change of the Era and Calendar is characteristic. "Since, in his Majesty's opinion, it was a settled fact that the thousand years since the time of the mission of the prophet (peace be upon him!) which was to be the period of the continuance of the faith of Islam, were now completed, no hindrance remained to the promulgation of these secret designs which he nursed in his heart. And so, considering any further respect or regard for the Shaikhs and Ulema (who were unbending and uncompromising) to be unnecessary, he felt at liberty to embark fearlessly on his design

[30] Cunningham has this passage of Abul Fazl in a slightly altered form, taken from Gladwin. "The months are from 29 to 30 days each. There is not any week in the Persian month, the 30 days being distinguished by different names, and in those months which have 32 days the last two are named *Roz-o-Shab* (day and night), and in order to distinguish one from the other are called first and second." Whereupon this learned antiquary comments thus: "In the account quoted from Abul Fazl, which Princep has also copied, the lengths of the months are said to be 'from 29 to 30 days each;' but in the old Persian Calendar of Yazdajird, they were 30 days each, the same as amongst the Parsees of the present day," *vide* Princep, *Indian Antiquities*, vol. ii., p. 171 (Useful Tables). The Parsees have 5 intercalary days at the end of the 12 months.

of annulling the Statutes and Ordinances of Islam, and of establishing his own cherished pernicious belief. The first command that he issued was this: that the "Era of the Thousand" should be stamped on the coins. . . . . The Era of the Hijrah was now abolished, and a new era was introduced, of which the first year was the year of the Emperor's accession, *viz.*, 963.[31] The months had the same names as at the time of the old Persian kings, and as given in the Nicáb-uccibyaán.[32] Fourteen festivals also were introduced corresponding to the feasts of the Zoroastrians; but the feasts of the Mussalmans and their glory were trodden down, the Friday prayer alone being retained, because some old decrepit silly people used to go to it. The new Era was called the *Tarikh-i-Ilahi*. On copper coins and gold *mohurs* the Era of the Millennium was used, as indicating that the end of the religion of Muhammed, which was to last one thousand years, was drawing near."[33]

The fourteen sacred festivals of the Parsees were also adopted by him. "When his Majesty," says Abul Fazl, "was informed of the feasts of Jamshed, and the festivals of the Parsee priests, he adopted them and used them as opportunities of conferring benefits. Again His Majesty followed the custom of the ancient Parsees, who held banquets on those days the names of which coincided with the name of a month. The following are the days which have the same name as a month: 19th Farvardin; 3rd Ardibehesht;

---

[31] The new era commenced, according to Cunningham, on 15th February 1556 (B. S.); but, as Messrs. Sewell and Dikshit point out in the *Indian Calendar* recently published (London 1896), 'that day was a Saturday,' and they accordingly commence it on the 14th February.—*Indian Calendar*, p. 46 note.

[32] A vocabulary in rhyme written by Abu Nasr-i-Farábi, of Farah in Sijistan, and read, says Blochmann, for centuries, in nearly every Madrasah of Persia and India.

[33] Badaoni, Cal. Ed. Vol. II., pp. 301, 306; Lowe, pp. 310, 316. Cf. *Dabistan*; "The Emperor further said, that one thousand years have elapsed, since the beginning of Muhammed's mission, and that this was the extent of the duration of this religion, now arrived at its term." (Vol. III., p. 98). "I have read somewhere," says General Cunningham, "that in A. H. 992, when the Hijra millenary began to draw towards its close, and Akbar was meditating the establishment of the Ilahi Era, one of his courtiers stated openly that the eras even of the greatest kings did not last beyond 1,000 years. In proof of this he cited the extinction of some Hindu era, which was abolished at the end of 1,000 years." (*Book of Indian Eras*, p. 84).

6th Khúrdád; 13th Tir; 7th Amurdád; 4th Shahriwar; 16th Mihr; 10th Aban; 9th Azar; 8th, 15th, 23rd Dai; 2nd Bahman; 5th Isfandármad. Feasts are, actually and ideally, held on each of these days. Of these, the greatest was the Naoroz or New Year's day feast, which commenced on the day the sun entered Aries and lasted till the 19th day of the first month Farvardin.[34]

But this New Parsee Calendar disappeared soon, like most innovations of Akbar, being abolished by Aurangzib in the very second year of his reign. The historian of that monarch gives this candid reason for the abolition of the new calendar. "As this resembled," says Khafi Khan, "the system of the fire-worshippers, the Emperor, in his zeal for upholding Mahomedan rule, directed that the year of the reign should be reckoned by the Arab lunar year and months, and that in the revenue accounts also the lunar year should be preferred to the solar. The festival of the (solar) used year was entirely abolished. Mathematicians, astronomers and men who have studied history, know that . . . the recurrence of the four seasons, summer, winter, the rainy season of Hindustan, the autumn and spring harvests, the ripening of the corn and fruit of each season, the *tankhwak* of the *jagirs*, and the money of the *mansabdars*, are all dependent upon the solar reckoning, and cannot be regulated by the lunar; still his religious Majesty was unwilling that the *nauroz* and the year and months of the Magi should give their names to the anniversary of his accession." [35]

---

[34] Ain-i-Akbari, Bk. II., ain 22; Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 276; cf. Count de Noer, *Emperor Akbar*, Vol. II., p. 268. The account in the *Dabistan* is as follows: "On account of the difference between the era of the Hindus and that of the Hejira used by the Arabs, the Emperor introduced a new one, beginning from the first year of the reign of Humayun, which is 963 of the Hejira (A.D. 1555-6); the names of the months were those used by the kings of Ajem, and fourteen festivals in the year instituted, coinciding with those of Zardusht were named 'the years and days of *Ilahi*.' This arrangement was established by Hakim Shah Fattah' ulla Shirazi." (Shea and Troyer, Vol. III., p. 99.)

[35] *Muntakhabu-l-Lubab*, apud Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII., pp. 231-4; cf. Cunningham *Indian Eras*, p. 83: "The Ilahi era was employed extensively, though not exclusively, on the coins of Akbar and Jehangir, and appears to have fallen into disuse early in the reign of Shah Jahan. Marsden has published a coin of this king with the date of Sanh 5 Ilahi, coupled with the Hijra date of 1041. But in this case the Ilahi date would appear to be only the *jalus* or year of the king's reign. *Numismata Orientalia*, Vol. II., p. 640.

Art. XIX.—*A Historical Survey of Indian Logic.* By Mahadev Rajaram Bodas, M.A., LL.B.

[Read 24th September 1896.]

"The foundation of logic as a Science," says Ueberweg, "is a work of the Greek mind, which, equally removed from the hardness of the Northern and the softness of the Oriental, harmoniously united power and impressibility."[1] The supple mind of the Oriental is said to be wanting in the mental grip and measure required for strictly scientific thinking. Ueberweg, when he laid down the above proposition, was not wholly ignorant of the existence of *Nyâya* philosophy, but his knowledge of it seems to have been very meagre. Had he known some of the standard works of *Nyâya* and *Vaiśeshika* systems, he would not have passed such a sweeping remark about the incapacity of the Oriental mind to develop a rigorous science like Logic. The same ignorance has led many eminent writers to belittle Indian philosophies in general or, where striking coincidences are discovered between Greek and Indian speculations, to assume a Grecian importation of philsophical ideas into India at some ancient time. Thus Niebuhr unhesitatingly asserts that the close similarity between Indian and Greek philosophies cannot be explained "except by the intercourse which the Indians had with the Græco-Macedonic kings of Bactria."[2] On the other hand, there are writers like Gorres who as positively declare that the Greeks borrowed their first elements of philosophy from the Hindus. Max Müller is probably nearer the truth in saying that both Greek and Indian philosophies were autochthonic, and that neither of the two nations borrowed their thoughts from the other.[3] As the human mind is alike everywhere, it is quite possible that philosophers in both India and Greece unconsciously adopted the same mode of reasoning and arrived at similar results quite independently. A closer study of Indian philosophical literature is already producing a conviction among European scholars that it is tolerably indigenous and self-consistent, and that it does not need the

[1] Dr. F. Ueberweg: *System of Logic*, p. 19.

[2] Thomson's *Laws of Thought*, Appendix p. 285.

[3] Thomson's *Laws of Thought*, Appendix p. 285.

supposition of a foreign influence to explain any portion of it. It should also be noticed that notwithstanding many coincidences between the Indian and the Grecian currents of philosophical thought there are several features in each so peculiar as to make any intercommunion between them highly improbable. The fact, for instance, that Indian Logic retained a close similarity to Pre-Aristotelian Dialectics up to a very late time is a legitimate ground for believing that the influence of Aristotle's works was never felt in India. Besides, as a history of Indian philosophy is still unwritten, and will probably remain so for years to come, it is advisable for every student to keep an open mind on the subject. Preconceived theories, however ingenious or plausible, are more likely to mislead than help such investigations. We shall therefore assume, until the contrary is indubitably proved, that Indian philosophy, including Indian logic, is a home-grown product, created by the natural genius of the people and capable of historical treatment.

That it is possible to write a history of the *Nyâya* and *Vaiśeshika* philosophies will be readily admitted; but a history of philosophy, such as it ought to be, presupposes a good many things, which may not find universal acceptance. It assumes, for instance, that the Indian systems of philosophy were gradually evolved out of a few broad principles by a succession of writers and under particular circumstances. The idea that philosophical speculations in India were the spontaneous brain-creations of a few mystic Brahmans dreaming high thoughts in lonely forests and totally unaffected by the passing events of the world, must be discarded once for all. There is no reason why philosophy in India should have followed a different course from what it did in Greece and other civilized countries. Systems of philosophy are as much liable to be influenced by past and contemporary events as any other branch of science or literature; and Indian philosophy should be no exception to the rule. But the task of writing such a history is beset with innumerable difficulties. The chief of these is the absence of any reliable historical data which might serve us as landmarks in the ocean of Sanscrit literature. Not only are the dates of the principal writers and their works unknown, but even the existence of some of them as historical personages is doubted. Many of these works, again, are not available for reference, while of those that are printed or can be procured in MS. only a few have yet been critically studied. European scholars are too much engrossed in their Vedic and antiquarian

researches to devote serious attention to systematic study of Indian philosophy; while as to native Pandits, however learned, the very notion of a history of philosophy is foreign to their minds. There are works in Sanskrit, like the *Sarva-Darśana-Sangraha* of *Mâdhavâcharya* and the *Shad-Darśana-Samuchchaya* of *Haribhatta*, which profess to treat of all current systems of philosophy; but the historical view is totally absent in them. There the systems are arranged either according to their religious character or according to the predilections of the author. In modern times, scholars like Colebrook, Weber, Hall and Bannerjee have made some valuable contributions, but most of their opinions and criticisms are now antiquated and stand in need of revision in the light of further researches. A good deal has also been added to our knowledge of the Buddhistic literature, but even there the attention of scholars has not yet been sufficiently directed to its philosophical portion. It is not possible, therefore, under these circumstances to do more than throw out a few hints which, while dispelling some of the prevalent errors on the subject, will serve as a basis for future inquiries in the same direction. The following pages will not have been written in vain if this aim is even partially achieved.

The value of a history of philosophy will be appreciated by those who know how much our knowledge of Greek philosophy has been deepened by the accounts left by Plato, Xenophon and Thucydides. Systems of philosophy as well as individual doctrines are never the products of personal caprice or of mere accident; they are evolved out of a long chain of antecedent causes. They are in fact the tangible manifestations of various latent forces which mould the character and history of the nation. There could have been no Aristotle without a Plato or a Socrates, and no Socrates without the Sophists. A knowledge of this sequence is therefore essential to a true appreciation of every system and every doctrine, an isolated study of them being either insufficient or misleading. Besides, theories and schools are often the work of not one individual or of one age, but of a succession of thinkers who fashion and refashion them as it were until they become worthy of general acceptance. Such seems to have been the case with doctrines of God, of causality and of creation, in India as well as in Greece. The true aim of a history of philosophy may be explained in the words of Zeller:—

"The systems of philosophy, however peculiar and self-dependent they may be, thus appear as the members of a larger historical inter-

connection; in respect to this alone can they be perfectly understood; the further we follow it the more the individuals become united to a whole of historical development, and the problem arises not merely of explaining this whole by means of the particulars conditioning it, but likewise of explaining these moments by one another and consequently the individual by the whole."[4]

A history of Indian philosophy, such as would fulfil this purpose, is not of course possible in the present rudimentary state of Indian chronology. Still even a crude attempt of that kind will give a truer insight into each system or each doctrine than can be got by a study of isolated works. The need of such a connected view of philosophy is all the greater in the case of systems like the *Nyâya* and the *Vaiśeshika* whose real merits lie hidden under a heavy load of scholastic surplusage. They have not the halo of religion and mysticism which makes the *Vedânta* and other theological systems so attractive to students of Hindu philosophy, while the scholastic subtleties of most modern *Nyâya* writers, such as *Siromani* and *Gadâdhara*, inspire positive terror in untrained minds. If the *Nyâya* and *Vaiśeshika* systems, therefore, are to be popularized and their value to be recognized, it is necessary to divest them of their excrescences. A large mass of rubbish is to be found in the works of modern *Naiyâyikas*, and the task of extracting the pure ore out of it is very difficult; but it is worth performing. The process of sifting and cleaning will have to be repeated several times before we can really understand some of the profoundest conceptions that are interwoven in these systems. Philosophy is the stronghold of Hinduism, and the system of *Nyâya* forms as it were the back-bone of Hindu philosophy. Every other system accepts the fundamental principles of *Nyâya* logic, while even where there are differences, the dissentients often borrow the very arguments and phraseology of the *Nyâya* for their own purpose. A study of the *Nyâya* as well as *Vaiśeshika* systems is therefore a necessary step to a proper understanding of most of the systems. It forms as it were an introduction to the general study of philosophy, and hence no scholar who would seek the truth in the latter can afford to neglect them.

Among the numerous systems of philosophy that have been evolved in India during the last three thousand years, the *Nyâya* and *Vaiśeshika* occupy a unique position, both on account of their cardi-

[4] Zeller: *Outline of Greek Philosophy*, p. 3.

nal doctrines and of the mass of learning that has accumulated around them. A general view of these doctrines will not, therefore, be out of place in a sketch like this. *Nyáya*, which is the more compact, and perhaps also the more modern of the two, is much more a system of dialectics than one of philosophy. The aphorisms of *Gotama* and the works founded on them treat no doubt of metaphysical and theological questions occasionally, but they come in rather as digressions than as inseparable parts of the system. The *Vaiśeshika*, on the other hand, is essentially a system of metaphysics with a disquisition on logic skilfully dovetailed into it by later writers. It is these peculiarities which have earned them the name of logical systems and which distinguish them from each other as well as from other systems of Indian philosophy. These peculiarities must be carefully noted, for inattention to them has led many to misunderstand the true scope and function of these systems.

Gotama begins by enumerating 16 topics, which have been erroneously called *padárthas*.[5] These topics are not a classification of all sublunary things or categories. They look like headings of so many chapters in a treatise on logic. Of these the first nine, *viz.*, प्रमाण, प्रमेय, संशय, प्रयोजन, दृष्टान्त, सिद्धान्त, अवयव, तर्क and निर्णय, constitute what may be called logic proper, while the last seven may be collectively termed illegitimate or false logic. प्रमाण includes the four proofs, *Perception*, *Inference*, *Comparison* and *Word*;[6] while प्रमेय comprises all objects which are known by means of those proofs, *viz.*, soul, body, organ, material qualities, cognition, mind, effort, fault, death, fruition, pain and salvation.[7] These multifarious things have obviously nothing in common except the capacity of being known by one or other of the above proofs; and *Gotama* accordingly treats of them only in that light. He rarely troubles himself about the nature or form of these things, or of their production and destruction, as *Kanáda*, for instance, does. This is the reason why *Gotama's* definitions of soul, cognition, mind, &c., only tell us how they are known, but say nothing as to what kind of things they are. *Gotama's* theory of knowledge is essentially material. *Perception* is a physical process consisting in the contact of organs with their appropriate objects;[8] while *Inference*, which is

[5] G. S. I, 1, 1.
[6] G. S. I, 1, 3.
[7] G. S. I, 1, 9.
[8] G. S. I, 1, 4.

threefold, springs from *Perception*.[9] *Comparison* and *Word* are of course exceptional cases, and may be called imperfect inferences. Having thus dealt with the chief ingredients of knowledge, namely, the proof and its object, *Gotama* describes several accessories to knowledge, *viz.*, doubt, aim, instance or precedent, general truths, premises, hypothetical reasoning and conclusion. Doubt and aim as incentives to every inquiry are necessary to knowledge. Precedents and general truths form the material, while premises and hypothetical reasoning are the instruments of acquiring fresh knowledge. Conclusion is the final and combined product of all these things.[10] The seven topics forming the second group have a negative function in logic, namely, of preventing erroneous knowledge. By exposing errors they teach us how to avoid them. They are rather like weapons for destroying the enemy's fortress than tools to build one's own. Continued argument (वाद), sophistry (जल्प), wrangling (वितण्डा), fallacies (हेत्वाभास), quibbling (छल), far-fetched analogies (जाति), and opponent's errors (निग्रहस्थान); all these are useful where the object is to vanquish an opponent or to gain a temporary triumph; but they do not legitimately belong to the province of logic. *Gotama's* treatise may therefore be appropriately called the theory and practice of controversy rather than a science of logic. It resembles in this respect the dialectical work of Zeno who founded the sophistic dialectics in Greece.

