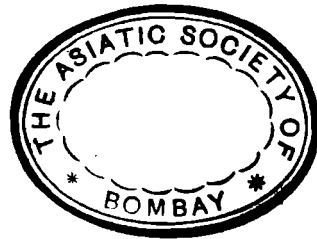


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ART. I.—*A Few Materials for a Chapter in the Early History of Bactria, collected from some Iranian Sources.*

BY

SHAMS-UL-ULMA DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., Ph. D.
(Read, 23rd March 1914.)

I.

INTRODUCTION.

Prof. H. G. Rawlinson of the Deccan College had published in 1909, his interesting Prize-essay, entitled "Bactria, from the Earliest times to the Extinction of Bactrio-Greek Rule in the Punjab." I had the pleasure of reviewing it in the *Jâm-i-Jamshed* of Bombay, at the request of its Editor. In that review, while noticing the fact that the author began his subject with the early traces of history referred to by classical authors, I drew attention to the fact that Bactria was referred to in the Vendidad of the Parsees, which, following the reasoning of the late Dr. Haug, Professor of Sanskrit at the Poona College, may be taken to have been written at least about 1,200 years before Christ. This review led to some correspondence with the learned author, who then thought of re-publishing his essay as a second edition. In one of his letters, he said: "In republishing my little work, I badly want a reliable text-book on what is known of the Early History of Bactria and Iran, e.g., in the time of Zarathushtra and the Kaiyanian kings The new Encyclopædia Britannica dismisses the early history as 'legendary.' But I want to know about it—legendary or not."

As far as I knew, there was no reliable text-book treating of the early history, even the legendary history of Bactria. So, to supply some materials to Prof. Rawlinson, I had then taken up the study of that subject. This paper is the humble result of that short study, the materials of which I had the pleasure of sending to Prof. Rawlinson in 1910. I beg to place these materials with some additions before this Society for its Journal, with a view that they may be of some use, however little, to other students of the History of Bactria.


As said in my above review, the ancient history of Bactria is interesting, both to the Parsees and to the Hindus, because it is

the history of a country which lies between Irân, the ancient motherland of the Parsees, and Hindustan, the motherland of the Hindus. "Bactria served as a connecting link between the West and the East. It is still well-nigh an open question, whether India gave much to the West or the West gave much to India. In any case, Bactria was the land that served as an intermediate seat for transferring the traits of the civilization of one country to the other. . . . We think, that both Greece and Iran had their influence upon Hindustan and that Hindustan had its influence in turn upon both." In the case of the influence from the West, "it was Iran that had greatly, strongly and permanently impressed India. The great Hindu king Asoka in an early period, and the great Mahomedan king Akbar in a later period, were kings whose reigns stand as great landmarks in the history of India, both from the material and the mental and moral points of view. Leaving aside the question, as to how Akbar's rule in India led to the influence of Persia upon India, . . . one can pretty safely say, that the great Asoka had some Iranian ideals before him. The Achaemenian rule over some regions in the very vicinity of India lasting for a pretty long time, and over the country itself for a number of years, had a great influence upon India. If nothing else, Asoka's edicts have left an indelible stamp on the history of India. Asoka took his conception of inscribing them upon columns from the practice of Achaemenian kings like Darius whose inscriptions over columns and rocks are well-known."

With these few introductory words I come to the subject proper of my paper. I will first speak (A) of the References to Bactria in the Avesta and Pahlavi books of the Parsees, and then (B) of the History—legendary or not—as given by old Mahomedan writers like Firdousi, Maqoudi and Tabari.

II.

(A) REFERENCES TO BACTRIA IN THE AVESTA AND PAHLAVI BOOKS OF THE PARSEES.

Bactria is the Bâkhdhi  of the Avesta,¹ Bâktri² of the cuneiform inscriptions, Bâkhar or Bâkhal of the Bactria, the Bâkhdhi of the Avesta. Pahlavi writers, and Balkh of the early and later Mahomedan writers. As Prof. Darmesteter³ points out, the later name Balkh comes from the Avesta Bâkhdhi. Bâkhdhi would be Bâkhli in later Persian ("dh" would be "l"; cf. Avesta *madhakha* (locust): Persian *malakh*). The Pahlavi translator

¹ Vendidad I, 7. ² The Inscription of Behistun Col. I, 6. Tolman's Guide to Old Persian Inscriptions, p. 55. ³ Le Zend Avesta II, p. 8.

of the Vendidad renders Bâkhdhi into Bâkhal or Bâkhar (𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌) ¹. Then "kh" and "l" change places and Bâkhli or Bâkhal becomes Balkh.

The earliest reference to Bactria in the Parsee books is that in the Vendidad, where (Chap. I. 7) it is spoken of as the fourth city created by Ahura Mazda, the preceding three being Airyana-vaeja (Irân), Sugdh (Sogdiana), and Môuru (Merv). It is there spoken of as "*Bâkhdhîm srîrâm eredkvô drafshâm, i.e., "Bâkhdhi, the beautiful, with the up-lifted banner."* As pointed out by Dr. Haug, the list of the 16 cities named in this second chapter of the Vendidad does not contain the name of the old Iranian city of Ecbatana (Hagamatâna of the Behistun Inscriptions II, 13, Achmetha of the Scriptures, Ezra VI 2, modern Hamadan), founded, according to Herodotus² by Deioces of Media (B. C. 708). This fact shows that the Vendidad, or at least this chapter of the Vendidad, was written before 708 B. C. So, this is a reference to Bactria as old as the 8th century before Christ.

Again, the fact of the city being mentioned as one with up-lifted banners shows, that it was the capital city carrying the royal banners. Now, as Bactria fell into the hands of the Assyrians and thus ceased to be the capital city with royal banners at about B. C. 1200, it appears, that this reference to Bactria is as old as the 12th or 13th century B. C.

In the above-mentioned reference in the Vendidad, Bactria or Balkh is spoken of

- (1) as being beautiful and
- (2) as a city with up-lifted banners.

1. As to the first epithet of Bactria referred to in the Vendidad, *vis.*, Bâkhdhi, the beautiful, the renowned, that it was beautiful (*srîrâm*), we find, that it continued to be spoken thus, for a long time afterwards, even upto the Mahomedan times.

(a) The Pahlavi commentator has spoken of the city as "*nyôk pavan dîdan* (𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌)", *i.e.,* good to look at. This is the way in which the commentator has rendered the Avesta word (*srîrâm*) for beautiful.

(b) The grand Bundeesh⁴ also, while translating this chapter, speaks of the city as (*nyôk pavan dîdan*) "good to look at."

¹ Vendidad by Dastur Hoshang Jamasp, p. 7, Chap. I. 7.

² Bk. I. 98.

³ Dastur Dr. Hoshang Jamasp's Vendidad, p. 7.

⁴ The Bûndshishn, edited by Ervad Tahmuras Dinshaji Anklesaria, with an Introduction by Mr. Behrangore Tehmuras Anklesaria, published by the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet (1908), p. 206, 13. *et. seq.* This chapter is the 38th chapter in the list of Dr. West. S. B. E., Vol. V, Introduction, p. XXXVII.

(c) In the Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i-Airân, we read the following for this city :—

Dayan Bâkhar-i-nâmik shatrôstân Novâzako Spendadâd-i-Vishtâspân benman kard. Avash varzâvand Âtash-i-Vâharân tamman etibûnast. Avash nizeh-i nefshman tamman barâ makhitûnt. Avash val Gubâhkân va Suj-i-Pikâhkân va Churâhkân vâ Rabâkân va Guhram va Tûrchâv va Arjâsp-i-Khyonân-shâh paêtâm shetunit âigh nizeh-i le barâ negîrîd. Kolâ-mûn pavan nîzashne-i denman nizeh negîred meman dayan val airân shatro dôbâret ¹.

Translation :—

“ Spendadâd, the son of Vishtâsp, founded the city of Novâzako in the renowned country of Bâkhar. He established there the glorious Âtash Vâhrân (Âtash Behrâm). He struck his lance there. He sent a message to Gubâhkân and Suj-e-Pikâhkân and Churhâkân and Rabâkân and Guhram and Turchâv and Arjâsp, the king of the Khyonas, that ‘ Look to my lance. Those who may look to the interpretation of this lance may run to the country of Irân (to render submission)’.”

The country of Bâkhar, referred to here, is the Bâkhdhi of the Vendidad, whose Pahlavi translators also have called it Bâkhar. In this passage, the Shatroihâ-i-Airân calls it “ nâmik ” *i.e.*, renowned. Among the later Mahomedan authors, Maçoudi ² has spoken of it as بلخ الحسناء Bâlk al hasanâ, *i.e.*, Bâlk the beautiful. Here, the word “ *hasanâ*,” corresponds to the word “ *srîrâm* ” of the Avesta. Other Mahomedan authors have spoken of it as Bâlk-i-bâmi, *i.e.*, the exalted or the great Bâlk. Firdousi speaks of it as Bâlk-i-guzin, *i.e.*, Bâlk, the select or the elect.

2. Coming to the second statement of the Vendidad, *viz.*, that it was the city with an uplifted banner, it was so called, because, being the capital of some of the known Kaiyanian kings, especially of king Gushtâsp, in whose reign Zoroaster, the prophet, flourished, the royal banner flew over it. Prof. Spiegel takes this view, when he says, that the “ tall plumes (*i.e.*, the tall banners) indicate the imperial banner (mentioned also by Firdousi) and refer consequently to the time when Bactria was the seat of the empire.”³ M. Harlez also takes the same view. He says : “ Ces drapeaux élevés étaient peut-être la marquée de la résidence du chef du pays.”⁴

¹ Pahlavi texts, edited by Dastur Jamaspi Minocherji Jamaspasana, p. 19.

² *Vide* my “ Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarîrân, Shatrôihâ-i-Airân va Afdiya va Sahigiyâ-i-Sistân,” pp. 59-61.

³ Maçoudi, traduit par Barbier de Meynard, Vol. II, p. 121.

⁴ Spiegel, translated by Bleeck, Vol. I, p. 10, note 3.

⁵ Avesta, Livre sacré du Zoroastrisme, p. 8, note 7.

It appears, that during the Sassanian times, when the Pahlavi translators and commentators wrote, some doubts had arisen, as to why it was called in the Vendidad the city of up-lifted banners.

Reasons, why it was so called.

(a) The commentators at first gave their own explanation, which is the usual above explanation, *viz.*, that "the banner" (*i.e.*, the royal banner) was uplifted over it (âigh darafsh dayan afrâsht yekhsund).

(b) Then, the commentators added, that there were some who said that there were many banners flying over it (ait mûn aîtûn yemellund âi kabdih dayan afrâsend).¹ As to this second reason, *viz.*, that it was called the city of uplifted banners because many banners flew over it, we find a reference to it in the Grand Bundehesh,² where it is said, "martûmî tamnan drafsh pavan tûkhshâkîh yakhsunen," *i.e.*, men there hold the banners with energy.

Now, as to why, later on, there were many banners over the city, instead of one, some thing may be learnt from the Pahlavi commentary which adds the words "âig dôshman madam dayan kushend" which mean that "these men kill their enemies." Prof. Harlez:³ says, that by this remark, the commentators meant to say, that there were frequent battles in Bactria. But Harlez himself thinks, that they were the banners over the tents of the people and the towers of the city.

A statement of Yakout seemed to point to another reason for its latterly being called a city of many banners. He said that

(c) The Great Fire-Temple of Balkh or Bactria. نوبها and that the worshippers at the temple—perhaps the distinguished visitors like princes and generals—raised banners on its *gunbad* (cupola) as their marks of respect. Barbier De Meynard thus refers to Yakout's statement :—

"Ce temple était en grande vénération chez les Persans, qui s'y rendaient de fort loin en pèlerinage, le revetaient d'étoffes précieuses et plantaient des drapeaux au sommet de la coupole (Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique et Littéraire de la Perse, par Barbier de Meynard, p. 569).

The Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i-Airân also refers to a Fire-temple in the city. A part of the name of the place Novâzako or Naozako, where the

¹ *Vide* Vendidad by Dastur Hoshang Jamasp, Vol. I, Texts, pp. 7-8.

² *Vide* the edition of Ervad Tahmuras, (above referred to, p. 206, l. 4.) نوبها

نوبها

³ "La seconde glose pehlie, il est vrai, voit dans ces termes une indication des guerres fréquentes qu'entreprenaient les Bactriens" (Le Zend Avesta, p. 8, n. 7).

fire-temple was founded, seems to be similar to a part of the name Naobahâr.

Firdousi¹ also thus refers to the fire-temple named Naobahâr
 ببلخ گزین شد بر آن نوبهار — که آتشپرستان بود آن روزگار
i.e. In the famous Balkh, Naobahâr was put up, because, there were fire-worshippers there at the time.

Dr. Hyde² translates the word Naobahar in Latin, as Novum ver (*i.e.*, new spring). The Navâzako of the Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i-Airân seems to be the same with the Naobahâr of Firdousi, Yakout and others; or it may be the same as Naoshar which was a fortress or palace in Balkh.³ Of the several gates of Balkh, one was known as the Dar-i-Naobahâr, *i.e.*, the gate of Naobahâr.⁴ Perhaps the Novazak referred to here may be the Nuwazi Fire-temple of the coins.⁵

The name of Aspandyâr, the son of Gushtâsp, is connected with Balkh in the above-quoted passage of the Shatroihâ-i-Airân. Therein, this prince is spoken of as using his *nizeh* or lance which seems to have been his special weapon in religious war. This explains the blessing, prayed for over the marrying couple, even now, by the Parsees, in their Âshirwâd prayer, wherein it is said "Nizehvar baid chun Aspandyâr" *i.e.*, May you be a good user of the lance like Aspandyâr.

Among the Pahlavi books, the Bundeshesh, speaking of the rivers of Irân, speaks of the river of Balkh, as one of the twenty principal rivers of Iran,⁶ and as flowing from the Bâmiyân (Bâmikân) mountains⁷ into the river Veh, supposed to be the Indus. Bactria or Balkh was in the Sassanian times supposed to be a part of Hindustan.⁸

Some manuscripts of the Bundeshesh,⁹ speak of Balkh as the birth place of Zoroaster. This reminds us of one of the old classical statements¹⁰ about one Zoroaster being the Magian king of Bactria in the time of Ninus and Semiramis.

¹ "Le Livre des Rois" par M. Mohl, IV, p. 358, l. 15.

² Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum Religionis Historia, pp. 102, 305.

³ Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique et Littéraire de la Perse, par Barbier de Meynard, p. 572.

⁴ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 223.

⁵ Numismatic and other Antiquarian illustrations of the rule of the Sassanians by E. Thomas, p. 17.

⁶ Chap. XX, 7. ⁷ Ibid, 22. ⁸ S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 59, n. 4, p. 77, n. 7.

⁹ Chap XXIV, 15. S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 89, n. 6.

¹⁰ "Zoroastre, rege Bactrianorum (Justin I, 1, 9, Diodorus II 6.) Vide 'L' Expédition de Ninus et des Assyriens, contre un Roi de la Bactrie" par Dr. Eugène Wilhelm, p. 1. n. 1.

According to the Vendidad and the Grand Bundelesh, as opposed to Ahura Mazda's blessings over the city, there was a curse from the Ahriman on it. It is very difficult to settle the meaning of the words (bravaremcha usadhascha nurtu) which describe the curse. Spiegel translates the words as "buzzing insects and poisonous plants."¹ Darmesteter is doubtful about the meaning, but, following the Gujarati translation of Aspandiyarjee Rabadi, takes the curse to be that of "the corn-carrying ants."²

Mr. Framjee Aspandiyarjee Rabadi translates this thus: *तेषी ते शेरुंरभां मोहृत लरेला ननाभिनोअं मोटी धात पेदा कीधी जे दाना भेंचनार कीडी हुती (याने ते जोगोअि दाना भेंचनार कीडी धली वसेछे अने अनान सुराभभां भेंचि लथ छे.)

The Grand Bundelesh⁴ thus speaks of the curse :

अवश-पत्यरेह सुरक वेश मतेह खानेह सुरक लील वदुनेत, बारा
Avash patyāreh surak vesh mateh khāneh surak lālī vādunet, bara
anbāsteh.

Translation—Opposed to it is the fact, that many holes have come there. The houses are made over holes and collected together.

It seems that the curse was that of some poisonous insects, which, according to the commentators, seemed to abound there on account of the porous and therefore damp soil of the place.

III.

DIFFERENT STATEMENTS AS TO WHO FOUNDED BACTRIA.

Different writers attribute the foundation of Bactria to different kings of Persia. In this connection, we must bear in mind, that the city may have been founded by a particular person at first, but, when, after some times of adversity, it was restored to prosperity by another person, later writers often referred to this second person as its founder.

According to Kāzwini⁵, it was founded by Kayomars, the first of the Irānian kings. Some authors attribute its foundation to Tehmurasp.⁶ According to Tabari,⁷ Minocheher owned it, and Afrasiāb, the Turānian king, captured it from his hands and lived there. It reverted to the hands of the Irānian kings and Kaikobād and Kāus lived there. King

¹ Spiegel, translated by Bleeck I, p. 10.

² S. B. E., Vol. IV, 1880, p. 6, n. 6.

³ The text and the translation published by Aspandiyarji's grandson Ervad Jamshedji Framji Rabadi in 1900, Translation, p. 4.

⁴ The Bundahishn edited by the late Ervad Tahmuras Dinshajee Anklesavia, p. 206, ll. 4-5.

⁵ Ousley's Travels II, p. 372.

⁶ Kinnier's Persian Empire, p. 187.

⁷ Tabari, traduit par Zotenberg I, pp. 277, 407, 462.

Lohrâsp made it his capital and gave it the appellation of "Housna"¹ *i.e.*, the beautiful (cf. the word *srîrâm*, *i.e.*, the beautiful, in the Avesta). This word "housna" of Tabari is the same as "al hasana" (the beautiful) of Maçoudi. According to other writers, king Kâus founded it.² Mirkhond, in his *Rauzat-us-Safa*, attributes its foundation to Kayomars³, but adds, that according to some historians it was founded by Lohrâsp⁴. According to the same author, Lohrâsp was called "Balakhi",⁵ because he had made it his capital. Ahmed Razi⁶ also attributes its foundation to king Kaiomars.

According to Firdousi, King Lohrasp and King Gushtasp had their courts at Balkh and it was here that Zoroaster explained his religion to the king.

According to Maçoudi,⁷ king Kai Kâus first made Balkh, the capital of the kings of Iran, and all the rulers upto queen Homai continued to hold their court there.

Ardeshir Babegân, the founder of the Sassanian Empire, is said to have called in this city his great assembly of the nobles and the learned for the Irânian Renaissance.⁸

Mirkhond gives the following story which gives a strange etymology of the name 'Balkh' :—" Kaiomars had a brother in the regions of the west, who occasionally came to visit him : who at this time having undertaken the journey to converse with his revered brother, found on his arrival at Damâvend, that Kaiomars was absent. On inquiring into his affairs, and learning that he was then engaged in founding a city in the east, this affectionate brother immediately directed his course thither, and completed the long journey. At the moment of his arrival, Kaiomars, who was seated on an eminence, having beheld his brother, exclaimed, 'Ho ! Who is this who directs his course towards us ?' One of his sons answered, ' Perhaps a spy, sent by the enemy to find out our situation. On which, Kaiomars armed himself, and, accompanied by the same son, went out to meet him : but when they drew near each other, Kaiomars recognised his brother and said to his son, Bal-Âkh ! (Arabic بل assuredly, and خ] brother) (*i.e.*, this is surely my brother) from which circumstance the city was called Balkh."

¹ Ibid, p. 491.

² Dictionnaire Géographique, &c., de la Perse, par B. de Meynard, p. 112, n. 1.

³ Mirkhond, translated by Shea, p. 58.

⁴ Ibid, p. 59. (Mirkhond's text, lithographed in Bombay, p. 150.)

⁵ Ibid, p. 272.

⁶ Dictionnaire Géographique de de la Perse, par B. de Meynard, p. 112, n. 1.

⁷ Maçoudi traduit par Barbier de Meynard, II, pp. 119-120.

⁸ Kinnier's Persian Empire, p. 107.

IV.

THE LEGENDARY HISTORY AS GIVEN BY MAHOMEDAN AUTHORS.

We will close this paper with the legendary history of the city as given by Firdousi, Tabari, Mirkhond, &c.

Firstly, according to Firdousi, the first mention of Balkh in the Shah-nameh is that in the reign of king Kai Kâus, who sends his army into the provinces of Merv, Nishâpur, Balkh and Herat, and establishes order and justice there.¹ Some time after this, Afrâsiâb, the king of Turkestan, brought an invasion upon Iranian territories. He occupied Balkh. Kai Kâus declared war against him and sent his son Siâvakhsh to the war. Siâvakhsh passed through the provinces of Thalikân and Herat, and went towards Balkh.² He laid siege and took the city. He rested there long and sent a message of victory to his father. In the meantime Afrâsiâb sent his brother Karsevaz to him to sue for peace.³ Siâvakhsh accepted peace and communicated the fact from Balkh to his father, Kai Kâus, who directed him not to accept peace, but to invade Turkestan. As Siâvakhsh hesitated to march against Turkestan, having promised peace to Afrâsiâb, Kai Kâus sent his general Tus to command the army. Siâvakhsh returned to the country of Afrâsiâb who offered him shelter.

Balkh continued in the hands of the Iranians under Kaikhushru, and in the war, known as the war of the twelve champions *دوازده رخ* some of the battles were fought in the territories adjoining Balkh.⁴ In the peace, proposed by Piran, the Turânian Nestor and general, to Godrez, the Iranian Nestor and general, he proposed to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Iranian king over all the country, including Bost, Fariah, Thalakan, the country of Balkh upto Anderab, the five villages of Bamian, the country of Gorukan and in short all the country from Balkh to Badakhshan.⁵ Later on, on his return from Touran to Iran, king Kaikhushru passed through Balkh and stayed there for one month.⁶

Lohrasp, the successor of Kaikhushru, when he abdicated the throne of Iran and gave it to his son Gushtasp, returned to the Fire-temple of

¹ Le Livre des Rois II, p. 41.

² Ibid, p. 53-57.

³ Ibid, p. 269.

⁴ Ibid, III, 429-31.

⁵ Ibid, III, p. 507.

⁶ Ibid, IV, p. 189.

Naobahar situated in the province of Balkh.¹ Lohrasp's son Gushtasp also founded a fire-temple at Balkh.² This fire-temple was known as the Fire-temple of Azer Barzin. It is one of the four Fire-temples, the names of which are still recited by the Parsees in their Âtash Nyâish.

King Gushtasp, the son of Lohrasp, was ruling at Balkh when Zoroaster promulgated his religion and taught it to the king. The Turanian king Arjasp, who declared war against Zoroaster's new religion, sent his messenger to the Iranian king at Balkh.³ Firdousi here speaks of Balkh as Balkh-i-nâmi,⁴ *i. e.*, the famous or known Balkh. A little before, he speaks of it as Balkh-i-guzin, *i. e.*, Balkh the select or the chosen. King Gushtasp declared war from this city and left it for the frontiers with his minister Jamasp.⁵

When Arjasp commenced the second war against Gushtasp, before doing so, he sent a spy to look into the state of affairs at Balkh. The spy found that king Gushtasp was not in the capital, and so, it was a splendid opportunity to invade the country. Arjasp marched against Balkh and killed Lohrasp, who had retired in a fire-temple there. He also extinguished the sacred fire, and Zoroaster, who was there, was also killed. Gushtasp, on hearing this, came to Balkh but was defeated and was obliged to run away.

Coming to the Sassanian times, we see that a little of legend is mixed up with historical facts. We find a reference to Balkh in the time of Behram Gour to whom the noblemen of the city paid their homage. Noshirwan the Just (Chosroes I) had conquered Balkh from the Haitalians.⁶ Balkh continued in the hands of the Iranians in the reign of Hormazd.⁷ In the account of the reign of Khosru Purviz, we find, that the proverb "truthful words are always bitter"⁸ is attributed to a wise man of Balkh. On the death of Yazdagard, Mahrui, the traitor, entrusted the governorship of Balkh and Herat to his eldest brother.⁹

According to Tabari¹⁰ in the time of the Peshdadiyan king Minocheher, whom he makes a contemporary of Moses, Balkh together with Merv was in the hands of the Turanian king Afrâsiâb. Then, it (Balkh) passed into the hands of the Iranians, because we find Kaikobad

¹ Ibid, p. 150-63.

² Ibid, also *vide* p. 387.

³ Ibid, VI, p. 355.

⁴ Ibid, p. 689.

⁵ Ibid, 279-281.

⁶ Ibid, p. 375.

⁷ Ibid, p. 387.

⁸ Mohl VII, p. 44.

⁹ Ibid VIII, p. 493.

¹⁰ Tabari par Zotenberg, I, p. 277.

نَگَرِ تَا چَہ گوید سَخَنِ گُویِ بَلخِ
 کہ باشد سَخَنِ گُفَتَنِ رَا سَتِ تَلخِ

having his residence there.¹ Kai K&us, who was represented as being a contemporary of Soloman, had also his residence in Balkh.² Kaikhushro, the successor of Kai K&us, when he prepared to wage a war against the Turanian Afr&asi&ab, to revenge his father's death, collected his large army at Balkh. Lohrasp, the successor of Kai Khusru had his residence at Balkh, which he called Hosana, ³ *i.e.*, the beautiful. This Lohrasp had Bakhtnasar (Nebuchednezzar) who expelled the Hebrews from Jerusalem, as his general. He remained at Balkh to watch the Turks and asked Nebuchenezzar to invade Syria, Ir&ak, Yemen and other western countries. Lohrasp died in Balkh.

Gushtasp, the son and successor of Lohrasp, on coming to the throne, heard that Nebuchednezzar, the general of his father, had devastated Syria and Palestine, and was much afflicted. Nebuchednezzar then lived at Babylon. Gushtasp sent his general Kouresh (Cyrus) to Irak and recalled Nebuchednezzar to Balkh. He also directed that Jerusalem may be restored to the Jews. Kouresh (Cyrus) went to Babylon, sent back Nebuchednezzar to Balkh, restored Jerusalem to the Jews and appointed, one of themselves, Daniel, the prophet to rule over them.⁴

With the conquest of Iran by Alexander, Balkh had passed into the hands of the Greeks. We do not learn any thing from Tabari, as to how it passed into Greek hands and what became of it till we come to the reign of Yazdagard, the son of Behram, the great grandfather of Noshirwan the Just. At this time, it was in the hands of Khoushnaw&az, the king of the Hayatalites (Euttalites). On the death of Yazdagard, his son Hormuz seized the throne of Persia. Firouz, the eldest son, who was then in Seistan, asked the assistance of Khoushnaw&az and with his help, gained the throne of Iran. After some time, the people of Balkh and the adjoining countries appealed against the tyranny of Khoushnaw&az to Firouz who invaded Balkh and the adjoining territories of Khoushnaw&az. An old general of the Hayatalian king performed a ruse. He got his limbs mutilated, as if at the hands of his king, and appealing to the sense of justice of Firouz got into his confidence, and then, under the garb of being his guide, led him

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 407.

² *Ibid.*, p. 462.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 491.

⁴ *Ibid.*, page 496. According to the Pahlavi Dinkard (Bk. V chap. I, 5-6, Dastur Peshotan's Vol. IX, p. 611, S. B. E. Vol. XLVII, pp. 120-121), and other later Mahomedan writers, Nebuchednezzar or Bakhtnasar, whose Persian name is said to be Reham, (Mirkhond translated by Shea, p. 214) and Kouresh or Cyrus were the Generals of Gushtasp. At times, a question is raised as to why Firdousi and other eastern writers have not referred to Cyrus and his Ach&aminian successors. These writers throw a side-light on the question and say that these Ach&aminian rulers were the contemporaries and vassals of the Iranian king Gushtasp and his successors who ruled at Balkh. They latterly became independent. The Pahlavi Minokherad also refers to the taking of Jerusalem by Lohrasp. (Chap. XXVII, 64-67).

(Firouz) and his army into the hands of the enemy. Firouz was killed by Khoušnawaz.

Afterwards Noshirwan, the grandson of Firouz, conquered Balkh from the hands of the Hayatalites. It continued in the hands of the successors of Noshirwan till the time of the Arab conquest, when it passed into the hands of the Arab conquerors.

According to Maçoudi, Kai Kâus was the first King who transferred the royal residence from Irak to Balkh ¹. His Maçoudi. (Kaiyanian) dynasty continued to live there and to hold it as their capital.² They called the river of Balkh, Kalef, and the foreigners inhabiting Khorasan knew it by that name. Balkh continued to be the capital up to the time of Queen Homai, the daughter of Bahman, who made Medain (Ctesiphon) her capital. According to some local traditions, Lohrasp built the city of Balkh, the beautiful (Balkh al-Hosana), whose well-watered territories and green forests had much attraction for him. Gushtasp, the son of Lohrasp, also had his capital at Balkh. ³

It was when Gushtasp was on the throne of Balkh for 30 years that Zoroaster, the son of Esbiman (ذرادشت بن اسپیمان) appeared in his court. This Esbiman is the Spitaman of the Avesta.

There is one point in the legendary history, as given by the Mahomedan writers, that draws our special attention. An important point in the legendary history of Balkh. It is that of Nebuchednezzar being a General under Cyrus the Great. We know, that Western Classical authors speak of him as an ally of Cyrus. The Pahlavi Minokherad and the Dinkard support the statements of the Mahomedan historians.

This is a very large and important question—a question that seems to throw some side-light upon the two very puzzling, but at the same time very important questions of the history of Persia, *vis* :—

1. The Age of Zoroaster.
2. The question, as to, in what relation of time, the Achæmenian dynasty stands to the Kayanian. Does it precede or succeed it ?

There arises with these two main questions, several minor questions, as to why the Kayanians are not mentioned in the Classical writers and why the Parsee books do not refer to the Achæmenians, and so on.

¹ Maçoudi, tadtuit par Barbier de Meynard II, p. 119.

² *Ibid*, p. 120.

³ *Ibid*, p. 123.

A clue to the solution of all these questions, which are dependent upon one another, may be found in the statement, that the Achæmenians and the Kayanians were contemporaries, the former ruling in the West, the latter in the East. Such a supposition would confirm the date of Zoroaster as given by Parsee books. But it is still an unsolved question and requires a very great consideration.

ART. II.—*Intermittent Springs at Rajapur in the Bombay Presidency.*

BY

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(*Read 5th September 1914.*)

During the course of an investigation into the well and spring waters of the trap area of Western India, our attention was called about two years ago to a curious series of intermittent springs, evidently all closely connected with one another, near the town of Rajapur in the district of Ratnagiri in the Bombay Presidency. This town, which lies at the head of a tidal creek running up from the sea, and about fifteen miles from the west coast, may also be said to be at the foot of the Western Ghats, and is at the mouth of two passes up those mountains (Anaskura and Phonda). The river valley in which it lies is very narrow, and the land rises very steeply from the river bed. The whole lies completely within the trap area of Western India, and the rocks for many miles round consist wholly of trap and its derivatives, including laterite.

Near this town and about two miles above it on the south side of the river, lies the curious series of intermittent springs to which we wish to draw attention. The best description of them in existence is probably that in the Bombay Gazetteer ¹ which is as follows :—

“ On the top of a hill about two miles from Rajapur, close above the Unhala hot spring, a curious phenomenon is from time to time observed. Certain springs, at irregular intervals but almost always during the fair season, bubble up, and suddenly and without warning overflow the rocky soil, covering a considerable area of ground. This apparent freak of nature can only be accounted for, on the hypothesis of an underground syphon forcing the water through a permeable stratum. The natives regard the phenomenon as a miracle, and believe the water to be a true stream of the sacred Ganges.² According to local tradition, the springs were first observed some three hundred years ago, and up to the year 1821, continued to

¹ Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. X, page 22.

² The springs are locally termed “ the Ganga.”

flow regularly every year for a month or six weeks in January or February. From that date to the present time, the phenomenon has been manifested only once in every two or three years. It occurred in February 1876, but has not since been observed (1880). The area covered by the springs, about 3,150 square yards, is surrounded by a high stone wall, and paved with stones. Fourteen cisterns of various sizes have been built to receive the water. The water invariably begins to overflow in the first of these cisterns, which holds less than a cubic foot. Within a few minutes of its first appearance, the remaining cisterns are rapidly filled. These cisterns are in no way connected with each other. Only one cistern overflows, and here the water is let off through the mouth of a cow carved out of stone. The volume of water pouring through this outlet is estimated to have a diameter of 2½ inches. This last cistern is said always to hold water, while the remaining cisterns run dry as soon as the springs cease to flow. During the overflow, the water bubbles up through all the interstices in the pavement, as well as through the beds of the cisterns. The spot is held in great veneration, and devout Hindus, unable to perform the journey to Benares, believe the water of these springs to be equally efficacious with that of the Ganges itself. Their awakening is hailed with joy for hundreds of miles and it is estimated that while the supply of water lasts about four hundred pilgrims daily visit the springs. Their history is said to be told in the *Medini Puran*. According to the legend a *kunbi*, called Gangaji Salunka, was in the habit of going regularly every year to the Vitthoba temple at Pandharpur. At last he grew too old and feeble to make the journey. Working in his field on the day on which he ought to have started for Pandharpur, he was so grieved at the thought, that he could no longer accomplish his cherished task, that he sat down and wept. The deity taking pity on his distress and to reward his life-long devotion, to his unspeakable delight caused a stream of pure Ganges water to well up round him."

There is a further reference in the Bombay Gazetteer ¹ which reads as follows :—

"About a mile from the hot spring is a spring whose water flows at uncertain times, never more than once in two years. The usual season of its flow is in the hot months, rarely or never during the rains. It suddenly begins, flows for two or three months, and dries up without warning. It is held in great reverence and called a Ganga. Immediately the flow begins, Hindus from long dis-

tances come and bathe, first in the hot spring, and then in the cold intermittent spring. A number of small ponds have been built for the use of the bathers. As in similar cases the spring is probably a natural syphon."

The springs are well known in Marathi legendary and poetical literature. The Marathi poet Moropant, who was born in 1651 Shak era, (1729 A.D.), and died in 1716 of the same era, wrote a number of verses to celebrate the appearance of the spring to be recited by the representatives of the temple and some of these are perhaps worth quoting in this connection. He visited Rajapur in 1711 (Shak era) or about 1786 A.D. The verses are as follows :—

गंगाप्रतिनिधितीर्थ कीर्तन.

(गीतिवृत्त.)

- श्रीमद्भार्गवराम प्रभुवर-शौरपात-जॉत-संत्रास
 सिंधुं सरे, सख्यास त्यजुनि, ग्रँह जेंवि लब्धमंत्रास. १.
 तें इंधुपातक्षेत्र, स्थळ जें सोडूनि जाय अर्णव तो
 त्या सुरतीर्थमयाचा महिमा लघु कविस काय वर्णवतो? २.
 ' त्या सुक्षेत्रीं ' म्हणती वृद्ध ' परमभक्त शूद्र तो भावें
 चिंती गंगेसि, ' सुधारसपानें हृदय कां न लोभावें? ३.
 ' हा गंगे! तुज अंतीं अंतर्रंलीं कीं ' असें दरिद्र वेदे
 तो धांवा, मातेच्या हृदया शिशुचा, तयापरि द्रव दे. ४.
 आली धावुनि, केले जें गंगाद्वार तत्समान खेळें
 पावावा या सुरभीपामुनि सुजनें, न, वर्त्समान, खेळें. ९.

१. श्रीमद् भार्गवराम प्रभु श्रेष्ठाच्या बाणाच्या पतनानें उत्पन्न झाली भीति ज्याला असा सिंधु म्ह. सागर. २. बाण. ३. पतन. ४. प्राप्त झाली आहे भीति ज्यास असा (हें सिंधूचें विशेषण). ५. समुद्र. ६. पर्वत विशेष. ७. भूत, पिशाच. ८. मंत्री, पंचाक्षरी. ९. कौकण (बाण पडून झालिलें क्षेत्र). १०. समुद्र. ११. मुकलों. १२. धान्याची मळणी काढण्याचें ठिकाण. १३. कामधेनु. १४. बालकास प्राप्त होणारा मान. १५. दुष्टानें.

- प्रकटे हंरिचरणमुता, उन्मूळ्नी क्षणांत मेढीतें
 स्वंतरंगांहीं दावी, माय भुजांहीं शिशूसि वेढी तें. ६.
- श्रीगंगा मूर्तिमती होवुनि, कर्पूरजन्म कदलीतें
 हृदयांत लाजवाया, ऐका सुरसिक! तयास वदली तें. ७.
- ‘ बहु कारुण्यें द्रवळ्यें, देवूं बा ! काय वासरो ! ? मार्गें
 बा ! माज्या या हृदयीं केला न क्षणहि वास रीमार्गें. ’ ८.
- नमुनि भगवतीस ह्मणे, ‘ हा माते ! म्यां बहु श्रमविलीस
 जे तूं श्रीजगदीशें निजशुद्धजटांत कीं रमविलीस. ९.
- या चरणदशनाहुनि मागावें अधिक तें दिसे न मला
 तुज तरि याहुनि बहुमत वर माते ! सांग कोण तो गमला ? १०.
- तरि मावळ्ये ! करावी, धावुनिया कलियुगीं, असीच दया
 हा दास दीन नेणें मार्गोंसें, ह्मणसि, ‘ बोल हूं वद ’ या. ११.
- ते वैत्सला ह्मणे, ‘ बा ! भूर्तदया सुगुण हा न सामान्य
 हे नसती तरि कैसा होतासि यशें जर्गी असा मान्य ? १२.
- ह्मणें करितिल मात्रापासुनि वैशाखमास पावेतों
 बा ! तें हें चातकशिशु आ करि जों, मेघ त्यास पावें तों. १३.
- परि तुजसम जे दुर्बळ, भोळे, सद्भक्त, तेचि तरतील
 स्पर्श न करितिल बालिश, ‘ पाणी पाणी ’ ह्मणोनि मरतील. १४.
- तुजकरितां प्रतिवर्षीं येइन, जन निदितील, सोशीन
 मीं शरण आलियांतें, प्रक्षाळुनि सर्व पंकं, पोशीन. ’ १५.

१. गंगा २ उपदून. ३. खांब (ज्यास मळणीचे बेल बांधतात). ४. लाट. ५. हे
 थत्सा. ६. परशुरामपराधे(पंत). ७. दयालु. ८. प्राणिमात्रांवर दया करणें. ९. शूर्क.
 १०. चिखल (पाप).

- ऐसें वदली गंगा, क्षीरें न्हाणून वत्स, तर्पून
वाणीतें प्रभु रक्षिति, अधनीं कन्येसि जेंवि अर्पून. १६.
- येते अद्यापि श्रीगंगा राजापुराचिया जवळ
कोंकण करिती, विखरुनि शुद्धयशश्चंद्रचंद्रिका, धवळ. १७.
- मज एकवेळ घडलें, सत्संगतिनें, अलम्य मर्जेन हो !
रचिलें सुतीर्थ कीर्तन, हें फळ त्याचेंचि होय सज्जन हो ! १८.
- या तीर्थकीर्तनाचा पडला, त्या तीर्थकीर्तनें विसर
नगें लेउनि, विसरावा मुक्तांचा सुगुणपूर्ण जेंवि सर्ई. १९.
- गंगा म्हणे, ' अहा या माझी कैसी सुकीर्ति धवळील ?
मद्रूप विसरला, जें केवळ कारुण्य मूर्त जवळील. ' २०.
- हे लागलीच चिंता गंगेला, म्हणुनि मज दिलें स्मरण
कीं गंगेचेंचि सुदृढ, सर्वजनोद्धार, सद्गताचरण. २१.
- कडियेवरि नच घेतां, स्तन्यांमृत काय बाळ कवळील ?
स्तवन असोचि, गुरुदया नसतां जड पशुहि नीट न वळील. २२.
- जें गंगेसि वहावें, गंगा प्रभुच्या पदींच तें वाहें
वाहे अन्या जैशा, तैशी ऐशाहि रीतिनें वाहें. २३.
- कीर्तनभक्ति ईलुसि मज दाखउनि, मनासि लाविला चटका
हा लाभ, परि निजसुखानुभवावांचूनि, ताविलाच टका. २४.
- गंगेला जायाला, मज हतभाग्या न शक्ति, न उपाय
स्तुति सूचविलि, प्रभुचे, देति प्रणतासि भक्ति नउं पाय. २५.
- भक्तमयूरमनोनट नटतो, सामान्य कीं बरा नट तो
श्रीरामचि हें जाणें, उरला व्यापूनि सर्वही घट तो. २६.

१. उदक. २. चांदणें. ३. शुभ्र. ४. स्नान. ५. दगिना. ६. हार.
७. स्तनातील दुग्ध. ८. थोडीशी. ९. नवविध भक्ति (भवण, कीर्तन, स्मरण, पादसेवा,
पूजा, बंधन, दास्य, सख्य, देहसमर्पण).

The story as given by Moropant is, hence, essentially as follows :—

It is said about two thousand years ago there was a Maratha farmer at Rajapur who used to visit Benares every year. In spite of very great difficulties he managed to make the pilgrimage regularly. In this way, as he grew old, he became unable to continue his practice, but was extremely sorry not to go as usual on pilgrimage. One day while threshing his grain, he prayed to the Ganges, "Oh Ganges, I am quite unable to visit your abode as usual, Oh Mother, come and make me happy with your appearance." Immediately there sprang up, from the base of the post at the centre of the threshing yard, a current of water which began to flow away. He said "Oh, here is my revered Ganges."

The post from the base of which the Ganges sprang has turned into a stately *banyan* tree, and occupies a place close to the reputed origin of the 'Ganga.'

Continuing, the account given by Moropant is as follows :—

"At the devotion of the farmer the revered Ganges appeared on the 10th and 11th day of the bright half of Pousha, of the year "Shrimukh" at the bottom of the post of the threshing yard (तिबड) at twelve noon. Twelve currents of water full of rice konda sprang up at twelve places. The first गंगापुत्र (Priest) was called 'Kale.' His birth place was Dhopeswar. He left it and went to settle at Konda-vadi near Rajapur by the side of the creek. The farmer's name was Gangaji and his surname Salunka."

The so-called *Medini Puran*¹ also mentions these springs as follows :—

श्रीधृत पापेश उवाच—

मम प्राणिमियाऽसि त्वमतस्वावच्चि शोभने ॥ ७ ॥

मत्तः क्रोयन्दशेसुभ्रुस्थानमस्ति सुरार्चितम् ॥

सिद्धचारणयक्षाद्यौतुनिभिश्च सुसेवितम् ॥ ८ ॥

यतोष्ण वारिञ्च तोय मृषिभिश्च विनितम् ॥

खानार्यं रुचिरं भद्रे उष्णतीर्थमितीर्यते ॥ ९ ॥

उष्णतीर्थेन प्रथितो ग्रामस्तत्र भविष्यति ॥

तत्र खास्यन्ति येमर्त्या आर्द्रं वस्त्रेण संयुतः ॥ १० ॥

¹ This so-called Puran is not available in any library to which we have access, and is not mentioned in Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum.

गंगां गत्वाऽमारिञ्चान्ति तेषा यात्राफलं परम् ॥
 उष्णतीर्थाद्दनुष्याणि चत्वारिंशत् प्रमाणतः ॥ ११ ॥
 प्रागग्निमध्ये यत्स्थानं नानावृक्ष समन्वितम् ॥
 तत्र गच्छादतिष्ठस्व निखिलान पावनान्कुर ॥ १२ ॥
 ऋतुपंचक लीनात्वं वसते प्रकटी भव ॥
 सार्धमारद्रयं भद्रे लोकानुग्रह कारणात् ॥ १३ ॥
 त्रयोदशैस्तीर्थवैर्बसतत्र शुभानने ॥ ¹
 तत्र जप्तं तपस्तप्तं अग्नौ ययुह्यते हविः ॥ १४ ॥
 अक्षयं चाभवेन्नृणां पितृणां च संशयः ॥
 महादेव वचः श्रुत्वा गंगा हर्षसमन्विता ॥ १५ ॥
 तथेत्युक्त्वा नमश्चक्रे जगाम सखिभिः सह ॥
 शौनकादि मुनि श्रेष्ठाः श्रुणुध्व वचनं मम ॥ १६ ॥
 गंगा मनसि योभावस्तंसमासने वच्यहम् ॥
 रे रे जन समूह्य भवतो यद्वितं भवेत् ॥ १७ ॥
 तद्द्वीभि प्रकर्तव्यं नात्र कार्या विचारणा ॥
 यदा निगमतो भानुस्तदायास्ये शिवाज्ञया ॥ १८ ॥
 स्नानार्थं धृत पापस्य तत्कर्तव्यं प्रयत्नतः ॥
 स्नानं कृत्वोष्ण तीर्थस्य मदमः स्नानमाचरेत् ॥ १९ ॥
 श्री सद्वादि खंडे श्रीधृतपापोत्पत्ती कथा अध्याय तिसरा श्लोक २७ पैर्की १९.

A free translation of these Sanskrit verses is as follows :—

“Shri Dhootpapeshwar says :— ‘O Ganges, I love you more than my own soul, hence I request you to go to a place about four miles away from my abode, where I have created a perpetual hot water spring, for sages to bathe, which is termed *Ushana teertha* or *Unhala*. As days pass by, the village which will arise round this spring will be termed *unhala*. If a human being takes a bath in this hot spring, and still clad in his wet garments goes to the *Ganga* and bathes there again, he will have completed his pilgrimage. So you (Ganges) may live in a place beautified by various trees and shrubs, and about twenty

¹ There is another reading of the above two lines as follows :—

सार्धं मासद्वयं सुभ्रुः स्थेयं दिनानुकंपया ॥ १३ ॥
 त्रयोदशैस्तिर्थवैरे स्थातव्यं मदनुरथा ॥

four arrows (about 160 cubits) distance from the hot water spring in a direction between east and south-east, and so you will release the whole mortal world from earthly troubles. You shall be out of view for ten months and with the beginning of spring, you shall begin to flow with your thirteen other sisters and remain flowing for two months and a half. *Jap, Tap, Yadhna*, and other austerities performed there will give pleasure to men. At the request of Madhav, the goddess Ganga, was very pleased, and agreed to his request, and at once, bowing to Mahadev, came to the place mentioned by him, with her thirteen friends,—and remained there. *Soota* said to *Shounak* and other sages :“ I now tell you what Ganga then said. She said: ‘ I shall appear from to-day whenever the sun will be in the sign *Mean* when you should give a bath to Dhootpapeshwar with my holy water.’ ”

Such are the legends connected with the origin of the intermittent springs. After they were established, the further history is contained in a ‘bakhar’ and runs, in summary, as follows :—The news of the existence of these springs rapidly spread, and people began to visit the place for bathing. At first the springs flowed seven years continuously. Then, on a certain day, Prataprudra, the king of Shaila, came to visit the place with his army, his pandits and shastris, and his family priests. He took a bath and sat down to hear the history of the Ganges explained by Vishwambhar who was one of his pandits. He did not show much surprise and said to the pandit : “ You say that this Ganga has appeared through devotion, but I cannot believe it, because this kind of springs always appear in hilly country. There are many hot springs like *Vajrai, Jogai*, the waters of which are so hot that rice can be boiled in it, and I believe that this spring has a similar origin. You say this is the Ganges from Allahabad, but I doubt it since I have been there myself. *There* the course of the water is constantly shifting. One day where there is water the depth of a lance, the next day is almost dry, while this so-called Ganges flows continuously just the same for seven years. If the springs would only appear every year, and stop flowing at the beginning of the rainy season, then only I would believe in what you say.” After speaking thus, the king sat down for dinner near the spring with his followers. While dinner was going on, a hot discussion on the point arose. Suddenly a humming noise was heard like that of a kite in the sky : the springs gradually dried up : and not a single drop of water was left, but only wet mud.

The king became angry, and requested the priests of the spring to bring back the water, and blamed them for its disappearance. He

then resolved that if the springs did not return in fifteen days, both he and the farmer would leave the country.

He ordered a pandit and another attendant to remain near the springs, which they did for twelve days without food. Then they were supplied with food in a dream and drank the water of the springs. On awakening they found the springs re-established, and an additional spring just below where the pandit had lain. The king at this gave 'dakshana' to the pandit with great reverence, and bought the land by the side of Kondalwadi down to the riverside and gave it to the farmer. He also offered one lakh *Homas* to build a ghat, a temple and cisterns, but was ordered in a dream to refrain from building, as if he did the springs would break open the pavements and flow.

The king then went home, and despatched pandits and to find if there were any old references to the springs, and offered a thousand rupees for any information. After seven years one of the Brahmins brought the *Medini puran* from the Kamrup country (Assam), and showed five cantos with a reference to it.

The *bakhar* was completed by a pandit from these verses, which was translated into Marathi by a clerk Narorao Madhyajane Kale. In this it is stated that the religious rites which are to be performed at Benares, Allahabad and Gaya may equally well be performed here. Those of Benares should be performed at the twelve cisterns. Those of Allahabad should be carried out at the hot spring. Those of Gaya should be done at the base of the Banyan tree.

In 1902 Mr. N. B. Rajvade of Rajapur published a short account of the springs. Unfortunately we have not been able, in spite of much effort, to get a copy of his pamphlet. We understand, however, that he strongly argued in favour of the true Ganges' origin of the springs, but so far as we can find he did not add any real new information with regard to them.

There is a grant in existence assigning half the value of the *inam* and *khoti* tenures of the land on which the springs exist to the family of Vadekar-Joshi, the other half being retained by Government. This grant we have seen, as it is in the possession of a member of the family now living in Poona. Its date is 1700 Shak or 1778 A. D. In this grant there is no mention of the intermittent springs, though the hot spring at the foot of the hill is indicated.

An interesting short account of the families of the custodians attached to the springs was given in the magazine *Karmanuk* in May 1902. The

whole place is in the care of a number of families of priests, termed *Ganga putras*, of whose origin we could get no record. Originally, it is stated there were sixty-four families of *Ganga putras*, but only twenty-one families remain. When the *Ganga* flows, the custodians obtain, so we were told, offerings amounting to about eight or nine thousand rupees, provided the flow lasts from one to two months, and provided it does not occur in the rainy season, when the steamers bringing pilgrims are stopped. The money received is divided as follows :—One-eighth is kept for the expenses of keeping the springs in order. The remaining seven-eighths is divided into twenty-two parts. One of these is given for the expenses of keeping the springs in order, and the remaining twenty-one parts are given, one to each family of *Ganga-putras*.

In recent years the springs have flowed with very great irregularity. We are indebted to Mr. S. N. Kurgutkar of Rajapur for a very carefully kept record of the dates on which the springs began to flow on each occasion since 1883, and also of the number of days they remained flowing. These are as follows :—

Date of starting.	Date of stopping.	Days of flow.
14th March 1883 ...	20th May 1883 ...	68
16th June 1885 ...	2nd July 1885 ...	17
30th December 1886 ...	12th February 1887 ...	45
22nd October 1889 ...	8th November 1889 ...	18
16th December 1890 ...	29th January 1891 ...	45
6th August 1893 ...	21st August 1893 ...	16
7th July 1895 ...	24th July 1895 ...	18
29th July 1896 ...	15th August 1896 ...	18
5th June 1897 ...	26th June 1897 ...	22
3rd April 1899 ...	17th May 1899 ...	45
4th March 1901 ...	17th April 1901 ...	45
21st April 1902 ...	11th June 1902 ...	52
4th April 1905 ...	8th June 1905 ...	66
27th September 1908 ...	16th November 1908 ...	51
21st March 1910 ...	18th May 1910 ...	59
3rd May 1913 ...	7th June 1913 ...	36

It will be seen, therefore, that the number of days the flow continued has been extremely irregular, varying for 16 days in 1893 to 68 days in 1883. The length of time between the successive flows seems closely connected with the length of time the spring has been flowing on any occasion, and we should anticipate that the next flow will occur after a shorter interval than on the last occasion. The

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following table gives the number of days of flow, and the number between successive flows in each case :—

No.	Date.	Length of time flowing.	Time dry before flow commenced.
		Days.	Days.
1	1883	68	.....
2	1885	17	756
3	1886	45	543
4	1889	18	979
5	1890	45	403
6	1893	16	924
7	1895	18	652
8	1896	18	370
9	1897	22	291
10	1899	45	642
11	1901	45	650
12	1902	52	368
13	1905	66	1,031
14	1908	51	1,189
15	1910	59	485
16	1913	36	1,088

The springs have the reputation of never flowing in the rainy season, but Mr. Kurgutkar's records show that this is by no means the case. The dates by months on which the flow has commenced in the last thirty years are as follows :—

Month,	Number of times springs commenced to flow in the month.
January	None.
February	None.
March	3
April	3
May	1
June	2
July	2
August	1
September	1
October	1
November	None.
December	2

The figures thus show that during thirty-one years, the springs appeared sixteen times : seven times in the rainy season (June-October). But it will be at once noticed that nearly always when they have appeared in the rainy season, the flow has been very short, being 16, 17, 18, 18, 18, 22, and 51 days respectively on the seven occasions, or an average of 18 days, if we exclude the last, but 23 days if this be included. On the other hand when they start in the months during the dry part of the year, they usually flow much longer, the average being 51 days.

The custodians of the springs seem to have no idea when they are likely to start flowing, except that a year or a year and a half after they have dried up they are on the *qui vive* for a new outbreak.

Description of the springs.—The springs themselves are situated in a series of cisterns contained in a compound surrounded by a high wall. These are at different levels, and their arrangement is shown in the plan, drawn to scale, which accompanies this paper. The general view of the cisterns is shown in the photograph, kindly supplied by Mr. R. M. Ranade, Drawing Master at the High School, Rajapur. This photograph shows the banyan tree of the legend and the thirteen open cisterns, while the fourteenth, which is roofed over, is in the building at the rear of the photograph.

The cistern which is roofed over, known as the *Kashi Kunda* is at a lower level than any of the others, and is, with the small *Kunda* near the banyan tree (to be afterwards described) the first to begin to flow. It is (again with the small *Kunda* near the banyan tree) the only one which usually overflows, and from it the overflowing water is discharged through a stone cow's head on to a stone platform from which it flows away into the fields. The actual *Kashi Kunda* cistern is a small one (three feet square) but the water normally overflows into a platform, about $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet square and two feet deep. The actual small cistern is $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep.

The series of three *Kundas* (Series A.) immediately to the south of the *Kashi Kunda*, and in the open air, are on a platform five feet higher than the *Kashi Kunda* platform itself. They are of equal size, and about 3 feet 6 inches square, and 2 feet 9 inches deep.

One foot higher than Series A., the largest platform in the compound occurs, including seven ordinary cisterns (Series B.), and one small one at the foot of the banyan tree where the flow always commences. This small cistern, only one foot square, is termed the original 'Ganga.' The water in it is abundant, and overflows continually as long as

there is any water coming at all. This water is allowed to run away by a stone channel into the fields outside the compound.

The other *Kundas* in Series B. vary in size. The largest, $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet square, lies near the original 'Ganga.' To the north of the platform lie three cisterns about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet square, and to the south three others, somewhat smaller, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet square. All the cisterns on this platform are three feet deep. None of them overflows except the largest one, and this does so usually only when the water has not been used for bathing, and then only a little water escapes through the channel provided about nine inches from the top.

The other *Kundas* form a further series (Series C.) to the south of the above, on a platform two feet higher than the last. They are of different size, one being seven feet by six feet in size (*Soorya Kunda*) and the other $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet square (*Chandra Kunda*). The depth of each of these is three feet.

The platforms are composed in all cases of laterite, except the edges of the cisterns which are composed of trap. The only exception is the *Kashi Kunda* whose platform is *entirely* composed of trap.

When we first visited the place in October 1911, there was no water in any of the cisterns. Many of the stones in the pavement of the cisterns were displaced, and we were told that the displacement was due to the force and action of the water when it came. We were told that the source of the water was a underground reservoir situated in a natural hollow surrounded by hills about a mile from the springs. There was no visible sign however at this place to indicate that it was the source of the water. Just to the south of this supposed natural reservoir is a well, which is very deep and whose water is very cold, and has no smell. Whatever be the truth of the story of the reservoir, the water of this well has nothing whatever to do with it.

In the following February (1912), the custodians were expecting the return of the springs, and were repairing the cisterns and the platforms. The stones forming the bottom of the cisterns were put in without any fixing materials. The upper part of the cisterns was well jointed with lime mortar to give an appearance of being strongly built, and admitting none but the Ganges water from the bottom.

This applies to all the cisterns except the *Kashi Kunda* where all the stones in the lower part of the cistern are fixed with lead, except the bottom one on the south side, thus leaving only a long crack at that side to admit the water. The upper part was fixed with lime mortar as in the other cases.

We paid a third visit in May 1913, when the springs actually had begun to flow. We were told that on May 3rd, a little water was observed in cisterns Nos. 1. (*Kashi Kunda*), 8 (the largest kunda near original *Ganga*) and 14 (original *Ganga*) (see plan). The water was clear at 11 a.m., but then became white in colour, as if it contained either chalk or some similar material. Then the water gradually appeared in the other cisterns, and by evening the water was again clear, and remained so throughout the period of flow.

We went there on May 9th, and took the temperature of every cistern, with the idea of seeing whether there was any likelihood of a connection with the hot spring at the bottom of the hill. The actual temperatures found, were as follows :—

Cistern Number.					Temperatures.
1	...	...	...	...	31·5°C.
2	...	...	...	...	28·9°C.
3	...	...	...	...	28·9°C.
4	...	...	...	...	29·2°C.
5	...	...	...	...	28·9°C.
6	...	...	...	...	28·9°C.
7	...	...	...	...	28·9°C.
8	...	...	...	...	31·1°C.
9	...	...	...	...	30·0°C.
10	...	...	...	...	30·5°C.
11	...	...	...	...	29·8°C.
12	...	...	...	...	31·7°C.
13	...	...	...	...	31·7°C.
14	...	...	...	...	32·2°C.
Hot spring at foot of hill...	...	...	...	...	42·8°C.
From these figures we get the following approximate results :—					
	<i>Kashi Kunda</i>	...	...	...	31·5°C.
Kundas.	Series A.	...	...	...	29°C.
	Series B. 5-7	...	...	...	29°C.
	Series B. 8	...	...	...	31°C.
	Series B. 9-11	...	...	...	30-30·5°C.
Original	<i>Ganga</i>	...	...	...	32°C.
	Series C....	...	...	...	32°C.

The highest temperatures are found in the springs which actually overflows (Nos. 1, 8, 14) and in Series C. or the cisterns at the highest level. This would appear to indicate that the temperature of the reservoir supplying the springs is 32°C. or little higher, and that the other *kundas* are filled by comparatively slow seepage from this source.

The seepage into Series C. is more immediate than into those of Series A. and B. (except No. 8). It seems likely from the similarity of the temperature in Nos. 2 to 11 (except 8), that these are connected very closely with one another.

This connection between Nos. 2 to 11 (except No. 8) we were able to prove by emptying one of them (No. 3). Slowly the water level in the other eight *Kundas* was lowered more or less according to the position, and the water rose in the emptied cistern. In emptying No. 3, as the level was lowered, that in Nos. 2 and 4 was lowered almost at once. The records were as follows :—

Original depth of water.

No. 2	...	...	...	1 ft. 5 inches.
No. 3	...	..	...	1 ft. 5 inches.
No. 4	...	...	...	1 ft. 6 inches.

After emptying No. 3 till the depth was only four inches, the depths became as follows :—

No. 2	...	...	...	...	1 ft.
No. 4	...	...	...	...	1 ft. 1 inch.

There appeared a regular flow into No. 3 from the direction of No. 6.

The water in Nos. 5 to 7, and 9 to 11 was only lowered two or three inches.

Some further openings where water was flowing, beyond the recognised *kundas*, were found to the west of the *kundas*. The southern edge of the platform below the *gaimukh* was leaking with water all along, at a temperature of 32° C., *i. e.*, that of the original *Ganga*, while there were signs of water between the stones to the north of the 'original *Ganga*', and also between the platform of the *Kashi Kunda* and that of Series A.

There seems little doubt, in fact, that the source from which all the springs are supplied lies somewhere under the present large banyan tree, and to this extent the original legend is probably correct. There must be a crack in the rock leading direct to the *Kashi Kunda*, while the others are fed by seepage. This conclusion seems fairly certain for the following reasons :—

- (1) The various cracks in the ground seem to indicate an origin somewhere near the tree.
- (2) In addition to the springs already noted, there are signs of spring water to the west of the tree,—very small in amount, but quite visible.

- (3) The 'original *Ganga*', which fills first, has a hole large enough to put the hand in, on the side of the tree, from which the water comes.

There is some evidence that the hot spring at the foot of the hill is fed from the same original source which feeds these springs, but this question we hope to deal with in a later paper on the hot spring itself.

The total quantity of water flowing from the springs on May 9th, 1913, was slightly over six gallons per minute.

Character of the water.—The water in all the cisterns is of very similar character, and this incidentally proves that the springs have all a common source. On the whole the water is remarkably free from saline matter and in this respect is very similar to the hot spring at the foot of the hill. Samples of the water in every *kunda* were analysed,—the samples being taken at night when for several hours there had been no bathers. This, though it does not ensure the absolute natural purity of the water being maintained gives as nearly the natural conditions as the circumstances allowed. The actual total solids in the water of the separate *Kundas* were as follows, in parts per 100,000.

		Parts per 100,000.			
No. 1	<i>Kashi Kunda</i>	...	...	...	30'0
" 2	} Series A. {	...	...	...	37'0
" 3		...	...	...	31'0
" 4		...	...	...	34'0
" 5	} Series B. {	...	...	...	36'0
" 6		...	...	...	Not analysed.
" 7		...	...	...	30'0
" 8		...	...	...	31'0
" 9		...	...	...	28'0
" 10	} Series C. {	...	...	...	28'0
" 11		...	...	...	31'0
" 12	} Series C. {	...	...	...	28'0
" 13		...	...	...	25'0
" 14	Original <i>Ganga</i>	...	...	...	26'0
	Hot Spring at foot of hill	...	..	...	36'0

Too much stress must not be paid on small differences. It is evident that the water contains, as it comes from the spring, about 25 to 30 parts per 100,000 of solid matter, or rather less than the hot spring at the foot of the hill. In all cases the residue charred somewhat on heating, but only very slightly in the case of the 'original *Ganga*,' which represents the water as it originally issues. In all cases, even in the 'original *Ganga*' there is evidence of slight organic impurity

as shown by determination of the oxygen absorbed from permanganate solution, and by that of the albuminoid ammonia. The actual determinations were as follows :—

No.		Oxygen absorbed in 15 minutes. Parts per 100,000	Oxygen absorbed in 4 hours. Parts per 100,000	Free Ammonia. Parts per 100,000	Albuminoid Ammonia. Parts per 100,000
No. 1	<i>Kashi Kunda</i> ...	'040	'095	'0008	'0160
" 2	} Series A. {	'049	'187	'0013	'0114
" 3		'027	'123	'0006	'0138
" 4		'021	'144	'0066	'0196
" 5		'116	'252	'0746	'0394
" 6		not done	not done	not done	not done
" 7	} Series B. {	'021	'135	'0012	'0114
" 8		'018	'110	'0013	'0076
" 9		'033	'108	'0012	'0172
" 10		'030	'108	'0012	'0112
" 11		'036	'184	'0008	'0092
" 12	} Series C. {	'067	'138	'0013	'0114
" 13		'076	'126	'0008	'0116
" 14	...Original <i>Ganga</i>	'092	'153	'0013	'0142
Hot Spring at Foot of hill		'032	'083	'0003	'0092

As in all waters derived from the *trap* area, the determination of 'oxygen absorbed' is not of great value in determining organic impurity. The 'albuminoid ammonia' is a much better test. This shows a water (if we eliminate special cases where there is obviously impurity arising from bathing) of only a little below the standard of purity which one is accustomed to associate with surface waters of the Deccan, such as those of the artificial lakes used for the water supply of Poona, &c. In other words it is not a water which has soaked through much surface soil, and has undoubtedly a deep seated source.