The system, however, underwent considerable modifications in later times. The sixteen *padârthas* were practically ignored, and the theory of the four proofs absorbed almost the whole attention of later *Naiyâyikas*. The philosopical views of *Gotama* mostly came out in the digressions which are numerous in his work. They are generally introduced by way of illustrations to his method; and yet his followers have accepted these views as cardinal principles and built a regular system of philosophy upon them. The most characteristic of these doctrines are the non-eternity of sound,[11] the agency of God,[12] the theory of atoms,[13] the production of effects,[14] and its corollary, the reality of our knowledge. From the fragmentary discussions on these points contained in *Gotama's* work the modern *Naiyâyikas* have

[9] G. S. I., 1, 5.
[10] See for definitions of these, G. S. I., 1, 23-32, 40, 41.
[11] G. S. II, 2, 13-40. [12] G. S. IV, 1, 19-21.
[13] G. S. IV, 2, 4-25. [14] G. S. IV, 1, 22-54.

evolved elaborate theories which have made the system what it is. The radical and realistic tendency of these later doctrines came at every step into conflict with the more orthodox views of the two *Mimánsás*.

The system of the *Vaiśeshikás* is even more radical than the *Nyáya*. As a system of philosophy, the *Vaiśeshika* is more symmetrical and also more uncompromising. Its enumeration of the six categories,[15] with the seventh *Abháva* added afterwards, is a complete analysis of all existing things. These categories again are not enumerated for a special purpose only like the 16 *padárthas* of *Gotama*; but they resolve the entire universe, as it were, not excepting even the Almighty Creator, into so many classes. *Kanáda's* categories resemble in this respect those of Aristotle. *Gotama* treats of knowledge only, but *Kanáda* deals with the wider phenomena of existence. The first three categories, Substance, Quality, and Motion, have a real objective existence, and so form one group designated as अर्थ *Kanáda*.[16] The next three, Generality, Particularity, and Intimate Union, are products of our conception, and may be called metaphysical categories, while the last one, Negation, appears to have been added for dialectical purposes. The nine substances comprise all corporeal and incorporeal things, and the twenty-four qualities exhaust all the properties that can reside in a substance. बुद्धि is a quality of the Soul, and the whole theory of knowledge therefore consists in the production of this quality in its substratum the Soul. The process by which the cognition of an external object is produced in the Soul is something like printing or stamping on some soft material. Mind is the moveable joint between the Soul and the various organs which carry those impressions from external objects. Logic as a science of knowledge falls under बुद्धि and is so treated in all *Vaiśeshika* treatises. *Vaiśeshikas* recognize only the first two of the four proofs mentioned by *Gotama*,[17] and they differ from the *Naiyáyikas* on some other points also. What specially distinguishes the *Vaiśeshikas*, however, is their remarkable power of analysis; and their system may for that reason be appropriately called analytical philosophy. They divide and subdivide each class of things, and dissect every notion into its minutest components. No doubt the process of analysis is sometimes carried to an extreme where it ends into fruitless divisions and distictions, but its influence

[15] V. S. I, 1, 4. [16] V. S. VIII, 2, 3. [17] B. P. Ben. ed. p. 213.

on philosophical speculations in general must have been enormous. It is this feature of the *Vaiśeshika* system that has made it the source of all liberal thought in Indian philosophy. None are so unrestrained in their speculations, and none are such powerful critics of time-worn prejudices as the followers of *Kanáda*. No wonder then that they were looked upon with distrust by the orthodox school, and were labelled *Ardha-Vainásikas* (Semi-Buddhists) by their opponents.[18] The *Vaiśeshikas* never declared any open revolt against orthodox faith, nor is there any reason for supposing that *Kaṇáda* or his immediate followers were atheists; but the tendency of their doctrine was none the less unmistakable. As the devout Lord Bacon produced a Hume and a Voltaire in Europe, so the *Vaiśeshika* doctrines must have led ultimately to many a heresy in India such as those of the *Buddhas* and the *Jainas*.

A remarkable feature of both the *Nyáya* and the *Vaiśeshika* systems, as in fact of all the Indian systems of philosophy, is the religious motive which underlies them. Religion is the incentive to all these speculations, and religion is also the test of their truth and utility. Salvation is the goal which both *Kaṇáda* and *Gotama* promise the people as the reward of a thorough knowledge of their respective systems.[19] Amidst all the differences one idea appears to be common to all the ancient Indian systems, namely, that knowledge is the door and the only door to salvation. Opinions only differ as to what things are worth knowing. Consequently the bitterest controversies have raged among these rivals as to what things ought to be known for the speedy attainment of salvation. These controversies usually take the form of attacks on the rival classifications of categories as being either defective or superfluous or illogical. Another effect of the religious character of these systems is the discussion of many apparently irrelevant topics which have made them look somewhat heterogeneous and unsystematic. The many digressions in the works of *Gotama* and *Kaṇáda* as well as their followers are easily understood if we look to the bearing which those topics have upon the end and aim of philosophy. Take for instance the controversy about the non-eternity of sound.[20] What has the eternity of sound to do with logic? An inference would be just as right or wrong whether the words conveying

[18] Sánkarâchârya: *Brahma-Sutra-Bhâshya* II, 2, 18.

[19] G. S. I., 1, 1; V. S., I., 1, 4. [20] G. S. II., 2, 13.

it are eternal or not. But the question of the eternity of sound is vitally connected with the infallibility of the *Vedas* which are final authority in all matters of doubt; and all orthodox systems, therefore, must have their say on the point. We thus find that questions of the most diverse character are discussed wherever the context leads to them while others more closely related to the subject are neglected. Each system has consequently become a mixture as it were of the fragments of several sciences such as logic, metaphysics, psychology, and theology. This is not however a weakness as some superficial critics have supposed. It arises from the very conception of a *Darśana*, and could never have been avoided by those who in these systems sought to provide a complete guide as it were to the road to salvation. Indian philosophy is not singular in this respect. Everywhere philosophy grows out of religious instincts. The sense of dependence on supernatural powers and a desire to conciliate them were the first incentives which led men at a very early period to think of their religious well-being. "Philosophy," says Zeller, "just begins when man experiences and acts upon the necessity of explaining phenomena by means of natural causes."[21] The *Rigveda*, the *Brâhmanas* and the *Upanishads* abound in passages showing how in India this feeling grew in intensity until it became the ruling passion of the Brahmins. Salvation was the sole purpose of life, and knowledge of the universe was the means to it. The ancient *Upanishads* were the repositories of the speculations which rose like bubbles out of this fermentation of thought, and which appear to have ultimately crystallized into the various systems of philosophy. In Greece philosophy tended to become more and more ethical and worldly; in India it could never free itself from its religious setting. This is the reason why in spite of additions and modifications Indian *Darśanas* never lost their original character completely. A history of each of these systems is therefore a history of its gradual evolution within certain limits, while its relations outside of them remained practically unchanged.

The period before the rise of Buddhism is almost a blank page. We know nothing of it except that a large amount of free speculation must have been stored up at that time in the *Brahmanas* and the *Upanishads*. The only system which dates prior to Buddhism is the *Sânkhya*, and possibly the *Vaiśeshika* also; but all the other

[21] Zeller: *Outline of Greek Philosophy*. p. 6.

Darśanas are presumably of a post-Buddhistic origin, at least in the form in which we possess them. In fact the very notion of a system seems to be post-Buddhistic. The severe conflict between Buddhism and Brahminism which stirred men's minds in the century after Buddha's death, must have compelled both the parties to systematize the doctrines and express them in a compact methodical form. The same cause or causes which led the Buddhists to collect their ethical and philosophical teachings in their *suttas* during the period which elapsed between the first and the second council must have also induced their Brahmin rivals to compose similar works for the defence of vedic orthodoxy. The two collections of aphorisms belonging to the Prior and the Posterior *Mimânsâs* and known by the names of *Jaimini* and *Bâdarâyaṇa* respectively have a strong controversial flavour about them, and appear to be the first products of this reaction against Buddhism. The aphorisms of *Kanâda* and *Gotama* could not have been of any prior date, and as we do not know of any *Nyâya* or *Vaiśeshika* works older than these *Sûtras*, the history of those systems may safely be said to begin in the 5th or the 4th century before Christ.

Roughly speaking the literature of the *Nyâya* and *Vaiśeshika* systems extends over a period of 22 centuries, that is, from about the 4th century B. C. till very recent times, of which the last two hundred years not being distinguished by any original works may be left out of account. The history may be divided into three periods: the first from about 400 B. C. to 500 A. C., the second from thence to 1300 A. C., and the third after that till the end of the last century. The only known representatives of the first period are the two collections of aphorisms going under the name of *Gotama* and *Kaṇâda* respectively, and perhaps the scholium of *Praśastapâda* also; but there must have existed other works now lost. The second period is pre-eminently distinguished by a series of commentaries on these *Sûtras* beginning with *Vâtsyâyana* and comprising several works of acknowledged authority. The third period saw the introduction of independent treatises and commentaries on them which at last dwindle down into short manuals like *Tarka-sangraha* and *Tarka-Kaumudi*. These three periods also mark three successive stages in the development of the two systems. The first may be called the age of the formation of doctrines in the *Sûtras*; the second that of their elaboration by commentators; and the third that of their systematization by writers of special treatises. The

first is characterised by great originality and freshness, the second by a fulness of details, and the third by scholastic subtlety ultimately leading to decadence. These divisions may sometimes overlap, for a we have treatises like *Tárkika-rakshá* and *Sapta-padárthi* before the 14th century, so we have commentaries on the *Sûtras*, like *Sankara Miśra's Upaskára*, and *Viśwanátha's Vritti*, written afterwards. This does not however affect our general conclusion that the writings of the 14th century and onwards are in marked contrast with those of the preceding age. The exact duration of these periods may have varied a little in the case of the two systems, but the order is the same. The mutual relation of these two systems, however appears to have changed at different times. During the first period they seem to have been two different systems, independent in origin but treating of the same topics and often borrowing from each other. *Vátsyáyana* regards them as supplementary.[22] In the second period, however, they become somewhat antagonistic, partly owing to an accumulation of points of difference between the two, and partly on account of the alliance of the *Vaiśeshikas* with the Buddhists. The third period saw the amalgamation of the two systems, and we come across many works, like the *Tarka-Sangraha* for instance, in which the authors have attempted to select the best portions of each and construct from these fragments a harmonious system of their own. This is a curious phenomenon, no doubt, and we do not yet sufficiently know the causes which brought about these successive changes in the attitude of the exponents of these two systems towards each other; but the fact is important in as much as it must have been a powerful factor in moulding both of them. At any rate it accounts for the difficulty, which every student meets with at the threshold, whether to regard these systems as really supplementary or antagonistic to each other. They are spoken of as both, and yet no Sanskrit writer seems to have perceived the inconsistency of doing so. The only explanation that can at present be suggested is that the twins after quarrelling for some time reunited under the influence of a reaction.

Having premised so much we may proceed to consider the three periods in order; and the first thing we shall have to do is of course to fix the age of the *Sûtras* of *Gotama* and *Kaṇáda*. They are the recognized basis of the *Nyáya* and the *Vaiśeshika* systems, and they are so far as we know the oldest works on those systems. Not that

[22] *Vát.* on G. S. I., 1, 4.

they were the first of their kind ; perhaps they were preceded by cruder attempts of the same sort that have perished ; perhaps the present works are improved editions of older ones. For all practical purposes, however, the works of *Kaṇáda* and *Gotama* may be taken as the starting points for the two systems. Now before adverting to the evidence that exists for determining the dates of these two *Sûtras* it is necessary to notice one or two misconceptions that would otherwise hinder our task. The first of these is the confusion that is often made between the system and the *Sûtra* work expounding it ; and the second is a similar want of distinction between the systems as a whole and the particular doctrines composing it. The three things, *viz.*, *Gotama's* work, the *Nyâya* system, and the individual doctrines embodied in it, are quite distinct, and ought not to be confounded with one another. They may for aught we know have originated at different times, and no inference can therefore be safely drawn as to the probable date of the one from any ascertained fact relating to the other. The fact for instance that some of the *Vaiśeshika* doctrines are controverted in *Bâdarâyaṇa's Brahma-Sutras*[23] has been made the ground for inferring that *Kaṇáda's Sûtras* were composed prior to those of *Bádaráyaṇa*, and yet there are cogent reasons for believing that they were of a much later origin. We must therefore suppose that the doctrines controverted in *Brahma-Sûtras* existed prior to their incorporation into a regular system as set out in *Kaṇáda's* work. Similarly many of the arguments as to the relative priority of *Nyâya* and *Vaiśeshika* systems are based on assumptions made from some doctrines of the one being cited or refuted by the other. Such arguments however are misleading and often produce confusion. The *Nyáya* doctrine of असत्कार्यवाद must have existed before the rise of Buddhism and even before the formation of the *Sánkhya* system, the oldest works of which controvert it. Does it follow therefore that *Gotama* and *Kaṇáda* preceded both the *Sánkhyas* and the *Bauddhas?* And if so, how are we to account for the fact that several doctrines of the *Sánkhyas* as well as the *Bauddhas* are in their turn quoted in the *Sûtras* of both these authors? Here is a dilemma which can only be solved by supposing that the doctrine of असत्कार्यवाद and many others like it subsequently adopted by the *Naiyâyikas* and *Vaiseshikas* must have formed topics of hot discussion long before the *Sûtras* of *Gotama* and *Kaṇâda* were composed. In

[23] *Brahma-Sûtras*, II., 2, 11, *et. seq.*

like manner, even supposing that the system as such existed at or before a particular date it will not be right to argue that *Kaṇáda's Sûtras* also must have existed at that time.[24] Nor should it be supposed that the whole system as conceived later on is to be found in these works. Many doctrines now looked upon as cardinal principles of *Vaiśeshika* philosophy, are conspicuous by their absence in *Kaṇáda's* work, such as, for instance, *Abhâva* as a seventh category, the last seven qualities, and the doctrine of *Viśesha*.[25] This much however is certain, that when the *Sûtras* were composed the two systems had assumed a definite form which was never to be substantially changed. There are important gaps that were filled up afterwards; but the skeleton is there and it is the skeleton that gives shape to the body. The process may have been something like this. First bold thinkers started theories of their own on the burning questions of the day, and then these theories after much discussion crystallized into specific doctrines such as those of असत्कार्य, समवाय and others. The ancient *Upanishads* abound in passages in which we find such definite principles being actually worked out of a mass of general speculations. The next step is for some eminent teacher to adopt and develop some of these doctrines and form a school which might in time grow up into a system. The difference between a school and a system is that of degree. A school adopts a theory about a particular phenomenon, while a system aims at explaining consistently the whole order of nature by reducing several of these theories into harmony. *Audulomi*, *Kâśakritsna*, *Bâdari*, and many others whose names occur in the philosophical *Sûtras*, seem to have been founders of the schools which preceded the regular systems. The system when thus formed required an authoritative exposition, and many must have been the failures of inferior persons, before a master mind like *Gotama* or *Kaṇáda* could produce a work that would live into futurity. The present *Sûtras* of *Kaṇáda* and *Gotama* must, therefore, be regarded as representing the end rather than the commencement of this evolutionary process. They did not originate the systems, they only stereotyped them, by giving them as it were a body and shape. Besides it is probable that the fashion of propounding philosophical systems in the form of *Sûtras*, if not the systems themselves, came into vogue after the rise of *Buddhism*. The ethi-

[24] Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 354, Cowell's note.

[25] V. S. I., 1, 4; I., 1, 6; I., 2, 3.

cal teachings of *Gotama Buddha* were expressed in the shape of pithy sentences which were easy to remember and possessed a certain attraction for the popular mind. The Brahmins, probably with a desire to beat their rivals with their own weapons, composed *Sûtras* on their own philosophical systems modelled on the Buddhistic *suttas*, and possessing in some cases literary finish of a very high order. The necessity of meeting their opponents in controversies which became frequent from this time compelled the orthodox philosophers to put their cardinal doctrines in a definite shape; and this they did by expressing them in an incisive and dogmatic form so as to produce immediate conviction. The uncompromising tone and rigid logic of these post-Buddhistic *Sûtras* are in strong contrast with the loose reasoning and poetical imagery which abound in earlier philosophical books, such as the *Upanishads*. While morality was the stronghold of the Buddhists, philosophy was their weakest point, in these early times; naturally the shrewd Brahmins cultivated this latter branch with the greater vigour in order to outshine their rivals. The *sûtras* of *Jaimini* and *Bâdarâyana* must have been composed with some object in view; and the example once set, was of course followed by other teachers belonging to the orthodox party.