The water smelt slightly of what appeared to be sulphuretted hydrogen. There was, however, no chemical evidence whatever of the presence of this substance or of sulphides.

The analysis of the salts in the water is very interesting, though we were only able to carry it out for the commonest constituents. The water, in no case, gives a precipitate on boiling, though there is a large amount of calcium and magnesium carbonates present. These are, as is so often the case in trap waters, nearly always accompanied by a distinct alkalinity (which we have always calculated in terms of sodium carbonate) and an amount of carbonic acid which could only be present as alkaline bi-carbonates. The alkalinity varied a good deal, and it was

curious to find it absent in the 'Original *Ganga*' while present in the *Kashi Kunda* and all but one of the other sources. The actual figures are as follows :—

		Alkalinity (as Sodium Carbonate.)				
						Parts per 100,000.
No. 1	<i>Kashi Kunda</i>	...	...	...	...	3·7
No. 2	} Series A	...	...	...	...	2·2
" 3		...	...	...	...	3·0
" 4		...	...	...	...	0·7
" 5		...	...	...	...	0·7
" 6	} Series B	...	...	...	...	Not done
" 7		...	...	...	...	3·0
" 8		...	...	...	...	2·2
" 9		...	...	...	...	none
" 10		...	...	...	...	7·4
" 11		...	...	...	...	1·5
" 12	} Series C	...	...	...	...	2·2
" 13		...	...	...	...	0·7
" 14	Original <i>Ganga</i>	...	...	...	...	none.
	Hot spring at foot of hill	...	...	...	...	0·7

On the whole the other constituents varied comparatively little in the different *kundas*. The magnesium and calcium are present in approximately equal amounts, the calcium usually predominating. Chlorides are very constant, while sulphates vary a good deal more. Nitrates were never present in any sample in measurable quantity.

The percentage composition of the salts, so far as our analyses proceeded, is shown in the following tables :—

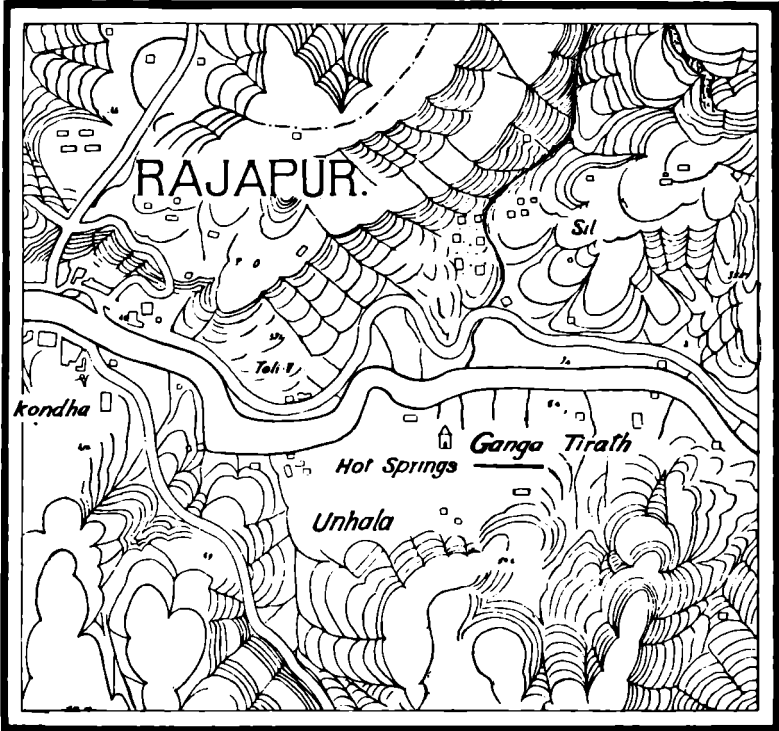
	Percentage Composition of Solid Residue.						
	Kunda No. 1.	Kunda No. 2.	Kunda No. 3.	Kunda No. 4.	Kunda No. 5.	Kunda No. 6.	Kunda No. 7.
Calcium (Ca.)	9·3	6·5	7·7	8·5	7·8	...	9·3
Magnesium (Mg.)	6·6	4·1	4·2	7·1	6·7	...	9·5
Chlorine (Cl.)	8·8	10·7	10·6	11·6	9·2	Not done.	13·2
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	26·1	13·3	8·0	12·1	20·6	...	26·1
Carbonic Acid (CO ₂)	29·9	26·0	26·1	26·4	27·9	...	32·7
Alkalinity (calculated as Na ₂ CO ₃)	12·3	6·0	9·5	2·2	2·1	...	99.

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	Percentage Composition of Solid Residue.							
	Kunda No. 8.	Kunda No. 9.	Kunda No. 10.	Kunda No. 11.	Kunda No. 12.	Kunda No. 13.	Kunda No. 14.	Hot Spring
Calcium (Ca.) ...	9'0	7'1	10'0	6'5	8'6	9'6	9'2	8'2
Magnesium (Mg.) ...	4'2	6'2	7'8	5'6	10'9	7'9	10'9	7'9
Chlorine (Cl.) ...	10'6	9'4	9'4	12'8	14'1	13'2	10'1	7'8
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄). ...	25'2	14'7	8'8	11'9	8'8	9'9	6'3	4'6
Carbonic Acid (CO ₂). ...	27'3	28'9	22'8	26'1	32'1	36'0	40'2	45'1
Alkalinity (calculated as Na ₂ CO ₃) ...	7'2	None.	26'4	4'8	7'9	3'0	None.	2'1

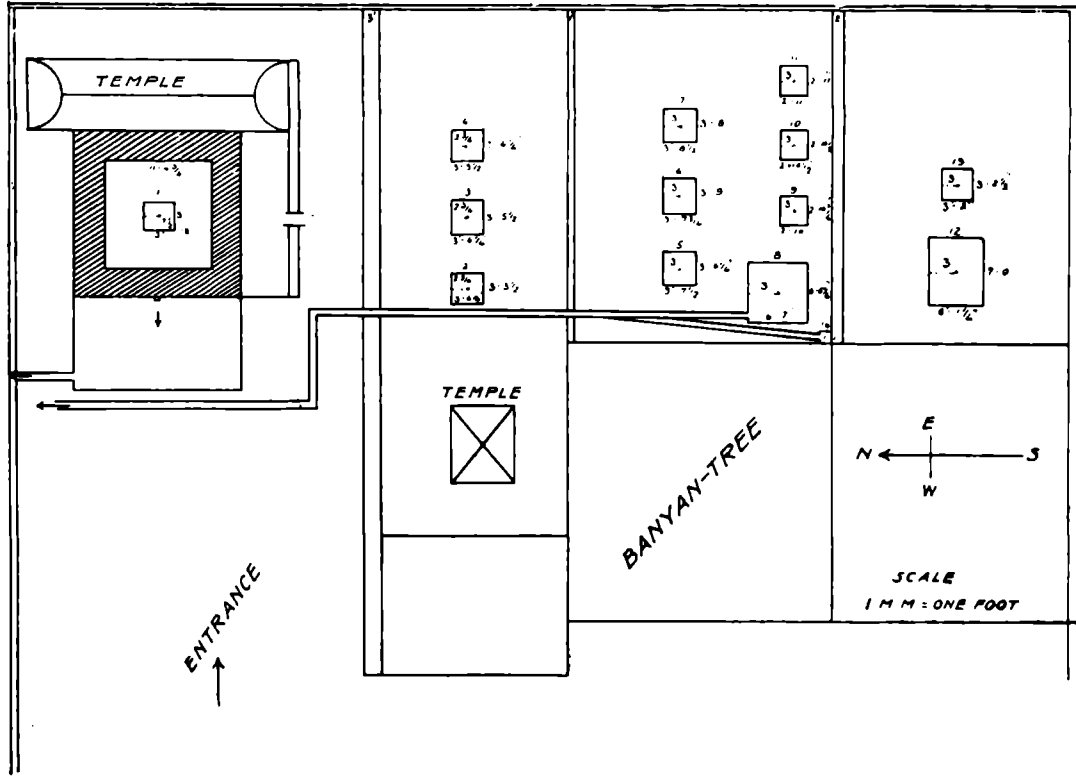
In summary, one may consider the salt content as that of a typical trap water. All the characteristic features of such a water are reproduced here.

Such then is the description of one of the most renowned series of intermittent springs in Western India, and of the flowing of the springs in 1913. Their reputation still remains: the commencement of a flow is still announced in many parts of Western India by the press, and a continual stream of pilgrims begins to arrive, anxious to bathe in the sacred Ganges. We have shown that the water is an ordinary trap water, and while we are not at present able to elucidate exactly the mechanism of this particular spring, there seems no reason to suppose that there is anything extraordinary about it, or that it differs in the manner in which the intermittency is produced from many others which are known in other parts of the world.



Plan of Country round Rajapur.

ART II.



Plan of Enclosure of Intermittent Springs, Rajapur.

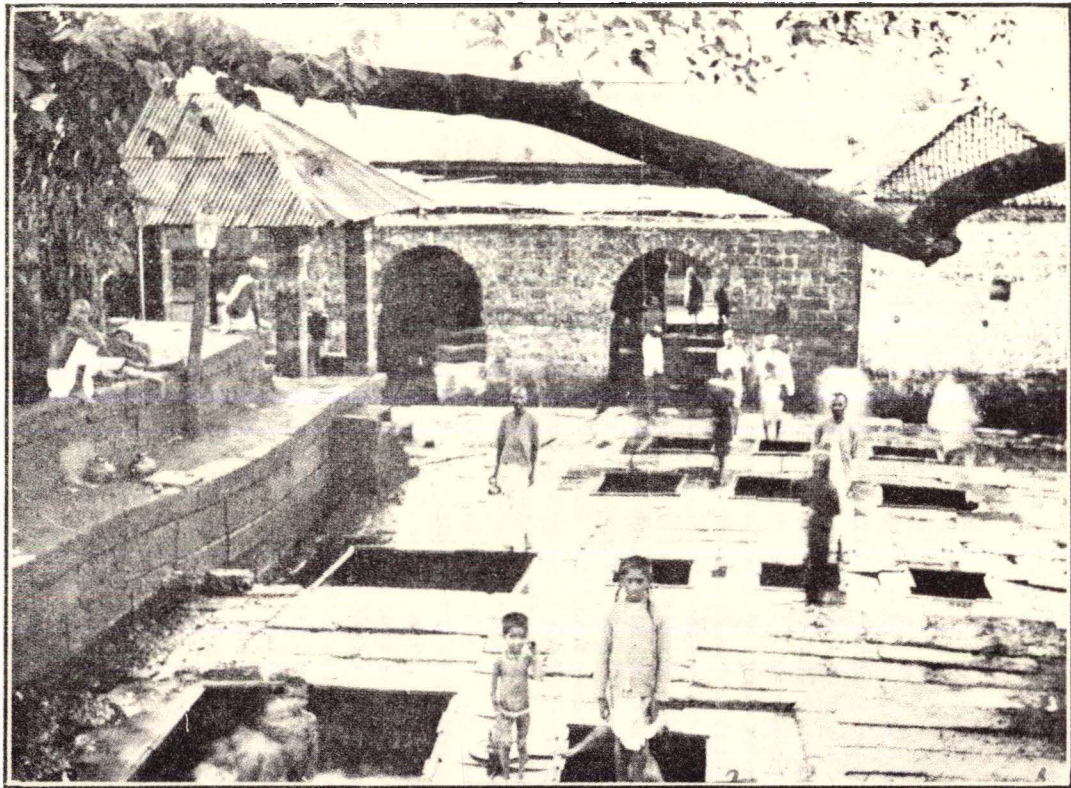


Photo by R. M. Ranade, Drawing Master, High School, Rajapur.
General View of Bathing Enclosure.

ART. III.—*The Solar and Lunar Kshatriya races of India
in the Vedas.*

BY

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(*Read, 6th October 1914.*)

It would be proper to state at the outset that I was led to study this subject in my own way on reading Mr. Pargiter's most valuable paper on the Earliest Traditional History of India published in this year's April No. of the journal of the R. A. S. of Great Britain and Ireland. Mr. Pargiter has devoted himself so zealously to the otherwise uninteresting study of the Puranas that he has been able to extract from them interesting information regarding the ancient history of India. His contention that the Puranic genealogies can afford material for constructing that history nobody can now deny and he has shown how that material can be so utilised. A few of his conclusions however will not be acceptable to many, especially his idea that the Solar dynasty of Indian Kshatriyas was Dravidian or that the Lunar Kshatriyas had their original kingdom at Allahabad or Prayaga. Indeed, according to my view, Mr. Pargiter has attached too much weight to the Puranas and has consequently arrived at conclusions which will not be readily acceptable to all. I set myself to study the materials therefore in my own way. Having already studied the Mahabharata and the Ramayana I was able to do so very easily. I looked into the principal Puranas and co-ordinated the facts according to my own light. But I more particularly looked into the Vedic Literature for the study of which Macdonell's Vedic Index proved to be a most invaluable book. In fact the historical material from the Vedas is already collected there and you have only to study it carefully. On this material I have come to certain conclusions of my own which I take the liberty of placing before this learned Society with the hope that they will be found interesting and will be carefully considered.

In two important matters my way of looking at things differs from that of Mr. Pargiter and it is necessary to describe this difference of standpoint in detail. In the first place I make no difference between Brahmin tradition and Kshatriya tradition as Mr. Pargiter does. In fact it is because Mr. Pargiter looks upon the Puranas as Kshatriya tradition and consequently as more reliable that he attaches so much more value to the Puranas than they deserve. Brahmin tradition is usually looked at askance by European scholars who have an inexplicable

bias against the writings of the Brahmins. But I do not take my stand upon this aspect of the matter. What I urge here is that no difference need be made between Brahmin tradition and Kshatriya tradition in this study. The Brahmins and the Kshatriyas were, in ancient times, except on very rare occasions, friends and even accomplices of one another. They came from the same race and even family as appears clear from the genealogies themselves. They stood to each other in the same relation as the Teutonic noblemen in the middle ages, the elder of whom became the prince and the younger the prelate. They were equally interested in exaggerating the glories of one another and were thus not antagonistic. The Kshatriyas extolled the holiness of the Brahmins and the Brahmins extolled the prowess and liberality of the Kshatriyas. In short there is very little discrimination to be made in the reliability of Brahmin or Kshatriya tradition. And I would urge that both of them should be viewed with the same searching scrutiny, neither more nor less than any other human traditions. The Brahmins or the Kshatriyas were certainly not more culpable in exaggerating matters than other peoples of the ancient world. Nay, if anything, I would accord Brahmin tradition greater weight than any other tradition. It is a phenomenon nowhere to be met with in the world that the Brahmins have preserved to this date what their ancient Rishis composed in the shape of hymn or dissertation thousands of years ago, without the addition or alteration of a single word. The Vedic Literature knows no different readings and no different rescensions. It has come down to us without any tampering and hence whatever exaggeration or untruth may have been used in the original composition, we feel sure that no subsequent colouring or emendation or omission has taken place in the course of thousands of years (5,000 at least according to my view). The world must therefore be thankful to the Brahmins for preserving almost hermetically sealed what the Indo-Aryan Rishis said or thought. This difficult task they have accomplished by making it the chief duty of their caste. They have, by several rules, ensured the maintenance of those who make the reciting of the Vedas their sole occupation in life and thus secured the preservation untampered of the Vedic Literature. It must be noted here that a similar provision was also made for preserving Kshatriya tradition. In my view if the Vedas recorded Brahmin tradition the Itihasa-Purana recorded Kshatriya tradition. Itihasa was the account of particular kings or events and Purana was genealogies. Genealogies were preserved in India as scrupulously as they were in Egypt, Chaldea, or Palestine. Their recitation was made the caste-duty of the Sutas, or sons born of Brahmin women by Kshatriya fathers. Itihasa-Purana was a branch of study even for Brahmins themselves. Mr. Pargiter seems to be incorrect when he says in a foot-note that the

Brahmins did not care to learn Kshatriya tradition. In the Chhandogya Upanishad we have the Narada-Sanat Kumara dialogue wherein Sanat Kumara asks Narada "What have you studied?" "I have studied the Rigveda" answers Narada "the Yajurveda, the Samaveda, the Atharva, the Itihasa-Purana, grammar, arithmetic, astronomy, the science of war" and so on. This clearly shows that even Brahmins studied Itihasa-Purana. But it was the special duty of Sutas and the reputed reciters of the Puranas, viz., Lomaharshana and his son were Sutas. Even now modern Kshatriya genealogies are preserved by Bhatas who enjoy equal respect with Brahmins in all Rajput States. The natural desire for preserving genealogies is so great in the Hindu community of the north that even Chamars have their Bhatas who preserve their genealogies and recite them at the time of marriage festivals. In short, the Indo-Aryans had made sufficient provision in their caste-system for the preservation of Kshatriya tradition; a provision which still subsists. My idea is that this system fell into abeyance for some centuries during the rise and progress of Buddhism when caste-system was convulsed or when non-Kshatriya kings during Buddhist or Greek or Shaka times had no interest in preserving Kshatriya genealogies. During several centuries, therefore, say from about 300 B. C. to 300 A. D., these genealogies became neglected and mutilated and when the Brahmins again asserted themselves under the Guptas and reconstructed the Puranas, the materials before them were meagre and incoherent. Hence while the Brahmins preserved their Vedic traditions intact, the Kshatriya traditions in the Puranas are incomplete, conflicting and generally untrustworthy.

This brings me to the second point of difference in my standpoint of view. I look upon the Puranas as the last in the list of our authorities in this study. The information they give is no doubt very valuable; but that information is garbled, is unconnected and incomplete, and is distorted so as to suit new ideas. Hence it must be admitted very cautiously. In fact I may arrange the authorities in this study in the following order, an order which is at once their proper order in point of priority of time as well as priority of value. For it will be easily conceded that whatever is more ancient is also more reliable. To speak in Indian form पूर्व-पूर्व-प्रामाण्य should be the rule. The authorities for the construction of ancient or pre-Buddhistic history may therefore be arranged as follows :—

(1) *The Rigveda*.—It is almost contemporaneous evidence and as preserved untampered with is very valuable and naturally stands first in this list.

(2) *Yajurveda and Samaveda*.—These are somewhat later in date. I do not bring in the Atharvaveda whose date is so very uncertain.

(3) *The Brahmanas*.—As coming next after the Mantras, their evidence is of great value. They are the utterances of those who have some remembrance of the Vedic times and can speak with authority about them better than any later books.

(4) *The Vedangas*.—By their time the Vedic traditions had become hoary and a matter of speculation as with us. For their own times they are valuable. They are also valuable as coming in date after the Brahmanas. Vedangas include Yaska, Panini, Lagadha and the Kalpa or Shrauta Sutras.

(5) The later Sutras, *viz.*, Grihya and Dharma.

(6) Megasthenes, Arrian and other Greek writers about the time of Alexander or Seleucus come in here in point of time. The information which they have recorded from personal observation and hearsay is very valuable and must be co-ordinated.

(7) *The Mahabharata*.—The date of the last or present edition of the Mahabharata according to my view is about 250-200 B. C. and hence its evidence is of less value than that of the Greek writers.

(8) *The Harivansha*.—Ditto.

(9) *The Ramayana of Valmiki*.—The date of the present form of the poem is about 100 B. C.

(10) *The Puranas*.—Their dates range from 300 to 900 A. C. and they naturally come last in the list of our authorities.

This is the order of our authorities and we must try to combine all the historical information they afford. Where statements are conflicting greater weight must be attached to the older of the statements. That is the only way in which the vagaries of the Puranas can be checked and one is thus alone able to find some rule for rejecting, as often we shall have to do, the exaggerated, mutilated or emended accounts of the Puranas.

But this does not exhaust the list of our authorities. There are two important new sciences the conclusions of which must be respected and co-ordinated in this study. They are ethnology and philology. The inferences derived from considerations of features and of language with regard to the history of races are very valuable and in recent times these sciences have much advanced. They have been applied to the people

of this country by noted scientists of the west and I think the conclusions which they have arrived at are of great value to us in the inquiry into the racial problems of India. They are therefore fit to be included in the list of our authorities and the value to be attached to their conclusions transcends the value of all other evidence.

I must lastly notice another piece of evidence which will be found to be of great value to us in this inquiry by way of analogy if not directly. I think the ancient history of India resembles to a very large extent the modern history of the discovery and colonisation of America. India was a vast unknown continent covered by forests and inhabited by people very much inferior in civilization, when the Indo-Aryans first discovered the land. The migration of Aryans from some unknown country in the north to several countries is spoken of in the *Vendidad*, I think, and it is stated therein that the Aryans came to Septa-Sindhu but Aingra Mainyu visited that land with serpents and heat. In this we have sure evidence that one branch of the Aryans came to India and settled there. Their history must naturally very greatly resemble the history of the colonisation of America with its oft-recurring struggles with the native races but sometimes with the co-operation and willing consent of the milder peoples thereof; and with its internecine strife between the different settlers themselves. The history of America during the first stages, therefore, in my view, has much importance by way of analogy and we may often consult it in our inquiry with advantage.

Having so far stated the materials on which I base my conclusions and the respective value to be attached to them I proceed to sketch some important points in the history of the Solar and Lunar races of Kshatriyas of India in the following pages.

The first fact of importance which we have to notice is that there were two invasions of India by the Aryans. To put it in a different way two hordes of Aryans came into India, of course from the north-west, by different routes and at different times. This fact is disclosed both by ethnology and philology and is supported by tradition. It was perhaps Dr. Hoernle first to point this out and Dr. Grierson has accepted the theory from a consideration of the modern Sanskrit-born vernaculars of India (see *Imperial Gasetteer*, Vol. I, page 358). The following extract from the last Census Report of India is relevant in this connection.

“ These languages, according to Dr. Hoernle, were brought to India by two successive hordes of invaders. After the first horde had settled in the plains of northern India a fresh horde came in and penetrated the original mass like a wedge, blotting out the language in the centre and extending from Ambala in the north to beyond Jubbulpore in the

south and from Kathiawar in the south-west to Nepal in the north-east. Western Hindi is the representative of the languages of these peoples of the second invasion ; while that of the earlier invaders covers Rajastani, Punjabi, western and eastern Pahadi and eastern Hindi" (page 325).

This conclusion suggested by a comparison of the several Sanskrit-born vernaculars of northern India is very strongly corroborated by the conclusions arrived at from ethnological considerations. Sir Henry Risley took ethnological measurements at the time of the Census of 1901 and found that the people of the Punjab and Rajastan were undoubted Aryans with long heads and prominent noses. In the United Provinces he found medium heads and tolerably prominent noses and he looked upon their people as a mixture of Aryans and Dravidians. Now the Aryans who mixed with the Dravidians of the United Provinces must have been Aryans of a different type. They must have been broad-headed Aryans so that their mixture with the long-headed Dravidians has resulted in the medium heads of the present population of the United Provinces speaking generally. We thus find from ethnological considerations also that there were two hordes of Aryans who came into India, the first long-headed and the second broad-headed. The first occupied the Punjab and Rajastan and extended as far east as Mithila and the second came in subsequently like a wedge and mixed with the native Dravidians of the United Provinces now form the chief population of this vast tract. Now this conclusion deduced from both philology and ethnology is supported by tradition. These two Aryan hordes in my view were the two races which are known as the Solar and Lunar races of Kshatriyas from Mahabharata onwards. We have a distinct reference to them in the Mahabharata in a speech of Shrikrishna. This is what he says to Yudhishtira in the Sabhaparva when the latter proposes the performance of a Rajasuya sacrifice. "Of the two races of Kshatriyas born from the sun and the moon there are at present in India 101 families and of these families the Bhojas of the Lunar race are the most numerous and occupy the middle land." This shows that the Kshatriya families of India in Epic times ranged themselves under two chief races, the Solar and the Lunar, and that the Lunar race, occupying the middle land, had at that time thrown the Solar race into shade. Thus we are fortified in believing that the first race of Aryan invaders was what was subsequently called the Solar race, that it occupied the Punjab and extended onwards along the foot of the Himalayas as far east as Mithila and that the second race of Kshatriyas which came into India subsequently and which was later on called the Lunar race came through Kashmir and like a wedge shoved itself through the territory of

the Sarasvati or Ambala downwards as far south as Kathiawar and Jubulpore or even further south, covering many Bhoja kingdoms especially the Shourseni, Chedi, Magadha and Vidarbha Kingdoms and the Yadava kingdom of Dvarka. We shall try to see how far this conclusion finds support in the Rigveda about whose time, of course, these invasions must have taken place.

The chief people of whom the Rigveda frequently speaks are, as is perhaps well-known, the Bharatas. Now it is a misconception of many scholars, native as well as European, that these Bharatas were the descendants of Bharata, the son of Dushyanta, who is a well-known king of the Lunar race. According to my theory the Lunar race came later and mixed with the aboriginal population of the United Provinces forms the people who at present speak Western Hindi. The difficulty thus presented to me was however solved accidentally in my study and in a proper manner. I found that this Bharata was an entirely different king from the Daushyanti Bharata of later days. I accidentally came across the following shlokas in the Bhāgavata and was struck to see that the idea commonly entertained on the subject was erroneous. Bhāgavata, 11th Skandha, Chapter 2, says :—

प्रियव्रतो नाम सुतो मनोः स्वार्थमुवस्य यः ।
 तस्याग्नीध्रस्ततो नाभिर्ऋषभस्य सुतः स्मृतः ॥ १५ ॥
 तमाहुर्वासुदेवांशं मोक्षधर्मविवक्षया ।
 अवतीर्णं सुतशतं तस्यासीद् ब्रह्मपारंगम् ॥ १६ ॥
 तेषां वै भरतो ज्येष्ठो नारायणपरायणः ।
 विख्यातं वर्षमेतद्यन्नाम्ना भारतमुत्तमम् ॥ १७ ॥

Transl. "Priyavrata was a son of the first Manu called Svāyambhuva. His son was Agnidhra and his son was Nābhi and his son was Rishabhā who is believed to have been born of the essence of Vasudeva. He had a hundred sons all well-versed in the Vedas. The eldest of them was Bharata after whom this land is called Bhāratavarsha". In Skandha 5, chapter 7, the same thing has already been stated ; अजनार्थं नमैतद्वर्षं भारतमिति यत आरभ्य व्यपदिशन्ति. This clearly shows that India is called भारतवर्ष from Bharata who was a great grandson of the first Manu. This tradition recorded in the Bhagavata is also found in the Vayu Purana where the line of Svāyambhuva Manu is described in detail. Priyavrata divided the world of seven Dvipas among his seven sons. Agnidhra got Jambudvipa and divided it among his sons. Nabhi got a portion of it and his son Rishabhā gave Bharata, his son, land to the south of the Himalayas. Says Vayu, chapter 33

हिमाद्रेर्द्रक्षिणं वर्षं भरताय न्यवेदयत् ।

तस्मात्तं भारतं वर्षं तस्य नाम्ना विदुर्बुधाः ॥ ५२ ॥

Thus the tradition of this country being called Bhāratavarsha refers to Bharata, a descendant of the first Manu and not to Bharata, the son of Dushyanta.

Another derivation of this name भारतवर्ष is given in the same Vayu Purana wherein Bharata is identified with Manu himself.

वर्षं यद्भारतं नाम यत्रेयं भारती प्रजा ।

भरणाच्च प्रजानां वै मनुर्भरत उच्यते ॥

निरुक्तवचनाच्चैव वर्षं तद्भारतं स्मृतम् ॥ ७६ ॥

The Matsya Purana gives the same story and repeats this very shloka. This shows that Bharata was also identified with Manu in later tradition. But he never is, we must remember, दौष्यन्ति भरत. The king whose name the land now bears is never thought to be Bharata the son of Dushyanta and Shakuntala, but is always another king much earlier who was born of the first Manu or was Manu himself. In the Nirukta to which reference is given in the Purana shlokas I found that Yaska interprets Bharata as Aditya or the Sun himself (अ० २ पा० १० भरत आदित्यस्तस्य भारती). This then is the tradition of the Nirukta and the Puranas. We shall find that the Rigvedic tradition is also the same and that it frequently speaks of this Bharata and not the later Daushyanti Bharata as I will presently show.

The difficulty then which naturally presents itself is solved. India is called भारतवर्ष not from a king of the later Lunar Kshatriya race but from a king of the earliest Kshatriyas who entered India. Here we have an analogy from American history. America was discovered and colonised by two hordes of people and in different directions just as it happened in India. The Spaniards, the Portuguese, the Italians and the French were the pioneers of discoverers of America. They were all of the Latin race. The subsequent discoverers were the Dutch and the English who naturally went northwards and came to Northern America. They were of the Teutonic race. The whole hemisphere is however called America from one Amerigo, an Italian discoverer, who first set his foot on the Southern Continent and the name has generally been adopted. He was almost a contemporary of Columbus who had only discovered some islands. The honour of discovering the main continent belongs to Amerigo and his name was properly given to the land and has cordially been accepted by all people. The case was exactly similar in

India. Bharata was a famous king of the first Kshatriyas who came to India and his name has been given to the country. The descendants of this Bharata who were subsequently known in Epic times as the Solar Kshatriyas gradually overspread the land from the Indus to the Gandaki or Sadanira, the boundary of the kingdom of Mithila. This is exactly what appears from the Rigveda, our oldest and best authority, as I now proceed to show.

The following information is given under the word Bharata in Vedic Index, Vol. II, page 95. "Bharata is the name of a people of great importance in the Rigveda, where they appear prominently in the third and seventh Mandalas in connection with Sudasa and Tritsus, while in the sixth Mandala they are associated with Divodasa." Now I looked into the Rigvedic hymns mentioned here in the original and found that very interesting information could be gathered therefrom. The first thing apparent is that the Vasishthas were the Purohitas of the Bharatas. Now according to later tradition the Vasishthas were never the Purohitas of the Lunar race but served the Solar race throughout. Here is a confirmation of the view that these Bharatas were the people who subsequently were called the Solar Kshatriyas and the Vasishthas who appear also to be called Tritsus were their hereditary priests. The seventh Mandala of the Rigveda consists solely of hymns composed by the Vasishthas and it is but natural that the Bharatas should predominate therein. Rigveda vii 33, is very interesting in this connection. It says that in the fight with the ten kings called दशराज्ञ the Bharatas became afraid and defenceless like sticks asunder but Vasishtha by his strength and prayer became their leader and made them victorious. (दण्डा इवेद्वे अजनास आसन् परिच्छिन्ना भरता अर्भकासः । अभवच्च पुर एता वसिष्ठ आदित्त्रित्सुनां विशो अप्रथन्त ॥ ६ ॥)

In this hymn the birth of Vasishtha from the dual god Maitra-Varuna and the Apsaras Urvashi is also mentioned. Vasishtha is thus already a mythical person and born of gods. He saved the Bharatas in their difficulty. Secondly, Bharata's fire is frequently spoken of in different places in the Rigveda. The Aryans were worshippers of fire in contrast with the Dasas or aboriginies and hence Bharata's fire must have become a favourite name as typifying the Aryan religion. In Rigveda vii, 8 this Bharata's fire is mentioned as also the original king Bharata (प्रपायमग्निर्भरतस्य शृण्वे । अभि यः पूरं पूतनासु तस्थौ ॥ ४ ॥). "This is Bharata's own fire, he who defeated Pôru in battle." In this sentence we have a distinct reference to king Bharata and his exploit is said to be that he defeated Pôru. Under the word Pôru Macdonell refers to this hymn and seems to interpret Pôru as the well known king of the Lunar race, an ancestor of

Dushyanta, who is one of the five sons of Yayati and whose descendants are also frequently mentioned in the Rigveda as Pûrus. But the Shatapatha Brahmana explains in one place that Pûru in this hymn is the name of an Asura. On this Macdonell remarks that the Pûrus had been forgotten so far in the days of the Shatapatha that Pûru had become an Asura-Rakshasa. I have already said that the authority of the Brahmanas as coming immediately after the Mantras and as the utterances of Rishis who had some touch with the Vedic times ought to be given greater weight than all later authorities. In my opinion the Shatapatha Brahmana is here correct and this Pûru whom Bharata defeated must have been some aboriginal king. He cannot be the Pûru who was a son of Yayati and an ancestor of Dushyanta. As shown above this Pûru could not have been a contemporary of Bharata who was a king of the earliest Kshatriyas who came to India. The Lunar Pûru came into India later and the Pûru in this hymn whom Bharata conquered cannot have been that Pûru but some Asura or Rakshasa. One thing is at least apparent from this that if you take by Pûru, the Pûru of the Lunar race, this Bharata assuredly is not his descendant दौष्यन्ति भरत. Thus Bharata whose Agni is spoken of so frequently in the Rigveda is entirely a different and a much earlier king of a different race who fought with Pûru.

This is a digression, but an important and necessary digression. To return to our subject, Vasishtha's hymns (vii, 33 and 8) show that Bharata is the name of a king in the Rigveda, that his Agni is often spoken of and that his descendants were Bharatas whose Purohita was Vasishtha. The next most frequently mentioned subsequent king of the Bharatas is Sudasa whose battle with the ten kings on the banks of the Parushni is spoken of in detail in another hymn of Vasishtha, *vis*, Rigveda vii, 83 as also in vii, 18. I will speak of this battle further on. But Sudasa in hymn vii, 83, is the same king who fought the battle with the ten kings or दशरत्न expressly mentioned therein and the Bharatas are also mentioned in vii, 83 as dejected in दशरत्न or the battle with the ten kings. Other important kings presumably Bharatas whom Vasishtha speaks of (Rigveda vii, 19), are Purukutsa and Trasadasyu as I shall show later on. I shall now proceed to a consideration of the hymns in Mandala iii wherein also the Bharatas are mentioned expressly and by a Rishi whose name is very important.

This third Mandala consists of hymns entirely composed by Vishvamitra as Mandala vii consists of hymns by Vasishtha or his descendants. The first relevant hymn in the third Mandala is 23. This hymn is however said to be composed by Devashrava and Devavata, two

Bharata kings. "The Bharatas lighted or rubbed Agni, *viz.*, Devashrava and Devavata on the banks of the Drishadvati and Apaya and Sarasvati." This clearly shows that the Bharatas extended their occupation of the land as far as Sarasvati in the time of these two kings. The next hymn is iii, 33. It is a very eloquent hymn addressed by Vishvamitra to the two rivers Vipasha and Shatadru (Bias and Sutlej) combined. Probably the Bharatas had arrived at the confluence of these two rivers in some expedition and finding the swift rivers unfordable Vishvamitra prayed to the rivers to become fordable and they became so and the Bharatas were allowed to cross over, the water not touching even the exles of their carts (अधो अक्षाः सिन्धवः स्रोत्याभिः). "As soon as the Bharatas have passed over, let your streams flow on in rapid motion." (यदङ्ग त्वा भरताः सन्तरेयुः गव्यन्प्राग्न इषित इन्द्रज्ञतः ।). The third interesting hymn is iii, 53. In this hymn Vishvamitra is represented to have assisted Sudasa by his prayers to Indra (विश्वामित्रो यदवहन्मुदासमप्रियायत कुशिकेभिरिन्द्र). He even says that his prayer it was which saved the Bharata people. (विश्वामित्रस्य रक्षति ब्रह्मेदं भारतं जनम्). Three or four things, therefore, appear clear from this hymn. First, the Bharata people had already become very numerous, they being called भारत जन. (We have almost an echo here of the present भारतवर्ष). Secondly, their king was Sudasa and that Vishvamitra of the Kushikas saved him and his people by his prayers to Indra. Here we have a confirmation of the chief points in the later Puranic tradition about Vishvamitra. He was born of the Kushikas (whether they were Kshatriyas is not here apparent). Vishvamitra acted as priest to the same Sudasa whose family priest has already been shown to be Vasishtha. Vasishtha and Vishvamitra must therefore have sometimes become enemies. Later tradition of Rama brings in both Vasishtha and Vishvamitra as his friends. Vishvamitra always comes in in the stories of the Solar race kings such as Sudasa and Rama and Harischandra who, according to Vedic tradition, purchased Shunahshepa to redeem his son Rohita from a vow to Varuna. Vishvamitra saved this Shunahshepa by praying to Varuna and adopted him as Devarata or given by the gods. Shunahshepa's hymns are to be found in Rigveda Mandala I, and they plainly refer to this story of the Brahmanas. Vishvamitra is a person who figures in the history of the Bharatas in the Vedas and also in that of the Solar Kshatriyas of the Epic days and thus we are fortified in our conclusion that they are the same people. Sudasa is a Bharata king in the Vedas and he is a Solar king in the Puranas. His story is given in the Ramayana Uttarakanda Chap. 65, where Valmiki tells Shatrughna that Sudasa was one of his ancestors and that his grand-

son quarrelled with his Guru Vasishtha and became कल्मषपाद who again appears to have been assisted by Vishvamitra. Thus the rivalry between Vasishtha and Vishvamitra continues throughout the Vedic and the Epic tradition. Vasishtha assists Sudasa in the battle with the ten kings on the banks of the Parushni and Vishvamitra assists him in his eastern progress and enables him by his prayer to ford over the Vipasa and the Sutej. I may add, Vishvamitra always figures in the Bharata or Solar race history, but he does not do so, to my knowledge, in the history of the Lunar race, a fact on which I will comment later on.

The next Mandala which mentions the Bharata people is the sixth wherein their king Divodasa is mentioned. This Mandala again consists of hymns principally or almost solely composed by Bharadvaja Barhaspatya or Bharadvaja, son of Brihaspati. The principal hymn which we have to refer to here is vi, 16. It is a long hymn and mentions Bharata, the Bhârata people, the Agni of Bharata and king Divodasa more than once. It also mentions Bharadvaja himself. (त्वमिमा वार्या पुरु दिवोदासाय सुन्वते । भरद्वाजाय दाशुषे । 5, आग्निरगामि भारतो वृत्रहा पुरुचेतनः । दिवोदासस्य सत्यतिः । 19, प्र देवं देववीतये भरता षड्विचमम् । आ स्वे यो नौ नि षीदतु । 41.) Surprise is expressed by some scholars (see Vedic Index) that Divodasa who is always spoken of in the Rigveda as the father of Sudasa should be associated with Bharadvaja while his son is always spoken of with Vasishtha and Vishvamitra. But I do not think there is matter here for surprise. The Vasishthas were undoubtedly the Purohitas of the Bharatas. They plainly appear so from the Rigveda itself. But that does not prevent other Rishis coming in religious relations with the Bharatas. Vishvamitra does so admittedly with Sudasa and so might Bharadvaja come in contact with his father Divodasa. It is curious to see that the contact of Bharadvaja with the Solar race people appears also in the Ramayana wherein the same Rishi or his descendant comes in the story with his affection for Rama and Bharata and his friendship with their father.

Such then are the coincidences which make it almost certain that the Bharatas of the Rigveda are the oldest Aryans who came to India and spread over the land from the Indus eastward as far as the Sarayu which is mentioned in three Rigvedic hymns. Their Rishis were Vasishtha and Vishvamitra and Bharadvaja, actors in the story of the Ramayana also and other legends of the kings of the Solar race. The kings of the Bharatas mentioned in the Rigveda are Bharata, Divodasa, Sudasa, Devashrava and Devavata and probably Purukutsa and Trasadasyu ; and Ikshvaku ; and finally, we find, in one hymn of the

tenth Mandala Rama himself. Now Bharata, according to the Nirukta, is the Sun and he is also Manu and again a king of the first Kshatriyas who came to India, of the first Manu's race according to the Puranas. Sudasa is a Solar race king, as per Chapter 65 Uttarakanda already noticed, wherein the son of Sudasa's story is related. He was about to curse Vasishtha, but was prevented by his wife who implored him to remember that Vasishtha was their family priest. The shloka in the Ramayana is as follows :—

युष्माकं पूर्वजो राजा सौदासस्तस्य भूपतेः ।

पुत्रो वीर्यसहो नाम वीर्यवानतिधार्मिकः ॥

In this वीर्यसह who became कल्माषपाद, with feet blackened by the water taken for the curse, is said to be a son of Saudasa, who again is said to be an ancestor of Shatrughna. And a Sudasa is actually found in the Puranic genealogy of the Solar race with his son Kalmashapada though his father is not Divodasa of the Vedas. I am of opinion that the Puranic genealogy must be considered to be here incorrect and must give precedence to the Rigvedic tradition which makes Sudasa a son of Divodasa and a grandson of Pijavana. Divodasa and Sudasa are found in Lunar race genealogies also, but the Rigvedic Sudasa is undoubtedly a Solar king; for his Purohita is Vasishtha both according to the Rigveda and the Ramayana. And hence Sudasa's father Divodasa must also be treated as a Solar king. Next Purukutsa and Trasadasyu are Solar race kings in the Purana genealogies and they are found nowhere else. And we have a confirmation of the same in the statement of the Shatapatha Brahmana (see Vedic Index) that they were Aikshvaka kings or kings of the race of Ikshvaku. Thus the names of the original Bharata and later kings as identified by the Brahmana and Purana traditions coupled with their association with the Purohita Vasishtha make it almost convincingly clear that the Bharatas of the Rigveda are the Solar race Kshatriyas of the Epics. These Bharatas appear to have spread from the Punjab as far east as Ayodhya even in the time of the Rigveda. I had formerly been of opinion that the Rigvedic Aryans had not gone much beyond the Ganges. But the fact now found that the Sarayu* river of Ayodhya is mentioned

* The Sarayu is mentioned in three Vedic hymns (Vedic Index). In the note on Sarayu Macdonell thinks that it is the Ayodhya river; but he refers to the opinion of some Vedic scholars, that it is the Kramu or Kurram of Afganistan. In v. 64, it seems to be an Afganistan river. But in x, 64, it is associated with सरस्वती and सिन्धु and must be a large river like these. In iv, 30, it is apparently a large river and seems also to be the river of Ayodhya. It may be stated here that Haraivaity and Harayu are also rivers of the Zend people. These probably are old Aryan names which the Indo-Aryans in their new settlement in India assigned to Indian rivers, much as they did in America and elsewhere

thrice in the Rigveda, makes it clear that they had already spread that far. The mention of Rama, the illustrious hero of Ayodhya, in the tenth Mandala of the Rigveda, becomes thus consistent and proper. The Aryans might even have gone still eastward as far as Mithila, which though not mentioned in the Rigveda is associated with Gotama; for Gotama is represented to be the Purohita of the Mithila Kshatriyas as Vasishtha is of the Koshala Kshatriyas and Gotama, the husband of Ahalya, is a Vedic Rishi and the composer of Vedic hymns. Such is then the history of the progress of the first Aryan invaders of India, *viz.*, the Bharatas, later called the Solar Kshatriyas and hence we see why their languages at both ends, *viz.*, the Eastern Hindi and the Punjabi, are allied to each other.

Having so far spoken of the Bharatas or the Solar Kshatriyas with their first famous king Bharata who gave his name to the whole country, *viz.*, Bhāratavarsha and their subsequent kings Divodasa and Sudasa, Purukutsa and Trasadasya and their Rishis, Vasishtha and Vishvamitra, Gotama and Bharadvaja, we will go on to consider the history of the advent and progress of the second horde of Aryan invaders, *viz.*, the Lunar Kshatriyas. They are also a Rigvedic people but they evidently appear to be a later one, although of the same race, language and religion. Their history resembles very much the history of the advent and progress of the Dutch and the English settlers in America. These, unlike their predecessors the Spaniards and the French, lived generally in friendly relations with the aboriginals. Nay, they had regular treaties with what were called the Five Nations. They eventually came into conflict with the earlier settlers and their fights with them were often long and bloody. They were assisted in these fights by their aboriginal allies. Finally they conquered the Spaniards and the French and appropriated the whole of the Northern portion of America, which has now become Teutonic America. Central and South America remained in the hands of the Latin races or the first invaders and is often now appropriately styled Latin America. Their religion, though Christian, was and still is different from the religion of the subsequent invaders, *viz.*, the English and the Dutch. This short sketch of the history of the colonisation of America by the Teutonic and Latin Aryans of the west will show how strongly it corresponds with the history of the colonisation of the continent of India by the Indo-Aryans of the east.

The first Aryans who came to India were the Bharatas of the Rigveda and we have identified them on strong grounds with the Solar race Kshatriyas of the Epics. The identification of the second horde of Aryan settlers with the Lunar Kshatriyas of the Epics and the Puranas is still

more certain and complete. The first fact which deserves to be mentioned is, what was almost a revelation to me, that the Yadus, the Turvashas, the Anus, the Druhyus and the Pûrus are mentioned in the Rigveda very frequently and often together. The first two are mentioned together still oftener. They were, therefore, clearly allied races and the first two were particularly allied. They are mentioned sometimes in the singular and sometimes in the plural which shows that Yadu and Turvasha and Anu, Druhyû and Pûru were individual kings who gave their names to the races sprung from them. Here there is a clear coincidence with and confirmation of the Epic and Puranic version according to which they were the five sons of Yayati, an ancient king of the Lunar race. Yadu and Turvasha were Yayati's sons by his first wife Devayani, the daughter of Shukra and the other three were his sons by his second wife Sharmishtha, the daughter of the Asura or Persian king Vrishaparva. Hence, while sometimes all are mentioned together, we see why sometimes Yadu and Turvasha only are spoken of together in the Rigveda. The Puranas and the Epics give the name Turvasha of the Rigveda as Turvasu ; but, I think, they do so to bring it in consonance with the other four names which end in u. The identification is otherwise complete and this little difference cannot count. The second fact of importance is that the Rigvedic hymns sometimes speak of these people with abhorrence, as people who should be killed or suppressed, and sometimes they speak of them with respect and affection. The Vedic Rishis sometimes invoke the blessings of their gods on them and implore them to give them power and prosperity, but they often ask their gods to destroy or defeat them. This clearly indicates that these people came later and were for some time intruders and therefore hated as enemies by the first settlers. They, however, eventually settled in certain lands and were then invoked blessings upon, being Aryans and professors of the same religion as the first settlers with certain differences only. This also explains the Puranic tradition that the Lunar Kshatriyas many times fought with the Solar Kshatriyas and eventually became supreme lords of the middle land. I will now proceed to set forth detailed proofs of these statements from the Rigvedic hymns and trace the history of the advent and progress of this second race of Kshatriyas.

The ancient ancestor of these Kshatriyas was, according to the Puranas, Purûravas. Now Purûravas is also a Rigvedic name. He is even there a mythical person. He probably lived in the Himalayas and married the heavenly nymph Urvashi. He learned from the Gandharvas how to produce fire and worshipped it. This clearly indicates that he was also a fire worshipping Aryan like the first race of invaders. He lived in the Himalayas about the Gandhamadana mountain and

among the Uttara Kurus so to speak, according to the Puranas, as also according to the Brahmanas. This shows that the ancestors of these Lunar Kshatriyas lived beyond the Himalayas and thus these people must have come from thence. Pururavas' son was Ayu and his son was Nahusha, names of which mention is also made in Rigvedic hymns. His son was Yayati who married two wives, Devayani and Sharmishtha according to the Puranas and had two sons by the first wife and three by the second, a circumstance which finds support from the Rigveda as already stated. This Yayati is also mentioned as a fire-worshipper in the Rigveda. He appears to have still been beyond the Himalayas and it was his sons who came to India and settled, like a wedge in the previous Aryan settlement, about the region of the Sarasvati or as we might say Ambala.

It must, here, be stated that the story of the Puranas, that Yayati ruled in Prayaga and divided the land of India among his five sons in a certain manner must be rejected as a later theory started by the last editors of the Puranas. Mr. Pargiter seems to accept it; but it appears to me that this story conflicts with the inferences derivable from the Rigvedic references; and I think that the now generally accepted belief that the Aryans both of the first and the second race of invaders came from the north-west and gradually spread themselves over the land is more probable. As I have already said, where the Puranas and the Rigveda conflict, greater credence ought to be given to the Rigvedic version. Now in the Rigveda we have a distinct mention that Pūru was settled on both the banks of the Sarasvati (Rigveda vii, 96). Pūru, therefore, could not have got the middle land about Allahabad according to the Puranas. And how could he come to occupy the banks of the Sarasvati? For the other portions of India were also, according to the Puranas, given to his four brothers. The Puranic version must have become current about 300 A.D. naturally enough. By that time the Indians had lost all memory of the Aryans having come from beyond the Himalayas and their land from the beginning was what they had occupied so long. The centre of their land was at Prayaga in the Puranic days. They saw that Rama, their greatest hero, was at Ayodhya, also in the centre and they thought Ayodhya was the first and oldest kingdom of the Solar Kshatriyas founded by Manu himself. Though Krishna belonged to Mathura, the greatest line of the Lunar race was that of the Pauravas and the last Paurava king of fame, Udayana (immortalised together with his minister Yaugandharayana by Gunadhya in his Brihatkatha), belonged to Prayaga or Kaushambi more correctly. Hence they represented Prayaga as the centre and origin of the Lunar race. The Puranic division of Bharatavarsha

among the sons of Yayati does not again represent history but the state of things that existed in the time of the Puranas or the time nearest to them. As Mr. Pargiter has himself shown (see page 273, J.R.A.S., 1914), Pûru got the middle kingdom according to the Puranic version of Yayati's division of India and the Pauravas were then supreme about Allahabad. Yadu got the south-west and they were in the south-west at that time occupying Kathiawar and Maharashtra and Ujjain. Turvasu got south-east and, according to the Puranas, the Pandya, Chola and other kingdoms of the south belonged to Turvasu's line. Druhyu got the west and Anu the north. The Anavas were according to the Puranas the ancestors of some of the Punjab kings, while Druhyu, according to them, was the ancestor of the Gandhara and other western people. Mr. Pargiter himself hereafter observes : "These positions agree with the subsequent notice of the Yadavas and the Anavas" (Page 274). In my opinion it is the subsequent position of these and Pûrus and Turvashas which misled the Purana's last editors into this story of Yayati ruling in Prayaga and dividing the Indian empire among his sons in the particular manner. The last positions of the Solar and Lunar races, *vis.*, Ayodhya and Prayaga, were taken to be their first positions by these last editors of the Puranas, because they had no idea whatever of the real course of history, *vis.*, that the Aryans spread from the north-west to the south-east and south. But Purûrava, even according to the Puranas, was north of the Himalaya about Gandhamadana, the region assigned subsequently to the Uttara Kurus and his son and grandson were probably still there. Yayati's sons came to India and Pûru probably first occupied the Sarasvati tract and it is from hence that the Lunar race spread south-east and south which were not occupied by the Aryans and also tried to oust the first settled Aryans in the east and the west, *i.e.*, in the Punjab and in Oudh. I think Dr. Grierson's theory based on language that the population of the U. P. expanded from its original seat near the Upper Doab and the sacred river Sarasvati seems to be supported by the oldest evidence of the Rigveda and is more probable than the last Puranic version that it spread from Allahabad westward towards Kurukshetra.

This is a digression no doubt but again a necessary and important one. I should reject the Puranic version on this point and accept the story of the occupation of the region of the Sarasvati first, by the Pûrus as evidenced by Rigveda vii, 96 (उभे यत्ने महिना शुभ्रे अन्धसी अधिक्षियन्ति पूरवः) a hymn to Sarasvati. Here they became strong and firmly settled. Here the Lunar race evolved its civilization. Here came to be the most sacred land in India, *vis.*, the region of the Sarasvati. Here the later Aryans flourished in Kurukshetra. Here was the language most pure-

Here the Lunar people appear to have come from beyond the Himalayas by Gilgit and Chitral and perhaps from about the Manasa lake and not by the usual pass in the north-west, *viz.*, the Khyber. For it appears even from the Brahmanas that the speech of the Uttara Kurus and the Kuru Panchala was similar and was considered specially pure. (See Vedic Index under Kuru.) Dr. Grierson remarks that even now in the language about Gilgit and Chitral " words are still in everyday use which are almost identical with the forms they assumed in the Vedic hymns and which survive only in a corrupted state in the plains of India." (*Imp. Gaz.* Vol. I, page 356). The evidence of the Rigveda, the Brahmanas and the actual present state of the Himalayan languages lead one to believe that the Lunar people of the second Aryan invasion descended first into the region about the Sarasvati or modern Sirhind, through Himalayan passes and thence spread elsewhere. Taking this fact as our basis we will now proceed to discuss the history of these Lunar races as disclosed by the Rigvedic hymns.

The first and most important hymn to which I have to refer is Rigveda i, 108. This is addressed to the two gods, Indra and Agni, and says in verse 8, " Oh Indra and Agni, even if you be among the Yadus and the Turvashas, the Druhyus, the Anus and the Pûrus, you come here and drink the Soma juice prepared for you."

यदिद्राक्षी यदुषु तुर्वशेषु यद्द्रुह्यन्वुषु पूरुषु स्थः ।

अतः परि वृषणा वा हि यातमथा सोमस्य पिवतं सुतस्य ॥ ८ ॥

Now this verse uses the words in the plural and shows that the Yadus, Turvashas, Druhyus, Anus and Purus had become peoples. Secondly, they are also allied peoples and among themselves formed two sets, the first two and the other three. Thirdly, they were Aryans, and worshipped the same gods as the other Vedic Aryans, *viz.*, Indra and Agni. Thus all the chief points in connection with the Lunar Kshatriyas are apparent in this one verse of the Rigveda. It must also be noted that the Rishi or composer of this hymn is Kutsa Angirarasa, the relevancy of which fact I will explain later on.

The next point of importance is that these allied races of the Aryans came into conflict with the Bharatas or the earlier settled Kshatriyas in different regions. The first king of the Bharatas with whom they fought appears to be the same Divodasa who was of so great a fame among the Vedic Rishis as a generous donor. His favourite appellation in the Rigveda is Atithigva or one to whom Atithis or guests go. The first hymn to be noticed on this point is Rigveda ix, 61, verse 2. " Indra broke the castles and towns of Shambara for the

sake of Divodasa and then smote Yadu and Turvasha" (I usually take the sense as translated by Arnold पुरः सय इत्याधिये दिवोदासाय शम्बरम् । अभ त्वं तुर्वशं यदुम् ॥) Here is a reference to the aid of Indra given to Divodasa to conquer his aboriginal enemy Shambara and then his Aryan enemies Turvasha and Yadu. There is another reference to a fight between Aryan Bharata kings with Yadu and Turvasha about the river Sarayu in which the Bharata kings are said to have been killed, a hymn already noticed, *viz.*, Rigveda iv, 30 (उत त्या तुर्वशायद् अस्नातारो शचीपतिः । इन्द्रो विद्वी अपारयत् ॥ १७ ॥ उत त्या सय आयौ सरयोन्द्र पारतः । अर्णोच्चित्रथावधीः ॥ १८ ॥). But the most important fight between the Bharatas and the later Aryans was the fight called दशरत्न or fight with the ten kings. It is noticed in three hymns composed by Vashishtha and given in his Mandala, *viz.*, the seventh. It was fought between Sudasa, the Bharata king, assisted by his Purohita Vashishtha and five aboriginal kings and the five Aryan peoples, Yadu, Turvasha, Anu, Druhyu and Pûru. It was fought on the banks of the Parushni or the modern Ravi of the Punjab. The first hymn to be noticed is vii, 18. The Vedic hymns are, of course, always composed in praise of certain deities and cannot ordinarily be expected to contain historical information. But even the Vedic Rishis in their hymns to their gods could not avoid mentioning prominent past or contemporaneous events and hence it is that we are enabled to glean some historical information about these hoary times in the past. The hymn vii, 18, is an eloquent hymn by Vasishtha and contains a vivid description of the battle of Sudasa with his ten opponent kings. The hymn is not fully intelligible but it appears certain to most Vedic scholars that Sudasa in this battle conquered the ten kings leagued against him on the banks of the Parushni, which, while he forded easily and safely by the aid of Vasishtha's praise of Indra, drowned his enemies and many of these were killed. Sudasa was first in a difficult plight and the ten kings hoped to plunder him but after all, the river suddenly submerged them as they were trying to divert its stream and it was Sudasa eventually who got great plunder. Six thousand Anus and Druhyus who were taking cattle, says the hymn, slept on the battlefield. This is what can be gathered about this fight from this important hymn. The Aryan kings were, of course, Turvasha, Yadu, Anu, Druhyu and Pûru. Yadu is not specially mentioned but he must be taken to be included in Turvasha. The aboriginal tribes mentioned are Pakhtas, Bhalanas, Bhanantals, Vishanis and Shivas. A great deal of conjectural information can be derived from these names ; for instance, the Pakhtas are some modern Afghan tribes among whom the name Pashtu is still pronounced according to Dr. Grierson as Pakhta. Or that the Vishanis might be some aboriginal people who tied to their heads pairs of horns like some modern rude races of America

But that there were Aryan and non-Aryan kings leagued against Sudasa in this fight is not a matter of conjecture but is what is expressly mentioned in another hymn which I next proceed to notice. It is hymn vii, 83, by Vasishtha also, wherein he says that the gods Indra and Varuna assisted king Sudasa when he was opposed by his Aryan and Dasa enemies. (दासा च वृत्रा हतमार्याणि च मुदासमित्रा वरुणावसावतम्.) "You smote and slew his Dasa and Aryan enemies and helped Sudasa with favour"—Arnold's Translation. There is a further clear reference in the hymn to ten kings attacking Sudasa. (यत्र राजभिर्देशभिर्निबाधितं प्र मुदासमावतं तृत्सुभिः सह) "You protected Sudasa with the Tritsus when he was oppressed by the ten kings." It thus appears clear that there were in this battle ten kings, five Aryans and five non-Aryans, whose names we have already given. It seems to be a great effort by all the new Aryan invaders with their aboriginal friends to suppress the first settled Aryans, *vis.*, the Bharatas. But in this they failed and Sudasa with Vasishtha's help prevailed. The five aboriginal peoples correspond curiously enough to the Five Nations of American history leagued with the English in their fights against the French; and we have thus one of those many curious analogies in history which suggest and support the saying "History repeats itself." And, as in American history, although Sudasa, the older Aryan king, prevailed in this battle, his race was eventually overshadowed by the later invaders as I now proceed to show.

In hymn vii, 19, Vasishtha appears to speak of the Pûrus in a favourable manner though he still refers therein to the defeat of Yadu and Turvasha by Divodasa. This hymn seems to give ground to some Vedic scholars to think that Purukutsa was a Pûru king and hence I think it proper to give a detailed translation of two of its verses. (त्वं धृष्णो धृषता वीतंहस्यं प्रावो विश्वाभिरूतिभिः मुदासम् । प्र पौरुकुत्सि वसदस्युमावः क्षेत्रसाता वृत्रहत्येषु पूरुम्॥) "You, Oh valient Indra, protected, by all your protection, Vitahavya and Sudasa and Trasadasyu, Purukutsa's son and Pûru in his fight with the Vritras (or aboriginalities)." In this verse many kings are mentioned and I would take each separately and thus treat Pûru as different from the preceding Trasadasyu. In fact, as I have already said, the authority of the Brahmanas is supreme in this matter and Purukutsa and Trasadasyu being, according to the Shatapatha, Aikshvaka or descendants of Ikshaku, cannot be Pûrus or descendants of Pûru. There are other kings also mentioned in this hymn, *vis.*, Kutsa (verse 2), and Dabhiti who killed the aboriginal (दस्यु) enemies, Chumuri and Dhuni (verse 4). And in verse 8, we have a mention of the Atithigva (*i.e.*, of course Divodasa) for whose sake Indra killed Yadu and Turvasha (नि त्रुर्वशं नि याद्वं शिशोःशतियिग्वाय शंस्यं करिष्यन्). Thus then it appears that at

the time of this hymn composed by some Vasishtha, the Pûrus had become settled and popular while the Yadus and Turvashas were still considered the enemies of the Aryans. Other hymns show that even the Yadus and Turvashas became eventually settled in the country and reconciled with the first Aryans and are mentioned favourably by composers of hymns. In many hymns the blessings of Vedic deities are invoked on even Yadus and Turvashas. These hymns are principally to be found in Mandala viii, which consists of hymns chiefly composed by the descendants of Kanva. They are (as shown in the Vedic Index) 4, 7, 9, 10, and 45 of this eighth Mandala. Hymn 4 is by देवातिथि काण्व and mentions the Kanvas often and also Turvasha and Yadu, and Kanva is said to have taken 6,000 cows from a Turvasha king. Hymn 7 is by पुनर्वत्स काण्व and praises the favour of Maruts shown to Yadu, Turvasha and Kanva. (येनाव तुर्वशं यदुं येन कण्वं धनस्पृतम् । राये सुतस्य भीमहि)। In hymn 9 Shasha-Karna Kanva (शशकर्ण काण्व) invokes the favour of the Ashvins on Yadu and Turvasha and Kanva (इमे सोमासो अधि तुर्वशे यदाविने काण्वेषु वामथ ॥ १४) Hymn 10 is by प्रगाथ काण्व to the Ashvins whose favour is invoked on Anu, Druhyu, Yadu and Turvasha in different directions (see verse 5). Lastly, in hymn 45, विशोक काण्व the Rishi praises Indra and Agni and says that undeniable strength was given by them to Yadu and Turvasha. (सत्यं तत्तुर्वशे यदौ विदानो अन्हवाय्यम् । २०) All these different notices of Yadu and Turvasha and even of Anu and Druhyu are favourable and found in hymns by Rishis of the Kanva family. The natural inference from this is that they had established themselves by this time and that their Rishis were the Kanvas or persons born in the Kanva family. A remarkable confirmation of this fact is found in the Purana and also Brahmana tradition in that the Purohita of Daushyanti Bharata was Kanva and Dushyanta got Shakuntala from Kanva's Ashrama. Thus Vedic and Puranic traditions lead us to believe that the Purohitas of the Lunar race or rather of the Yadus and Turvashas were Kanva and his descendants. The same idea is, I think, expressly supported by a hymn in the first Mandala which I proceed to notice. Hymn i, 36, is by Ghaura Rishi and is in praise of Agni. In this hymn Kanva is frequently mentioned and along with him Turvasha and Yadu. See verses 17 and 18. (अग्निर्वेने सुवीर्यमग्निः कण्वाय सौभगम् । अग्निः प्रावन्मिश्रोत मेध्यातिथिमग्निः साता उपस्थितम् ॥ १० ॥ अग्निना तुर्वशं यदुं परावत उपादेवं हवामहे ॥)। I think we shall not be far wrong if, from all the hymns of the Kanvas relating to Yadu-Turvasha in the eighth Mandala and this in the first by Ghaura, we infer that Kanva stood in the same relation to Yadu-Turvashas or the Lunar race Kshatriyas as Vasishtha stood to the Bharatas or Solar race Kshatriyas. It may here be mentioned that

the Puranic genealogy derives Kanva from the family of Pûru himself, *i.e.*, from मतिनार, tenth descendant of Pûru and some fourth ancestor of Bharata. (See Harivansha I ch. 32.)

The next hymns to be noticed mentioning Yadu-Turvashas favourably are Rigv. i, 54, by Savya Angirasa to Indra, verse 6 (त्वमाविध नर्यं तुर्वशं यदुं त्वं तुर्वीति वच्यं शतक्रतो !), and i, 108, already noticed, by Kutsa Angirasa, in which all the five Yadu, Turvasha, Anu, Druhyu, and Puru are mentioned together. I said before in noticing this hymn that I would explain the relevency of its Rishi later on. This is the place to record the remark that the Angirasas appear to be other Rishis who are connected with the Lunar Kshatriyas. The Rishi of i, 36, is Ghora and he appears to be an Angirasa, and of i, 54 is Savya Angirasa, so that in all the three hymns of the first Mandala, *vis.*, 36, 54 and 108 in which the Yadu Turvashas are favourably mentioned, the Rishis are Angirasas (Ghora, Savya and Kutsa). Now in the Chhandogya Upanishad it is mentioned that one Ghora Angirasa taught a certain Vedantic doctrine to Krishna Devakiputra who is presumably the Yadava Shri-Krishna of the Mahabharata. The Angirasas, therefore, also appear to be the favourite Rishis of the Lunar race in addition to the Kanvas as Vishva-mitra was of the Solar race in addition to Vasishtha.