It is difficult to determine the chronological order of the several systems of philosophy, and the attempts hitherto made have not been very successful. The *Sânkhya* system and many of the doctrines of the *Vaiśeshikas*, if not the whole of their system, are most probably Pre-Buddhistic. The *Vaiśeshika* system pre-supposes the *Sânkhya*, and there is evidence to show that the *Vaiśeshika* not only preceded Buddhism and Jainism, but directly contributed to the rise of those sects, many of their peculiar dogmas being closely allied to *Vaiśeshika* theories. The Buddhistic doctrines of total annihilation for instance, is only a further and an inevitable development of the *Vaiśeshika* doctrine of असत्कार्यवाद; while the categories or *Padârthas* of the latter find their counterpart in the five *Âstikâyas* or essences of the *Jainas*. The atomic theory moreover is largely adopted by the *Jainas*, and even enters into their legendary mythology. The epithet *Ardha-Vainâśikas* or Semi-Buddhists, contemptuously bestowed upon the *Vaiśeshikas* by *Śankarâchârya*,[25] concealed a historical truth, if the *Vaiśeshikas* as suggested above were the half-hearted precursors who by their materialistic speculations paved

[25] See foot-note 18 *supra*.

the way for the extreme radicalism of *Gotama Buddha*. The *Vaiśeshika* school is specifically named in the sacred texts of the *Jainas* and also in the *Lalita-Vistara*.[26] Several of their doctrines are refuted in *Badaráyaṇa's Brahma-Sûtras*, and it is possible that they may have existed then in some systematic form. As to the other systems the two *Mîmânsâs* appear to have come immediately after the rise of Buddhism and before the advent of the *Nyâya* and the *Yoga*. Neither *Bádaráyaṇa* nor *Jaimini* refers to any peculiar *Nyâya* doctrine, while the few aphorisms in *Bádaráyaṇa's* work which mention *Yoga* look like interpolations. It will be shown presently that *Gotama* himself borrows from *Bádaráyaṇa's* work.

Looking to the *sûtras*, however, the two *Mîmânsâ* collections appear to be the oldest of them, while the works of *Gotama* and *Kaṇáda* come next in succession. The date of *Jaimini* and *Bádaráyaṇa*, who quote each other and might have been contemporaries, is not yet settled. They are certainly aware of the Buddhistic sect, many of whose doctrines they quote and refute.[27] The two *Mîmânsâ Sûtras* therefore could not have been composed before the 6th century B. C. They may for the present be assigned to the 5th or the earlier part of the 4th century B. C. The *Sûtras* of *Gotama* and *Kaṇáda* must be still later productions, as will appear from a comparison of them with the *Brahma-Sûtras*. The opening *sûtras* of both *Gotama* and *Kaṇáda* appear to recognize the *Vedántic* doctrine of knowledge being the means to salvation; while throughout their works whenever they treat of soul, salvation, pain, knowledge, and such other topics, their language seems to be strongly tinged with *Vedántic* notions. The phraseology is often the same, and in several places even direct references to the *Brahma-Sûtras* may be detected in these works. For example, the *Vaiśeshika sûtrâs*, अनित्य इति विशेषतः प्रतिषेधभावः । and अविद्या ।[28] appear to be answers to *Bâdaráyaṇa's* objections to the eternity of atoms[29]; while the *Sûtra* अहमिति शब्दस्य व्यतिरेकानागमिकम्[30] is evidently aimed at the *Vedántic* view explained in the four preceding *sûtras*, that the soul is to be known only through *Śruti*.[31] Similarly V. S. IV, 2, 2-3 controvert the *Vedántin's* view

---

[26] Weber: *History of Indian Literature*, p. 236, foot-note.

[27] *Brahma-Sûtra* II, 2, 18, *et. seq*; *Mîmânsâ-Sûtra* 1, 2, 33; see also Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. 1, p. 354.

[28] V. S. IV, 1, 4-5.

[29] *Brahma-Sûtra* II, 2, 14-15.

[30] V. S. III, 2, 9.

[31] Cf. also G. S. III, I, 28-30.

that our body is formed by the union of five or three elements.[32] Again many of the terms used by *Kaṇáda*, such as अविद्या, लिङ्ग, प्रत्यगात्मा, and व्याख्यात, appear to be borrowed from *Bádaráyaṇa*. The same holds good of *Gotama*. In several places he propounds views very similar to well-known *Vedántic* doctrines[33]; while a comparison of G. S. III, 2, 14-16 with *Brahma-Sûtra* II. 1, 24, will show that *Gotama* borrows even illustrations and arguments from *Badaráyaṇa*.[34] G. S. II, 1, 61-67[35] would likewise show that *Gotama* was also posterior to *Jaimini*. It may be argued that the borrowing may have been on the other side, or that the particular *sûtras* may be later additions. But we must in such cases judge by the whole tone and drift of the authors. While in all the cases noted above the topics form essential parts of the two *Mîmánsá* systems, they come only incidentally in the works of *Kaṇáda* and *Gotama*. We can, therefore, confidently assert that the works of *Gotama* and *Kaṇáda*, as we have them at present, cannot be older than the 4th century B. C.

The question as to the relative priority of these two systems *per se* is beset with many difficulties. Opinions have differed as to which system is prior in time, and arguments have been advanced on both sides. *Chandrakánta Tarkálankara*, in the preface to his edition of *Vaiśeshika-sûtras*, strongly contends for the priority of *Vaiśeshika* system, while others maintain the opposite view.[36] Goldstücker calls the *Vaiśeshika* only a branch of the *Nyáya* without deciding their relative priority[37]; while Weber is undecided on the point.[38] Much of the confusion, however, on this point can be avoided by making a distinction, as already noted, between the *Vaiśeshika* system and the *Vaiśeshiká Sûtras*. There are strong grounds for believing, as Mr. *Tarkálankára* contends, that the *Vaiśeshika* system preceded *Gotama's*, and yet the *Sûtras* of *Kaṇáda*, or at least many of them, may be of a later date. The fact that, while *Vaiśeshika* doctrines are noticed in *Bádaráyaṇa's Brahma-Sûtras*, *Gotama's* system is not even once alluded to, shows that some *Vaiśeshika* doctrines at least were promulgated not only before *Gotama* but even before the composition of the

[32] *Brahma-Sûtra* II, 2, 21, 22. [33] Cf. G. S. IV, 1, 64.

[34] क्षीरविनाशे कारणानुपलब्धिवद्ध्युत्पत्तिवच्च तदुत्पत्तिः। *Gotama-Sûtra*; उपसंहारदर्शनात्नेति चेन्न क्षीरवद्धि। *Brahma-Sûtra*.

[35] विध्यर्थवादानुवादवचनविनियोगात् G. S. II. 1. 61.

[36] Bhimâcharya: *Nyâya-Kosha*, Intro., p. 2-3, note.

[37] Goldstücker's *Panini*, p. 153.

[38] Weber: *History of Indian Literature*, p. 245.

Brahma-Sútras. *Vátsyáyana's* remark that omissions in *Gotamas'* work are to be supplied from the cognate system of the *Vaiśeshikas* may likewise be taken to imply that that system existed before *Gotama's* time[39]; while the latter's reference to a प्रतितन्त्रासिद्धा,[40] by which he probably means doctrines taught by some allied school such as the *Vaiśeshikas*, would support such an inference. The posteriority of *Gotama* may also be inferred from the fact that many topics summarily disposed of or imperfectly discussed by *Kaṇáda* are fully treated by him, as, for instance, inference, fallacies, eternity of sound, and the nature of soul. It is true that some of these arguments would also prove that *Kaṇáda's sûtras* were anterior to *Gotama's* work, and it is possible that a collection of *Vaiśeshika-sûtras* was known to *Gotama*. But we must also take account of the fact that several *sûtras* in the present collection of *Kaṇáda's* aphorisms appear to be suggested by *Gotama's* work.

V. S. III, 2, 4,[41] for instance, is clearly an amplification of G. S. I, 1, 10.[42] V. S. III, 1, 17[43] again gives an illustration of the अनैकान्तिक fallacy, although the name, strange to say, is nowhere explained throughout *Kaṇáda's* work. The word is, however, used by *Gotama* as a definition of सव्यभिचार,[44] and it is possible that the author of the *Vaiśeshika sûtra* borrowed it from him, and wrongly used it as the name of the fallacy. These *sûtras*, therefore, if not the whole work of *Kaṇáda*, must have been composed after *Gotama's* work was published. Now there are good reasons for suspecting that *Kaṇáda's* work, as we have it at present, contains a large number of aphorisms which have been either modified or added in after times. A comparison of *Kaṇáda's sûtras*, as found in our printed editions, with the *Bháshya* of *Prúśastapáda*, shows that many of the *sûtras* are not explained by the scholiast and were probably unkown to him.[45] Moreover, all these suspicious aphorisms relate to topics that look like having been suggested afterwards. The practice of making such interpolations

[39] *Vat.* on G. S. I, 1, 4.

[40] G. S. I, 1, 29.

[41] प्राणापाननिमेषोन्मेषजीवनमनोगतीन्द्रियान्तरविकाराः सुखदुःखेच्छाद्वेषप्रयत्नाश्चात्मनो लिङ्गानि । *Vaiśeshika-Sútra.*

[42] इच्छाद्वेषप्रयत्नसुखदुःखज्ञानान्यात्मनो लिङ्गमिति । *Gotama-Sútra.*

[43] यस्माद्विषाणी तस्मद्गौरिति चानैकान्तिकस्योदाहरणम् ।

[44] अनैकान्तिकः सव्यभिचारः G. S. I, 2, 46.

[45] See the excellent conspectus showing the *sûtras* corresponding to each section of *Prasastapáda's* scholium, prefixed to the Benares Edition of that work.

in ancient works is not uncommon in Indian literature. The *Sáṅkhya-Sûtras* are notoriously modern productions, though ascribed to an ancient *Rishi*; and even the *Brahma-Sûtras* of *Bádaráyaṇa* lie under the suspicion of being tampered with. The loose and unsystematic arrangement of the *Vaiśeshika* aphorisms must have considerably facilitated the task of an interpolator, while such liberties could not have been easily taken with the more compact and finished production of *Gotama*.

The most reasonable conclusion that may be drawn from the foregoing facts is that, although we can say nothing definite about an original collection of *Vaiśeshika* aphorisms, the present work of that name is comparatively modern. We have no materials at present to fix its probable age. *Kaṇáda* is a mythical personage and is variously styled *Káśyapa*, *Kaṇabhaksha* or *Kaṇabhuk*.[46] The latter two appellations are, of course, paraphrases of *Kaṇáda*, which literally means "an eater of seeds or atoms." The name is said to be derived from his having lived upon picked-up grain-seeds while practising austerities; more probably it is a derisive appellation invented by antagonists for his atomic theory. The system is also called *Áulúkya-Darśana*,[47] and a pretty old tradition is told that God Mahadeva pleased by the austerities of the sage *Kaṇáda* appeared to him in the guise of an owl and revealed the system which the latter subsequently embodied in the *Sûtras*.[48] A Rishi named *Ulúka* is mentioned in the *Mahâ-Bhârata*, but nothing can be said as to what connection he had with the *Vaiśeshika* system. The name *Áulûkya* is, however, considerably old, being mentioned by *Udyôtakâra* and *Kumârila*.[49] The name *Vaiśeshika* occurs even in the scholium of *Práśastapáda*, who also refers to the tradition about God Mahadeva just mentioned.[50] *Váyu Puráṇa* makes *Aksha-pádu*, *Kaṇáda* and *Ulúka* sons of *Vyása*,[51] but no reliance can be placed on such an authority.

It has been already shown that the present collection of *Vaiśeshika* aphorisms is posterior to the 4th century B. C., and the references to it contained in *Vâtsyâyana's* commentary on *Gotama's* work prove that it must have existed before the 5th century A. D. *Vâtsyâyana*

[46] P. B. Ben. ed. p. 200; V. S. Up. Calc. ed. p. 160-1; *Trikánda-Sesha*.

[47] Sarv. D. S. Calc. ed. p. 110.

[48] Bhimâchârya: *Nyaya-Kosha*, Intro. p. 2.

[49] *Nyâya-Vârtika*, Bibl. In. p. 168; *Tantra-Vârtika* I., 1, 4.

[50] P. B. Ben. ed. p. 234.

[51] See the verses quoted in P. B. Ben. ed. Intro. p. 10.

not only mentions it as a समानतन्त्र, enumerates the six categories[52] and actually quotes one aphorism of *Kaṇâda*.[53] This is the utmost that we can say with certainty about the age of *Kaṇâd's* work. The date of *Praśasta-pâda*, the earliest scholiast of *Kaṇâda*, is equally uncertain. He cannot be the same as the *Rishi Praśasta* mentioned in the *Pravarâdhyâya* of *Baudhâyana-Sûtra*, for *Baudhâyana-Sûtra* being composed before the 4th century B. C.,[54] *Praśasta-pâda* and *a fortiori Kaṇâda* would have to be placed long before that time. *Praśasta-pâda* has also been identified with *Gotama*, the author of *Nyâya-Sûtras*,[55] but it seems to be a mistake. So no inference as to the age of the *Vaiśeshika-Sûtras* can be drawn from the date of the commentator. The six categories as well as the proofs are mentioned in the medical work of *Charaka*, who has been identified with *Patanjali*, the author of the *Mahâ-Bhâshya*.[56] But even if this identity is correct, the original work of *Charaka* having been subsequently recast and enlarged by *Dridhabala*, particular passages from it cannot be relied upon for historical purposes.

Happily we can obtain better results in the case of *Gotama's* work. That it is posterior to the rise of Buddhism is evident on its face, for Buddhistic doctrines are expressly mentioned therein.[57] It is also, as has been already shown, later than the latter part of the fifth century B. C., the time of *Bâdarâyaṇa's Brahma-Sûtras* which, while refuting *Vaiśeshika* doctrines, make no mention of the cognate school of *Naiyâyikas*. Goldstücker says that both *Katyâyana* and *Patanjali* knew of the *Nyaya Sûtras*.[58] Now *Patanjali* is said to have written his great work about 140 B. C.[59]; but *Katyâyana's* date is not so certain. According to a story told in *Kathâ-Sarit-Sangraha*, *Kâtyâyana* was a pupil of *Upavarhsa* and a minister of king *Nanda* who reigned about 350 B. C.[60] Goldstücker makes light of the authority of

---

[52] अस्त्यन्यदपि द्रव्यगुणकर्मसामान्यविशेषसमवायाः प्रमेयम्। तद्भेदेन चाऽपरिसङ्ख्येयम्। *Vât.* on G. S. I. 1, 9.

[53] यस्माद्विषाणी तस्मादश्व इति (V. S. III, 1, 16) किमनुमानमिति चेत् सन्तानोपपत्तिरुपपादितः शब्दसन्तानः &c. *Vât.* on G. S. II, 2, 36.

[54] Buhler: Sacred Laws (S. B. E. Series). Part I *Âpastamba*, Intro. p. XXII.

[55] Bhimâcharya: *Nyâya-Kosha* Intro. p. 2.

[56] *Parama-Laghu-Manjusha*. A verse said to be from *Yogabîja* calls *Patanali*, a writer on three sciences, grammar, medicine, and *Yoga*.

[57] G. S. III, 2, 11-13. [58] Goldstücker's *Pânini*, p. 157. [59] Ibid p. 234.

[60] *Katha-Sarit-Sangraha* I, 5; Max Müller: *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 240.

Kathâ-Sarit-Sangraha, but it is hard to believe that such a story could have got currency without some sort of foundation. If the story is true the *Nyâya-Sûtras* would have to be placed before 350 B. C. *Kâtyâyana's* date is now generally taken to be about the middle of the 4th century B. C.[61]; and so *Gotama* will have to be placed before that time. There is another fact which confirms this conclusion. *Sabara Swâmin*, the scholiast on *Jamini's Sûtras*, often quotes an ancient author whom he calls *Bhagawân Upavarsha*, and who must have, therefore, lived a long time before him. This *Upavarsha* is said to have written commentaries on both the *Mîmânsa Sûtras*.[62] If he be the same as the reputed teacher of *Kâtyâyana* above mentioned, he must have lived in the first part of the 4th century B. C.[63] Now a passage quoted by *Sabara Swâmin* from the commentary of this *Upavarsha*[64] shows that he was intimately acquainted with *Gotama's* system and largely adopted its doctrines. *Gotama's* work must, therefore, have been composed before the 3rd century B. C., that is, it belongs to the 4th century B. C.[65]

There is another piece of evidence, which, though apparently conflicting with the above conclusion, really supports it. *Âpastamba*, the author of the *Dharma-Sûtra*, knew both the *Pûrva* and the *Uttara Mîmânsâ* systems but not the *Nyâya*.[66] It is true that *Âpastamba* in two passages of his work uses the word न्याय and न्याय-वित् respectively[67]; but there he clearly refers to *Pûrva-Mîmânsâ*, and not to the system of *Gotama*. Nor is this use of the word uncommon in ancient writings. The fact that the word न्याय, which was subsequently monopolized by the followers of *Gotama*, is applied

---

[61] Eggeling's *Śâtapatha-Brâhmana* (S. B. E. Series) Intro. p. 30.

[62] Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 357.

[63] Another story in Somadeva-Bhatta's *Kathâ-Sarit-Sangraha* makes him live in Pâtaliputra during the reign of Nanda, *i. e.*, about 350 B. C.; but no reliance can be placed on the chronological data furnished by this book in the absence of other evidence.

[64] *Śâbara-Bhâshya* Bibl. Ind. p. 10; for an English translation of the passage, see Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I, p. 328.

[65] This conclusion will not be affected by any date that may be assigned to Pânini. Goldstücker places Pânini long before the rise of Buddhism and holds that he did not know Gotama's work. Pânini mentions the word न्याय but only in the sense of a syllogism or rather a thesis, such as those in Jaimini's work. See Goldstücker's *Pânini*, p. 152.

[66] Buhler: *Sacred Laws* (S. B. E. Series.) Part I *Âpastamba*, Intro. p. xxvii.

[67] *Âpastamba-Dharma-Sûtra* II, 4, 8, 13; and II, 6. 14. 13.

by *Ápastamba* to the system of *Jaimini*, shows that at his time *Gotama's* system was either unknown, or at least so new as not to have attained any wide celebrity. *Ápastamba*, according to Buhler, must have lived before the 3rd century B. C. and even 150 or 200 years earlier[68]; but his knowledge of the two *Mimánsás* shows that he could not have lived long before 400 B. C. *Gotama's* work must therefore be assigned to the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 4th Century B. C.