The remaining hymns in favour of the Yadu Turvashas are i, 174, by Agastya to Indra, iv, 30, by Vamadeva (about Sarayu already mentioned), v, 31, by Avasyu Atreya, vi, 45, by Shamyu Barhaspatya and x, 49, by Indra Vaikuntha in which Nahusha is also mentioned ; see verse 8 (अहं सप्तहा नहुषो नहुषरः प्राभावयं शवसा तुर्वशं यदुम्). The first of these hymns must be specially noticed as the reference therein to Samudra is somewhat strange if interpreted literally as is done by Arnold. The verse is (त्वं पुनिरिन्द्र पुनिमतीर्णोरपः सीरा न स्वन्तीः । प्र यत्समुद्रमति शूर पथि पारया तुर्वशं यदुं स्वस्ति ॥) If this line means that Indra should take Yadu and Turvasha safely over the sea, Yadu and Turvasha must be taken to have crossed it like Bhujyu, the favourite seafaring king of the Rigveda whom the Ashvins are said to have safely brought over the sea in their own boat. Had the Yadus and Turvashas progressed as far as the sea in the days of the Rigvedic Rishis? Some Aryans had undoubtedly done so, as, for instance, the above-mentioned Bhujyu and it may perhaps be that the Yadus had also travelled so far in those days. The word Samudra in the hymn has, however, been taken to mean the sky where the heavenly waters burst. In v, 35, above-mentioned, Indra is also said to have stilled the flooded waters of the Sudugha for Yadu and Turvasha who were beyond these waters. Thus the progress of the Yadus and Turvashas across rivers and even upto the sea may be taken to be indicated in these hymns.

Having spoken so far of the five allied races, Yadu, Turvasha, Anu, Druhu, and Puru I will now proceed to note the progress of each individually as evidenced by the Vedas. The Yadus are not mentioned in the Yajus and Sama, nor are they apparently mentioned in any of the several Brahmanas. (Of course I speak as usual on the authority of the Vedic Index). They, therefore, may be taken after their defeat in the Punjab to have moved south, south-east and south-west in which regions they are actually found in Epic times. In these directions there was plenty of room for expansion as the first Aryans had only occupied the Punjab and the region eastward along the Himalayas. The Yadus do not appear to have founded kingdoms of their own and hence perhaps the tradition that they were under a curse by Yayati. They lived under the Bhojas in Shaurasena about Mathura. This Mathura, according to Epic tradition, originally belonged to the Rakshasa or aboriginal king Madhu from whom it was first conquered by Shatru-ghna, Rama's brother, and after the decline of his descendants it was taken possession of by the Bhojas and Yadavas. Mr. Pargiter thinks that Madhu was not a Rakshasa but was actually the Yadava chief Madhu from whom his descendants were called Madhavas. I do not, however, think it proper to abandon here the version of the Harivausha and the Ramayana. For it is more consistent with the course of history as sketched above that this region of the Yamuna should first be in the possession of the Rakshasas, then that of the first Aryan or Solar race and then of the Lunar race which, as we have seen, endeavoured in different directions to oust the first settled Kshatriyas. Instead of this Mr. Pargiter would first have the Lunar Aryans, then the Rakshasas and then the Solar race. This is by the by. The Yadavas settled in Mathura and perhaps thence went south-west as far as Dvaraka on the sea. The only indirect reference to the Yadavas in the Brahmanas is that to Krishna Devakiputra in the Chhandogya Upanishad who, as stated before, learned Vedantic doctrines from Ghora Angirasa. Were it not for Shrikrishna, the Yadavas would have been entirely forgotten in the later Vedas and Brahmanas and even the Epics. It was he who raised them to immortal renown by his Bhagavadgita and by his prominent part in the Mahabharata fight which probably falls in time between the final compilation of the Rigveda and the composition of the Brahmanas. The latter naturally thus mention persons taking part in the Bharata fight and hence the reference in the Chhandogya to Krishna Devakiputra may properly be taken to apply to Shrikrishna of the Yadavas, the great counsellor of the Pandavas in the Bharata fight.

We will next consider the progress of the Turvashas. These entirely disappear so to speak in the later Vedic times. But there is one important reference to them in the Brahmanas which discloses their

fate. They became merged in the Panchala people according to a statement in the Shatapatha Brahmana. Of these Panchalas I shall speak later on. Before proceeding further I might mention here that the Puranas, especially Harivansha (I, chap. 32), represent Pandya, Kola, Kerala and Chola as descendants in this Turvasha's line. This is clearly a later theory of the Puranas. We must remember that one great incentive to the later editors of the Puranas to make additions to genealogies must have been the desire to connect the famous lines of kings in their time with some heroes or persons mentioned in the Vedas and the Epics and thus secure to them venerated antiquity of connection much as the Romans loved to connect themselves with Homeric heroes. Now the Pandya, Chola and Kerala people were outside the pale of Aryanism for a long time. They were Dravidas and non-Aryans like the Angas and the Vangas, and even according to the Vedas residence in their country led to fall from Brahmanism. Yet in later Puranic times the Hindus went into and settled in these lands and then attempted to connect kings in them with Vedic and Epic lines of Kshatriyas. This descent of the south-east kings may properly be treated as imaginary and being opposed to the statement of the Shatapatha that the Turvashas merged into the Panchalas, the later Puranic version may be rejected as a tradition not worthy to be accepted.

Coming next to the other set of the three races, *viz.*, Anus, Druhyus and Pûrus, we find that the Pûrus became by far the most important people both in later Vedic times and in Epic days. This explains the story of the blessing of Yayati to his son Pûru for obeying his wishes. "Pûru," thus runs the boon "would be the king of the ancestral land and would be very prosperous. In fact the Pûrus would be so numerous that they would overspread the whole country. Nay, the earth may be divested of the Sun and the Moon but never of the Pûru people." (अपौरवा तु हि मही न कदाचिद्भविष्यति ।) Now the Pûrus first settled, as already stated, in the region of the Sarasvati, having ousted the originally settled Kshatriyas from there. They extended thence their conquests east, west and south by and by till they became the lords of the whole of India in the days of the Pandavas. The contests of the Pûrus with aboriginal kings are mentioned in many Rigvedic hymns. They are, as given in the Vedic Index, i, 59, 131 and 174, iv, 21 and 28, vi, 20, and vii, 5 and 19. Looking into these references we find i, 59, is a hymn to Agni by Nodha Gautama in which he says "Agni whom the Pûrus follow as the slayer of Vritra or aborigines." (यं पूरवा वृत्रहणं मचन्ते ।); i, 131, is a hymn to Indra by Parucchepa in which he says (विदुष्टे अस्य वीर्यस्य पूरवः पुरौ). "Purus of old have known";

iv, 21, is by Vamadeva to Indra (हंता वृचं वरिवः पूरवे कः) "who gave freedom to Pûru by slaying Vritra?" (iv, 28, as also i, 174, are I think, wrongly included here as they contain no mention of Pûru). vi, 20, is addressed to Indra by Bharadvaja (प्र पूरवः स्तुवन्त एना यज्ञैः). "The Pûrus laud thee, oh Indra, that thou destroyed seven castles of the Dasas for Purukutsa." vii, 5, is by Vasishtha to Agni (वैश्वानरे पूरवे शोशुचानः पुरो यदग्ने दरयन्न दीदेः) "Oh Agni, for Puru thou lightest up and rendest their castles"; and lastly vii, 19, already noticed, where Vasishtha says to Indra (प्र पौरकुर्त्सि वसदस्युमावः क्षेत्रसातौ वृत्रहन्त्येषु पूरुम्.) "Thou protectedst Trasadasyu and Pûru in their fights with Vritras." On these hymns two or three observations have to be made. Vritra usually stands in Vedic verses for Dasa enemies and they have castles or forts or fortified villages which have to be carried. Secondly, vii, 19 and more particularly vi, 20, give ground for supposing that Purukutsa and Trasadasyu were of the Pûru line. But as I have already stated, on this point the authority of the Brahmanas should be respected and as the Shatapatha says that they were Aikshvakas and as they are also found in Puranic genealogies among the descendants of Ikshvaku alone and nowhere else, here Brahmana and Purana traditions combine to prove that they were Aikshvaka or Solar race kings. In vii, 19, the line plainly means Trasadasyu *and* Pûru, while in vi, 20, we may say that the Pûrus in their prayer to Indra give example of Indra's aid to Purukutsa not as a king of their own people but of another people, Purukutsa being well-known as a favourite king of Indra. Thirdly, Pûrus became eventually so numerous that according to later authorities (of course not later than Yaska), the word Pûrus stands generally for men. In some of the above verses the word has been so interpreted by commentators, but as Prof. Macdonell has observed, Pûrus may be translated as Purus without difficulty in all these cases.

The historical inference from these and previous verses is that after several fights with non-Aryans Pûru established himself firmly in the region of the Sarasvati. His later or previous contests with the Aryan enemies of the Solar race, especially with Sudasa on the Parushni in his or his race's progress westward in the Punjab also appear. His line flourished both at home and abroad. The first known king in his line was Ajamidha, the Ajamidhas being spoken of in the Rigveda also. The next is Bharata, son of Dushyanta, who is not mentioned in the Rigveda but is mentioned in the Brahmanas and who performed sacrifices on the Sarasvati, Yamuna and the Ganges which shows that he extended his dominion eastward. The Bharatas mentioned in the Brahmanas are his descendants and not the Bharatas of the

Rigveda as the Shatapatha clearly introduces them by first mentioning Daushyanti Bharata. The epithet Daushyanti appears to be purposely used in the Brahmana to discriminate the two Bharatas. The next famous king was Kuru who became so famous that the ancient land of the Pûrus came to be called Kurukshetra. Now this Kuru is also not to be found in the Rigveda. This non-mention of course does not prove that the compilation of the Rigveda preceded him, but we may take it that his fame had not become exaggerated in the time of the Rigveda. The Bharatas and still more the Kurus, however, became famous in the Brahmana literature. The Kurus are always mentioned therein with the Panchalas and they were one people, it seems, in their time. This probably indicates that the Mahabharata fight had been fought before this and, all the Panchala princes being dead, the Pandavas and especially their great-grandson Janamejaya Parikshita became their king. This Janamejaya Parikshita is also a favourite king with the Brahmanas. Thus then the chief people of the Pûru race were the Kuru-Panchalas in later Vedic times.

I must speak of the Panchalas here in more detail. According to the Puranic genealogies the Panchalas were the descendants of a younger branch of the Pûrus. Their first great king was Srinjaya, even according to the genealogies and this Srinjaya gave his name to his descendants. The Srinjayas are mentioned in the Rigveda also. The first mention is in Rigv. vi, 27, where Srinjaya is said to be a son of Devavata. (स सृजयाय तुरवशं परादादृचीवतो देववाताय शिक्षन्) " He who gave Turvasha to Srinjaya, the son of Devavata and the Richivats." This is looked upon as identifying Richivat with Turvasha. The next mention is still more important. It is Rigveda iv. 15, which shows that his Agni is also mentioned and thus invests him with greatness. अयं यः सृजये पुरो देववाते समिधयेते । " This is the fire which is enkindled in the eastern altar of Srinjaya, the son of Devavata." The last four verses of this hymn mention Somaka the young son of Sahadeva who gave donations to the Rishi or composer of this hymn, *vis.*, Vamadeva and he invokes blessings on him. (एवं वां देवाश्विना कुमारः साहदेव्यः । दीर्घायुरस्तु सोमकः). This Sahadeva and Somaka were most probably born in the line of Srinjaya and hence they are mentioned in this hymn. Srinjaya, Sahadeva and Somaka are actually found in the Panchala genealogy and Somaka is the fourth ancestor of Drupada. He performed a Rajasuya and became renowned as is mentioned in the Aitareya Brahmana. The Panchalas were thus Srinjayas in Rigvedic times and their name Panchala became famous in the times of the Brahmanas. The Mahabharata uses both the

names Srinjayas and Panchalas and even Somakas from their famous King Somaka. Somaka must have been later than Kuru. The Panchalas were settled to the south-east of the Kurus between the Ganges and the Yamuna. The name Panchala is derived by Hariwan-sha and the Puranas from the five sons of a king (who were thought to be enough for the world, पंच भलम्) but this is a quibble. Probably they were so called because composed of five peoples. The merging of different peoples into one people is not an unfrequent event in history and I believe this merging means that one people elect the sovereigns of another people as their kings and thus mingle with them. This happened either because they were conquered or the family of their kings became extinct. The Kuru-Panchalas became one people in this second way after the Mahabharata fight. The Panchalas themselves must have been composed of five peoples in some such way. We have a distinct mention of the mingling of three peoples, *vis.*, Srinjayas, Turvashas and Krivis, the first in the Rigvedic hymn vi, 27, and the second in the Shatapatha Brahmana. These three and two more peoples probably went to form the Panchalas, so famous in the times of the Brahmanas and the Epics for their learning as well as their valour.

The people who thus most predominate in the later Vedic times are people of the second Aryan invasion especially of the line of Pûru and in this line again the peoples more prominent than the rest were the Kurus and the Panchalas or Srinjayas. But the Solar race people were not entirely extinct in later Vedic times. In the Punjab they were probably over-shadowed by the Lunar people. The general population there must doubtless have remained Solar but the kings were generally of the Pûru line. It is hence why a Poros is found in the Punjab in the days of Alexander. It is sometimes surmised that this finding of a Poros on the Hydaspes in the Punjab shows that the Pûrus came from the north-west and extended eastward. But, according to the course of history we have sketched above, the Pûrus first came into India about the region of the Sarasvati and thence extended west. We find a confirmation of this latter idea in the Mahabharata where Janmejaya is said to have conquered Takshashila in the Punjab after he was installed in the kingdom of the Kurus at Hastinapura. After the Mahabharata fight the Kurus became the overlords of India, and perhaps Takshashila still remained defiant and hence it was that Janmejaya found it necessary to go and conquer that land. The founding of Takshashila by the Solar Aryans is indicated in the Ramayana story of Bharata having conquered the land from the Gandharvas. This is probably a restatement of the real fact that the older Bharata and his people, the Solar Kshatriyas, settled in that country originally.

Whatever that may be, in the Punjab the kings generally appear to have been Lunar race Kshatriyas in the days of the Brahmanas and the Epics. But the Solar race people had their kingdoms in the east and they were the Kosala-Videhas of Brahmana fame. The Brahmanas love to speak of the Kosala-Videhas as much as they love to speak of the Kuru-Panchalas. The Kosala-Videhas were plainly a different people from the latter. Macdonell accepts the opinion of Dr. Grierson and others based on language, *vis.*, the affinity of eastern Hindi with Punjabi rather than with western Hindi, and says under the word Kuru that these Kosala-Videhas must have been shoved onward by the Kurus when the latter took possession of the land about the Sarasvati. I may even say that they may have come eastward even before the coming in of the Kurus, *i.e.*, when the whole land from the Punjab eastward up to Mithila was occupied by the Solar race people. Professor Macdonell, however, expresses some doubt about this in a footnote on the word Kuru and refers to the narrative given in the Shatapatha of the progress of Agni from the Sarasvati to the Sadanira, the eastern boundary of the Videha kingdom and thinks that it may be argued from the story that the Kosala-Videhas were of the same race as the Kurus. But I do not think that any such inference is necessary. The Aryan fire went from the Sarasvati no doubt but no mention is made of the Kurus in this story and hence the Agni may have gone forth eastward even before the days of the Kurus or even Pûrus. Moreover the story in the Shatapatha (IV, 1, 10) is that Videgha Mathavya took fire in his mouth and went eastward up to the Sadanira where he had to take it out and lay it on the ground in consequence of a question by Gotama Rahugana, his priest. Hence, says the Brahmana, no Brahmin crosses the Sadanira. Now this name of Gotama tallies with the later Epic story that the priests of the Videhas were Gotamas, as I have already mentioned. It seems to me then very probable that these Kosala-Videhas were of the Solar race and had their differences in religious matters from the Kuru Panchalas, the representatives of the Lunar race people. The Kosala-Videhas were more famous in the days of the Brahmanas for their philosophic tendencies than their ritual purity and their great king Janaka had disputations with Yajnyavalkya on philosophy which have been preserved in the immortal Upanishads. This laxity in ritual also connects the Kosala-Videhas with the people of the Punjab who are said to be also lax in this matter, as much as the affinity of language; and the remarks of Prof. Macdonell on this head under Kosala and Kashi in the Vedic Index should be interpreted in this way to support their affinity with the eastern Aryans than with the Kuru-Panchalas.

We have lastly to see what became of the Anus and the Druhyus. The latter are mentioned separately in two Vedic hymns viii, 10 and vi, 46. The first has already been noticed. The second mentions Druhyu and Pōru, two only, together. What subsequently became of the Druhyus does not appear either in the Rigveda or the later Vedic literature. Perhaps they were the fourth people who merged in the Panchalas. Puranic tradition makes the Gandharas their descendants. The Gandharas are mentioned in the Chhandogya. The Anus probably became a great people even in the days of the Rigveda for in one hymn their Agni is mentioned specially, see viii, 74 (आगन्म वृषहन्तमं ज्येष्ठमग्निमानवम्). But there is no mention of them in the later Vedic literature. The Puranas state that they gave rise to several dynasties in the Punjab, especially to the Shibi dynasty whose famous king was Shibi, son of Ushinara, mentioned among the sixteen great performers of Ashvamedha sacrifice in the Mahabharata. I am not quite sure if the Puranas are correct here but I think this is not the place to discuss that point. This completes our list of the Vedic references to the Lunar people whose five branches, the यदु, तुर्वशा, अनु, हुसु and पूरु are famous even in the Rigveda.

To take a resume, the conclusions of ethnology and philology as applied to India by Sir H. Risley and Dr. Grierson quoting Dr. Hornle show that there were two Aryan races who invaded India at different times and settled in this country. The first, longheaded Aryans, settled in the Punjab and in Rajputana and are found there even now, with offshoots about Ayodhya and Mithila whose present language, Eastern Hindi, is allied to the Punjabi and Rajastani. The second race of Aryans was broad-headed and mixed with the Dravidian original population of the country is now found in the large tract from Ambala in the north, to Kathiawar in the south-west and Jubbulpore in the south-east and Nepal in the north-east. The present language of these people is Western Hindi. Now tradition also represents that there are two races of Aryans in India, *viz.*, the Solar race of Kshatriyas and the Lunar. This naturally suggests that the first race of Kshatriyas who came to India must be identified with the Solar race and the second with the Lunar race. And we find that this inference is strongly fortified by references in the Vedic literature, especially in the Rigveda, our oldest and most trustworthy authority. The Rigveda frequently mentions a people called the Bharatas. Now it is almost a riddle to Vedic scholars who these people were and what became of them. As stated by Prof. Macdonell under the word Kuru the general opinion is that these Bharatas merged in the Kurus. Now my suggestion, based on conclusions derived from Ethnology, Philology and Tradition, is that these Bharatas being the older Aryans

should be identified with the Solar race Kshatriyas of the Epics and the Puranas. Strong grounds for this identification are not wanting. The first is that their Purohitas were the Vasishthas, also called Tritsus in the Rigveda. Now the Vasishthas are in Epic and Puranic tradition inseparably connected with the Solar race. Secondly the famous king Sudasa of the Bhâratas is found in the Ramayana as an ancestor of Rama and Shatrughna. Sudasa is found in the Puranic genealogies also in the Solar line, but his father is not Divodasa as in the Rigveda. I think Puranic genealogy ought to give way in this matter. Sudasa, (Pijavana), Divodasa and Vadhryashva form the ascending line according to the Rigveda. It may be noted here that names ending in Ashva are found mostly in the Solar race and Vadhryashva (Rg. vi, 6r and x, 19) seems to be a Solar race king. Thirdly, Vishvamitra in the Rigveda is also a Rishi of the Bharatas and according to Epic and Purana tradition also, Vishvamitra is chiefly connected with the history of the Solar race.* Fourthly, the names of Purukutsa and Trasadasu † are to be found in the line of Ikshvaku only, in the Puranas and they are Aikshvaka also according to the Brahmanas. For all these reasons I identify the Bharatas as the Solar race people of the Epics. They are usually mistaken for the later Bharatas, *viz.*, the descendants of Daushyanti Bharata, but wherever this Bharata is mentioned in the Brahmanas the epithet Daushyanti is found added and he is not mentioned in the Rigveda at all. This mixing up of the two has led to the popular notion that India is called Bharatavarsha from this second Bharata. But tradition, even Puranic tradition, plainly contradicts this idea and states that India is called Bharatavarsha from Bharata, a grandson of the first Svayambhuva Manu. According to another Purana, Bharata who gave the name to this country is Manu himself or even the Sun. Hence we have a further confirmation of the first Bharatas being Kshatriyas

* The Puranas derive Vishvamitra from the Lunar line, but there is a contradiction here between the Puranas and the Ramayana and there is a contradiction among the Puranas themselves. Ramayana, Balakanda, Chapter 51, gives the ancestry of Vishvamitra as Prajapati and then Kushika at once, in whose family of course Vishvamitra was born even according to the Rigveda. He is hence neither Solar nor Lunar according to the Ramayana but he is plainly a person of the older race of Kshatriyas. The Puranas derive Vishvamitra in the Lunar line in two ways. Harivansha derives him from Amavasu, another son of Pururavas than Ayu whose son was Nahusha; while in another place it derives him from Ajamidha and Janhu. I think the Puranic genealogy ought to give way here to the Ramayana which makes Vishvamitra born in the oldest line of Kshatriyas. Curiously enough this uncertainty of descent still remains attached to their modern Kshatriya representatives, *viz.*, the Rathods who are derived differently both in the Solar and the Lunar lines.

† Kurushravana, a king in the Trasadasyu family is supposed to be a Kuru, but I do not see why he should be so. In the Rigvedic hymns he is expressly said to be a Trasadasyu and not a Kuru. The beginning word Kuru cannot make him a Kuru in race in the same way as Divodasa cannot be a Dasa or non-Aryan as actually suggested by a German Vedic Scholar.

of the Solar race. These Bharatas became so numerous that Bharata in one place in the Aitareya Brahmana stands for warrior generally.* In the Nirukta in one place Bharatas are said to mean priests also along with Kurus. The reason why Bharatas may be substituted for Kurus in sacrificial formulas as mentioned in Vedic Index under Kurus, is not because they were identical with Kurus but because they were a different people with equal renown, and whenever they were meant their name was to be substituted in the sacrificial formulas. In fine, there are very strong reasons to identify the Bharatas with the Solar race people of the later, *vis.*, Epic days. Their representatives in the days of the Brahmanas were the Kosala-Videhas the undoubted Solar race Kshatriyas of the Epics and the Puranas.

The identification of the Lunar race Kshatriyas in the Vedas is not a matter of any difficulty. They are, of course, the Yadus, the Turvashas, the Anus, the Druhyus and the Pûrus, so frequently mentioned in the Rigveda. Of these the Pûrus became numerous and supreme and in their line came the Kuru-Panchalas of Epic and Puranic fame. The Yadus also became famous and were the progenitors of the Yadavas amongst whom was born Krishna referred to in the Chhandogya. The Anus are supposed to give rise to several Punjab kings, *e.g.*, the Shibis and the Madras who had their counterpart beyond the Himalayas, the Uttara Madras as the Kurus had theirs, the Uttara Kurus. All this is so plain that later Epic and Purana tradition may be said to find complete support in the Rigvedic and Brahmana references. And in my opinion the five races, Yadus and others, had for their ancestor Yayati though this is doubted by Prof. Macdonell under the word Yayati in the Vedic Index. Purûravas, Ayu, Nahusha and Yayati are all mentioned in the Rigveda and form, so to speak, the starting line of the Lunar race. There is, of course, no express mention in the Rigveda of this connection between Yayati and the five peoples, Yadu and others, but some such connection may be inferred from hymn i, 31, where Yayati is mentioned. This hymn is composed by Hiranyastupa Angirasa and the Angirasa are connected, as we have already seen, with these five peoples. Moreover the fourth verse in this hymn may almost be taken to contain the confirmation of the later traditional genealogies of the Puranas, as it shows that (besides the Rishi Angirasa) Agni was revealed originally to two persons, Manu and Purûravas (त्वमग्ने मनवे यामवाशयः पुरूरवे मुकृते मुकृतरः ।) followed by verse 17 (मनुष्यद्वे अंगिरस्वदङ्गितो

* Macdonell says under Kuru that Bharatas in this passage (II, 25) means the Daushtyanî Bharatas and they attacked the Satvantas. Sayana, however, translates Bharatas by warriors and Satvantas by charioteers. This interpretation seems correct though the derivation of Bharata given by Sayana is fanciful. I think the word Bharatas became subsequently a synonym for warriors and even for priests as stated further.

ययातिवत्सदने पूर्ववच्चुचे) in which ययाति is plainly substituted for पुरुरवा as his representative. Thus, the Purana tradition, supported by these references in the Rigveda, cannot be fairly ignored. I think therefore, that the Lunar race kings from Pururavas down to Ajamidha are mentioned in the Rigveda, and from Bharata to Kuru and Janmejaya even, in the Brahmanas. In short the Lunar race Kshatriyas are undoubtedly a Vedic people identifiable with Pururavas and his descendants, Yadu, Turvasha and others.

Before concluding this paper I must advert to a very important question which arises at this stage and it is this : if the Solar and Lunar origins of the two races are not expressly mentioned in the Vedic literature how did the idea arise in Epic days ? The idea of the descent of all races from one ancestor is not a fancy of the Indo-Aryans only but of many peoples ; and the birth of heroes or great men from gods is also a myth which many people have believed in. Not only did the Greeks in ancient times make their heroes the sons of gods, but even in later history we find the Mexican Aztecs looking upon the Spaniards as the children of the Sun. The notion, therefore, that certain races were born from the Sun and the Moon was not an unnatural one with the Epic and Purana writers. But some reason must have influenced the selection of these gods as the ancestors of the two races of Kshatriyas and we may try to see what this reason may have been. Manu is even in the Rigveda the son of Vivasvat, or the Sun. It is not an idea of the later Indo-Aryans but even of the Vedic Rishis and the word Bharata which was the origin of the name of the ancient Rigvedic people the Bharatas, is explained by the Nirukta to mean the Sun. The idea, therefore, that the first race of Kshatriyas was descended from the Sun was inherited by the Epic writers from the Rigveda itself. The birth of the other race of Kshatriyas from the Moon was a natural idea as opposed to the Sun and hence they must have been looked upon as descendants of the Moon. Or perhaps, these people coming from the north may have been called descendants of the Moon for Soma is the lord of the north. We may add that the first race of Kshatriyas, being in Epic days in the east, may have been looked upon as descendants of the Sun. Lastly, it is also possible to explain this idea on a difference between these races in their observance of the year which is plainly discernable in the story of the Mahabharata fight. The Pandavas had to pass twelve years of exile and one of incognito according to the covenant at their gambling game. Now the Kurus argued when the Pandavas appeared in Virata's fight that they were discovered before their time, but the Pandavas replied that they had kept their word truly and fully. Bhishma decided the point in favour of the Pandavas and held that they had kept their word by the Lunar year

of 354 days. This decision would undoubtedly be strange if the Pandavas observed the Lunar year only for the purpose of this covenant. I think this phase of the question has not sufficiently attracted the attention of scholars. I hold that this decision clearly proves that the Pandavas generally followed the Lunar year like the Mahomedans of the present day. In the Taittiriya Samhita you have clear references to different years observed by the Aryans, *vis.*, the Civil year of 360 days, the Solar year of 365 days and the Lunar year of 354 days. Of course later Aryans observed the Solar year only and these differences have now disappeared entirely. But in ancient times the Pandavas, the latest branch of the Lunar race people, must have observed the Lunar year in much the same way as they observed polyandry so common among the Himalayan people ; while the Kurus or rather the Dhartarashtas as older people must have observed the solar year generally in vogue among the older Kshatriyas. The people of the Punjab and of Ayodhya and the other eastern people seem to have observed the Solar year and they were all on the side of the Dhartarashtas, while on the side of the Pandavas were all southern Aryans chiefly of the Lunar race, *vis.*, the Panchalas, who were apparently polyandrous still and the Yadavas and the Chedis and the Magadhas. In my opinion the different peoples ranged on either sides observed different years and they were, so to speak, people of the old tradition and the new tradition. The former observed the Solar year and the latter the Lunar year. Hence might also arise the idea that the Pandavas, Panchalas, etc., were the descendants of the Moon. It is true that some peoples of this race were observers of the Solar year as the Dhartarashtas themselves and the Madras, etc., but they were all inhabitants of the Punjab and must have adopted the year of the first settled Aryans there. I put forward this theory with some diffidence, but I think it to be of sufficient importance to find a record here. I have already given expression to this view in another place and detailed the whole theory as it appears from the story of the Mahabharata. I touch it here in bare outline and I put it forward only as an alternative to account for the Epic names assigned to these two most famous races of Kshatriyas, *vis.*, the Solar and the Lunar races who have so gloriously distinguished themselves not only in the Vedic, the Epic and the Puranic days, but also in the modern history of India commencing with Mahomedan times.

**ART. IV.—Goethe's *Parsi-nameh* or *Buch des Parsen*, i.e.,
the *Book of the Parsees***

BY

SHAMS-UL-ULMA DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., Ph.D.!

(Read, 23rd November 1914.)

I.

THE subject of this paper was first suggested to me, about six years ago, by an interesting article of Prof. Dowden in the *Contemporary Review* of July 1908,¹ entitled "Goethe's West-Eastern Divan." The word Divan (دیوان) in Persian means "A collection of miscellaneous poems." These collections generally contain "poems in the alphabetical order of the final letters of the various ending rhymes."² For example, the last letter of each couplet of the first group of odes is 'alif' or 'a'; then the last letter of each couplet of the second group is 'bè' or 'b'; and so on. The Divan of the celebrated Persian poet, Hafiz, who as we will see later on, suggested to Goethe the idea of his Divan, serves as an illustration of this arrangement of the odes.

The *Buch des Parsen*, i.e., the *Book of the Parsees*, which forms the subject of this paper, is a part of Goethe's "West-Östlicher Divan," i.e., the *West-Eastern Divan*. Of the twelve parts or books of the Divan, it forms the 11th part or book. As far as I know, all of Goethe's German works are not translated into English. The Divan is one of such untranslated books.³

On reading the above article, my knowledge of German having got all rusty, I had requested my friend, Father Noti of St. Xavier's College, to kindly translate for me the *Buch des Parsen*. On resuming my study of the subject recently, I found that Goethe had, in his "Noten und Abhandlungen" (Notes and Discussions), in connection with his "West-Östlicher Divan," written, under the head of "Aeltere Perser" (Old Persians),⁴ some notes on the ancient Persians. Father Hömel has, at my request, kindly translated it for me. I give both

¹ Vol. XCIV, pp. 23-42. ² Dr. Steingass's Persian-English Dictionary.

³ It forms the 14th Volume of the Stuttgart Edition (1867) of Goethe's Works in our Library.

⁴ Goethe's Werke Vierzehnter Band (14th Volume), Stuttgart Edition (1867), pp. 138-41.

these translations at the end of this paper, hoping that they will help some students interested in the subject. I beg to tender here my best thanks to Father Noti and Father Hömel for their kindness to translate the poem and notes for me.

Goethe speaks of his Parsi-nameh as "Vermächtniss altpersischen Glaubens", *i.e.*, "The Testament of the old Persian faith." He places his views in the mouth of a poor but pious man, who, on the approach of death, says a few words of advice to some young men who had nursed him and honoured him.

I propose to deal, in this Paper, with the following subjects in connection with Goethe's Parsi-nāmeḥ :—

1. An outline of Goethe's Life and a few traits of his character, to enable us to understand well the circumstances which led the German poet to write on an Iranian subject.
2. A short account of his West-Eastern Divan, of the twelve books of which the Parsi-nāmeḥ forms the eleventh book.
3. An account of his Parsi-nāmeḥ, with a few observations on the most salient points of the book.
4. Translations into English of Goethe's Buch des Parsen and of his Notes on the Ancient Persians.

II.