It is needless to state after this that our *Gotama* is quite different from *Gotama*, the author of a *Dharma-Sûtra*, who preceded *Baudhâyana* and was *a fortiori* prior to *Ápastamba*[69]; nor has he anything to do with the mythical sage of that name mentioned in the *Rámáyaṇa* and *Mahábhárata* as the son of *Utathya* and the husband of *Ahilyá*. Nothing is known about the personality of our author, and it is even doubtful whether his real name was *Gotama* or *Gautama*. Being a Brahmam he could not have belonged to the race from which the founder of Buddhism sprung. He is also called *Aksha-páda* or *Aksha-charana*, but the origin of the name is not known. Some have conjectured that the epithet was a nick-name given to *Gotama* for his peculiar theory of sensual perception, and means one who stands or walks upon organs of sense (अक्ष); but there is no authority for this. At any rate the author, whoever he may be, possessed great originality and a grasp of general principles that enabled him to systematize the science of logic for the first time. He cannot, however, be said to have founded it, for logical rules seem to have prevailed even before his time. *Manu* proclaims the need of reason for a correct understanding of the sacred law,[70] while *Bádaráyaṇa* goes to the other extreme of declaring the utter futility of our reasoning power to discover truth.[71] Besides, it is quite obvious that, unless the art of reasoning had been practised for a long time previous, and had been considerably developed, neither the philosophical speculations in the *Upanishads* nor the rise of heretical sects, such as the *Chárvákas* the *Bauddhas* and the *Jainas*, could have been possible. What then did *Gotama* achieve, and what is his place in the history of Indian logic? This is an interesting question, and would, if satisfactorily answered, throw a flood of light on the early history of Indian philosophy.

[68] Buhler: *Sacred Laws* (S. B. E. Series) Part I *Ápastamba*, Intro. p. xliii.
[69] *Ibid. Ibid.* p. xx and lv. [70] *Manu-Smriti* xii, 106.
[71] *Brahma-Sûtra* II, 1, 11.

Gotama was certainly not the pioneer. The very fact that he has evolved a logical system complete and well knit in all essential respects would lead us to suspect that he must have used materials left by his predecessors and profited by their errors. This is not a mere inference however, for *Vâtsyâyana* in his Commentary on G. S. I, 1, 52, actually tells us that there was a school of *Naiyâyikas* who required ten premisses in a syllogism, and that *Gotama* reduced their number to five.[72] This is quite probable, for Indian systematists always favour brevity, and even *Gotama's* five premisses were subsequently reduced by others to three. *Gotama*, therefore, must have been preceded by other labourers in the same field whose works have been eclipsed by his superior treatise. External evidence would lead us even a step further. The two passages from *Âpastamba's Dharma-Sutra*, referred to above, show that the word न्याय was formerly applied to *Pûrva-Mimânsâ*. Similar passages are also found in many ancient *Smritis* and also some modern works in which the same word or its derivatives are used in connection with *Jaimini's* system. So late a writer as *Madhavâchârya* calls his epitome of *Jaimini's* work न्यायमालाविस्तर, while many other *Mimansâ* works have न्याय as part of their title. The various theses propounded in *Jaimini's* work are called *Nyâyas*, and even *Pânini* uses the word in a similar sense.[73] How then are we to explain the fact that a word so generally used by the *Mimânsakas* came afterwards to designate the rival and totally dissimilar systems of *Gotama*. As a general rule we find that when a new school arises it coins its own phraseology to distinguish itself from its predecessors. In this case, however, the followers of *Gotama* appropriated an old word, and that word stuck to them so fast as to become afterwards their exclusive property. The explanation, it seems, lies in the fact that the science of logic which afterwards developed into a separate system was originally the child of *Pûrva-Mimânsâ*.

Analogy of other arts and sciences points to the same conclusion. All sciences in India appear to have sprung out of sacrificial necessities. Astronomy was founded on the rules by which vedic *Rishis* ascertained the correct time for performing periodical sacrifices, from the movements of heavenly bodies. While medicine had its germ in the analysis of the properties of *Soma* plant and other sacrificial substances, music was first cultivated by the *Udgâtâ* priest for sing-

[72] *Vât.* on G. S. I., I., 32.

[73] Pânini's *Sutras* III, 2, 122.

ing his *Sâman* hymns, and a knowledge of architecture and geometry was found to be essential in constructing the sacrificial pandal and the *Vêdi*. It is probable, therefore, that the art of reasoning also originated in some requirement of the all important sacrifice. Such requirements were mainly two, the correct interpretation of vedic texts on which the due performance of the sacrifices depended, and victory in the philosophical and other discussions which were usually held in the intervals of sacrifices. It was a special function of the *Brahmá* priest to give decisions on any disputed points that might arise in the course of a sacrifice, and this he could not have done unless he was a master of ratiocination. Such decisions, which may be likened to the chairman's rulings in a modern assembly, are scattered through the ancient *Brâhmaṇás*, and are collected together as so many *Nyâyas* in the *Púrva-Mîmánsá* aphorisms of *Jaimini*. The philosophical disquisitions were collected in the various *Upanishads* and produced the system of *Uttara Mîmánsâ*. *Jaimini* lays down many rules of exegesis which seem to be the direct progenitors of the local rules of *Gotama*. The various tests for instance illustrated in the third chapter of *Jaimini's* work to determine whether a rite or a *Vedic* direction is principal or auxiliary are only so many varieties of inference. The लिङ्ग so often mentioned by *Jaimini* must have suggested the हेतु and अपदेश of *Gotama* and *Kaṇáda* respectively. We may therefore suppose that it is the *Mîmánsakas* who, first prompted by exegetical necessity, developed sundry rules of logic which they illustrated by means of what they called *Nyáyas* or thesis. When therefore *Manu* or *Apastamba* speaks तर्क or न्याय we must understand by the terms these rules of inference as applied to Vedic interpretation. The utility of these rules for other purposes, founded as they mainly are on the broad basis of common sense, could not have but been perceived very soon and naturally taken advantage of. This secularization so to say of these exegetical rules of *Pûrva Mîmánsá* gave birth to a science which was at first known by the name of आन्वीक्षिकी. It probably got its modern appellation of *Nyáya*, when *Gotama* raised it into a philosophical system by including in his treatise disquisitions on sundry metaphysical topics, such as the origin of knowledge, eternity of sound, nature of proof and the agency of God. If this hypothesis is correct, we can form a tolerably clear idea of the task *Gotama* set before himself and which he has performed so admirably. From a bundle of experimental rules which were known only as

a secular art called आन्वीक्षिकी and said by some to be subsidiary to अथर्ववेद, Gotama evolved a system which at once became the rival of the two *Mimânsâs* and which from thenceforward exercised a strong sway over generations of Indian Pundits. *Gotama* can very well be compared in this respect with Aristotle or Immanuel Kant. Nay in one sense his influence has been even greater, for Kant and Aristotle failed to supplant their predecessors completely, while *Gotama* constructed a new system as it were, which eclipsed all previous attempts and which has from his time become the sole standard for posterity.

The work of Gotama differs in many respects from that of *Kaṇâda*. While the former is methodical, and details a system of logic practically complete, the latter discloses no consistent aim and no arrangements of parts. It has the appearance of a loose bundle of critical notes on the principal philosophical topics of the day. This fact raises a doubt as to whether *Kaṇâda's* aphorisms were ever the real basis of the *Vaiśeshika* system as we find it now. The oldest exponent of the complete system as described in all modern *Vaiśeshika* works is *Praśastapâda*, and he may for aught we know be its real founder also. The supposition is not so improbable as it might appear at first sight. Almost all the peculiar doctrines that distinguished the later *Vaiśeshikas* from the *Naiyâyikas* and other schools are to be found in *Praśastapâda's* work and are conspicuously absent in *Kaṇâda's Sûtras*. The doctrines about द्वित्व, पाकजोत्पत्ति, विभागज-विभाग, and several others, which are regarded as peculiarities of the *Vaiśeshika* system, are not even touched upon in *Kaṇâda's* aphorisms, although they are pretty fairly discussed in *Praśastapâda's Bhâshya*. The seven categories on which the whole *Vaiśeshika* system is based are probably an afterthought; and even the doctrine of विशेष which according to some gave the name to the system appears to be a later development. *Kaṇâda* restricts the word अर्थ (categories properly so called) to three things only, द्रव्य, गुण and कर्म;[74] *Praśastapâda* enlarges the number to six, and some later author added अभाव.

It is true that the aphorism धर्मविशेषप्रसूताद् द्रव्यगुणकर्मसामान्यविशेष-समवायानां पदार्थानां साधर्म्यवैधर्म्याभ्यां तत्त्वज्ञानान्निःश्रेयससिद्धिः।[75] enumerates the six categories; but this aphorism is most probably a later interpolation. It is inordinately long unlike other aphorisms of *Kaṇâda*, and contains a number of distinct propositions that would

[74] अर्थ इति द्रव्यगुणकर्मसु। V. S. VIII, 2, 3.
[75] V. S. I. 1, 4.

have sufficed for half a dozen *Sûtras*. Besides it is very awkwardly worded if not positively ungrammatical. A comparison of this aphorism with the opening passage of *Praśastapâda's* scholium leaves hardly any doubt about its spuriousness. *Praśastapâda's* passage runs thus:—द्रव्यगुणकर्मसामान्यविशेषसमवायानां षण्णां पदार्थानां साधर्म्यवैधर्म्य-तत्त्वज्ञानं निःश्रेयसहेतुः ॥ तच्चेश्वरचोदनाभिव्यक्ताद्धर्मादेव ॥[76]

Now one of these two passages must be an adaptation of the other. According to *Kiraṇâvali*, this passage of *Praśastapâda* explains only the first three *sûtras* of *Kaṇâda*, which implies that the fourth *Sûtra* quoted above was unknown to the scholiast. Hence if *Kiranâvali* is to be believed, the aphorism must be the later of the two. *Śridhara*, the author of *Nyâya-Kandali*, speaks to the same effect. In introducing the last sentence he says that it was added to remove any apparent inconsistency between the preceding sentence and *Kaṇâda's* second aphorism यतोऽभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः। The inconsistency is that while according to the scholiast knowledge of categories is the means of निःश्रेयस, *Kaṇâda* speaks of it as resulting from धर्म; and this inconsistency is removed by the scholiast by adding that the knowledge of categories itself springs from धर्म as revealed in divine commandments. So according to *Śridhara* this last clause is an addition of the scholiast intended to remove the apparent inconsistency, and yet it is summed up in the opening words of the fourth *Sûtra*, विशेषप्रसूतात्. Either these words or the whole aphorism, must, therefore, have been suggested by *Praśasta-pâda's* passage. If the aphorism, as it stands now, had existed before, there would have been no सूत्रावरोध, and therefore no necessity for *Praśasta-pâda's* additional clause तच्चेश्वरचोदनाभिव्यक्ताद्धर्मादेव. We must, therefore, suppose that the aphorism was added by some later writer in order to supply what appeared to him an oversight of *Kaṇâda*. Besides, the fact that there should have been even the suspicion of a contradiction between the enumeration of six categories and *Kaṇâda's* second *sûtra* proves that the six categories were not thought of by *Kaṇâda* and were for the first time mentioned by his scholiast, *Praśastapâda*. We must, therefore, construe the aphorism अर्थ इति द्रव्यगुणकर्मसु.[77] as implying that *Kaṇâda* mentioned only three categories, to which the scholiast added three more, while the seventh was added still later on.[78] If any doubt is felt on the point, a critical examination of the aphorisms which are

[76] P. S. Ben. ed. p. 6, 7. [77] V. S. VIII. 2, 3. [78] V. S. I. 2. 3, 6.

supposed to define सामान्य and विशेष will dispel it. These aphorisms speak of विशेष as well as of सामान्य in a way quite different from the later conceptions of the two categories. Aphorisms सामान्यं विशेष इति बुद्ध्यपेक्षम्। and अन्यत्रान्त्येभ्यो विशेषेभ्यः। are especially significant. The first shows that *Kaṇâda* used the word विशेष as a relative term opposed to सामान्य, meaning that the notions of *genus* and *differentia* are always relative, and that the same property may be a *genus* with respect to one class, and a *differentia* with respect to another class of things. घटत्व , for instance, is a *genus* as including all jars under one class, and a *differentia* as distinguishing all jars from other substances, as cloth and men. The second aphorism shows that *Kaṇâda* distinguishes *ultimate differences* of things from other *differentiæ* by giving to the former the special name of अन्त्यविशेष. It is these *ultimate differences* that are denoted by the later *Vaiśeshikas* by the category विशेष; and the fact that *Kaṇâda* regards them only as one species of *differentia* shows that he did not include them in a separate category having absolute and not merely a relative existence. The conclusion is irresistible that the अन्त्यविशेषs, which were at first only one kind of *differentia*, were afterwards developed into an independent category. The notions of सामान्य and समवाय can also be shown to have originated in the same way.

It will be thus seen that unlike *Nyâya*, *Vaiśeshika* was never given out to the world as a cut and dry system. It was gradually evolved as the ever-flowing stream of controversy suggested new points or disclosed the faults of old ones. *Praśastapâda* thus occupies a somewhat intermediate position between *Kaṇâda* and his later commentators. He is sufficiently removed in time from *Kaṇâda* to call him a *muni* and a desciple of *Maheśwara*,[79] while he himself is regarded almost as a semi-mythical personage by later writers. His age cannot, however, be ascertained even approximately. The earliest known commentary on *Praśasta-pâda's* work is that of *Śrîdhara* who gives his own date as 991 A. C. He must also have preceded *Sankarâchârya* who seems to quote from him several times. The opinions ascribed by *Sankarâchârya* to the *Kâṇâda* school are all found in *Praśasta-pâda's* work.[80] *Śrîcharana*, in his commentary on *Śârîraka-Bhâshya* called *Prakatârtha*, says that a particular view criticised by *Śankara* belongs to the older school of *Vaiśeshikas* though opposed

[79] P. B. Ben. ed. pp. 1 and 329.

[80] Cf. the passages in *Śârîraka-Bhâshya* (Anandâśrama ed.) p. 514-5 and p. 519 with the passages in P. B. Ben. ed. p. 48 and p. 328 respectively.

to that contained in *Râvana's Bhâshya*. The view referred to is propounded by *Praśasta-pâda* who must, therefore, be older than *Râvana*. This *Bhâshya* of *Râvaṇa* which may be a commentary either on *Kaṇâda's Sûtras* or *Praśastapâda's* own work, is not available, nor is its date known. *Udayana's Kiraṇâvali* is however, said to have been based upon it.[81] If this *Râvaṇa* is the same as the reputed author of a commentary on *Rigveda* he appears to have been a very ancient author, and *Praśastapâda* must be still older. Moreover, if *Praśastapâda* was as suggested above the first to enumerate the six categories, he must have preceded *Vâtsyâyana* who mentions them.[82] Nothing more definite can be said on the point for the present, and we must, therefore, leave *Praśastapâda's* date too as one of the uncertainties of Indian chronology.[83]

The age of commentaries proper begins with *Vâtsyâyana* otherwise known as *Pakshila-Swâmi*, whose commentary on *Gotama's* work is the oldest known work of the kind we now possess.[84] *Vâtsyâyana* must have lived about the end of the 5th century A. C. for he preceded the well known Buddhist teacher *Dignâga* who is said to have lived in the early part of the 6th century.[85] *Dignâga* was succeeded by the celebrated author of *Udyota* who is mentioned by *Subandhu* writing in the 7th century.[86] *Udyotakâra* is said to have written his work to dispel the errors of *Dignâga* and others, and *Vâchaspati* in his *Tikâ* adds that his principal object was to defend *Vâtsyâyana* against the attacks of *Dignâga*.[87]

According to the Jain *Sloka-Vârtika*, *Udyotakâra* was in his turn

---

[81] P. B. Ben. ed. Intro. p. 12 note. [82] *Vât.* on G. S. I. 1, 9.

[83] If *Charaka*, the writer on medicine, is correctly identified with Patanjali, Praśastapâda must be anterior to him. See p. 24 *supra*.

[84] Was Vâtsyâyana a Buddhist? Some have supposed him to be so because his work does not begin with a prayer to any of the Hindu deities. But the epithet Swâmi as well the fact that the Buddhist writer Dignâga controverts his views should leave no doubt about his orthodoxy.

[85] Max Muller: India, What can it teach us? 1st ed. p. 320.

[86] *Vâsavadattâ* (Calc. ed. p. 235) has न्यायस्थितिमिवोद्योतकरस्वरूपाम्. See also Dr. Hall's Preface to his edition of that work.

[87] See quotation at P. B. Ben. ed. Intro. p. 10. *Udyotakâra* himself says :—

यदक्षपादः प्रवरो मुनीनां शमाय शास्त्रं जगतो जगाद ।
कुतार्किकाज्ञाननिवृत्तिहेतुः करिष्यते तस्य मया निबन्धः ॥

Also see Weber, *Zeitschr. D. M. G.* XXII. 727, and Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays* Vol I p. 282, Cowell's note.

answered by *Dharmakîrti*.[88] Now *Dharmakîrti* is known to have lived in the first half of the 7th century.[89] *Dignâga* and *Udyotakâra* therefore must have belonged to the 6th, and *Vâtsyâyana* at the latest to the end of the 5th century. *Vâtsyâyana* is not, however, the earliest scholiast on *Gotama's Sûtras*. The alternative interpretations of G. S. I. 1, 5 given by him show that the traditional meaning was obscured at his time, and that several writers before him had interpreted the *Sûtras* in different ways. The interval between *Gotama* and *Vâtsyâyana* is considerable and could not have passed without producing some notable writers, yet no relics of the period appear to have been left behind. Either the Scythian inroads which ravaged the country from the 1st century B. C. to the 4th century A. C. must have swept away all literary records of the period, or some unknown cause must have lulled philosophical activity for the time.