I. A SHORT OUTLINE OF GOETHE'S LIFE.

To properly understand the time and the circumstances under which Goethe wrote his Divan, and in it the Parsi-nāmeḥ, one must know, at least, a short outline of his life. One of his biographers, Mr. Oscar Browning thus speaks on the subject: "Goethe differs from all other great writers, except perhaps Milton, in this respect, that his works cannot be understood without a knowledge of his life, and that his life is in itself a work of art, greater than any work which it created. This renders a long and circumstantial biography a necessity to all who would study the poet seriously. . . . He is not only the greatest poet of Germany; he is one of the greatest poets of all ages. . . . He was the apostle of self-culture . . . and taught both by precept and example the husbandry of the soul. . . . As Homer concentrated in himself the spirit of Antiquity, Dante of the Middle Ages, and Shakespeare of the Renaissance, so Goethe is the represen-

To understand
Goethe's poems
well, his life must
be known.

tative of the modern spirit, the prophet of mankind under new circumstances and new conditions, the appointed teacher of ages yet unborn. ¹

Johnan Wolfgang von Goethe was born ² in Frankfort on 28th August 1749. He was the only son of his parents, who both formed a religiously inclined pair. His father had received the title of Imperial Councillor in 1742, at the age of 32. At first, Goethe was instructed at home by his father. French culture was much prevalent at the time. He came into great contact with it, through the soldiers of France who were at Frankfort during the Seven Years' War, in which France sided with the Empire against Frederick the Great. In 1765, at the age of 16, he went to Leipzig for further study. There he wrote several smaller poems and songs. He returned to Frankfort in 1768, at the age of 19, and remained there without any definite aim for a year and a half.

During this period, he came into contact with Mrs. Klettenberg, a member of the Moravian school. She drew his attention to the mystical writings of the saints and to Alchemy. The latter led him to the study of science, in which he, later on, made many researches. He then went to the University of Strasburg in April 1770 and studied there till August 1771. Here, he got most of the impulses of his later more active literary life. Then, his mind was for some time diverted from a literary to a scientific line, and he studied Anatomy, Midwifery and Chemistry, especially the last. He also studied here Art, and the Cathedral of Strasburg served him as a model of Gothic architecture.

Here, in Strasburg, he came into contact with Herder, who was 5 years older than him and who created in him a taste for Nature in Art and for the principles of the remantic school. In August 1770, he took his degree as Doctor of Law, the subject of his dissertation being "The duty of providing an established Church." He then returned to Frankfort. He now wrote several works.

¹ Goethe: His Life and Writings, by Oscar Browning (1892), pp. 136-37.

² The house, in which he was born, is still to be seen in Frankfort. During my two days' visit of Frankfort, in 1889, I had the pleasure of visiting his house on 21st September 1889. I have put down in my note-book, the number of his house as "No. 22 Grosser Hirschgraben". There is also his statue in Frankfort. On its four sides, his literary works are represented. On one side, is represented his Poecy—Tragedy and Comedy; on another, his Faust and Mephistocles; on the third, a group of five works; on the fourth, some of his other works. In the Museum of Antiquities, I saw, on a glass plate, the representation of the Persian winged Farohar with the flame of fire before it.

In the spring of 1772, he left Frankfort for Wetzlar, a quiet country town and one of the seats of the Holy Roman Empire. The Emperors held their Courts of Justice there. Here, he contracted the friendship of Lotte (Charlotte), the second daughter of one Herr Buff. At one time, Lotte spoke to him of the other world and of the possibility of returning from it. It was arranged between them that whoever "died first, should, if he could, give information to the living about the conditions of the other life." ¹

The fate of a young man named Jerusalem, whom he met at Wetzlar, and who committed suicide for failure in a hopeless passion for a married woman, suggested to Goethe the composition of the Werther. This work is said to have influenced many a lover who shot himself with a copy of Werther in his hand. Werther and Götz were the two works of Goethe which laid the foundation of Goethe's fame. Götz was a name of the chivalrous age which he had assumed in play with other literary friends discussing old chivalrous subjects. The assumption of that name gradually led him to write that work. Götz was published in 1773 and Werther in 1774. While writing such works Goethe also practised as an advocate at the Court at Wetzlar. At this time, he conceived the idea of writing Cæsar, Faust, Mahomet, the Wandering Jew and Prometheus. To write the drama of Mahomet, he studied the Koran.

At the special invitation of the Duke of Weimar, who had passed through Frankfort, Goethe went to Weimar in November 1775. Before the Seven Years' War, all the German princes looked to France for culture. But now, they "were beginning to take an interest in German literature." ² Most of them had literary men of genius in their courts. So, the Duke of Weimar had Goethe who "rose like a star." ³ Weimar was known at the time as the German Athens. The Duke invested him with the title.....of Geheimlegationsrath (Secret Legation Councillor), with a seat and voice in the privy council, and an income of £180 a year..... Goethe devoted himself with industry and enthusiasm to the public business.⁴ The first ten years at Weimar were interrupted now and then by long journeys, one of which was to Switzerland in 1779. Goethe was the principal adviser of the Duke of Weimar, who, in 1785, formed

¹ Life and Works of Goethe by Lewis, Vol. I, p. 183.

² "Goethe: His Life and Writings", by Oscar Browning, p. 56.

³ Ibid., p. 60.

⁴ Ibid., p. 62-63.

the Fürstenbund or league of princes, under the supremacy of Frederick the Great, to resist the ambition of Austria under Joseph II.¹ He thus took an interest in the question of the independence of Germany.

The year 1786 was very important for him. He saw that the work and the pleasures of the Court of Weimar, where he had spent 10 years, had kept him away from his literary pursuits and from his study of art and science. Many of his literary compositions had remained unfinished. His study of science was kept off. It is said of his scientific studies that he had a glimpse of Darwinism before Darwin. "He succeeded in seeing, as in a vision, the great scheme of evolution applied to all phenomena of the natural and moral world."² So, to pursue quietly for some time, all his favourite studies, and to satisfy "his longing to possess his soul in peace,"³ he journeyed in Italy from September 1786 to June 1788. He travelled *incognito* under the name of Müller. He returned to Weimar in June 1788, a new man, *i.e.*, a man with a new idea about art, *vis.*, that, not only the work of art must be solid, firm and simple, but "that life itself should be a work of art."⁴ He resolved to be free from "the distractions which had hitherto confused him".

In 1788, he entered into, what is called a "half-marriage" with Christiane Vulpius, a healthy blooming young girl, who first presented herself before him with a petition seeking some favour for her brother. Her simple beautiful features attracted Goethe. He took her home and made her his housewife. Several reasons are assigned, why he remained in an improper liaison with her and did not marry her, one being her low position in life. A son was born to him of this girl. About 15 years after the first liaison, he thought it advisable to marry her. The first half-marriage and the second legal marriage both were subjects of scandalous talk in the country and threw a slur upon the conduct of this great poet.

In 1792 and 1793, Goethe went with his master, the Duke of Weimar, to war. During the intervals of fight he pursued his favourite study of Optics and of the various branches of Natural Science. In the Autumn of 1793, the Duke left the Prussian service. Goethe, now being free, took to the management of the theatre for which he now wrote several pieces. He now contracted the friendship of Schiller,

¹ Ibid., p. 71.

² Ibid., p. 75.

³ Ibid., p. 78.

⁴ Ibid., p. 86.

who was younger than him by about 10 years. Their friendship inspired both of them mutually. Schiller's influence led Goethe to finish his *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre*. The death of Schiller in 1805 upset Goethe for a time.

In 1806 was fought the great battle of Jena. Weimar was plundered. Goethe's friends lost everything. Goethe's property was saved by the firmness of his wife. Napoleon entered the town but Goethe did not go to see him. Then it was in 1808, that Napoleon, the military dictator, saw Goethe, the literary dictator of the time, at Erfurt, where the sovereigns and princes of Europe met in a Congress.

In October 1808, Goethe, at the express desire of Napoleon, had an interview with him, when he (Napoleon) went to Weimar to attend the conference of princes. When Goethe entered, Napoleon welcomed him with the words "Vous êtes un homme!" When he left, Napoleon said to his courtiers "Voilà un homme." Goethe was bold in the expression of his view, as in the case of his defence of Giordano Bruno. So, he liked Napoleon's appreciation of him. He speaks of his words as "the wonderful words with which the Emperor received me." As his biographer says "Goethe could not ask anything more than the recognition contained in these words, coming from such a mouth. He declared, too, that 'Napoleon had put the dot above the i (of his life).'"¹ It is said of that cynic philosopher Dionysius, that at midday, he went about with a lamp. When somebody asked him, why he went out with a lamp during daylight, he said, he went out in search of a "man," meaning thereby, that he found none whom he could really call a "man." When we remember this pretty anecdote, we see the full force and meaning of the words of Napoleon, calling Goethe a "man."

The year 1809 was an important one for Goethe, because, he then, as it were, began a new era. The troubled period—a period of nearly 10 years—of sorrow, owing to the wars and other circumstances, was over. Many were the causes of the sorrows of these ten years, the principal of which were the following :—1 The death of his dear friend, Schiller, on hearing the news of which he is said to have wept bitterly; 2 the plunder of his town of Weimar; 3 the death of Duchess Amalia, a great admirer and friend of Goethe; 4 the death of his mother; and 5 his own illness.

The growth of a habit of contemplation.

¹ The Life of Goethe by A. Bielschowsky, translated by W. A. Cooper, Vol. II., p. 411
Life and Works of Goethe by Lewis, Vol. II, pp. 366-67.

² Ibid., Bielschowsky, Vol. II, p. 453, note 77. ³ Ibid., p. 414.

He now wrote an autobiographical account of his early life under the title of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (Poetry and Truth). His biographers think, that it is not a faithful account. The last part of it appeared in 1814. During this time, the Germans were uniting and rising to overthrow the power of Napoleon. Goethe took no part in the movement. The reason for this coldness was his "natural indifference to the details of human affairs",¹ as shown by the fact, that even in the midst of weighty affairs like war and court business, he flew to his studies. Again, he "was a man of thought rather than of action". He thought Napoleon to be "the greatest living depository of power."²

Now the habit of contemplation begun to grow upon him more and more. So, in 1814, at the age of 65, he struck, as it were, a new line of poetical activity. In 1812, he first saw Hammer's translation of Hafiz. On the death, in June 1828, of the Grand Duke, Karl August, a life-long companion from the time of his youth, he is said to have uttered the words "Now it is all over". He died in 1832.

III.

A FEW TRAITS OF HIS CHARACTER.

In the above short outline of his life, we have referred to the principal events of his life. But some of the traits of his character require to be specially referred to. It is said, that he began to grow up, as a boy of observing habits, which gave him a contemplative or meditative bent of mind. The great earthquake of Lisbon in 1755 is reported to have killed about 60,000 men. This natural phenomenon and the Seven Years' War made him more contemplative in his boyhood. "From Nature to Nature's God," was the bent of his early life. He was, at first, a little inclined to mysticism, and his association, at an early age of about 20, with Klettenberg, a lady, who was a mystic, led him a little further towards mysticism. He was more inclined to pantheism in his belief.

According to his biographer, G. H. Lewis,³ Tacitus noticed, that a kind of Nature-worship was, as it were, a "natural tendency" of the ancient Germans. Goethe, was, from his early years inclined towards this natural tendency. As early as in 1770, Goethe defended M. Giordano Bruno, who was burnt in 1600 for declaring that the earth moved, a teaching which the Christian Church at the time had declared to be heretical. Giordano Bruto was a student of Nature, and this study had led him to a kind of pantheism—a monotheistic

¹ Goethe by Oscar Browning, p. 124. ² *Ibid.*, p. 125.

³ *Life and Work of Goethe Vol. I.*, p. 100.

pantheism which one observes in the East. As said by Goethe's biographer Mr. G. H. Lewis, "Pantheism, which captivates poetical minds, has a poetical grandeur in the form given to it by Bruno which would have allured Goethe had his tendencies not already lain in that direction." Bayle criticised this pantheism of Bruno, and Goethe said against this criticism: "Je ne suis pas du sentiment de M. Bayle à l'égard de Jor. Brunus, et je ne trouve ni d'impiété ni d'absurdité dans les passages qu'il cite."¹

In the above references to the views of Goethe, we saw, that he was pantheistic in his belief. However, it seems that Goethe's view of Pantheism his pantheism was not of any gross character. It was not a pantheism opposed to monotheism. As Dr. Ketkar has, while speaking of Hinduism, said, "Monotheism and pantheism should be regarded as synonyms, and pantheism is the only possible form of any consistent monotheism"² This pantheism, taking it to be synonymous with monotheism, was the result of the mind soaring from Nature to Nature's God. Goethe himself thus presents his view on the subject: "To discuss God apart from Nature is both difficult and perilous; it is as if we separated the soul from the body. We know the soul only through the medium of the body, and God only through Nature. Hence the absurdity, as it appears to me, of accusing those of absurdity who philosophically have united God with the world. For everything which exists, necessarily pertains to the essence of God, because God is the one Being whose existence includes all things. Nor does the Holy Scripture contradict this, although we differently interpret its dogmas each according to his views. All antiquity thought it in the same way; an unanimity which to me has great significance. To me the judgment of so many men speaks highly for the rationality of the doctrine of emanation."³

This view of Nature corresponded to the view of the East, more especially of India. So, we see, that from an early age, he was, as it were, inclined to the philosophic views of life held by the East.

In his Memoirs, written by himself, while describing his portraiture of Mahomet in a hymn which he had once composed, he gives us an idea of his views as how to rise from Nature to Nature's God. He says:

How he carried the mind from Nature to Nature's God.

"The scene is supposed to represent a bright and serene night. Mahomet salutes the multitude of

¹ Ibid., pp. 101-102.

² Dr. Shridhar v. Ketkar's "Essay on Hinduism, its formation and future", quoted in the Academy of 15th June 1912, p. 749.

³ Life and Works of Goethe by G. Lewis, Vol. I, pp. 102-3, Bk. II.

stars as so many divinities. To the propitious planet Gad (our Jupiter), then rising above the horizon, he pays special homage as the king of all the stars. The moon next appears, and captivates for a while the eyes and the heart of the pious adorer of Nature. Presently the brilliant rising of the sun excites him to renewed homage. But the aspect of the heavenly bodies, notwithstanding the satisfaction with which they inspire him, leaves his heart a prey to desire. He feels that there is still something greater; and his soul is elevated to the contemplation of the only, eternal, and infinite God, to whom all things owe their existence. I had composed this hymn with the deepest enthusiasm." ¹

It was such a view of grand Nature that led him to look with reverence to the Sun.

IV.

2. HIS WEST-OSTLICHE DIVAN.

Having given an outline of his life and having spoken of some of the traits of his mind, we now come to the subject of his West-Eastern Divan.

Goethe was drawn towards the East, as said above, long before he wrote the Divan. In his autobiography, while speaking of Mademoiselle Von Klettenberg, he refers to the Missionaries, and says: "I happened to advocate the people whom they sought to convert, and to declare that I preferred the primitive state of those ignorant nations to that to which they had been brought." ²

Again, as referred to in our account of his life, he was drawn to the East by his study of the Koran for his book on Mahomet. He had studied the life of this great Mahomedan prophet. While speaking of him and while defending his character and personality, he thus speaks on the work of great prophets:—

"I perfectly understood how a man of superior genius should desire to turn to the advantage of his fellow-creatures, the divine faculties which he is conscious he possesses. But, having to do with men of grosser

¹ "Memoirs of Goethe," written by himself (1824), Vol. II., pp. 113-114.

² "Memoirs of Goethe," written by himself (1824), Vol. II., pp. 117-118.

intellects, he is compelled, in order to secure their friendship, to lower himself to their level ; and this necessity degrades his eminent qualities by assimilating him to his inferiors. Thus the celestial powers of genius are depreciated by an amalgamation with worldly speculations; and views directed to eternity, lose their sublimity, and become narrowed by their application to ephemeral objects. I found that history presented situations completely similar. It was thus that I conceived the idea of borrowing, from the series of events which compose the life of Mahomet, the groundwork of a dramatic representation of those bold enterprises so forcibly presented to my mind ; and which, though determined by noble feelings, too frequently end in crime.”¹

One of Goethe's biographers has said, that when Goethe turned to the East, for a kind of diversion and tranquillity
 Goethe's views of Indian Mythology. or peace of mind, India did not appeal to him so much as Persia did, because he found it “ too monstrous a jumble.” Goethe, after referring to the Scandinavian Edda, which contains a reference to the story of Zoroaster laughing at his birth, as said by Pliny, thus gives his views of the Indian Mythology :

“ A similar kind of interest attached me to the Indian fables, with which I began to get acquainted by means of Dapper's Voyage, and which I added to my mythological stores with pleasure. The altar of Ram became the ornament of my tales ; and, notwithstanding the incredible multiplicity of the personages, of these fables, the ape Hanneman was the favourite of my auditory. But I found all these monstrous personages unfit to form part of my poetical furniture ; the imagination being either unable to conceive them at all, or only able to comprehend them under absurd and ridiculous forms.”²

The times and the circumstances under which the West-Östliche Divan was written. Goethe wrote his West-Östliche Divan during the sunset of his life, when he was in his 65th year. It was the political storm in Europe that drove him to the harbour of peace and tranquillity in Asia. As his biographer³ says : “ During the storms of war, Goethe had more and more withdrawn, in spirit, from the European world and taken refuge in the original abode of man in Asia, in order in those far-off regions to restore that serene harmony of his being which had been disturbed by the

¹ “ Memoirs of Goethe,” written by himself Vol. II, pp. 112-13.

² “ Memoirs of Goethe,” written by himself (1824), Vol. I, pp. 436-7.

³ Dr. Beilschowsky, translated by W. A. Cooper, Vol. III, . . .

discordant notes of the restless age. It was only natural that the trend of events should turn the eyes of all to the Orient Goethe participated in this general movement China and India could not hold his attention ; China was too barren, India too monstrous a jumble. Persia, on the other hand, tempted him to linger. He became acquainted with the culture of this country through its most congenial representative, Hafiz, the celebrated poet of the fourteenth century. Hammer's translation of Hafiz's collection of songs, the Divan, had appeared in 1812 and 1813, and Goethe needed but to read the introduction to this work to be most strongly attracted by the life and writings of his Oriental brother."

In one place in his Memoirs, he says :

"For some years past the events of my life having compelled me to call my own powers into action, I devoted myself with ardent zeal and unremitting activity to the cultivation of my mental faculties. . . . My mind was wholly directed to Nature, who appeared to me in all her magnificence. . . . I accordingly formed a religion after my own mind."¹

He named his Divan the West-Eastern Divan, because, taking the imagery from the East, he had planted therein his own Western views. "He made the first attempt to transplant Eastern poetry to a German soil."²

Why the Divan was named West-östliche.

Just as the success of Firdousi in Persia in writing his Shah-nâmeh, an epic based on ancient historical tradition as of Persia, led many other Persian poets to write many *namehs* or books on the line of his Shah-nameh, Goethe's success in Germany in writing on Eastern subjects is said to have led other German writers like Rückert (1788-1866), Platen (1796-1835), and Heine (1799-1856), to write on Eastern subjects. Rückert, who was a Professor of Oriental languages, and is said to have known 30 languages and who was a translator of Oriental poems, had, following Goethe, named one of his poems, *östliche Rosen* (1823), *i.e.*, "Eastern Roses". His "*Rostem und Suhrab eine Heldengeschichte*" (*Rustam und Sohrab*, an epic or heroic story) is based on a Persian episode. As said by another biographer, who calls Goethe, "the German Hafiz",³ it was not only the Oriental works of Von Hammer, but works of other Oriental scholars also that

¹ "Memoirs of Goethe," written by himself (1824), Vol. II, p. 121.

² Goethe: "His Life and Writings," by Oscar Browning (1892), p. 126

³ The Life and Works of Goethe by Lewis, Vol. II, p. 398.

had influenced Goethe. Mr. Lewis names (Silvestre) De Sacy.¹ I think that the name of that distinguished French traveller and scholar, Anquetil Du Perron, who had visited India in 1755-61 and who had then published his translation of the Zend Avesta of the Parsees in 1771, may be added as the name of one who had very likely influenced Goethe in his work of the "Buch des Parsen." Dr. Thomas Hyde, the author of "Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum" also seems to have influenced him.

Goethe, in his West Eastern Divan was chiefly inspired by Hafiz. Oscar Browning thus speaks on the subject : " At a time when North and South and West were splitting in sunder, when thrones were breaking up and empires trembling, he sought a willing refuge in the restoring fountain of the Eastern poet¹." These two poets had, as pointed out by his biographer, many traits in common. Dr. Bielschowsky says ² :

"The bard of Shiraz seemed the very image of himself. Had he himself, perchance, lived once before upon the earth in the form of the Persian? Here was the same joy of earth and love of heaven, the same simplicity and depth, truthfulness and straightforwardness, warmth and passionateness, and, finally, the same openness of heart towards everything human and the same receptive mind free from institutional limitations. Did not the same thing apply to him that the Persians said of their poet, when they called him 'the mystic tongue' and 'the interpreter of mysteries', and when they said of his poems that to outward appearance they were simple and unadorned, but that they had a deep, truth-fathoming significance and highest perfection of form? And had not Hafiz, like him, enjoyed the favour of the humble and the great? Had he not also conquered a conqueror, the mighty Timur? And had he not out of the destruction and ruin saved his own serenity, and continued to sing peacefully as before under the old accustomed conditions?"

"Thus Goethe found in Hafiz a beloved brother of a former age, and, gladly treading in the footsteps of his Oriental kinsman, produced, to compete with the Eastern Divan, one in the West, which had to be styled West-eastern, as the Western poet blended the ideas and forms of the East with those of the West, and boldly assumed the mask of the Persian singer without sacrificing an iota of his own profound personality."

¹ Goethe: His Life and Writings, p. 126.

² "The Life of Goethe," translated by W. A. Cooper, Vol. III, p. 3.

Goethe's West-Eastern Divan consists of the following twelve books, and of these, the Book of the Parsees forms the 11th book :—

The Twelve Books of the West-Östlicher Divan.

1. Buch des Sängers, *i.e.*, the Book of Singers.
2. Buch Hafis, *i.e.*, the Book of Hafiz.
3. Buch der Liebe, *i.e.*, the Book of Love.
4. Buch der Betrachtungen, *i.e.*, the Book of Contemplation.
5. Buch des Unmuths, *i.e.*, the Book of Sadness.
6. Buch der Sprüche, *i.e.*, the Book of Proverbs.
7. Buch des Timur, *i.e.*, the Book of Timur.
8. Buch Suleika, *i.e.*, the Book of Zulikha.
9. Das Schenkenbuch, *i.e.*, the Book of the Cup-bearer.
10. Buch der Parabeln, *i.e.*, Book of Parables.
11. Buch des Parsen, *i.e.*, the Book of the Parsees.
12. Buch des Paradieses *i.e.*, the Book of Paradise.

Goethe has given Oriental names to all the above 12 books of his Divans. He has called the books "Nāmeḥ" which is the Persian word for a book (نامہ). He has called the first book "Moganni-nāmeḥ" and has given "Buch des Sängers," *i.e.*, the "Book of Singers," as its German equivalent. He has taken this name from a long ode¹ or rather a booklet of Hafiz, called Mughanni-nāmeḥ (مغنی نامہ). In fact, this booklet of Hafiz which gives its name to the first book of Goethe's Divan, gives some names and makes several allusions which remind us of the ancient Persians or Parsees. Therein, we find allusions to the Turānian King Afrāsīāb, his son Shideh and his minister Pirān², the hereditary enemies of Iran, and to Salim and Tur, the sons of the Irānian King Faridun. Therein, we also find a reference to the Zindehrud (زندهرود) referred to by Goethe.

The second book Hafis Nameh has Buch Hafis, as its German name. The word ḥāfiz (حافظ) in Persian, means one who learns his Koran well by heart. This was the poetical name of the Persian poet.

¹ Ode 697 in Col. Wilberforce Clarke's Translation of Hafiz. Vol. II p. 993.

² Col. Clarke is wrong in saying that he was a great general of Irān (*Ibid.*, p. 996 note). He was the great Minister and General of Turān.

The third book, "Buch der Liebe," *i.e.*, the "Book of Love," must be Ishq or Ashq-nameh and not Ushk-nameh as Goethe has termed it. The Persian word for Love is Ishq (عشق).

The fourth book, "Buch der Betrachtungen," *i.e.*, the "Book of Contemplation," is named Tefkir-nameh. The word is Arabic Tatkir (تفكير) meaning "reflection, consideration."

The fifth book, "Buch des Unmuths," or "Book of Sadness", is entitled Rendsch-nameh, which properly speaking is Ranj-nameh, (رنج نامه) *i.e.*, the "Book of Troubles."

The sixth book, "Buch der Sprüche" or the "Book of Sayings or Proverbs" is named Hikmet-nameh (حکمت نامه) *i.e.*, the book of wise sayings.

The seventh book, "Buch des Timur" or the "Book of Timur" has taken its name from Timur or Timurlane, who had, at one time devastated Asia. It is believed, that in the character of Timur, Goethe had, before his mind, Napoleon, the Timur of the West of his time.¹

The eighth book, "Suleika-nameh" or the "Book of Zuleika", has taken its name from the well-known eastern female character of Zulikha, who has been the subject of the song of several Eastern poets. The story of Yousaph and Zulikha is as much known in the East as that of Romeo and Juliet in the West. In Zulikha, he had in his mind Marianne vom Willemer, the newly married wife of his old friend Willemer, under whose influence he had fallen in his old age.

The ninth book, "Das Schenkenbuch," *i.e.*, the "Book of the Cupbearer", is named Saki-nameh. Goethe has taken this name from a long ode or rather a booklet of verses of Hafiz himself. This booklet² is named Saki-nameh (ساقی نامه). Therein, every alternate couplet begins with the word Sâkî (*i.e.*, O Cupbearer!). This poem of Hafiz has, in the very beginning, an allusion to Zardusht زردوشث or Zoroaster and his sacred fire. It has also several allusions to eminent kings and personages of ancient Irân, like King Jamshed, Tahamtan (Rustam) and his celebrated horse the Rakhsh, Minocheher, Buzurj Meher, Noshirwan, Kai Kâus, Kai Kobâd, Dârâ and Kai Khusru.

¹ Goethe: His Life and Writings by Oscar Browning (1892), p. 126.

² It forms Ode No. 686 in Col. Wilberforce Clarke's Translation.

The tenth book, "Buch der Parabeln" or the "Book of Parables" is entitled *Mathal-nameh* (*Masal-nameh* مثال نامہ) from the Arabic word *masal* which means, a fable, adage or parable.

The eleventh book, which is the subject proper of this Paper, is "Buch des Parsen" or the "Book of the Parsees." It is entitled *Parsi-nameh*. Lewis translates the words "Buch des Parsen", by "Book of the Persians."¹ But Prof. Dowden translates them by "Book of the Parsees."² There are several reasons why the latter rendering is preferable. Firstly, the proper German word for 'Persian' would be 'Perser' and not *Parsi*. The word '*Parsi*' is rendered into German dictionaries by '*Parsee*.' Secondly, the contents of the book shew, that Goethe does not speak in this poem of the modern Persians. Of course, as one would naturally be led to think from the fact of the *Divan* of the modern Persian poet *Hafiz* having led him to write his *Divan*, that Goethe speaks of the modern Persians or Persians in general. But that is not the case. He speaks of the ancient Persians, the ancestors of the modern Persians. And thirdly, Goethe heads his poem in the very beginning as "Vermächtniss altpersischen Glaubens, *i.e.*, "the Last Will of the Old Persian Religion."

The twelfth or the last book, "Buch des Paradieses", *i.e.*, the "Book of Paradise", is entitled "Chuld-nameh." It is Persian *Khuld-nameh* (خلد نامہ). The first part of the name is Arabic (خلد) *khuld*, meaning eternity, paradise. The word 'paradiese' in the German name of the book (English *paradyse*, Fr. *paradis*) is *firdous* (فردوس) in Persian, meaning a garden, a vineyard, paradise.³ It is originally an Avestan word *pairi-daēza* (پایرداژا) meaning lit. "an enclosed place." It is one of the four Avesta or old Iranian words that have entered into the old Hebrew of the Bible.

Sarah Austin thus sums up the feeling, breathing through the *Divan*. "Through all the songs of the *Divan* breathes the untroubled feeling of an unexpected reconcilment with Life, and a cheerful acquiescence in the conditions of our being. The period of time within which this collection of lyrical matter had birth is shown in the opening song. It is the period in which all was wreck and confusion ;

¹ *Life and Works of Goethe* by G. H. Lewis, Vol. II, p. 399.

² *Contemporary Review* of July 1868, Vol. XCIV, p. 4.

³ *Firdousi*, the Homer of the East, derives his name from this word, *Firdous*.

thrones were overthrown, and nations panic-stricken. And now, when all seemed gloom and despair, the poet had fought through the fight with himself and the outer world ; he had gained the power to penetrate with cheerful courage into the deep origin of things in which men still received heavenly wisdom from God in earthly language, and did not distract their heads. The poet, become one with himself and with the world, stands firm against all outward shocks, and is no wise disheartened by them The poet stands isolated and self-dependent. This, which had at first given Goethe such intense pain, has now lost its bitterness. He is become like one of those happy sages of the east, whose unclouded brightness and serenity of soul nothing temporal could disturb ; who find their country everywhere, because peace and content reign in their own bosoms." ¹

Goethe's other biographer also says a similar thing : "The *West-Östliche* Divan was a refuge from the troubles of the time. Instead of making himself unhappy with the politics of Europe, he made himself happy studying the history and poetry of the East. He even began to study the Oriental languages, and was delighted to be able to copy the Arabic manuscripts in their peculiar characters . . . This forms the peculiarity of the Divan—it is West-Eastern ; the images are Eastern ; the feeling is Western . . . In this Eastern world we recognize the Western poet." ²

V.

3. HIS PARSI-NAMEH.

Coming to the Parsi-nâneh itself, before examining it a little in details, I will here briefly sum up its contents in the words of Prof. Dowden ³ : "The Book of the Parsees is mainly occupied with the noble 'Legacy of the old Persian faith,' uttered to his disciples by a poor and pious brother now about to depart from earth. The worship of the Sun and of fire, seemingly so abstracted, is regarded by Goethe as profoundly practical. The dying saint enthusiastically aspires towards the light, but his lesson for his brethren is wholly concerned with conduct ;—'daily fulfilment of hard services'—such is his legacy in a word ; their part it will be to keep pure, as far as human effort can, the soul, the air,

¹ Characteristics of Goethe, from the German of Falk, von Müller, &c. (*Conversations-Lexicon, and Supplement*) by Sarah Austin (1833), Vol. II, pp. 241-43.

² *Life and Works of Goethe* by G. H. Lewis, Vol. II, p. 398.

³ His article on "Goethe's West-Eastern Divan" in the *Contemporary Review* of July 1908, Vol. 94, p. 41.

the water of the canal, and their own hearts and lives through devoted service, in order that these may be worthy to receive the divine and vivifying rays of the Sun. And, as the Sun rises above the peaks of the Darnavend, the old man's spirit ascends from earth to be gathered from gyre to gyre of the heavens."

Goethe's Buch des Parsen or Parsi-nameh, to be properly understood, must be read with his *Noten und Abhandlungen* (Notes and Discussions). When we read both, together or side by side, we find that the subjects treated in the Parsi-nameh can be grouped under a few principal heads. These are :—

1. Veneration for the Sun, of which fire-veneration is a part or substitute.
2. Purity or cleanliness, both physical and mental or moral.
3. Daily fulfilment of hard services.

The first and the most important subject is the reverence paid to the Sun by the Parsees, of which the veneration for fire is, according to Goethe, a subsidiary part.

He says, at first, that the splendour of a king, decked with gold and adorned with gems, is nothing before the splendour of the rising Sun illuminating the many peaks of the Darnawend. ¹ One cannot help looking at and admiring the grand spectacle. One's thoughts on such a sight are led to God, the fountain of life, and to seek His way in His light. The physical light leads him to thoughts of moral light.