After *Udyotakâra* there seems to have occurred another long gap in the succession of *Nyâya* writers until the end of 10th century when a revival took place under the influence of the author of न्यायकन्दली which is the earliest known commentary on *Praśastapâda's Bhâshya*. *Śridhara* wrote at least three other works named अद्वयसिद्धि, तत्त्वबोध, and तत्त्वसंवादिनी. The absence of any eminent *Nyâya* or *Vaiśeshika* writer between *Udyotakâra* and *Śridhara* makes it highly probable that the tradition was broken in the interval. This interregnum so to say is the more inexplicable as the period was one of intense intellectual activity. Controversies between the Brahmins as represented by the *Mîmânsakas* and *Vedântins* on the one hand and the Buddhists and the Jainas on the other occupy almost the whole of this period; and it is strange that the followers of *Gotama* and *Kanâda* did not freely enter into the fray. *Vâtsyâyana* and *Udyotakâra* set the ball of controversy rolling, but no *Nyâya* or *Vaiśeshika* writer seems to have taken up the cudgels on their behalf immediately after *Dharmakîrti's* strictures. The task of answering the great Buddhistic writer was left to *Mîmânsakas* like *Kumârila*, *Śankarâchârya* and *Mandana*, who were by no means favourable either to the *Nyâya* or to the *Vaiśeshika* systems. *Dharmottara* defended *Dharmakîrti* against the criticisms of *Kumârila* and *Mandana*, and we again find *Śridhara* a *Naiyâyika* answering *Dhamottara*. Though the *Nyâya* and *Vaiśeshika* systems had thus no spokesman of

[88] J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVIII p. 229. [89] Ibid p. 90.

their own during this interregnum, the individual doctrines inculcated by them were not a bit neglected. They were fully handled by the rival disputants as if they had by that time become the common property of all schools. The *Mîmânsakas* strongly controverted the doctrine of non-eternity of sound, and the *Vedântins* criticized the atomic theory. The *Prâbhâkaras* started novel views about *Samaváya*, while all the schools fought over the proper number and nature of proofs. The answer to these criticisms came partly from the Buddhists and the Jainas and partly from the later *Nyâya* writers. The fact seems to be that at this time the *Nyáya* and much more the *Vaiśeshika* doctrines, despite smaller differences, found their strongest supporters among the Buddhists and the Jainas many of whose tenets closely resembled the peculiar doctrines of the *Vaiśeshikas*. The *Nyáya-Bindu*, for instance, which can now be safely ascribed to *Dharmakírti*,[90] is a purely *Vaiśeshika* treatise, while the *Pramâṇa-Samuchchaya* of *Dignâga* and *Dharmakirti's Vârtikas* on it must also have been largely indebted to previous *Vaiśeshika* works. This must also be the reason why *Vaiśeshikas* were at this time looked upon almost as heretics.

The alliance of the *Vaiśeshikas* with the Buddhists and the evident tendency of many of their theories towards atheism and materialism alarmed the orthodox writers of the *Mímánsâ* and *Vedánta* schools who at once consigned them to the purgatory of non-believers. *Śankarâchârya* calls them *Ardha-Vainâśikas* (Semi-Buddhists), while *Kumârila* brackets them with *Sákyas* as heretics who are frightened out of their wits by the advent of the faithful *Mîmânsakas*.[91] And yet a glance at *Praśastapáda's Bhâshya* will show that the *Vaiśeshikas* were at least as orthodox and as decidedly anti-Buddhistic as either the *Mîmânsakas* or the *Vedântins*. *Praśastapáda* begins, with a prayer to God and concludes by ascribing the origin of the world as well as of the *Vaiśeshika* system to Maheśwara. He accepts the authority of *Śruti* and occasionally controverts the views of the Buddhists. The notion of *Vaiśeshikas* being heretical probably originated in the din of controversy between the Buddhists and the *Mîmânsakas*, and the prejudice thus created stuck to them for a long time afterwards. The sister system of *Nyáya*, however, seems to have escaped the stigma of heresy, probably owing to its comparative neglect in this period. The controversies of this period mainly raged round metaphy-

[90] J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXX p. 47.

[91] Max Müller: History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature p. 48.

sical and theological questions which were monopolized by the *Vaiśeshika*, while the purely logical part of *Gotama's* system did not provoke much opposition. Only one doctrine of the *Naiyâyikas* was made the subject of controversy, namely the theory of a personal creator of the universe. This doctrine was strongly advocated by the sect of *Pâśupatas*, and various sub-sections of *Bhâgawatas*. These theistic Schools probably derived their inspiration from *Gotama's* work, but they very soon became distinct religious sects.[92] On the whole it appears that, although there is a lack of special *Nyâya* or *Vaiśeshika* works in this period, the various doctrines laid down by *Gotama* and *Kaṇâda* were fully threshed out and underwent additions and alterations which were not even dreamt of by previous writers.

The interregnum from *Udyotakâra's* time to the end of the 10th century may have been produced by various causes which cannot be known at present; nor can we say for certain how the subsequent revival was brought about. Perhaps learned men at this time were too much occupied with religious and sectarian disputes to attend to the drier subtleties of logic. The fact, however, cannot be denied, for while none of the known works of *Nyâya* or *Vaiśeshika* proper can be assigned to the interval between the 7th and the 10th centuries, the succeeding age is marked by such an inrush of *Nyâya* and *Vaiśeshika* writers as more than atoned for the inactivity of the previous period. The most notable productions of this later age are a series of commentaries on the works of *Praśastapâda* and *Vâtsyâyana* who had then come to be looked upon as ancient authorities to be explained and enlarged with reverence, rather than criticized or corrected by abler successors. In this later period boldness and originality of thought dwindle in proportion to an increase of scholastic subtlety. The range of topics is limited, but each is treated with a greater fullness and ingenuity. There is a distinct tendency towards scholasticism, which afterwards assumed such abnormal proportions in the Nuddea school, but the change was not completed till four centuries later. It may be described as an age of transition from the genuine philosophy of mediæval India to the scholastic verbiage of modern times; and it is a striking fact that this age nearly coincides with the growth of scholasticism in mediæval Europe. It is not a little remarkable that the history of Indian logic bears in

[92] *Udyotakâra* was called *Paśupatâchârya*. Had he anything to do with the Pâśupata sect who maintained the existence of a personal Creator and Lord of the Universe?

this respect a close analogy to the progress of thought in Europe. If *Gotama* lived about the same time as Aristotle, *Vatsyâyana* was probably the contemporary of Boethius and the Revivalists; while the modern *Âchâryas*, such as *Sridhara*, *Vâchaspati* and *Udayana* flourished in the same age which produced Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus in the West. Are we then to suppose that human mind in India as well as in Europe passed successively through the same phases of philosophic development and nearly at the same rate of progress? The question is difficult to answer, but the coincidences are none the less interesting.

The first writer of this age of revival was *Srîdhara* who wrote his *Nyâya-Kandali* in 991 A. C.[93] *Srîdhara* takes great pains to refute the opinions of *Kumârila* and *Sureshwara* or *Mandana* on the one hand as well as of *Dharmottara* on the other, a fact which seems to show that *Sridhara* was the first eminent *Nyâya* writer after them. Râjaśekhara, a Jain commentator on *Nyâya-Kandali*[94] mentions three other commentaries on *Praśastapâda's Bhâshya*, besides *Sridhara's* work, *viz.*, the *Vyômavatî* of *Sivâchârya*, the *Kiraṇâvali* of *Udayana* and the *Lîlâvatî* of *Śri Vatsa* or *Vallabha*, all of which were written after *Sridhara's* work but before the end of the 13th century. The chronological order of these writers may be fixed as *Sridhar*, *Vallabha*, *Udayana*, and *Śivâditya*. All of them came to be looked upon as eminent authorities and honoured with the title of *Âchârya*. Each of them was distinguished for some new conception, or original treatment of old topics. The works of *Vallabha* and *Sivâditya* are not yet available so as to enable us to form any definite opinion about them, but their views are frequently quoted and criticized in later works. *Udayana's Kiraṇâvalî* was probably left unfinished by the author, as all the MSS. hitherto available contain only the chapters on द्रव्य and गुण.[95] *Sridhara* lived as stated above at the end of the tenth century. He was followed by *Vâchaspati*

[93] See P. B. Ben. ed. p. 331. The colophon contains the line, दशोत्तरनवशतशाकाब्दे न्यायकन्दली रचिता। which gives Śaké 913 i. e. 991 A. C. as the date of the composition of the work. Bhandarkar (Report on Search of SK. MSS. for 1883 4 p. 314) reads the line as अधिकदशोत्तरे, which gives the date Śaké 910 or 983 A. C., but this must be a mistake for the word अधिक is inexplicable without वि.

[94] P. B. Ben. ed. Intro. p. 19.

[95] See the opening passage of *Tarka-Dipika*—p. 1, and Note thereon, Bombay Sanskrit Series Ed.

Miśra in the 11th century, who wrote commentaries on all the principal philosophical systems, and whose works have been deservedly held in the highest estimation by the succeeding generations.[96] *Vâchaspati*, the author of *Bhâmatî* and *Sânkhya-Tatwa-Kaumudî*, wrote an equally able commentary on the *Vârtikas* of *Udyotakâra*, called *Vârtika-Tâtparya-Tîkâ*, and this *Tîkâ* of *Vâchaspati* became the text of another commentary, *Tâtparya-Pariśuddhi* by *Udayana*.[97] *Udayanâchârya*, the author of *Kiraṇavalî* and *Pariśuddhi* lived, therefore, some time after *Vâchaspati*, and may be assigned to the end of the 12th century.[98] *Udayana* is the greatest *Naiyâyika* writer of this age. He combines in himself the two-fold character of an eminent dialectician and a religious revivalist, and has consequently become the centre of a number of traditions which have perhaps little foundation in fact. A story, for instance, is told of his having once made a pilgrimage to the temple of Jagannath, where he found the temple-door shut against him. On this the irate *Naiyâyika* addressed the following couplet to the Deity :—

ऐश्वर्यमदमत्तो ऽसि मामवज्ञाय वर्तसे ।
उपस्थितेषु बौद्धेषु मदधीना तव स्थितिः ।।[99]

"Infatuated with omnipotence as thou art, thou treatest me with contempt; but (remember) when the heretics approach, thy very existence depends upon me."

This irreverent apostrophe was probably founded on the fact that *Udayana* wrote two well-known treatises to prove the existence of God and to refute the atheistical objections of the *Bauddhas* and other heretics. These treatises, respectively known as *Kusumânjalî* and *Bauddha-dhikkâra*, though small, prove *Udayana* to be a very acute and powerful writer. *Udayana* is said to have carried on a vigorous crusade against the *Buddhas* and the *Jainas*; and if Monier Williams is right in assigning the complete decay of Buddhism in India to the beginning of the thirteenth century,[100] *Udayana* must have

[96] J. B. B. R A. S. Vol. XVIII. p. 90. Cowell in the preface to his translation of *Kusumânjalî* tries to prove that Vâchaspati lived in the 10th century; but his view cannot be accepted as Vâchaspati quotes राजवार्तिक of King Bhoja who reigned in 993 A.C.

[97] Bhandarkar: *Report on Search of Sk. MSS. for* 1883-4, p. 81.

[98] Cowell's Preface to his translation of *Kusâmanjalî*, p. x; J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVIII. p. 89-90.

[99] Nehmiah Gore's *Rational Refutation of Hindu philosophy* translated by F. Hall, p. 6, note.

[100] Monier Williams: *Buddhism*, p. 170.

taken a leading part in giving the death-blow. At any rate the great prominence given in all the later works to ईश्वरकारणवाद or the doctrine of a personal Creator of the Universe may be ascribed to *Udayana's* influence. It is highly probable that *Udayana's* works gave a strong impetus to the *Saiva, Vaishnava* and other theistic sects which arose in large numbers at this time. *Naiyáyikas* amongst all the Indian systematists, were from henceforward the strongest supporters of monotheism, and the Nuddea School in later times produced one of the greatest leaders of a modern theistic movement, *viz., Chaitanya* of Bengal.

Tradition ascribes to *Udayana* the first conception of the idea of uniting the two sister systems of *Nyáya* and *Vaiśeshika* into one harmonious whole. *Udayana's* extant works do not however support this theory, although it is not improbable that he threw out hints to that effect, which led some later writer to make the experiment. The earliest known work in which the two systems are found actually combined, as in many later works, is the *Sapta-Padárthí* of *Sivádítya Miśra*,[1] and it is possible that he was the first to put the idea into practice. *Sivádítya* is also the first writer to mention *Abháva* as the seventh category and to introduce a systematic discussion of logical questions under बुद्धि. *Sapta-Padárthí* may, therefore, be regarded as the model of all such later manuals as *Tarka-Sangraha, Tarka-Kaumudí* and *Tarkámrita*.

As to *Vallabhácháryа* his exact date is uncertain, but he appears to have preceded the author of *Sapta-Padárthí* if not also *Udayana*. This seems probable from the mention of *Nyáya-Lílávatí* in a Canarese poem named *Darśana-sára* written by a contemporary poet in praise of King *Singhana* of the Yádava dynasty of Devagiri, who reigned from A.C. 1210 to A.C. 1247.[2] *Darśana-sára* also mentions *Udayana* and some other writers ;[3] but nothing further can be said

[1] A MS. of Jinavardhana's commentary on *Sapta-Padárthí* is in the Deccan College Library. This Jinavardhana lived in *Samvat* 1461. Peterson mentions a MS. of सप्तपदार्थीवृत्ति by *Mádhava-Saraswatí*, as dated Samvat 1405. See Report of the Search of Sanskrit MSS. for 1696, p. 24.

[2] Bhandarkar : *Early History of the Dekhan*, p. 82.

[3] I am indebted for this information to my friend Mr. K. B. Pathak, formerly of the Deccan College and now at Bangalore. He saw a Canarese MS. of दर्शनसार in the library of Brahma-Suri Śastri of Śravana Belgole in Mysore territory. It is not known when the book was written, but the author appears to have been a contemporary of सिङ्घण.

about it until the work is available to the public. It is superfluous perhaps to remark that this *Vallabha*, the author of *Nyâya-Lîlâvatî* was quite a different personage from the great Vaishnavaite reformer of that name who flourished in the 15th century.

A host of smaller writers such as *Varadarâja* and *Mallinâtha* may be mentioned as belonging to this second period, but they do not seem to have left any lasting mark on subsequent literature. The period may be roughly said to have closed about the beginning of the 14th century. It is marked by a great activity in the beginning and at the end, with an intervening blank which lasted for about 3 centuries and which sharply divides the older from the later school of writers. The conflict of opinions between the *Vaiśeshikas* and the *Naiyâyikas* as well as the differences between the ancient and the modern schools of *Naiyâyikas*, which are so frequently discussed in modern works, seem to have originated in this period; and it was perhaps the growth of these minute differences that created at the end of this period a reaction in favour of amalgamating the two systems. This attempt at amalgamation, however, produced an effect exactly contrary to what was intended, for it stereotyped the differences instead of removing them. We find that in this period almost all the principal doctrines were evolved and the details were worked out, on which the dialecticians of the third period were exclusively to spend their scholastic ingenuity and produce volumes after volumes without making any real progress. With *Udayana* and *Śivâditya* we loose sight of writers who deserve to be called *Âchâryas*, as having aimed at originality and written epoch-making books. The class of *Achâryas* or masters, was henceforward to give place to that of mere *Upâdhyâyas* or ordinary pundits. The race of giants was to be succeeded by a remarkably versatile and disputatious troop of dwarfs. Philosophy lost its freshness as well as its charm, and gradually degenerated into a bundle of endless controversies.

The end of the 14th century saw the commencement of the third period of *Nyâya* literature; and *Gangeśa*, or *Gangeśopâdhyâya*, the author of *Tatwa-Chintâmani* may be said to be its oracle. He founded a new school of text-writers and commentators who afterwards came to be known as the Nuddea school owing to their having chiefly flourished in the tols of Nuddea or Navadwîpa in Lower Begnal. The distinguishing features of the writers of the school were their overwhelming pride, an abnormal development of the critical faculty, and a total disinclination to go out of the narrow grooves of traditional

doctrines. The original *Sûtras* and the scholia on them recede into background, while *Gangeśa's* work itself becomes the centre of a mass of literature unparalleled in any other country or age. Here we see at one and the same time scholasticism at its climax and true philosophy at its lowest depth. We might wade through volumes of controversial jargon without coming across a single flash of deep thought or real insight into the nature of things. Mere conventionalities and distinctions without a difference are the weapons in this wordy warfare, with which one disputant tries to defend his thesis or to vanquish a rival. It may be doubted if either the writer or the reader is made a whit the wiser by all this labour.

All the writers of this school are not however equally faulty in this respect. The earlier ones especially show a considerable freedom of thought which is quite refreshing. The most notable of this kind is *Gangeśapâdhyâya* the founder of the Nuddea school, whose exact date is not known, but who probably lived about the end of the 14th century. *Gangeśa* quotes *Váchaspati*, while his son *Vardhamána* wrote commentaries on *Udayana's Kiraṇâvali* and *Vallabha's Lîlávati*. *Gangeśa* must have therefore lived after the 12th century. *Gangeśa* was followed by two writers of note *Jayadeva* and *Vásudeva*. According to Burnell *Jayadeva*, otherwise known as *Pakshadhara Miśra*, wrote his *Maṇyâloka*, a commentary on *Gangeśa's Tatwa-Chintâmaṇi* about 5 centuries ago, that is, about the middle of the 14th century, but this is highly improbable.[4] *Vásudeva Sárvabhauma*, a fellow student of *Jayadeva* and the author of a commentary on *Gangeśa's* work, had four pupils of whom the first *Gauránga*, popularly known as *Chaitanya*, the celebrated religious reformer in Bengal, was born about 1485 A.C.[5] Both *Sárvabhauma* and *Jayadeva* must, therefore, have lived in the latter part of the 15th century, and *Gangeśa* at least a generation or two earlier. *Jayadeva* is said to have studied *Tatwa-Chintámaṇi* with his uncle *Harimiśra*, which shows that *Gangeśa's* work was already a standard book in the first half of the

[4] Burnell, Catalogue of Tanjor MsS., Vol. II., p. 117. *Jayadeva* was noted for his intellectual powers. He got the nickname पक्षधर from having mastered a difficult book in a fortnight. He is probably the same as the author of प्रसन्नराघव and is certainly different from the poet who composed गीतगोविन्द. Raghunâtha Śiromaṇi is said to have been his pupil for some time.

[5] Cowell (Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 281) gives the date of Chaitanya's birth as 1489; but see Bose's *History of Hindu Civilization*, Vol. I., p. 43. Chaitanya died in A. C. 1527.

15th century. We shall not be wrong therefore in placing *Gangeśa* in the latter part of the 14th century at the latest.

Vásudev Sârvabhauma must have been a remarkable man, for all of his pupils distinguished themselves in different fields. The first, *Chaitanya*, founded a *Vaishnava* sect which soon spread over the whole province of Bengal and revolutionized as it were the religious life of the people. The fact is noteworthy that the greatest exponent of the doctrine of faith in modern times received his early training in the dialectics of *Nyáya* philosophy. The devout mind of *Chaitanya* must have no doubt recoiled from the scholastic subtleties of *Gangeśa*, but they could not have failed to influence many of his views. *Vásudeva's* second pupil *Raghunátha*, otherwise known as *Tarka-Siromaṇi* or simple *Siromaṇi*, wrote *Dîdhitî*, the best commentary on *Gangeśa's Tatwa-Chintâmani*, and is acknowledged to be the highest authority among the modern *Naiyáyikas*. The third was *Raghunandana*, the lawyer and the author of a commentary on *Jîmûta-Váhana's Dâya-Vibhâga*, and is now held to be the best current authority on the Bengal School of Hindu law. The fourth *Krishnânanda* also wrote works on charms and other kindred subjects.[6] All these writers being contemporaries of *Chaitanya* must have flourished in the beginning of the 16th century. *Raghunátha Siromaṇi* wrote besides *Dîdhitî* commentaries on *Udayana's* works and a few other treatises, one of which is *Padârtha-Khandana* or a refutation of *Vaiśeshika* categories. He was succeeded by a series of commentators whose sole ambition seems to have been to make the *Dîdhitî* as unintelligible and terrible to the student as possible. *Raghunâtha's* immediate successors were *Mathurânâtha* and *Harirâma Tarkâlankâra* and *Jagadîśa*, who were followed by their respective pupils, *Raghudeva* and *Gadâdhara*. *Gadâdhara* may be called the prince of Indian schoolmen, and in him the modern *Nyâya* lore reached its climax. He was such a thoroughgoing *Naiyâyika* that when asked to think of the prime cause of the universe on his deathbed, instead of contemplating God he is said to have repeated the words परमाणव: परमाणव: परमाणव: (atoms, atoms, atoms)! His sixty-four treatises or *Vâdas* as they are called on as many topics noticed in *Tatwa-Chintâmaṇi* form a continuous commentary on *Siromaṇi's Dîdhitî* and *Jayadeva's Âloka*; but several of them are not yet available. *Gadâdhara* having come about two

[6] Bhimâchârya: *Nyâya-Kosha*, Intro. p. 6.

generations after *Raghunâtha* must be assigned to the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century. He was thus nearly contemporaneous with Lord Bacon whose denunciations of scholasticism may be most appositely illustrated by extracts from *Gadâdhara's* writings. Akbar's was an augustan age in India, and scholars like *Gadâdhara* found a congenial atmosphere in the peaceful times of the great and enlightened Mogul; but Akbar's death put an end to all dreams of a revival of letters. The wars and anarchy of the next two centuries afforded little scope for the cultivation of philosophy, and we accordingly find that even scholastic *Nyâya* could not flourish after *Gadâdhara*.

The generation next after *Gadâdhara* is represented by two writers standing on a somewhat lower level but equally famous. These were *Sankara Miśra*, the author of *Upaskâra*, a commentary on *Kaṇâdas Sûtras*, and *Viśvanâtha* who wrote *Siddhânta-Muktâvali* and *Gottama-Sûtra-Vritti* which is a commentary on *Gotama's* aphorisms. *Sankara Misra* was a pupil of *Raghudeva*, the fellow student of *Gadâdhara*. There is some doubt as to the date of *Viśwanâtha*, but he most probably belonged to this age.[7]

It is remarkable that the *Sûtras* of both *Kaṇâda* and *Gatama* should have attracted the attention of commentators at about the same time. *Śankara Miśra* and *Viśwanâtha* who respectively commented upon the works of *Kaṇâda* and *Gotama* greatly resembled each other and were probably contemporaries. A kind of reaction against the excesses of *Gadâdhara* seems to have led these writers to seek the fresher fountains of the *Sûtras*. Another sign of this reaction was the production of manuals adapted to the understanding of the beginners and explaining the latest ideas in the simplest language. The *Bhâshâ-Parichchheda*, the *Tarka-Sangraha* and the *Tarká-mrita* are instances of this class of books, which must have come as a relief to those students of *Nyâya* who were hitherto lost in the mazes of *Pancha-Lakshanî* and *Daśa-Lakshanî*. In course of time these manuals too were overloaded with commentaries, but fortunately the commentaries on them, except perhaps two, never became as popular as the originals. The two exceptions are *Viśwanâtha's Siddhânta-Muktâvalî* and *Annambhatta's Tarka-Dîpikâ* which being written by the authors of the original works are more like larger editions of those

[7] Rudrabhatta, brother of Viśwanâtha, wrote a commentary on Raghunâtha's *Dîdhiti*, called *Raudri*. MSS. of two of Rudrabhatta's works are mentioned by Aufrecht (Catalogus Catalogorum) as dated 1640 and 1657 respectively.

texts than mere explanatory glosses. These manuals proved very handy and useful to students, but they also marked the lowest water-mark of the *Nyâya* and *Vaiśeshika* systems. Henceforward all originality was dead and the writers chiefly aimed at explaining the ideas of their predecessors instead of expounding their own. The *Upâdhyâyas* were now succeeded by writers whose high sounding names were in strange contrast with the worth of their productions. *Krodas* or annotations became plentiful, but original thinking was dead and gone completely. Even these are now rare, and the once famous class of *Naiyâyikas* is in danger of being extinct for ever.

The preceding resumé of the *Nyâya* and *Vaiśeshika* literature brings out, it is hoped, at least the one fact that that literature is as capable of a historical treatment as any other class of writings. It is the story of a gradual development of two philosophical systems which, springing out of a few elementary notions, attained their present proportions after many vicissitudes and in the course of several centuries. There must have been during this time considerable additions and alterations in the fundamental doctrines as conceived by the founders of the systems. The original nucleus was comparatively small, but the accretions and out-growths seem to have assumed in time quite large proportions. What an amount of earnest thought and labour must have been devoted to this work of elaborating complete systems out of a few primary principles! It was a process of evolution brought about partly by the natural law of growth and partly by the mutual action and reaction of the several systems of Indian philosophy. In the beginning the chief rivals of the *Nyâya* and *Vaiśeshika* systems were the *Sânkhyas*, whose theory of the anti-production reality of effects was diametrically opposed to the *Naiyâyika* doctrine of non-existent effect. Later on they encounter the more formidable critics of the *Mîmânsâ* and *Vedânta* schools who differed from them in so many particulars that a severe conflict between the rivals was inevitable. The *Mîmânsakas* affirmed the eternity of sound, while the *Naiyâyikas* denied it. The first enumerated six proofs, the *Naiyâyikas* four, and the *Vaiśeshikas* only two. The *Naiyâyikas* assumed a personal creator, the Vedantins an impersonal *Brahma*, while the *Mîmânsakas* would recognize nothing but the eternal Vedas. Again the Vedântins derived all creation from one universal spirit, the *Naiyâyikas* from hard minute atoms. The first were idealists *par excellence*, the latter were out and out realists. The doctrines of the first always tended towards mysti-

cism and superstition, those of the latter towards materialism and disbelief. It was natural that systems so widely divergent should come into conflict with each other. The long-continued controversies between these rival systematists seem to have materially influenced the tenets of all of them. While the Vedântins incorporated much of the logic of the *Naiyâyikas* into their works, the latter did not disdain to borrow many of the theological views of the former. It would be absurd therefore to expect that any of these systems as propounded in modern works would agree in all respects with the views of the ancient authors. The *Naiyâyikas* themselves recognize this fact by contrasting wherever necessary the views of the moderns with those of the ancients. It is also noteworthy that there is no sharp line dividing the ancient and the modern schools of *Naiyâyikas*. Sometimes the terms are applied to the *Vaiśeshikas* and *Naiyâyikas* respectively; sometimes to older authors like *Vâtsyâyana* and *Praśastapâda*, as opposed to the later ones of the Nuddea school; and occasionally even in that school to the author of *Dîdhitî* as dissenting from *Gangeśa*. As an instance of the last, the student may compare the two definitions of करण, one insisting upon the qualification व्यापारवत् and the other making proximity to the effect the sole test of causation.[8] The line dividing the ancients and the moderns has thus continuously moved forward and forward, thereby showing that the *Naiyâyikas* themselves acknowledged a progressive development of their philosophy. It ought to be an interesting study to mark the successive stages of this development, and discover the causes that may have led to them. The time may come when a deeper knowledge of the *Nyâya* and *Vaiśeshika* literature will enable us to unravel this mystery.

The foregoing observations have been mostly based on material obtainable from the literature of the *Nyâya* and *Vaiśeshika* systems themselves; but works belonging to other philosophical systems as well as the vast literary treasures produced in ancient and mediæval India will, if properly examined, yield still more important data for a history of Indian philosophy. A comparison of Greek logic with the logic of the *Nyâya* must also be very instructive. Such a comparison will not only show how similar ideas and modes of thought occurred almost simultaneously and in the same historical order to

[8] For a discussion of these two views, see Notes on Sec. 37, pp. 186-90, in my edition of *Tarka-Sangraha* (Bombay Sanskrit Series).

thinkers in two such distant countries as India and Greece, but it may also throw new light on some of the dark chapters in the history of Indian Logic. Space will not, however, permit me to enter into these interesting inquiries at present; and I must content myself with noting only one important fact which cannot be decently passed over in such a sketch as this. I, of course, refer to the striking resemblance which the syllogistic method of the *Nyâya* bears to the Pre-Aristotalian dialectics in Greece. Zeno the Eleatic was the founder of this latter, and Zeno must have been a contemporary of *Gotama*, or of at least some of his immediate predecessors.[9] Zeno's work, which is divided into three parts, upon consequences, upon the interrogatory method of disputation, and upon sophistical problems respectively, has many points of similarity with that of *Gotama*, while the interrogatory method, cultivated by Zeno's followers the sophists and brought to perfection in Plato's Dialogues, was almost identical with the syllogistic process of the *Naiyâyikas*. The essence of this method consisted in driving an opponent to a point where he was either totally silenced or the absurdity of his position became self-evident. So far as the *Naiyâyikas* were concerned this was not an accidental feature, for they have laid down a special rule that no premiss in a syllogism can proceed without having a previous आकाङ्क्षा or doubt, presumably started by an opponent in the controversy. Take the stock-example. "Mountain is fiery." "Why?" "Because it has smoke." "What then?" "Wherever there is smoke, &c.," and so on, every premiss being a reply to some previous question, assumed until the imaginary querist has no more questions to ask. This is exactly the way Socrates used to argue with his real interrogators, or Euclid proves his theorems of geometry. Obviously this method is better suited for controversy than for purely didactic reasoning; and consequently we find that Indian thinkers who came after the *Naiyâikas* such as the *Bauddhas* and the Vedântins modified it to a considerable extent just as Aristotle did in Greece.[10] The tripartite syllogism of Aristotle was nothing more than a re-adjustment of the ancient dialectical syllogism, although Aristotle himself made too much of it and expected from it results which it was incapable of producing. Similarly, those who claim superiority for the Aristotelean over the five-membered syllo-

[9] Whateley: *Elements of Logic*, p. 3.

[10] Colebrooke thinks that the three-membered syllogism of the later Vedânta was borrowed from the Greeks, but this is a mere guess. See *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 356.

gism of the *Naiyáyikas* forget that both are mere instruments or mechanical aids for thinking, and as such cannot by themselves furnish an absolute guarantee for truth. Both have their peculiar merits as well as drawbacks, and consequently both must be judged from their proper standpoints. Aristotle distinguished between the dialectic and the apodictic, *i.e.*, the old and the new, or his own, syllogism, by asserting that the former proceeded from mere belief or an assumed hypothesis while the latter was based on scientific truth. There is much force in this distinction, and it may to some extent apply to the five-membered syllogism also. But Aristotle's criticisms can no longer be accepted without reservation, even with respect to doctrines intimately known to him. Much less can he be accepted as a safe guide in adjudging the merits of Indian logic.

It will not be proper to conclude this introductory sketch without noticing one more objection that is often advanced against the *Nyáya-Vaiśeshika* systems, namely, that their heterogeneous character detracts considerably from their value as systems of pure logic. Indian logicians, say these objectors, have by their frequent digressions on metaphysical and other topics, such as the categories, the sources of knowledge and the theory of atoms, been led into treating the strictly logical questions either perfunctorily or in a wrong manner altogether. On a closer consideration, however, this heterogeneity of the *Nyáya* and *Vaiśeshika* systems will be found to have been inevitable. The narrow conception of logic as being only a theory and art of proof and nothing more is no longer tenable. Modern investigations, such as those of Kant, Ueberweg and others, show that purely logical questions are inseparably connected with others comprehended in the wider province of metaphysics. The best answer to the above objection can therefore be given in the words of an eminent modern writer:—

"Start as we may," says Prof. Adamson, "in popular current distinctions, no sooner do logical problems present themselves than it becomes apparent that for adequate treatment of them, reference to the principles of ultimate philosophy is requisite; and logic, as the systematic handling of such problems, ceases to be an independent discipline and becomes a subordinate special branch of general philosophy." [11]

[11] Prof. Adamson in his Art. *Logic*, in *Encyclopedia Britanica*, Vol. XIV., p. 781.

And again the same writer remarks :—

"Any criticism of a general conception of logic or special application thereof, which does not rest upon criticism of the theory of knowledge implied in it must be inept and useless. It will also have become apparent that a general classification of logical schools as opposed to the reference of these to ultimate distinctions of philosophical theory is impossible."[12]

The *Naiyáyikas* seem to have arrived at the same conclusion at an early period, and faced it boldly by embodying their views on all cognate and interdependent questions in a fairly consistent system. *Gotama* and *Kaṇáda* were not therefore such fools in mixing logical and metaphysical topics in their works as some of their modern critics would believe them to be. Logic is no longer regarded as a theory of proof only; it is a theory of knowledge in general, and as such treats of many psychological and metaphysical topics which do not fall within the domain of the narrower science. Looked at from this standpoint *Gotama's* conception of his subject will be found to be remarkably accurate and just. Let us first understand him, and there will be then time enough to pick holes in his monumental work.

[12] *Ibid*, p. 799.

ART. XX.—*Inscription on the "Three Gateways"—Ahmadābād.*

By Rev. J. E. ABBOTT.

[Read 27th November 1896.]

One of the most prominent architectural objects in the city of Ahmadābād is the "Three Gateways" or *Tīn Darvājā*, spanning the main street leading to the entrance of the Bhadar, the old citadel built by the founder of the city, Sultān Ahmad Shāh I. (H. 814-846 A. D. 1411-1443).

The *Tīn Darvājā* was built by the same Sultān, and it formed a noble entrance to the royal square before his citadel. On the east side of this arch is fastened a marble slab, with an inscription in Gujarātī, dated Samvat 1868 or A. D. 1812. The inscription was fastened to the *Tīn Darvājā*, as being in a prominent place it secured the greatest publicity to the Government order which the inscription contains. The inscription itself mentions the fact that the Government order included that of its being inscribed on stone, and fastened in a prominent place in the *bazār*.