In his *Notes and Discussions*, Goethe thus justifies, the Parsees' reverence for the Sun and the other luminaries. He says : "Gazing at Nature formed the basis of the worship of the ancient Parsees. Whilst adoring the Creator, they turned toward the rising Sun, as the most strikingly glorious phenomenon. They fancied they saw their God's throne, surrounded by brilliant angels. The pomp

¹ Darnawend is the mountain near modern Tehran, known as the Demavend. It is variously written in the Phalvi books. In the grand Bundelesh it is written Dubahvand

𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 (a) Dbahvand 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 (b) Dumbahvand 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎 (c).

a. Ervard Tehmuras's text, published by the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet, p. 80. l. 2, ; p. 88, l. 11. S. B. E., Vol. V., Chap. XII, 29. 31.

b. *Ibid.*, p. 80, l. 6.

c. *Ibid.*, p. 108, l. 8.

of this elevating worship was daily within reach of every one, even the most lowly. The poor would step forth from his hut, the warrior from his tent, and the most religious of actions would be accomplished. To the new-born child, the baptism of fire¹ was administered in such rays, and all day long, and all life long, the Parsee saw himself accompanied by the Great Luminary in all his doings. The moon and the stars were lighting up the night; they too were out of reach belonging to the realms of the endless. Fire on the contrary walks by man's side, giving light and warmth to the best of its capacity. It becomes a sweet and pious duty to say prayers in presence of this substitute, to bow to what was felt as infinite. Nothing is cleaner than a bright sunrise, and such was to be the cleanliness with which fires were to be kindled and kept, if they were to be and to remain sacred and sunlike."

From Nature to Nature's God is a principle upon which Zoroastrian teachings about worship are principally based. Nature is the grand manifestation of God. If a Zoroastrian is asked about the evidences of the Existence of God, his reply should be that the principal evidence is, what is now spoken of as, the "Argument from Design." Chapter 44 of the Yaçna serves as an instance. A Parsee's prayer, now named, *char disa ni namaj* (ચારે દિશાની નેમાજ), *i.e.*, obeisance in all four directions, in reciting which four times, he turns each time to all the four directions, East, South, West and North, beginning with the East and ending with the North, shews his faith, that he believes in the omnipresence of God, in his attractive presence in the great objects of Nature, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, &c.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie, the great American millionaire when he was once in Bombay, on seeing a Parsee pray before the Sun and the great sea at Back Bay, thus spoke of what Goethe calls the "elevating worship of the Parsis": "Fire was there in its grandest form, the setting Sun, and water in the vast expanse of the Indian Ocean outstretched before them. The earth was under their feet, and wafted across the sea; the air came laden with the perfumes of 'Araby the blest.' Surely no time or place could be more fitly chosen than this for lifting up the soul to the realms beyond sense. I could not but participate with these worshippers in what was so grandly beautiful. There was no music save the solemn moan of the waves as they broke into foam on the beach. But where shall we find so mighty an organ, or so grand an anthem?"

A similar justification by a modern traveller.

¹ Vide the *Sad-dar* which speaks of kindling a lamp or fire on the birth of a child.

“ How inexpressibly sublime the scene appeared to me, and how insignificant and unworthy of the unknown seemed even our cathedrals ‘made with human hands,’ when compared with this looking up through Nature unto Nature’s God ! I stood and drank in the serene happiness which seemed to fill the air.”¹

Goethe’s comparison of the splendour of a king with that of the great luminary reminds us of King Akbar’s view, expressed by his great minister Abul ‘I Fazal in his Akbar-nameh. He says :

A similar justification by Akbar.

“ His Majesty maintains that it is a religious duty and divine praise to worship fire and light ; surely, ignorant men consider it forgetfulness of the Almighty, and fire-worship. But the deep-sighted know better. As the external form of the worship of ‘ the select ’ is based upon propriety, and as people think the neglect of some sort of worship abominable, there can be nothing improper in the veneration of that exalted element, which is the source of man’s existence and of duration of his life ; nor should base thoughts enter such a matter.

“ How beautifully has Shaik Sharaf-ud-din Munyari said : ‘ What can be done with a man who is not satisfied with the lamp, when the Sun is down ? ’ Every flame is derived from that fountain of divine light (the Sun), and bears the impression of its holy essence. If light and fire did not exist, we should be destitute of food and medicines ; the power of sight would be of no avail to the eyes. The fire of the Sun is the torch of God’s sovereignty”.²

The tone of justification for the veneration paid to the Sun, adopted here by Abul Fazl, in the words, “ If light and fire did not exist, we should be destitute, etc.,” reminds us of a similar tone of justification used in the Avesta in the Khurshed Nyâish and Kurshed Yasht (the Invocation in honor of the Sun) and implied in the words “ Should the Sun not rise up, then the Dævas would destroy all things, etc.”³

With regard to the baptism of fire to the new-born child, referred to by Goethe, one may refer to the Persian custom described in the Persian Sad-dar. It says : “ When the child becomes separate from the mother, it is necessary to burn a lamp for three nights and days, if they burn a fire it would be better.”⁴ Dr. Thomas Hyde, in his “Veterum Persarum

¹ As quoted by B. Lang in his “Modern Zoroastrian,” p. 220.

² The Ain-i-Akbari, translated by Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 48.

³ Yt. vi. S. B. E., Vol. XXII., p. 86.

⁴ Chapter XVI a S. B. E. Vol. XXIV, p. 277. Text, edited by Mr. B. N. Dhribhar. p. 13.

et Parthorum et Medorum Religionis Historia", published in the middle of the 18th century, rests a good deal upon the Sad-dar for some parts or his version about the ancient Persians. It is possible that this work also was one of the books studied by Goethe for his materials about the ancient Persians.

Before we proceed further, we would notice here, what Mr. G. H. Lewis, a biographer of Goethe, says of Goethe's views in 1813, about the practice of paying reverence to the Sun as a manifestation of God. Mr. Lewis says ¹ :

Goethe's view about the Veneration for the Sun.

"But against dogmatic teachings he opposed the fundamental rule, that all conceptions of the Deity must necessarily be *our* individual conceptions, valid for us, but not to the same extent for others. Each has his own religion; must have it as his individual possession; let each see that he be true to it, which is far more efficacious than trying to accommodate himself to another's. . . .

"I believe in God,' was, he said 'a beautiful and praiseworthy phrase; but to *recognize* God in all his manifestations, *that* is true holiness on earth' He looked upon the Four Gospels as genuine, 'for there is in them a reflection of a greatness which emanated from the person of Jesus, and which was of as divine a kind as was ever seen upon earth.' If I am asked whether it is in my nature to pay Him devout reverence I say—certainly! I bow before Him as the divine manifestation of the highest morality. If I am asked whether it is in my nature to reverence the Sun, I again say—certainly! For he is likewise a manifestation of highest Being. I adore in him the light and the productive power of God; by which we all live, move, and have our being."

With the Persian reverence for the Sun and the fire is connected the idea of what Goethe calls, "Würde der Sämmtlichen Elemente", *i.e.*, the "Dignity of all the Elements." Goethe thus speaks of this subject in his "Notes and Discussions" :

2. Dignity of the Elements and the Idea of Parity or Cleanliness connected with it.

"It is, however, important to notice that the ancient Parsees did not worship fire only; their religion is clearly based on the dignity of all elements, as manifesting God's existence and power. Hence the sacred dread to pollute water, the air, the earth. Such respect for all natural forces that surround man leads to every civic virtue. Attention, cleanliness, application are stimulated and fostered."

¹. The Life and Works of Goethe (1855), Vol. II, p. 392.

What a modern writer, Mr. Samuel Lang, the author of "Modern Science and Modern Thought" says, in his "Modern Zoroastrian," is somewhat the same, as what Goethe says, about the "respect for all natural forces that surround man" leading "to every civic virtue." He says: "In this respect, however, what I have called the Zoroastrian theory of religion affords great advantages. It connects religion directly with all that is good and beautiful, not only in the higher realms of speculation and of emotion, but in the ordinary affairs of daily life. To feel the truth of what is true, the beauty of what is beautiful, is of itself a silent prayer or act of worship to the Spirit of Light; to make an honest, earnest, effort to attain this feeling is an offering or act of homage. Cleanliness of mind and body, order and propriety in conduct, civility in intercourse, and all the homely virtues of everyday life, thus acquire a higher significance, and any wilful and persistent disregard of them becomes an act of mutiny against the Power whom we have elected to serve" ¹.

The dignity associated with the elements is practical. It carries with it, and conveys the idea of, Purity and Cleanliness, Order and Harmony. A beautiful Avestan maxim illustrates all that Goethe says. The maxim is: Yaodzáo mashyâi aipi zánthem vahtshtâ " ², i.e., Purity is the best thing for man, since his very birth.

Prof. Darmesteter says:—

"L'axiome 'cleanliness is next to godliness' serait tout à fait Zoroastrien, avec cette différence que dans le Zoroastrisme 'Cleanliness' est une forme même de 'godliness'." ³

In the advice of Goethe's testator in the Parsi-nameh, "Let the dead be given to the living," we find a reference to the Parsee mode of the disposal of the dead. One must bear in mind, that the Parsee custom enjoins both, exposure to the Sun and exposure to the flesh-devouring animals. Thus, this custom accords with what Goethe says of the Iranian view of the Sun and Purity. The custom is looked at from the point of view of sanitation and purity. Goethe himself thus speaks of the custom in his Notes and Discussions:

¹. A Modern Zoroastrian by S. Lang, pp. 223-4.

². (Vendidad X, 18; Yasna, XLVIII, 5).

³. L. Zend Avesta II, Introduction, p. X.

“ The strange mode of disposing of their dead is due to excessive care of not soiling the pure elements. The municipal police too acts on these principles : Cleanliness of the streets was a matter of religion. . . . Owing to such living and practical worship it is likely, there should have been that incredible population to which history bears witness.”

The Iranian idea of purity entertained by the view of a German Scholar, Dr. Rapp, who wrote about 50 years after Goethe, is worth noting here, as it supports the view of Goethe. Dr. Rapp ¹ says:
 Another German scholar's view of the Iranian Idea of Purity.

“ The Iranians had a cultivated sense for purity and decency ; whatever has in the slightest degree anything impure, nauseous in itself, instils into them an unconquerable horror. This has a connection in part with the fact, that the impure is mostly even unhealthy and harmful, but in several cases the cause of the impurity does not allow of being traced back to that fact. The Iranians had in a certain measure a distinct sixth sense for the pure. All of that sort has, according to their view, their origin in darkness, in obscurity ; in such substances, according to their conceptions, the evil spirits dwell, and when they let such sorts to approach near to them, they thereby offer to the evil spirits admission into, and domination over themselves.”

Goethe refers to the Iranians' solicitude to keep the ground, water, and air pure. He attributes the origin of their custom of the disposal of the dead to that solicitude for not soiling the ground. He makes his testator direct, that even fields be laid out on a neatly purified ground.

To keep all ground neat and pure is one of the oft-repeated *farmans* of the Avesta. In the Vendidad, such a ground is represented as feeling pleased and delighted. In reply to Zoroaster's questions, Ahura Mazda describes at some length the different kinds of ground which feel delighted. They are the following :—

1. The piece of ground where the pious say their prayers. In other words, a place of worship is the first that feels delighted.

¹. “ Die Religion und sitte der Perser und übrigen Iranier nach den griechischen und römischen Quellen” (Religion and Customs of the Persians and other Iranians, according to the Greek and Roman authors). German Oriental Society's Journal, Vol. XVII, Leipzig, 1863, pp. 52-56. Translated from the German of Dr. Rapp by Mr. K. R. Cama, in his “ The Zoroastrian Mode of Disposing of the Dead”, p. 19.

2. The place where righteous persons live with their families in peace, piety and plenty.
3. The water-less ground when irrigated, and the moist ground when dried or reclaimed, feel delighted. The ground feels more delighted when cultivated.
4. The ground where cattle are bred.
5. The ground where cattle go for pasture and which they fertilize by their manure.

On the other hand, the following pieces of ground feel grieved :—

1. The ground of volcanic crevices which are seats of unhealthiness and disease.
2. The ground where men are buried.
3. The ground which has graves or tombs-structures over it. According to the spirit of the teachings of the Avesta, pure and simple burial—though not good in itself—is far better than burial with structures, which delay quick decomposition and prevent the bodies from being soon reduced to dust. The structures make the burial-ground, seats of diseases.
4. Uneven ground, full of holes and crevices which engender sickness.
5. The ground, whereon people lead an unrighteous life.

The following classes of persons are spoken of as those who make ground feel delightful :—

1. The man who disinters buried bodies and exposes them, and thus frees the ground from being impure and unclean.
2. The man who destroys tombs or structures over the graves and thus helps an early decomposition.

Goethe makes his testator direct, that waters of canals, streams, and rivers must have "a free course and cleanness. As Purity of Water. Senderud¹ comes to you quite pure, from the mountain regions, so let him depart again quite

¹ The Senderud of Goethe is the Zenderud (زندرود) of Isphan, of which M. Barbier de Meynard, basing his work on the Modjem el-Bouldan of Yakout and other Arab and Persian writers, says : " C'est un des noms de la rivière célèbre qui passe à Ispahân et arrose plusieurs bourgs et campagnes de son territoire. C'est une grande rivière dont les eaux sont douces et fécondantes (Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique et Littéraire De la Perse, p. 289).

pure." He dilates a little on this subject in his notes and discussions and refers to the Iranians' "sacred dread to pollute water, the air and earth." He adds "on the one hand they would not soil a river, and on the other hand they were digging canals with careful economy of water and they kept them clean."

Both Herodotus and Strabo refer to the Iranians' scrupulous care for the cleanliness of water. Herodotus says: "They neither make water, nor spit, nor wash their hands in a river, nor defile the stream with urine, nor do they allow any one else to do so, but they pay extreme veneration to all rivers."¹ Strabo says: "The Persians never pollute a river with urine, nor wash nor bathe in it; they never throw a dead body, nor anything unclean into it"²

The Avesta enjoined, that an Iranian should never spoil the water of rivers. Not only that, but if he saw some decomposing matter in a stream or rivulet, he should stop at once, whether he be going on foot, driving, or riding, and go into the water as far as he can and remove the filth. This injunction was latterly stretched a little too far, and applied even to salt water; and we find from Tacitus,³ that in the time of the Roman Emperor Nero, Tiridates, a Zoroastrian king of Armenia, refused to go to Rome when summoned to that court, on the ground, that he had to cross the sea, where he would be obliged to pollute the water against the dictates of his religion.

Goethe speaks of the religion of the Parsees as based on "the dignity of all elements," and, while speaking of their Purity of Fire. "strange mode of disposing of their dead," says that that is "due to excessive care of not soiling the pure elements."

Now, one can easily understand how air, earth, and water can be kept pure, but not so easily, how fire can be kept pure. Of course, a Parsee is asked to be careful to see, that he places dry, clean, and fragrant wood over his sacred fire. That is a kind of physical purity. But in a Pahlavi writing attached to the Pahlavi Shāyast lā Shāyast,⁴ fire, not only the sacred fire of the fire-temples but also the culinary fire burning in one's hearth at home, is required to be kept pure and clean. Here, it is the work of spiritual purity that is spoken of. Physical purity is here a symbol of moral purity. So, it

¹ Bk. I, 138, Cary's Translation (1889), p. 62.

² Book XV, Chap. III 16. Hamilton and Falconer's translation, Vol. III, p. 137.

³ Works of Tacitus, Vol. I. The Annals, Book XV, p. 24. The Oxford Translation.

⁴ S. B. E., Vol. V., p. 375. Shāyast lā Shāyast, Appendix, Chap XV, 12.

is said, that if one cooks upon the fire of his house some food that he has purchased from money dishonestly acquired, he defiles the fire, he makes it impure. Similarly, if a worshipper offers to the sacred fire of the fire-temple odoriferous wood or incense that is bought from money acquired dishonestly, he displeases the fire.

With purity and cleanliness, go, to a certain extent, Order, Harmony, Discipline which help one in their daily fulfilment of duty and work. Goethe makes his testator direct :—“ When you plant trees let them stand in rows, for he (the Sun) gives prosperity to what is well ordered.”

3. Daily fulfilment of hard services, resulting from the Iranian view of Order.

‘ Order ’ is one of the characteristic teachings of the Avesta. The word ‘ Asha ’ which is one of the few technical words of the Avesta that cannot be sufficiently well rendered into another language, significantly contains the idea of Order. The word Asha is Sanscrit *rita* and philologically corresponds to right. What is good, right or perfect in points of Order, Discipline, Purity, Harmony, Truth, Beauty, is Asha. It carries with it, the idea, not only of physical Order, but moral Order. Ahura Mazda, is the Ashoñ Asho, the Most Orderly of the Orderlies.

VI.

4. PARSI-NAMEH, BOOK OF THE PARSEES.

Testament of the Old Persian Faith.

(*Translated by Father Noti from the German.*)

What testament, brethren, is to come to you from him who is departing, from him the poor and pious, whom you, juniors, have patiently nursed and whose last days you have honoured by your cares ?

Often we have seen the king riding along, decked with gold and accompanied by gold on every side, gems being sown like dense hail-stones on him and on his nobles.

Did you ever envy him for this ? and did you not more nobly feed your eyes, when the Sun on morning's pinions arose in his arched course over the innumerable peaks of Darnawend ?

Who could keep his eyes from looking at that spectacle ? I felt, I felt a thousand times, during so many days of my life, that I was carried along with him at his coming, to recognize God on his throne and to call him the Lord of life's fountain and to act (in a way) worthy of that sublime sight and to proceed on my way in His light.

But when the fiery circle ascended and was completed, I stood as if dazed in darkness, I struck my breast and threw my limbs, front forward, down to the ground.

And now let me make a holy testament for your fraternal will and memory : the daily observance of heavy duties ; no other revelation is required.

As soon as a new born child moves pious hands, let him forthwith be turned towards the Sun, let him be bathed, body and soul, in the fiery bath. He will feel every morning's grace.

Let the dead be given to the living ; let even the animals be covered with rubbish and earth and let what seems to you impure, be concealed, as far as you have the power.

Let your field be laid out on a neatly purified ground, in order that the Sun may like to shine upon your industry. When you plant trees, let them stand in rows, for he (the Sun) gives prosperity to what is well ordered.

Also the water must never lack in its channels a free course and cleanness. As Senderud comes to you quite pure, from the mountain regions, so let him depart again quite pure.

That the soft fall of the water may not be weakened, take care, to dig out diligently the channels. Reeds and bulrushes, newts and salamanders, let them be destroyed, one and all.

When you have thus purified earth and water, the Sun will like to shine through airs where he is worthily received and where he produces life and salvation and welfare of life.

You, who are harassed from labour to labour, be consoled ; now the universe is purified and now Man may venture, to strike the image of God out of the flint.

Take joyfully notice, where the flame is burning : clear is the night and lithe are the limbs.

On the active fires of the hearth, what is raw in the saps of plants and beasts, is made mature.

If you carry wood, do it joyfully : for you carry the seed of the earthly sun. If you pluck *Pambeh*,¹ you may confidently say : This will be made into a wick and bear the Holy.

¹ Pambeh is Persian پنبه meaning cotton or twist.

If you piously recognize in the burning of every lamp the semblance of a higher light, no mishap shall ever prevent you from adoring the throne of God in the morning.

This is the imperial seal of our existence, this is the mirror of the Deity for us and the angels, and all that but stutter the praise of the Most High, are gathered there in circles round circles.

And wish to bid good-bye to the banks of Senderud and to soar up to Darnawend to meet him rejoicing, when he comes up at dawn and to bless you from there in all eternity.

If Man values the earth, because the Sun shines on it, if he delights in the vine, which weeps at the touch of the knife, as it feels, that its juices, well-matured and world-refreshing, will become incentive to many powers, but stifling to many more : he understands, that he has to thank for this that heat which makes all this prosper ; he will, when drunk, stammer and totter ; he will when moderate, sing and rejoice.

VII.

THE ANCIENT PARSEES.

(Translated by Father Hömel from the German.)

Gazing at Nature formed the basis of the worship of the ancient Parsees. Whilst adoring the Creator, they turned towards the rising Sun, as the most strikingly glorious phenomenon. They fancied they saw there God's throne, surrounded by brilliant angels. The pomp of this elevating worship was daily within reach of every one, even the most lowly. The poor would step forth from his hut, the warrior from his tent, and the most religious of actions would be accomplished. To the new-born child the baptism of fire was administered in such rays, and all day long, and all life long the Parsee saw himself accompanied by the Great Luminary in all his doings. The moon and the stars were lighting up the night ; they too were out of reach belonging to the realms of the endless. Fire, on the contrary, walks by man's side, giving light and warmth to the best of its capacity. It becomes a sweet and pious duty to say prayers in presence of this substitute, to bow to what was felt as infinite. Nothing is cleaner than a bright sunrise, and such was to be the cleanliness with which fires were to be kindled and kept, if they were to be and to remain sacred and sunlike.

Zoroaster seems to have been the first to transform this noble and pure religion of Nature into an intricate worship. Mental prayer,

which includes and excludes all religions, and which penetrates the whole of life only with a few privileged minds, develops with most men only as an ardent, enrapturing feeling of the moment ; but if this disappears, man is restored to himself, and being neither contented nor occupied any longer, he relapses into endless tedium.

To fill this tedium with consecrations and purifications, with walking to and fro, bowing and stooping, forms the duty and profit of the Priests ; in the course of centuries, these carry their trade to endless triflings. He who is able to take a prompt survey from the primitive childlike worship of the rising Sun, to the silliness of the Guebers, as it is to be found even at the present day in India, the same will see in the former a fresh nation starting from sleep to salute the early dawn, and in the latter a backward people who try to expel common tedium by pious tedium.

It is, however, important to notice that the ancient Parsees did not worship fire only ; their religion is clearly based on the dignity of all elements, as manifesting God's existence and power. Hence the sacred dread to pollute water, the air, the earth. Such respect for all natural forces that surround man leads to every civic virtue. Attention, cleanliness, application are stimulated and fostered. On this, culture of the soil was based : for, on the one hand, they would not soil a river, and, on the other hand, they were digging canals, with careful economy of water, and they kept them clean. The circulation of these canals gave rise to fertility of the soil, so that the cultivation of the realm was, at that time, ten times larger. Everything on which the Sun smiled was pursued with the utmost zeal, and more than anything else they tended the vine, the Sun's favoured child.

The strange mode of disposing of their dead is due to excessive care of not soiling the pure elements. The municipal police too acts on these principles : cleanliness of the streets was a matter of religion ; and even at present, when the Guebers are expelled, banished, despised, and at most finding shelter in ill-famed slums of a suburb, it happens that a dying follower of that religion bequeathes a certain sum, in order that some street of the city may be cleansed forthwith and thoroughly. Owing to such living and practical worship, it is likely, there should have been possible that incredible population to which history bears witness.

So tender a religion, based on God's omnipresence in his visible works, cannot but have a special influence on morals. Look at its principal positive and negative commandments : Not to lie ; not to

make debts ; not to be ungrateful ! The fruitfulness of these doctrines will easily be understood by every moralist and ascetical teacher. In fact the first negative commandment implies the two next, and all others ; for, they are, in fact, derived from untruthfulness and faithlessness. This is probably the reason why the devil is referred to in the East merely as the perpetual liar.

But, as this religion leads to musing, it is likely that it will lead to effeminacy, as there is indeed some trace of the womanish character in their long loose garments. There was, however, a powerful safe-guard in their manners and institutions. They used to carry arms even in times of peace and in familiar life, and they practised the use of arms in every manner possible. Most clever and fast racing was customary among them ; their games too, like the one played with clubs and balls in large play-grounds, kept them vigorous, strong and nimble ; and relentless levies of troops would transform each and every one into heroes at the beck and call of the king.

Let us turn back on their religious feelings. At first, public worship was limited to a few fires, and for this very reason it was more venerable ; then a reverend priesthood multiplied more and more, and at the same rate fires became more numerous. It lies in the nature of perpetually incompatible relations, that the closely united spiritual power should, on a given occasion, rebel against temporal power. Omitting that the Pseudo-Smerdis, who seized the kingdom, had been a priest, that he had been raised, and for some time supported by his colleagues,—we find on several occasions that the priests were dangerous for the rulers.

Scattered by Alexander's invasion, not favoured under his Parthian successors, raised and gathered again by the Sassanides, the Parsees always stuck to their doctrines, and opposed the ruler by whom these were infringed. Thus roused in every possible manner the utmost aversion in both parties, at the union of Kooshru with the fair Schireen, a Christian.

At last, the Parsees were expelled for good by the Arabs, and driven to India. What was left of them and their mental followers in Persia, is despised and insulted down to the present day ; at times tolerated, and persecuted at other times according to the whim of rulers, this religion is still persevering here and there in its primitive purity, even in desolate nooks, as has been said by a poet in "The Old Parsee's Testament."

It can hardly be doubted that in the course of ages much good is due to this religion, and that it contained the possibility of the higher civilization which spread over the Western part of the East. Yet it is exceedingly difficult to convey some notion as to how and whence this civilization was spreading. Many towns were scattered throughout many districts like centres of life ; but what appears most marvellous to me is, that the fatal neighbourhood of Indian idolatry could not influence this religion. It is striking that, while the towns of Balkh and Bamian were so close to each other, we see how in the latter the silliest idols of huge dimensions were made and adored, whilst in the former there remained temples of the pure fire, there sprang up large monasteries of this confession, and there flocked together numberless *mobeds*. How glorious was the organization of these institutes may be gathered from the extraordinary men who came from thence. Out of them came the family of the Barmekides, who were so long flourishing as influential State-Servants, until they were at last,—like an almost similar house of this kind in our day,—rooted out and driven out. ¹

¹ I beg to draw the attention of my readers to a very learned and interesting paper by Dr. A. F. J. Remy, entitled "The Influence of India and Persia on the Poetry of Germany (1901)." It was after the above paper was printed that a casual look at my note-book reminded me of this paper, and it was too late to make any use of it here.

ART. V.—*Barlaam and Josaphat.*

BY

H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A.

(*Read 17th December 1914.*)

The year 633 A. D. is a memorable one in Mahommedan annals. From this date (the year after the death of the Prophet), begins the era of Mahommedan conquest. In 634 the Byzantines under Heraklius were defeated at Hieromax. In the following year the Persians were vanquished at Kādisiya, and Damascus was conquered. Mahommedan rule was in many respects tolerant and enlightened, and the Khalifas were patrons of art and literature. Hence it is not surprising that the ruler of Damascus took as his Prime Minister one Sergius, a Christian by creed, though perhaps, to judge from his surname Mansūr, of semi-Arabic descent. Sergius, after many years of distinguished service, retired to end his days at the monastery of Saint Sabas near Jerusalem. He was succeeded by his son John, who, sheltered behind the Khalifa's throne, carried on a furious conflict with Leo the Isaurian, whose famous Ikonoclastic Edict of 726 A. D., had raised a storm of angry dispute in the church. Finally, St. John retired to the monastery where his father had dwelt, and spent his declining years in literary and theological pursuits. There seems very little doubt that St. John of Damascus is the "John the Monk, an honourable and worthy inhabitant of the monastery of St. Sabas," who, we are told in the Introduction to *Barlaam and Josaphat*, was the author of that work. One of the strongest arguments in favour of this view is the famous passage on the veneration of Images (xix. 165),¹ which is singularly appropriate to the opponent of Leo. This is the traditional belief, though it is not actually supported by any MS. earlier than the 12th century. It has, however, been combatted by several writers, notably Zotenberg;² and Catholic scholars are rather inclined to uphold Zotenberg's views, as they naturally hesitate to attribute to a distinguished saint the onus of having introduced Buddhistic legends into Catholic Hagiology.

The story of Barlaam is a typical monkish legend. It is a tale of an Eastern, non-Christian Court. The King Abenner, is a savage perse-

¹ Boissonnade's text in *Anecdota Græca*, Paris, 1832, Vol. iv.

² Zotenberg has written much on this work, both in French and German. He edited it in German with E. Meyer in 1843 (Strassburg) and published a *Notice sur le livre de B. and J.* in Paris 1886

cutor of Christianity. He has a son, Iosaph or Josaphat, and at his birth the astrologers prophecy that he shall become a Christian. Abenner, furious at this, attacks the Christians even more savagely than before, and brings up Iosaph in the strictest seclusion. But Iosaph, driving one day in his chariot, sees a sick beggar, lame and blind, at the Palace gates, and begins to ponder on the problem of human suffering. Then a holy man named Barlaam gains admission to the Palace, and narrates to the young Prince the Apologue of the Four Caskets. Encouraged by the reception of this parable, he then discloses himself as the unworthy messenger of God, preaches the Gospel to Iosaph, and finally converts him. The process is a lengthy one, and Barlaam's sermon, with its numerous apologues, occupies the greater part of the book. It is a very complete exposition of Christian doctrine, and contains the eloquent plea for the veneration of Images mentioned already. Iosaph is converted and baptized. Abenner, discovering what has happened, is furious. He persecutes the Christians more cruelly than ever, and sending for Iosaph, argues with him in vain. Finally he employs one Theudas, a second Simon Magus, to cast his spells upon Iosaph. This, too, proves useless, and Theudas, acknowledging himself worsted, becomes a Christian. Ultimately Abenner himself is converted. On his death Iosaph reigns for many years, till, at the approach of old age, he determines to forsake the throne and join the holy Barlaam in his cell. At last both die, having become mighty saints: they are buried by the people in a costly tomb, and many miracles are wrought at their sepulchre, so that all India rang with their fame.

The story of Iosaph became immensely popular in the Middle Ages. In the twelfth century, it was translated into Latin by Simon Metaphrastes. Thence it was incorporated in the Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine. This was printed by Caxton in 1483, and by Wynkyn de Worde in English in 1527. From the Golden Legend, it passed into nearly every language in Europe. Versions are found in Bohemian and Polish; in 1204 a Norwegian king rendered it into Icelandic, and in 1712 an edition in the Tagala dialect of the Philippine Islands appeared at Manilla. Nothing need be said here of Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian or Hebrew renderings. The Apologues or Parables were particularly popular in the Middle Ages. They appear, in one form or another, in the *Gesta Romanorum*, the *Decameron*, in Gower and a host of other places. The Parable of the Man and his Three Friends forms the basis of the plot of *Everyman*, and lastly, the Story of the Three Caskets was immortalized by Shakespeare in the *Merchant of Venice*.

Meanwhile, Barlaam and Josaphat had come to be regarded as historical personages. They found their way into Greek Menologies and finally into the Greek calendar, St. Barlaam's day being August 26th and St. Josaphat's November 27th. From the East, St. Barlaam and St. Josaphat were brought, probably by the Crusaders, to the West, and duly found a place in the Martyrology of Gregory XIII., 1582. That the Church never officially recognized them is shewn by the fact that they are assigned neither Masses nor Offices, but they were accepted without question in popular belief. In 1571, a relic of St. Josaphat was presented by the Doge of Venice to the King of Portugal, and it is to this day preserved in the Church of St. André in the city of Anvers in France. A Church is said to be dedicated to St. Josaphat at Palermo. It should, however, be added that there is more than one Josaphat among Christian Saints. There is the Hungarian martyr, Josaphat Kunczeve (1580 A.D.) and it is possible that relics and church are both his, or that the Josaphat of the Church is a syncretism of the two.

The whole atmosphere of the story was no doubt suggested by the *Acts of Thomas*, one of the apocryphal *Acta* of about the fourth century A. D., written probably originally in Syriac by an author of strongly Gnostic tendencies. The *Acta Thomæ*, as is well-known, deals with the supposed adventures of the Apostle at the court of the Indo-Parthian monarch Gondophares, a historical personage, as we know from the coins. In the same way, Abenner no doubt represents some Indo-Parthian monarch. His territory "marches with the borders of Persia" (προσεγγίζει τοῖς ὅροις Περσίδος ¹), and his Prime Minister bears the significantly Indo-Parthian title of satrap (Ἀρχισατραπείης).² Besides, the Mission of St. Thomas to India is specifically referred to ³. It has, however, been suspected that the story of Iosaph is a great deal older than the *Acta Thomæ*. Some very remarkable resemblances have been traced between the story of Iosaph and that of Gautama Buddha, in that great collection of fables known as the *Jātaka* stories, which undoubtedly represents the popular Buddhist version of Gautama's life and exploits. The parallels are, indeed, singularly close and numerous. First of all, the king consults the astronomers on the birth of Iosaph. "But one of the astrologers, the most learned of all his fellows, spake thus:—'From that which I learn from the courses of the stars, O king, the advancement of the child now born of thee, will not be in thy kingdom but another, better and greater beyond compare ⁴.'" In the same way, in the Buddhist legend, eight fortune tellers are called in by the king to view the child Gautama, and one of them, Kondanna,

¹ I. 3.² II. 9.³ I. 4.