The marble slab on which the inscription is inscribed measures 2′ 7″ by 1′ 1″. The letters are fairly well cut, and are well preserved. With the exception of the date, which is in Sanskrit, the inscription is in Gujarātī. The spelling of words is in many instances irregular. For example कन्या appears in three forms, कन्ना, कंन्या and कन्या शेहेर appears as सेंहर line 15, शेहेर line 19, and सेहर line 28. आजम line 15, अजम line 16. बाहदर line 13, बाहादर line 16. स्याहांसुद्धि line 26, तांसुधी line 27. अे line 30, ए line 31, साहबा line 9, शाहेब line 17. The व्य of व्यास and ब of बक्षी line 34 are imperfectly formed. वि has been left out of कुमाविशदारी line 14. In line 29 the letter ल is left out of the word मामलतदार and is put in the margin. The pronouns appear in their old form. तेहमना line 9, तेहुनी line 11, तेहना line 21. Shāstra and shāstrī appear as शाहस्त्र and शाहस्त्री line 18, आये for आ line 20. बेजार for बजार line 31. The use of ष for ख is to be noticed in the name सुषराम line 34. पातशाहा for पादशाहा line 6. व is often used for ब as in अकवर for अकबर line 7. साहवजी for साहेबजी line 9.

The substance of the inscription is as follows:—

That on a visit of the revenue officers of Fatesingh Gāyakawād, Regent of Baroda, to Ahmadābād in October 1812, the citizens of Ahmadābād presented a petition through the *Nagar Sheth* Wakhatchand Khushālchand, before Captain James Rivett-Carnac, British Resident at Baroda, and his chief *Kārbhārī*, Gangādhar Shāstrī, stating the following grievance, that in case a man died leaving only female heirs, Government interfered with the ancestral property. The petition asked a redress of this grievance. The justice of the request was recognized, and an order was passed that both son and daughter were to be considered as heirs. In case there was only a daughter she should be considered as heir until she herself should have offspring. The two *Māmlatdārs*, namely, Raghu Ramchandra, called the city Māmlatdār, and Bāpuji Govind, of the Haveli, representing the Gāyakawād's Government, were charged to see that the order was carried out. The order was to be engraved on stone, and placed in a prominent position in the bazār.

१। ०

1 ॥ श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥

2 ∴॥ संवत १८६८ वर्षे शके १७३४ प्रवर्त्त ॥

3 ॥ माने दक्षणायगते श्री सूर्ये शरद ऋतौ ॥

4 ॥ मासोत्तम शुभकारि आश्वन् मासे शुक्ल ॥

5 ॥ पक्षे ५ पंचमी तीथौ शनिवासरे सुभानु नाम्ने ॥

6 ॥ संवत्सरे तहीने दीलीपत्य पातशाहा श्री ७ पात ॥

7 ॥ शाहा अकबर शाह गाजी तथा श्री पुना मध्ये ॥

8 ॥ राज्यकर्त्ता श्रीमंत पेशवा० बाजेराव साह ॥

9 ॥ वजी तेहमना कनिष्ट बंधु श्रीमंत० राजश्री षी ॥

10 ॥ मनाजी रघुनाथ ते श्री अमदावादना सुबेदार ॥

11 ॥ तेहुनी आज्ञायी अधीकारि श्रीमंत राजेश्री आ ॥

12 ॥ णदराव गायकवाडं सेनाखासखेल समसेर ॥

13 ॥ बाहदर तेहुना बंधु श्रीमंत राजेश्री फतेशींघरा ॥

14 ॥ व गायकवाड तेहुनामनि वडोदरेथी कुमाशवारी ॥

15 ॥ तेहनी सवारी सहेर अमदावादमां आवी त्यारे आ ॥

16 ॥ जम कुंपनी बाहादरनी तरफथी अजम करणी ॥

17 ॥ यक शाहेब पोतेहुता तेहुना अमेकारभारी वे ॥

18 ॥ दशाहस्त्रसंपन्न राजेश्वरि गंगाधर शास्त्री ते ॥

19 ॥ हुना आगल शेहेर अमदावादना श्रेष्ट० वखतचं ॥

20 ॥ व खुसालचंद आवे शाहुकार तथा रहियन् सर्वे आ ॥

21 ॥ वीने अरज करी जे कोएकना वंसमां कन्या होय छे नेह ॥
22 ॥ ना पीतानी मलकत सारू शरकार हरकत करे छे ते ॥
23 ॥ इनी माफीमां घणूं पुन्य छे शांभलीने दया आवी स्या ॥
24 ॥ रे आज्ञा करि जे दीकरो तथा दीकरी वारसदार भयवा ॥
25 ॥ कन्याने संतान् न होय स्यारे कन्या पोते वारसदार जारसु ॥
26 ॥ छि कन्यानी संतती होय स्यांहांसुद्धि वारसदार भेदु श्री ॥
27 ॥ चंद्रसूर्य तपे तांसुधी काले शरकार समद्धी डखल को ॥
28 ॥ ई करे नही एवु बोलीने राजेश्री० राघूरामचंद्र सेहर ॥
29 ॥ ना मामतदार तथा हवेली गायकवाडनी मामतदार रा ॥
30 ॥ जेश्री० बापुजी गोवींद जेमने आज्ञा करी जे भे प्रमाणे च ॥
31 ॥ लावजो तथा पाशाण उपर ए प्रमाणे लखिने बेजारमां ॥
32 ॥ गाडो जे मारग कोय ओलंघन करसे नही येम श्री ओलं ॥
33 ॥ धन करे तेमने श्रीविश्वनाथ पुछे पोतानो धर्म हारे श्रीरस्तु ॥
34 ॥ लखीतंग व्यास० प्राणजीवन सुषराम बक्षी खतवालो ॥
35 ॥ कोइ वांकूचूकूं बोले तो हींदुने श्री महादेव त० मुख ॥
36 ॥ लमानने खुदा तथा रसुल पुछे सत्य मानजो ॥

The *Translation* is as follows :—

" *Shrī Ganeshāyanamaḥ, Om.* In Saṁvat 1868, and Saka 1734 current, when the sun was in the south, in the autumn season, in the good and auspicious month of Áshwin, in the bright half of the month, on the 5th day, on Saturday, in the Saṁvatsar called Subhānu, in the days of the Dehlī Emperor, Shri Pādshāhā Akbar Shāh Ghāzī, also at Shri Poona the ruler Shrimant Peshwa Bājerāo Sāhebji, and his youngest brother Shrimant Rājeshrī Chimnāji Raghunāth, governor of Shri Ahmadābād. When by his command the *adhikāri* Shrimant Rajeshrī Anandrāo Gāyakawād Senākhāskhel Samser Bāhadar's brother Shrimant Rājeshrī Fatesinghrāo Gāyakawād's *Kumāvishdārī* from Baroda, came to the City of Ahmadābād, the *Sheṭh* of the city of Ahmadābād, Wakhatchand Khushālchand, with all the merchants and *rayats*, presented a petition before the Hon. Carnac Sāheb, representing the Hon. Company Bahādar, and present in person, and before his chief *kārbhārī* Vedashāstrasampanna Rājeshrī Gangādhar Shāstrī as follows :—'In the case where a daughter represents the family line, Government interferes with the ancestral property, there would be great merit in the cancelling of this rule.' Hearing this, pity was felt and an order was passed that a son and also a daughter may be heir, or if a daughter has no offspring she shall herself be heir until she has offspring ; so long as moon and sun endure let no one connected with Government

interfere. So saying, he ordered Rājeshrī Rāghu Rāmchandra, the City *Māmlatdār*, also Rājeshrī Bāpujī Govind, the *Māmlatdār* of the Haveli Gāyakawād, to see that the above was observed, and being engraved on stone be set up in the bazār, in order that no one may transgress it. If any one transgresses it the Lord of the Universe will inquire into it, and he will forfeit his religion. *Shrirastu.* The scribe is Vyāsa Prānajīvan Sukharām Bakshī, keeper of the documents. If any one speaks aught against this, if he is a Hindū Shri Mahādev will enquire into it, if a Musalmān, God and the Prophet will enquire into it. Accept this as the truth."

This inscription is an interesting monument to the troublous times that characterized the close of the 18th, and beginning of the present, century. It mentions by name many of the chief actors of that period of struggle between the Peshvā and Gāyakawād, and the rapid ascendency of the East India Company.

THE DATE of the inscription is Saturday, the 5th day of Ashvin, in the bright half of the month, in the Saṁvatsar called Subhānu, in Saka 1734 and Saṁvat 1868. This corresponds to the 10th of October 1812.[1]

THE PLACES mentioned in this inscription are Dehlī, Poona, Baroda and Ahmadābād.

THE PERSONS mentioned are—

1. Muhammad Akbar II., next to the last of the Mughal Emperors.
2. Bājirāo Peshwā.
3. Chimnājī Raghunāth, brother of Bājerāv, and nominally Governor of Gujarāt.
4. Anandrāv Gāyakawād.
5. Fatesingh Gāyakawād, Regent of Baroda.
6. Captain James Rivett-Carnac, then British Resident at Baroda.
7. Gangādhar Shāstrī, the Gāyakawad's Minister.
8. Wakhatchand Khushālchand, the *Nagar Sheṭh* of Ahmad ābād.
9. Rāghu Rāmchandra, City Māmlatdār.
10. Bāpujī Govind, Māmlatdār of the Havelī.
11. Vyāsa Prānajīvan Sukharām, the scribe.

---

[1] Mr. Vinayak N. Nene, of the Colaba Observatory, kindly calculated for me the corresponding Christian date.

As nearly all the persons mentioned in this inscription are well known in modern history, the briefest reference, sufficient to identify them, and connect them together, seems all that is necessary.

1. Muhammad Akbar II., H. 1221-1253 A.D. 1806-1837, next to the last of the Mughal Emperors, and pensioner of the British. With the close of Aurangzeb's reign, A.D. 1707, came to its end the glory of the Mughal Empire. Between the English and Marāthās the empire was completely dismembered. In 1806 (H. 1221) Shah Ālam died as a pensioner of the British, and Akbar II. succeeded him to that degraded position. He died in 1837 (H. 1253). (See Mughal Emperors of Hindūstān, by Stanley Lane-Poole.)

It seems strange that Akbar II. should be acknowledged as Pādshah by the Marāthās when he possessed no authority, and was merely a pensioner of the British. It appears, however, that he was still recognized as titular sovereign, for even at the time of this inscription the Marāthās coined in his name. Coins minted in Ahmadābād in Akbar's name are described in C. J. Rodgers's Catalogue of the Lahore Museum Coins, No. 5, page 244 (Mughal Emperor volume), and in Part II. of his Catalogue of the Calcutta Museum Coins, No. 8844, page 85. Rev. Geo. Taylor, of Ahmadābād, has several of these coins. I have also one dated H. 1233, A.D. 1817, with Akbar's name, and coined at Ahmadābād.

2. Bājerāv Peshwā. The Marāthās first began their invasion of Gujarāt in 1705, two years previous to Aurangzeb's death. By 1757 Gujarāt had come completely into the hands of the Marāthās, but the revenues were shared by the Peshwā and Gāyakawād. In 1796 Bajerāv Raghunāth received the insignia of Peshwā. In October 1800, an agreement was concluded between the Peshwā and Gāyakawād for the latter to take on a five years' lease the Peshwā's share of the revenues of Gujarāt. This was renewed in 1804 and continued until 1814, so that this was the arrangement in 1812, the time of our inscription. Bājerāv surrendered to the English, June 3rd, 1818. (See Duff's History of the Marāthās.)

3. Chimnājī Raghunāth, was the brother of Bājerāv Peshwā, and was appointed by him as Governor (Subedār) of Gujarāt. This appointment was nominal only, the active duties being performed by deputies. (See Duff's History of the Marāthās.)

4. Anandrāv Gāyakawād. Govindrāv died on the 18th September 1800, and Anandrāv was immediately placed on the throne of Baroda.

He was in every way a weak prince, a puppet in the hands of others. The administration of the State was placed in the hands of his younger brother, Fatesingh. Anandrāv died October 2nd 1819. (See Bom. Gaz. of Baroda, and Watson's History of Gujarat.)

5. Fatesingh was the younger brother of Anandrāv, and on account of his brother's incapacity he was made Regent. He joined the Darbār in 1807, and continued as Regent until his death, June 23rd, 1818. (See Bom. Gaz., Baroda.)

6. Captain James Rivett-Carnac. The predecessor of Captain Carnac as Resident at Baroda had been Major Walker. The latter left on sick leave in 1810 and Captain Carnac succeeded him as Resident. "Captain, afterwards Major-General, Sir James Carnac, Bart., belonged to the Madras Army. After completing his service at Baroda he was Member of the Court of Directors from 1829-1838 and for some of the time Deputy Chairman and Chairman, and finally he was Governor of Bombay from 1839-1841." (See Bom. Gaz., Baroda, page 216.)

7. Gangādhar Shāstrī Patwardhan. One of the best known characters in the history of that period. Originally from the Deccan, he entered the Gāyakawād's service in Baroda in 1802. In 1803 he was nominated confidential medium with the Darbār, and rapidly rose to great influence. In June 11th, 1813, the year following our inscription, he was created Mutālik Diwān on a salary of Rs. 60,000. He went to Poona in 1814 to settle questions between the Peshwā and Gāyakawād Governments, and was murdered at Pandharpur on the night of the 14th July 1815, with what was believed to be the full connivance of Bajerāv Peshwā and Trimbakji, his minister. (See Duff's History of the Marāthās, and Bom. Gaz., Baroda.)

8. Wakhatchand Khushāl'chand.[1] The office of *Nagar Sheṭh*, while not peculiar to Ahmadābād, has special significance in that city in that the office was conferred on one of its merchants for special services rendered to the city. The office has descended from father to son. The present member of the family to bear the office of *Nagar Sheṭh* is Miābhai Premābhai.

---

[1] The history of this family I have prepared chiefly from information supplied to me by Mr. Manibhai Premābhai, brother of the present *Nagar Sheṭh*, and Vice-President of the Ahmadābād Municipality, but also from references to members of the family in the travels of Mandelslo and Thevenot. (See also Bom. Gaz., Ahmedābād, 113, 257 note.)

The genealogy of the family is as follows:—

1. Padmashāh.
2. Vachashāh.
3. Sheskarana,
4. Shāntidās.
5. Lakhmichand.
6. Khushālchand.
7. Wakhatchand.
8. Himābhai.
9. Premābhai.
10. Miābhai.

The family claims to be of the solar dynasty, and of the Kukul and Sisodia race. Nothing is known of Padmashāh, Vachashāh, or Sheskarana. Shāntidās is better known. He was a merchant of great wealth and built a Jain temple at Saraspur about a mile to the east of Ahmadābād. It was visited and described by Mandelslo[2] in

[2] Mandelslo's Voyages, Vol. II., page 114.

"The chief *Mosque of the Benjans* is one of the finest structures that ever I saw, it being but lately built then; and stands in the Centre of a vast Court, furnished with a very high wall of Free-stone, all about which is a *Pia,ss* divided into Cells, in each of which stands a Statue, either white or black, representing a naked woman sitting with her legs under her, according to the Eastern fashion. Some of these Cells had three Statues, *to wit*, a great one between two little ones.

"As soon as you enter the Mosque, you see two Elephants of black marble done to the life, and upon one of them the effigies of the founder, a rich *Benjan* merchant, named *Santides*. The mosque is vaulted, and the wall adorned with the Figures of men and other living creatures. There was not the least thing to be seen within the *Mosque*, except three Chapels, which were very dark, and divided only by wooden rails, wherein were placed statues of marble like those in the cells, the middlemost having a lamp hanging before it. We saw the priest busie in receiving from such as were performing their

1638 when just completed. When Aurangzeb was Viceroy in 1644—1646 he defiled and mutilated the temple. On complaint being made to his father, the Emperor Shāh Jahān, he was rebuked, and the restoration of the temple was ordered.[4] This must have been much against Aurangzeb's pride, for no sooner was he Emperor than he utterly demolished the temple.

The title of *Nagar Sheṭh* was conferred upon Shāntidās by the Mughal Emperor,[5] probably Shāh Jahān. The Thākor of Palitānā gave him the full and unconditioned ownership of the Palitānā Hills. The dates of his birth and death are not known. Of Lakmichand nothing is known. His son Khushālchand was born in A. D. 1674. He was of great service to the city in stopping its pillage by the Marāthās, and in grateful recognition of his efforts there was given to him and his heirs in 1725[6] the special privilege of taking octroi duty,[7] which has since been commuted by the British Government into an annual pension of Rs. 2,133 payable from the Public Treasury. He died in 1748.

His son Wakhatchand, of our inscription, was born in 1740 and died in 1814. He seems to have been a favorite with the Gāyakawād Government, who gave him a present of a village called Ranchorda, the income of which is still enjoyed by his heirs. He rendered valuable assistance to the English. He was a man of wealth, having shops and firms in many places. As we see from the inscription

Devotions there, Flowers, Oyl, Wheat and Salt; with the first he adorned the Images, his Mouth and Nose being covered with a piece of Callicoe, for fear of prophaning the Mystery by the impurity of his breath; the Oyl was intended for the Lamps, and the Wheat and Salt for the sacrifice. He muttered out certain Prayers over the Lamp, and washed ever and anon his hands in the smoak of the flame, out of an Opinion they have that, Fire having a greater Power of purifying than Water, they may without offence lift up their Hands to God."

[4] Thevenot's Travels (A. D. 1687), Part III., page 10.

[5] According to the Bom. Gaz., Ahmadābād, p. 113, the title of *Nagar Sheṭh* was conferred on Khushālchand in 1725 for special services in preventing the pillage of the city by the Marāthās. It is possible, however, that Shāntidas first received the title, but that it was confirmed with special privileges to Khushālchand in 1725.

[6] The reference to Khushālchand in Briggs's cities of Gujarāshtra, 212, 213, as rendering this service in 1781 on the occasion of General Goddard's Capture of the city, arose from mistaking Saṃvat 1781 (A. D. 1725) for A. D. 1781 the date of Gen. Goddard's siege. (Bom. Gaz., Ahmad., p. 257, note.)

[7] Bom. Gaz., Ahmad., p. 114, note.

he represented the citizens of Ahmadābād on the occasion of their presenting the petition, and secured the redress of their grievances. His son, Himābhai, born 1785 and died 1857, was known for his many charities, and for the assistance rendered to the British during the sepoy rebellion of 1857. His son Premābhai was born in 1815 and died in 1887. The present *Nagar Sheṭh* is, as has been mentioned above, Miābhai Premābhai.

9-10. Rāghu Rāmchandra and Bāpujī Govind, the one called the City Māmlatdār, the other the Māmlatdār of Havelī Gāyakawād. I have been able to find no other reference to these than that of the inscription. I have been informed, however, that there are descendants of Bāpuji Govind living in the city. The Havelī Gāyakawād is the name of a citadel in the south-west corner of the city between the Rāykhad and Khān Jahān gates. It is supposed to have been built in 1738 when the Government of the city was divided between Momin Khān and the Marāthās. After 1757, when the city was divided between the Peshwā and Gāyakawād, the Havelī was occupied by the agents of the Gāyakawād, in whose possession it still remains. (Bom. Gaz, Ahmad. 260.)

11. Vyās Prāṇjīvan Sukharām, the scribe. I have found no reference to him other than that of this inscription.

In the books at my disposal I have found no reference to the occasion which brought Captain Carnac and Gangādhar Shāstrī to Ahmadābād. It is interesting to note, however, that this year, 1812, was the year of the great famine in Gujarāt, an account of which is given by Captain Carnac, from personal observation, in the *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*, Vol. I., pp. 321-329, in 1815. This fact may explain the visit which was connected with the collection of revenue. It may also explain the immediate occasion of the petition, since many families must have been left without male heirs, and if the property of such was interfered with by the Government the community must have necessarily felt the increased hardship.

ART. XXI.—*A Chapter from the Tândya Brâhmaṇa of the Sâma Veda and the Lâṭyâyana Sûtra, on the admission of the Non-Aryans into Aryan Society in the Vedic Age.* By RÂJÂRÂM RÂMKRISHṆA BHÂGAVAT, Esq.

[Read 21st December 1896.]

It has always been a moot question with the students of Indian history how the Aryan settlers in India succeeded in incorporating the non-Aryan races in all parts of the country into a common system of religious faith and social life. Indian society, as we now find it, with its system of caste-organisations, mutually exclusive of one another, seems wholly incapable of such an expansion, and yet there can be no doubt that at some early stage of its growth this capacity of expansion was its chief characteristic. Sir Alfred Lyall has indeed noticed in one of his essays this elasticity of the Aryan system of faith, and he has traced the process by which even at the present day the aboriginal tribes in large numbers are being converted to a nominal allegiance to Hindu gods and veneration for the Brahman and the cow. This modern expansion, however, is essentially different from what must have taken place when the Dravidian races and the Trans-Gangetic tribes were first âryanized and became in their turn the staunchest adherents of the old orthodox creed. The mythological as also the classical Sanskrit literature throws but little light on this interesting period of the Aryan settlements. Some glimpses, however, are afforded by the ritualistic writings, notably the Tândya Brâhmaṇa of the Sâma Veda and the Lâṭyâyana Sûtra in connection with the description of the Vrâtya-Stoma or the prayer for the Vrâtyas, a brief summary of which is proposed to be given in the following paper.

An English Translation of the Text.

The Tândya Brâhmaṇa of the Sâma Veda in its 17th chapter has the following myth and remarks on this subject:—

"When the Devas (gods) retired to the upper world called Svarga, some of them who still wandered about on earth in the disguise of the *vrâtyas* (outcasts) had to remain below. These, longing to join their more fortunate brethren, now came to the spot whence the Devas (gods) had ascended to heaven; but not knowing the necessary hymn

with the metre, were in a fix. The gods sympathising with their less fortunate brethren below, asked the Maruts to teach them the necessary hymn with the metre. Thereupon the less fortunate among the gods duly received from the Maruts the necessary hymn called *ṣhoḍasha* with the metre called *anuṣṭubh*, by means of which they subsequently ascended to heaven."

"The *hîna* (depressed) *vrâtyas* are certainly those who neither practise *brahma-charya* nor can till land nor carry on trade."

"This prayer has the power of elevating them. This prayer can make them all equal."

"In this prayer the priest recites the Sâma called *dyoutâna*."

"The Sâma is so called because the chief house-holder of the depressed gods was named Dyutâna. He belonged to the fallen Marud-gaṇas: he with his fallen followers performed the sacrifice and chanted this prayer and became prosperous."

"Those are called *garagir* (swallowers of poison) who eat the food to be eaten by the Brahmans, who, though not abused, complain of being abused, who punish those not deserving punishment, who, though not initiated, speak the language of the initiated."

"This prayer, called *ṣhoḍasha*, has the power of destroying sins."

The Tândya Brâhmaṇa, after this introduction about the *vrâtyas* and the merits of the prayer, proceeds to describe the ceremony to be observed on the occasion.

"The *vrâtya* house-holder who wishes to perform this sacrifice should secure a turban, a whip, a small bow, a chariot, a silver coin, 33 cows, etc.; his followers should do the same."

"In this way the *vrâtya* who deposit their wealth with their old brethren or with the nominal Brahmans of the province of Bihar are raised and join the ranks of the Aryans."

"Thirty-three *vrâtyas* come with their chief house-holder to the sacrifice and attain elevation and prosperity."

"The *vrâtyas* are those who wear a turban on their heads, which they put on one side. They carry a whip in their hands and a small bow without arrows, by which they make depredations and trouble people. They ride in carts with bamboo seats, without cover and drawn by horses or mules. They wear on their bodies white garments with black borders or garments made of wool with red stripes or sheep skins. They use silver coins. These articles should be procured by the *gṛihapati* (the *vrâtya* house-holder)."

The same prayer and rite is prescribed by this Brahman for the

admission of the *hîna* (degraded and depressed) tribes into the Aryan community as also of the condemned criminals, and young Aryans returning after a short sojourn among non-Aryan people, and lastly of those Aryans who, after having spent their lives among the non-Aryans, return home in old age. This is the substance of the Tândya Brâhmaṇa.

The Lâṭyâyana Sûtra of the same Veda in the 6th section of the 8th chapter tries to explain some of the obscure terms found in the Brâhmaṇa and supplies additional information in regard to *vrâtya* sacrifices. It states that "the *vrâtyas*, who wish to perform this sacrifice should select the most learned or the purest in descent or the richest among them, as their *gṛihapati* (chief house-holder) and they should partake of the sacrificial food after their chief"; also that "there should be at least 33 *vrâtyas* for performing this sacrifice."

The Sûtra makes references to the Tândya Brâhmaṇa, and after having given explanations of some of the obscure terms, finally states that "when such sacrifices are performed the *vrâtyas*, having secured the rights and privileges of the *dvijas* or the first three regenerate castes, may afterwards learn the Vedas, perform sacrifices, and make presents (to Brahmans), and the Brahmans may teach them the Vedas, perform sacrifices for them, and receive presents at their hands, and even dine with them, without being required to submit to penance." This is the brief summary of the Brâhmaṇa and the Sûtra. As it is not likely to be quite intelligible without further explanations, the following observations and remarks on the Brâhmaṇa and the Sûtra, of which a brief summary has already been given, are placed before the audience.

Remarks and Observations.

The word *vrâtya*, as explained by Sâyaṇa, means 'fallen.' The word *vrâtya-stoma* thus means "a prayer (to be chanted) in the *anushṭubh* metre for (the regeneration of) the fallen." There were four kinds of *vrâtya-stomas*.

The first kind of vrâtya-stoma, which on account of the number of the necessary hymns being four, was known as *chatûhṣhoḍashî* was performed for those who belonged to the depressed race (*hîna*) and also those who were degraded (*garagir*). Those of the depressed race who had the vrâtya-stoma performed for them were treated as their equals by the followers of the Vedas. The degraded Aryans were collectively described as "swallowers of poison." In the case of the degraded, the question was more of re-admission than of conversion. The depressed

race though described as "not studying the Vedas tilling the soil or trading" is said to have been divided into two classes, the upper and the lower. The former class is described as "wearing a turban, carrying a whip or a javelin and a bow, possessed of a carriage, clad in (white) garments with black borders, wearing sheep-skins and using coins of silver," while the latter seems to have been "clad in sheep-skin or in garments of wool interwoven lengthwise with threads dyed red" and to have "used shoes." These sundry articles formed the wealth of the depressed people who were known as the vrâtyas and who were regenerated generally in bands of thirty-three, their chief being the thirty-fourth. The legend declares the number of the depressed among the gods to have been thirty-three, their chief Dyutâna being the thirty-fourth. Corresponding to the original number of the depressed among the gods the number of the depressed on the occasion of any particular sacrifice was fixed at 33, or with the chief at 34, among the children of Manu. This certainly was conversion *en masse* pure and simple and not re-admission.

The second kind of *vrâtva-stoma* was performed for re-admitting those who were "guilty of manslaughter." These having fled from justice or being condemned to banishment, after passing some years among alien races, naturally yearned to return to their kith and kin. The number of necessary hymns to be chanted being six, this *vrâtya-stoma* was called *shaṭ-ṣhoḍashî*, the guilty persons being called the *nindita* (condemned).

The third kind of *vrâtya-stoma* was intended for the re-admission of those who, having lived from childhood for a limited number of years among the depressed races, were nearly denationalized. Such denationalized Aryans were classed with the depressed race and called the *kanishṭha* (juniors). Owing to the number of the necessary hymn being two, this vrâtya-stoma was called *dvi-ṣhoḍashî*.

The occasion for the fourth kind of *vrâtya-stoma* was the return in old age of a follower of the Vedas from the midst of the depressed people. Such old men also were classed with the *vrâtyas* and called the *jyeṣhṭha* (seniors) or *shama-n'âchâme-ḍhraḥ* (the impotent). The first to perform the sacrifice was *kuṣhîtaka*. This was also a case of re-admission and not of conversion.

The Lâṭyâyana Sûtra says that "He who is superior in education, birth or wealth should be acknowledged as their chief by the thirty-three *vrâtyas*, who should each have a separate fire for pouring the oblations into." Though not quite clear on the point, Lâṭyâyana

seems not to insist on the number 33; but the commentator having inserted the number of 33, is evidently not prepared to celebrate the vrâtya-stoma unless 33 of the depressed community seek him in a body. The word *shama-nîchâ-medhra*, according to Lâtyâyana, means "those men who through old age have lost the power of procreation." There were times, it seems, when the *vrâtyas* bow in hand "made depredations," owing to which the followers of the Vedas did not think life quite a blessing. Those of the depressed races who had the *vrâtya-stoma* performed for them assumed a new habit, casting off their old one, which was recommended to be given away to those who were not yet tired of their life as *vrâtyas*; and in case the latter had disappeared, to the nominal Brâhmaṇs of the province of Behâr. The vratyas who were fortunate enough to be thus enfranchized could, by the right of enfranchisement, engage in any of the callings considered honourable by the followers of the Vedas who no longer disdained to mix freely among them on terms of equality. From the manner in which the explanation of the words *vipatha* and *kṛishṇasha* is attempted, there is room for entertaining a suspicion that when the author of the Sûtra flourished, the *vrâtyas* having well nigh disappeared some of the words denoting things peculiar to them had become unintelligible and even obscure. Even the shoes worn by the primitive vrâtyas which, according to Shâṇḍilya, were black and pointed, were almost forgotten, and it became customary to substitute any ordinary pair for them.

The graphic description of the Brâhmaṇa clearly establishes that the word *vrâtya* originally denoted some non-Aryan tribes. As these non-Aryan tribes had a covering for the head to keep the sun off and were clad in white garments, with black borders, and had a silver currency and pointed shoes, they cannot be said to have been savages. They must have been semi-civilized. When we come down from the Brâhmaṇa to the Sûtra we find that the society of the *vrâtyas* acknowledged the three grades of the educated, the high-born and the wealthy, which perhaps formed its upper classes, and which at times, with its masses, made attempts to overwhelm the followers of the Vedas. The plan of assimilation by conversion was, perhaps, suggested to the Aryans by the necessity for expansion. A belief in the integrity of the Trayî or the three Vedas and an unshaken faith in the virtue of the Mantras contained therein combined to produce a wonderful cohesiveness, which enabled the Aryans to present a united front to the *vrâtyas*. The expansive force of a people without is generally in direct ratio to

the cohesive force within. There was, perhaps, a necessity for expansion on the part of the *vrâtyas* also. But the elements of cohesivness being absent, a very compact combination for offensive, or even defensive, purposes became an impossibility, and the *vrâtyas* had eventually to retire ignominiously from the unequal contest, leaving the combined Aryans masters of the field.

Such a glowing picture cannot be drawn of the Brahmanism of to-day. For all practical purposes it has become a dead organism by reason of the crystallization of castes whose sub-divisions, looking down upon one another, as if forming so many distinct races, refuse intermarriage, and in some cases even interdining. But if we ascend higher and higher, and at last reach the crowning summit of the Vedic times, we shall find that the old Brâhmanism, being a living organism, and having, therefore, a cohesive as well as expansive force, was blessed with a wonderful power of assimilation which naturally refused crystallization into castes, though the distinction of classes was not unknown.

The word *vrâtya* which thus originally denoted a barbarous or a non-Aryan people, came in course of time to be applied to those Aryans who happened, or were forced, to spend some years of their life amongst such. The word *shama-nîchâ-medhra* is, as explained by the commentator, somewhat suggestive. Some of the Aryans perhaps associated too freely with the licentious or gay women of the *vrâtya* community, and having lost their bloom and health by excess returned home in old age with shattered constitutions. The *stoma* called by this name was, perhaps, originally intended for such dissolute and depraved specimens of humanity. In no other way can a connection be established between the loss of procreative power and a residence among the *vrâtyas*. Gradually those also who degraded themselves by violating the approved rules of conduct were held to have become *vrâtya* and classed with them. The word *vrâtya* in the Vedic language will thus be found to have a three-fold significance. It is a pity that there is no clue in the Brâhmaṇa to determine the native country of the *vrâtyas*. The Sûtra holds that "the chariot used by the *vrâtyas*" was the same with that in use "among the *eastern* people," thereby hinting that the *vrâtya* should be considered an eastern people. The custom of giving away the habit of the enfranchised *vrâtya* to a Brahman of the province of Magadha (modern Behâr) in case a *vrâtya* were not found at hand to receive it, pretty conclusively establishes the original home of these

non-Aryans. The Vedic tradition at least as embodied in the Sûtra of Lâṭyâyana points to the province of Behâr (Eastern India) as being the cradle of this non-Aryan race.

In course of time the *vrâtyas* seem to have disappeared as a race partly by absorption and partly by extinction. The memory of their having been a non-Aryan race was, however, preserved and the word naturally came to denote those among the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas, who, their thread ceremony not being performed for 16, 22, or 23 years respectively, either from birth or from conception, had lost their claim to the honor of being called brethren by the three regenerate castes. Âshvalâyana in his Gṛihya-sûtra calls all those youths who have passed the limit of age fixed for each caste without being regenerated by the thread ceremony *vrâtya*, and lays down that no intercourse should be held with them. The *vrâtyas* having thus disappeared, the last three of the four *vrâtya-stomas* were completely forgotten, and the only occasion was for the first *vrâtya-stoma* called *chatuh-ṣhoḍashî*, which Âpastamba, as quoted by Sâyaṇa, while annotating the legend of Dyûtana, seems to recommend for the unregenerate youths of all ages of the three regenerate castes. In the Dharma-sûtra ascribed to Âpastamba the word *vrâtya*, however does not occur, though Apastamba divides the unregenerate Aryan youths into three classes. The first class comprises those who have passed the limit of age fixed for the performance of the thread ceremony. Those whose fathers and grandfathers have died without the thread ceremony are put into the second class, while the third is reserved for those whose great grandfathers also have departed this world without the sacred thread. Âpastamba prescribes penance, which such unregenerate Aryans must submit to before they can ask to have the thread ceremony performed for them. The original *vrâtyas* being no more found there are no occasions for the performance of any of the four *vrâtya-stomas* in these days. The modern Brahman takes good care not to put off the thread ceremony of his son later than the tenth or eleventh year as preliminary to his early marriage, and stoutly holds that the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas have become quite extinct in this age of Kali. There are, therefore, nowadays no occasions even for the penances prescribed by Âpastamba.

The orthodox Brahman priest of to-day, having thus had no opportunities to perform the *vrâtya-stoma* himself, or to see it performed for

others, is unable to throw any light on the working of its details. Besides, the ceremony in question being treated of at some length in the Sâma-veda which has no followers among the Marâṭhâ Brâhmaṇs who belong either to Ṛig-veda, which makes no mention of it, or to Yajur-veda, which seems to allude to it only casually, the ignorance prevailing in regard to it throughout the length and breadth of Mahâ-râṣhṭra ought not to excite surprise. Curiously enough the word *vrâtya* is still preserved in the sense of "naughty, unmanageable, playing pranks" in the every-day language of the Marâṭhâ people.