Trans. Woodward and Mattingly (Loeb Library, 1914, p. 33.)

declares, "there is naught to make him stay in the household life. He will most undoubtedly become a Buddha, and remove the veil of ignorance and folly from the world ¹."

The next parallel is even more striking. In Barlaam, the king, in order to frustrate the prophecy of the astrologers, built for Iosaphat "an exceedingly beautiful palace, with cunningly devised gorgeous chambers; . . . and he forbade any to approach him, appointing, for instructors and servants, youths right seemly to behold. These he charged to reveal to him none of the annoys of life, neither death, nor old age, nor disease nor poverty nor anything else grievous that might break his happiness And if any of the attendants chanced to fall sick, he commanded to have him speedily removed, and put another plump and well-favoured servant in his place, that the boy's eyes might never once behold anything to disquiet them ²." This is precisely what Suddhodana does in the Buddhist story. "'From this time forth,' said the king, 'Let no persons be allowed to come near my son. It will never do for my son to become a Buddha.' . . . And the king procured nurses for the future Buddha, women of fine figure and free from all blemish ³." But man proposes, God disposes. Iosaph when he grows up, insists on going out driving. In his first expedition, "he descried two men, the one maimed, and the other blind. In abhorrence of the sight, he cried to his esquires, 'who are these, and what is this distressing spectacle?' They, unable to conceal what he had with his own eyes seen, answered, 'these be human sufferings, which spring from corrupt matter, and from a body full of evil humours'. . . . The young prince ceased from his questionings, but his heart was grieved at the sight which he had witnessed, and the form of his visage was changed by the strangeness of the matter." Another day he goes out, and in the same way happens with an old man, "well stricken in years, shrivelled in countenance, feeble-kneed, bent double, grey-haired, toothless, and with broken utterance." Again the prince asks the same question, and receives the same answer. Filled with anguish, he exclaims, "Bitter is life and fulfilled of all pain and anguish. If this be so, how can a body be careless in the expectation of an unknown death, whose approach is as uncertain as it is inexorable?" ⁴ This, again, is just what happened to Gautama. He mounts his chariot for a drive in the park. "'The time for the enlightenment of the prince draweth nigh,' thought the gods. 'We must shew him a sign.' And they changed one of their number into a decrepit old man, broken-

¹ Warren. *Buddhism in translations* (Harvard, 1906), p. 52.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 55-59.

toothed, grey-haired, crooked, and bent of body, leaning on a staff and trembling, and shewed him to the future Buddha. . . . Then said the future Buddha to the charioteer, 'Friend, pray who is this man? Even his hair is not like that of other men.' And when he heard the answer, he said, 'Shame on birth, since to everyone that is born, old age must come.' "

These parallels are very remarkable, and may be accepted without hesitation. The story of the Great Renunciation was first brought to modern Europe by Marco Polo, who tells it in connection with the Śri Pāda on Adam's Peak in Ceylon.¹ This was at the end of the thirteenth century. In 1612, Diego de Couto noticed the resemblance between the two stories; this was scientifically established by Laboulaye in 1859,² and by Benfy and Leibrecht in the following year.³ It has been further suggested that many of the apologues have also an Eastern origin, but apparently this has not yet been definitely proved.⁴

The question arises, how did the author get hold of the Buddha story? The story appears to have become known generally in the Eastern Church through the influence of Manes, the founder of the Manichæan heresy, who called himself "the new Buddas," and introduced both Buddhist and Christian doctrines into the strange farrago of beliefs which he compiled.⁵ Persia was the meeting place of many creeds, and Gnosticism, another heresy due to contact with Eastern beliefs, was strongest there. The *Acts of Thomas* is deeply imbued with Gnostic teaching, and was probably originally written in Syriac. One theory, then, which may be reasonably propounded, is that St. John availed himself of some Gnostic or Manichæan accounts of Buddhism. Another possible theory is that there actually existed at one time a Syriac or Arabic translation of certain Buddhist books, such as the *Jātakas*, containing an account of the Great Renunciation.⁶ This is quite possible when we consider the famous fables of Bidpai. Certain stories from the *Pañcha Tantra* and the *Hitopadeśa* were translated by one Barzuyeh, at the Court of Nushirvan, into Pehlevi. From Persian they were translated into Arabic, in the life time of St. John, by one Abdalla-ibn-Mokaffa. The Mahomedans, in their thirst for knowledge, translat-

¹ Travels, III, 23.

² Journal de Debats, July 1859.

³ Jahrbuch für Roman 1860, p. 314.

⁴ See Max Müller on this point, in his essay on *Migration of Fables* (Selected Essays, I p. 500.)

⁵ See the *Archelai et Manetis Disputatio* of Archelaus, Bishop of Carrha, 278 A. D., and Jerome's *Contra Jovin.* I. ii. 26.

⁶ The *Fihrist* mentions a *Kitab-al-Budh*; See Rehatsek's translation, probably of an abstract, in *J. R. A. S. XXII*, 1890.

ed a large number of Hindu works, literary and scientific, in this manner, and it is quite possible that there was a version, now lost, of the story of Gautama, or at least of some of the *Jātakas*. It will be remembered that in the Introduction the author directly *calls* the story a translation, "brought from India by John the Monk," (*ιστορίά ψυχωφίλης ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδίας μετενεχθεῖσα δια Ἰωάννου μονάχου*), and he does not claim in the least to have invented it. Another passage, at the end of the Introduction, is still more explicit. The Author talks of the story as one "that has come to him, which devout men from the inner land of the Ethiopians, whom our tale calleth Indians, delivered unto me, *translated from trustworthy records* (*ἐξ ὑπομνημάτων ταύτην ἀψευδῶν μεταφράσαντες*). Nothing could be more explicit than this. Besides this, it is probable that the name Iosaphat ("The Lord gathers") is chosen on account of its resemblance to Youasaf, the Persian form of Bodhisattva.¹ That the whole story is a farrago borrowed from various sources, is illustrated by the discovery that the entire speech of Nachor² is taken wholesale from the *Apology of Aristides*.

¹ Benfey tries to connect Theudas and Devadatta. This may be so, but Theudas is probably a stock character based on the Simon Magus legends.

² XXVII, 240.

ART. VI.—*The successors of Rāmānuja and the growth of sectarianism among the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas.* (1138-1310.)

BY

V. RANGACHARI, M.A.

(Contributed.)

INTRODUCTION.

Any one acquainted with the enormous mass of post-Rāmānujic Śrī-Vaiṣṇava literature will notice one most conspicuous feature about it,—its sectarianism. Two sets of treatises there are, two sets of biographies or *Guruparamparās* which give two different accounts of the personalities and achievements of the successors of Rāmānuja, accounts which are of course one-sided and conflict with each other, and which the critical historian has to compare and criticise with a view to the description of the true trend of events which took place after Rāmānuja. A grasp of the history of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism of this period is absolutely impossible without an understanding of this phenomenon. A historian who does not take into account this double set of biographical histories, this double set of controversial writings, both equally ancient and both beginning immediately after Rāmānuja, can hardly be an impartial historian. There is always the danger of depending on the works of one school alone and ignoring the other either owing to ignorance or to sectarian prejudice. And that is what some have already ¹ done, thereby deluding the historic world into wrong, incomplete and one-sided knowledge of Vaiṣṇava history. The two sets of literature are due to the division of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, immediately after Rāmānuja, into two schools of thought which later on, by the end of the 14th century, developed into the two great sects of Vaḍagalais and Teṅgalais. The differences between the two schools, the causes philosophic, ethical and linguistic, which gave rise to them, will be described in detail in their proper place ; but here it is enough to draw attention to the fact that the unity of Vaiṣṇavism died after Rāmānuja ; that its growing sectarianism gave rise to sectarian literature ; that the hierarchical succession of the one sect is different

¹ E. G. the writings of Messrs. Govindacharya and Gopinatha Rao. The latter appeared in the *Madras Review*, 1905, and the former in various recent numbers of the *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*.

from that of the other ; that a true history of Vaishṇavism is impossible without an adequate acquaintance with the literature of both the sects.

With these premises I shall proceed to sketch the history of Vaishṇavism in this age. My treatment of the subject will naturally fall under three heads. I shall first describe the *Guruparamparā* or apostolic succession according to the Vaḍagalai school. I shall then describe that given in the Teṅgalai school. I shall incidentally compare the events and personalities as given by the two schools, and as a necessary part of the explanation, describe in the next section the differences, doctrinal and otherwise, between them. This done, we shall be able to understand the activities of the two great men, Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya and Vēdāntāchārya, who come at the end of this transitional period and who have been, rightly or wrongly, considered by the generality of men to have fixed the two schools into two ever-widening sects.

Before proceeding to the description of the *Guruparamparās*, however, I should like to say a word about the chronology of this period of growing sectarianism. It is well-known that Rāmānuja died in 1137. Vēdāntāchārya, the great scholar and saint who is the special object of adoration among the Vaḍagalais and who is generally considered by them to be the equal of Rāmānuja himself, was apostle at Śrīrangam¹ after 1310 ; while his great contemporary Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya, the father of Teṅgalaism, if we can use that expression, was an elderly man during Vēṅkaṭanātha's early career, and died in 1327, immediately after the Mahomedan capture and sack of Śrīrangam.² The differences between the two schools therefore became stereotyped into dogmas and creeds in the first half of the 14th century. Two centuries in other words, elapsed from the death of Rāmānuja to the time of the definite formation of Vaḍagalaism and Teṅgalaism ; and my object in the present dissertation is to cover this period of two centuries, to describe the activities of the men who led the two growing parties, to shew how they influenced the course of Indian History and the destiny of a conspicuous portion of mankind. One thing ought not to be forgotten in connection with this period ; and that is, it is an *age of growing party spirit, and not of actual party split*. That happened, as I have said, in the 14th century. These two centuries then were a period of preparation for modern sectarian Vaishṇavism. The age is essentially transitional in nature. Before it, Vaishṇavism had been characterised by unity ; after it, by its division into two irreconcilable sects ; and during it, affairs were naturally unsettled. Conflicting

¹ We shall subsequently see that he was born in 1269 and, after a good deal of lecture-work and pilgrimage throughout India, became the Pontiff at Śrīrangam about 1310.

² See the *Yatindraḥṣṇanāprabhava* and the *Kōyiloḷugu*.

tendencies are seen, but a view of the period as the whole shews the gradual development of minute differences in philosophy and actual conduct of life into sectarian dogmas, till the strong personalities of Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya and Vēṅkaṭanātha or rather the enthusiasm of their respective admirers gave a finishing stroke to the whole movement and converted the parties into divisions of creed and cult.

SECTION I.

THE VADAGALAI VERSION OF APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION.

On his deathbed, Rāmānuja appointed, in the presence of his disciples and followers, Tirukkuruhaipirān Piḷḷān¹ as his successor to the spiritual throne, both *Bhāshyic* and *Prabandhic*. At the same time he appointed Kḍāmbi Āchchān, Naḍādūr Āḷvān and Mudali Āṇḍān as Bhāshya Simhāsanātipatis. Of these Kḍāmbi Āchchān's position was peculiar. He was not indeed an Ubhaya Simhāsanātipati like Piḷḷān, but he was much more than a mere Bhāshya Simhāsanātipati, as Rāmānuja had imparted to him, as to Piḷḷān, certain Rahasyas or secret doctrines, at the point of his death. The period of Piḷḷān's spiritual headship of the Vaishṇava community was characterised by a good deal of pious activity.

His gratitude to his great departed master, he evinced by setting up his idol in the Śriraṅgam temple. He also authorised other men, once disciples of Rāmānuja and now his, to go to different sacred places and establish his images. Mudali Āṇḍān, for example, did so at Śriperumbūdūr. Kḍāmbi Āchchān and Nallān established his idol at Tirunārāyaṇapuram. Naḍādūr Āḷvān accomplished the same task at Conjeeveram, and Piḷḷai Tirumalai Nambi at lower and upper Tirupatis. In this way the leaders of the different centres of Vaishṇavism joined Rāmānuja with the God, and made him as much an object of worship, of festivals, etc., as God himself.

The *Guruparamparā* does not say how long Piḷḷān wielded the spiritual headship and when he died. But it is not impossible to arrive at an approximate date for the events. We know that Piḷḷān² was born in K. 4163, *Plava*, i. e. 1061 A. D., and that therefore he must

¹ Piḷḷān (Śathakōpa or Kurukēs'vāra) was a scholar both in the *Bhāshyas* and in the *Bhagavat Vishaya*. He was the author of the celebrated commentary on the *Tiruvāymoḷi* called the 6000, and of a treatise on Mantra and Rahasya called after his own name, and purporting to be the summary of his teachings to Piḷḷai Rājamahēndra Perumāḷ Arayar. See *the Triennial Catalogue of Tamil MSS*, 1913, p. 229.

² See *V. G.* 1913 edn., p. 31. The exact date of his birth is K., 4163, *Plava*, *Aiḷḷpas'i*, *Śukla-pañchamī*, Monday. Constellation *Pūrāḍa*.

have been 76 years old when the Bhāshyakāra died and when he became the Pontiff. None of the orthodox writers tell us as to the actual age of Piḷḷān at his death ; but if we suppose—and it is a mere supposition—that he lived 100 years, it is plain that he must have been Āchārya for 24 years and that he must have died in 1161 A. D. It was about this year, then, that he must have been succeeded by his chief disciple Viṣṇuchitta¹ or Eṅgaḷ Ālvān as he was more commonly called Eṅgaḷ Ālvān was comparatively young when he assumed the spiritual headship. Having been born² in K. 4208 or 1106-7 A. D., he must have been about 55 years old when his preceptor and predecessor passed away from this world ; and as we do not hear of an early death in his case, we shall not be unreasonable to suppose that the period of his Āchāryic dignity must have covered the long space of between thirty and forty years, if not more. It will be seen from this that the termination of Viṣṇu Chitta's³ career can be placed roughly at about 1200 A. D. This conclusion is in keeping with the date assigned by the *Guruparamparā* to Naḍādūr Ammāḷ Varadāchārya. or Varadāchārya, the chief disciple and successor of Eṅgaḷ Ālvān on the apostolic throne. Naḍādūr Ammāḷ⁴ was the grandson of that Naḍādūr Ālvān who was the nephew of Rāmānuja's and one of the Bhāshya Simhāsanātipatis. Born in the year 1165 A. D., *i.e.*, a few years after the accession of Eṅgaḷ Ālvān to the apostolic dignity, he became the disciple of the latter when he was aged enough to study the Bhāshya, that is, when he was, we may suppose, about twenty years of age. Varadāchārya's father Dēva Rāja Perumāḷ, though a Bhāshya scholar, taught his son only the Great Mantra and its significance ; and while about to begin the Śrī Bhāshya, decided to send him to Eṅgaḷ Ālvān at Śrīraṅgam on the ground that he was too old to teach ; that his parental affection, moreover, was inconsistent with tutorial strictness ; that, above all, Eṅgaḷ Ālvān had inherited the double throne and had been initiated into those secret doctrines which had been originally imparted by Rāmānuja to Piḷḷān. Thus it was that Varadāchārya, himself a son of a Bhāshya Simhāsanātipati line, became the disciple of Eṅgaḷ Ālvān,

¹ He is considered to be the incarnation of Vijaya.

² Year *Vyaya*, Monday, *Āni*, *Śukla-tvādāsi*, constellation *Sodāi*, see *V. G.* 1913, p. 31.

³ Some of Eṅgaḷ Ālvān's teachings are contained in his work *Sārārtha Chatushtayam*. It deals with the four topics of the nature of man, the object to be accomplished by him, the means to be employed for it, and the obstacles to be overcome by him. *Trien, Catal, Tamil*, 1913, p. 236. He was also the author of the celebrated commentary on the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, known as *Viṣṇuchittiyam*.

⁴ The exact date of his birth is : K. 4267, *Parthiva*, *Chitrai*, *Pūrṇima*, Monday, Constellation *Chitra*. His birthplace was Conjeeveram. He is considered to be the incarnation of Subhadra. *V. G.* 1913, p. 31.

the Ubhayasimhāsanātipati. The story goes that the latter, when he saw his new disciple at Śrīraṅgam and learnt from him the reason for his resort to him, he undertook to be his master only after exacting from him an oath on the Śrī Bhāshya that he would be both disciple and son to him. And he did so with his father's consent; and the result was, Naḍādūr Ammāḷ became, after the death of Eṅgaḷ Alvān, about 1200 A. D., the leader of Vaishṇavism.

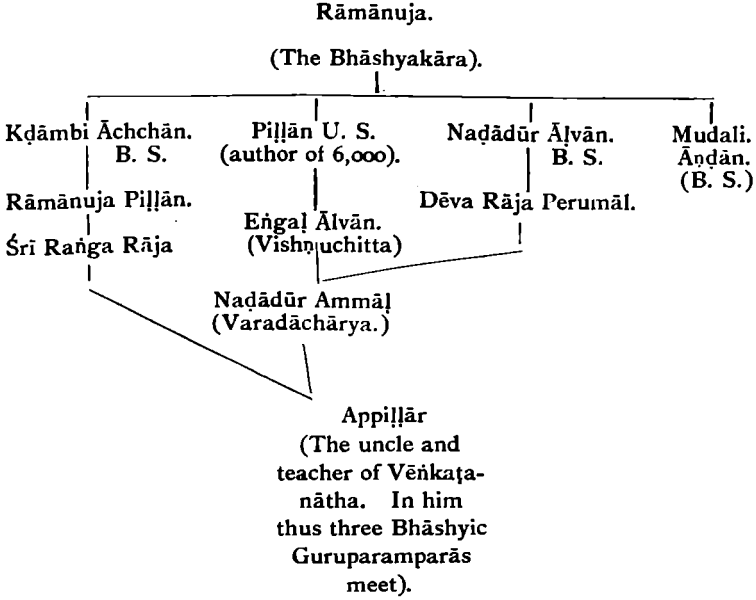
Under the great Varadāchārya or Naḍādūr Ammāḷ two Bhāshyic lines were thus combined. Soon the time came for the absorption of another line, *viz.*, that of Kḍāmbi Āchchān. The representative of this family at this time was Kḍāmbi Appiḷḷār. This Appiḷḷār was the 4th in descent from the original Bhāshya Simhāsanātipati. We have already seen how, in the eyes of Rāmānuja, Kḍāmbi Āchchān was only second to Tirukuruhai pirān Piḷḷān; how, while he made him one of the Bhāshya Simhāsanātipatis, he distinguished him in a special manner by joining him with Piḷḷān in the matter of the secret doctrines he inculcated at the point of his death. Invested with such a supreme privilege, Kḍāmbi Āchchān was lecturing on the Bhāshyas independently of Tirukuruhai Piḷḷān after Rāmānuja's death. Kḍāmbi Āchchān's son, Rāmānuja Piḷḷān,¹ was a worthy son of his father; his son and pupil Śrī-Raṅga-Rāja² had a son, whom he named after his father, Rāmānuja, and a daughter Tōtāramma, destined later on to become celebrated as the mother of Vēdānta Dēśika. Rāmānuja became so erudite that his contemporaries doubted whether he was that great Piḷḷān himself—*i.e.*, his grand-father—come alive. He therefore came to be known as "Appiḷḷār."³ The master of Vyākarna, of Tarka and of Mīmāmsa, Appiḷḷār was desirous of completing his studies by entering into the ocean of Vēdāntic philosophy. His father died at this stage, and so he approached the great Naḍādūr Ammāḷ, and became a disciple of his.

¹ Born in K. 4210 (A. D. 1108-9), *Sarvadāhāri, Aippati, Śuklaṣaṅchami*, Monday, *Pūrvāshāda*. *V. G.* 1913, p. 31. He was thus a year younger than Eṅgaḷ Alvān, the Āchārya at Śrīraṅgam.

² Born in K. 4265 (A. D. 1163-4) *Svabhānu, Panguni, Śuklaśaṣṭhi*, Monday, under constellation *Rōhini*. At Conjeeveram.

³ He was born in K. 4322 (A. D. 1221), *Vikrama, Chitravi, Śuklaṣaṅchami*, Friday, under constellation *Tiruvādirai*, at Conjeeveram. According to some he was called Appiḷḷār, because he was the incarnation of Garuḍa. A plausible colour is lent to this theory by the fact that he was an expert in Garuḍamantra and that he later on taught it to Vēdānta Dēśika. At the time of his birth, his father was 58 years old, and as we are told that the latter died when his son was about to begin the study of the Bhāshya, we can infer that he died about his 75th year, *i.e.*, about the year 1240. It was just about 1240, then, that Appiḷḷār must have resorted to Naḍādūr Ammāḷ,—the latter must have been already Āchārya for 20 years.

Thus in the time of Varadāchārya or Naḍādūr Ammāḷ, the Bhāshya Simhāsana became one instead of four.¹ The whole relation between the *Bhāshya* and the *Ubhaya Simhāsanaṭīpatī* and their ultimate union under Ātrēya Rāmānuja (*i.e.* Appiḷḷār) can be thus expressed :—



The period of Varadāchārya's spiritual headship was important not only for the concentration of Āchāryic powers in the hands of one person, but for the geographical origin of the two sects which now divide the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas into two irreconcilable factions. Varadāchārya, it should be understood, was a native of Conjeeveram. Either the devotion to the local God Varadarāja or his own inclination and convenience, made him prefer Conjeeveram to Śrīraṅgam as the place of his residence and the scene of his lectures. Centuries back, Rāmānuja had proceeded from Conjeeveram to Śrīraṅgam and, by his activities there, gave rise to an important landmark in the history of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism.

¹ It is curious that the *Vadagalai Guruparampara* gives no information about the descendants of Mudali Āṇḍān, the 4th Bhāshya Simhāsanaṭīpati. An explanation for this is perhaps to be seen in the fact that the Kandāḍai family became afterwards identified to a large extent with the other party. The *Teng. Guruparampara*, for example, mentions how Kandāḍai Tōlappa, the great-grandson of Mudali Āṇḍān, gave up his title to Āchāryaship, and became a devoted follower of Nampiḷḷai. The Kandāḍais were the first Āchāryic family, moreover, to recognize Maṇavāla Mahāmuni as leader.

From that time onward the holy shrine-city on the banks of the Kāvēri had practically monopolised the resort of men of talents and spirituality. And now, about 1,200, the contrary process happened. The apostolic descendant of Rāmānuja and the greatest scholar of his day, Varadāchārya naturally attracted, when he stayed at Conjeeveram, the vast majority of the talents and intellects of the day. The holy banks of the Vēgavati were now more distinguished than those of the Kāvēri, and the celebrated *Kackchivāyttān manāpa* echoed with the wranglings of disputants and the arguments of scholars to a larger extent than the temple halls of Śrīraṅgam. This change in the scene of the Āchāryic activity had an unlooked-for effect. It gave a free scope for the expansion of a new party which had come into existence after Rāmānuja. This party, to become afterwards famous as Teṅgalaism, protested against the undue importance attached by Rāmānuja's more orthodox followers to the Bhāshya at the expense of the Prabandha. They held the Tamil *Nālāyiraprabandha* to be superior to the Sanskrit Vēda and Vēdanta as the passport to salvation. They protested, moreover, against the undue ceremonialism of the orthodox and advocated a more popular, less ritualistic, and more devotional creed. They condemned, for the same reason, the rigidity of the caste system and, in theory at least, asserted the equality of mankind. They differed, as I shall show later on, in many other respects; but here these facts are adequate enough to shew that the new party were passionately opposed to the orthodox and traditional one. From the first, the popular party had, as will be shewn in the next section, able and astute leaders. In the pious Embār, the scholarly Bhaṭṭa,¹ the devoted Nañjiyar and the enthusiast Nampiḷlai they had, it is said, the profoundest scholars possible in the Prabandha. We shall afterwards see that the position of Embār and Bhaṭṭar as given in the Teṅgalai *Guruparampara* is open to doubt; even as regards the others, it can hardly be doubted that they were wanting in that versatility, that brilliance which characterised the apostles of the other party.

This comparative narrowness could not enable them to outshine their rivals, so long as they remained at Śrīraṅgam. But when the latter withdrew to Conjeeveram in the time of Varadāchārya, they obtained a fit opportunity for strengthening themselves. From this time onward Conjeeveram

¹ As a matter of fact every authenticated work of Bhaṭṭar is in Sanskrit and not Tamil; and the important work of Nañjiyar known as *Śrīuktābhāshyam*, a commentary on a section of the Sanskrit Vēda, is in Sanskrit. The latter however is even more well-known as the author of "the gooo."

began to be identified, chiefly though not of course exclusively, with the Sanskritic, the Bhāshyic and the traditional school; and Śrīraṅgam became the seat of the Prabandhic, the Tamil, and the popular school. From this time onward, we may speak of the two parties as *Vaḍagalais* and *Tēṅgalais*. Not that the two words came into use then; or that the Vaishṇavas became divided into two distinct classes then; in fact, such a distinct cleavage was to take place only in the 14th and 15th centuries. But the elements of potential partisanship came into existence then; and the withdrawal of Varadāchārya to Conjeeveram was evidently a landmark in its development. From these facts it will be understood that the terms *Vaḍagalai* and *Tēṅgalai* are both linguistic and geographical in origin. Linguistically they respectively mean the followers of the Sanskrit and Tamil lores, and geographically¹ the followers of the Conjeeveram and Śrīraṅgam Schools.

Varadāchārya's Achāryaship was thus a most momentous epoch in the history of Vaishṇavism. His withdrawal to Conjeeveram gave a unique opportunity for the prominence of the Prabandhic School at Śrīraṅgam. From this time onward there were two

¹. I should like to point out, in this connection, the great blunder made by Monier Williams in his *Hinduism*, p. 125. He attributes the formation of the Vaishṇava sects to Vēdāntāchārya who "put himself forward as a reformer, giving out that he was commissioned by the God Viṣṇu himself to purify the faith, *i. e.*, to sweep away incrustations and restore the doctrines of the original founder." This view ignores the fact that the sectarian spirit had been gradually growing for centuries and is based on an inaccurate historical perspective of the whole movement. The statement that Vēdāntāchārya affirmed that the true doctrines "had been more carefully preserved by the northern Brahmans than by the southern" and that, in consequence of this, the terms *Vaḍagalai* and *Tēṅgalai* came into existence, is a mistake. As a matter of fact, Vēdāntāchārya never asserted any such thing,—he never pitted the north against the south. The terms *Vaḍagalai* and *Tēṅgalai* refer to the relative importance attached to Sanskrit (northern lore) and Tamil (southern lore) and not to any doctrines of North India as distinct from South India. There is indeed a geographical significance in these terms; but the *North* refers to Conjeeveram and *South* to Śrīraṅgam at first, later on Ālvār Tirunagari further south,—and not to North and South Indias. (See J. R. A. S., 1912, p. 714.) Monier Williams seems also to think that the *Nāḍayiraḡrabandha* was the result of this sectarian movement, that it was compiled by the Tēṅgalai party and "claimed to be older than the Sanskrit Veda." The great scholar is of course entirely in the wrong. The nature of his error is too patent to be commented on. For similar mistakes see *Christ Coll. Maga.*, XV, p. 739; *Ind. Antq.*; 1874 (III, 173); Hopkins's *Religions*, 500. Hopkins makes a most ridiculous and incorrect classification of the Vaishṇavas. He divides them into Rāmaites and Krishnaites: making the former "the philosophers of the church of Viṣṇu." That is they "were less religious than philosophical," while the contrary was the case with regard to Krishnaites. He divides the Rāmaites then into cat-doctrine class and monkey-doctrine class, meaning evidently the Tēṅgalais and Vaḍagalais. "The monkey Rāmaites are a sect of the north (Vāda), and hence are called Vada-galais; the cat or calvinistic Rāmaites of the south (*ten*) are called Tēṅgalais." Dr. Grierson also seems to have misunderstood the meaning of the term Vaḍagalai. For he says that Rāmānanda and others who brought the Bhāḡavata doctrines came to be called "Vadakalais" (J. R. A. S. 1910, p. 567.)

centres of Vaiṣṇavism—the more versatile party being at Conjeeveram, and the Prabandhic at Śrīraṅgam. The *Guruparampara* speaks with enthusiasm of Varadāchārya's lectures. So much erudition and originality did he display in them that even the leaders of the Prabandhic party—Peria Āchchān Piḷḷai, Vadakkutiruvīdi Piḷḷai and others—came to study under him. The *Tēṅgalai Guruparampara* does not indeed speak of the resort of the Prabandhic leaders to the great *Ubhayasimhāsanātipati*. Indeed it ignores altogether the existence of the other school and speaks of the Prabandhic leaders as Ubhayasimhāsanātipatis. But that they were Prabandhic scholars alone and that they resorted to the Āchāryic descendants of Piḷḷān for studying the Bhāshya is clear from various facts. In the first place, while the *Tēṅgalai Guruparampara* speaks of the erudition of its Achāryās, it describes the works done by them in the Prabandhic field alone. Can it be believed that a work purporting to be a biography of the various saints and to give a detailed description of their intellectual and spiritual achievements, ignores their work in the Bhāshyic field? The cause of the silence lies not in intentional reticence but in the absence of *Bhāshyic* leadership. So long as the Bhāshyic sceptre was wielded by Piḷḷān's successors, Nanjīyar or Nampiḷḷai could not be recognised as the Bhāshyic Achārya. Here is the explanation for the fact that, even to-day, when the professors of *Tēṅgalai* commence to study the Bhāshyās, they first utter not the panegyrics of the Āchāryas given in their own *Guruparampara*, but that of the Āchāryas described in the *Vaḍagalai Guruparampara*.¹

Surrounded and adored by all the Vaiṣhāava scholars, Varadāchārya acquitted himself with remarkable distinction. His lectures on the Bhāshya were written in cadjan leaves by one of his disciples Sudarśanāchārya and became known to the world of scholars under the name *Śrutaprakāśika*; while some of his philosophic teachings can be seen in his *Tatvasāra*. It is not certain how long Varadāchārya wielded the *Ubhayasimhāsanātipati* title; but an incident narrated at this stage in the *Guruparampara* makes an inference of the date of his death possible. The incident will be narrated in detail later on, but here it is sufficient to note that it refers to an interview which Varadāchārya is said to have had with young Vēnkaṭanātha, later on the celebrated *Vēdānta Dēśika*, and in which he is said to have prophesied, from the remarkable manner in which that youth distinguished himself, a great and glorious future for him as the leader of the Vaiṣṇava world.

¹. Even the most fanatical man of the *Tēṅgalai* school has to first say the *Taniyan* of *Vēdāntāchārya* and his predecessors, when he studies the Bhāshya. Can this be the case if the leaders whose lives have been sketched in the *Tēṅgalai Guruparampara*, had claimed the power to lecture on the Bhāshyas?

We know that Vēṅkaṭanātha was born in 1269 A.D. We also know that he was five years old when he was introduced to the notice of Varadāchārya. The interview must have therefore taken place in the year 1274 or 1275 and as Varadāchārya is said to have died soon after this, we cannot be far from the truth if we suppose that he must have died about 1277. There is one difficulty, however, it must be pointed out, in accepting this date. According to the Guruparampara, Varadāchārya was born in K. 4267 or 1166 A.D.; and if we suppose that he died in 1277 he must have been 111 years of age at the time of his death. His interview with the five-year old Vēṅkaṭanātha cannot be doubted,—both Vaḍagalai and Teṅgalai versions mention it, though the details of the two accounts differ—nor the year of Vēṅkaṭanātha's birth. It must therefore be held that either Varadāchārya's birth has been ante-dated by a decade or that the Āchārya lived 111 years,—an event not improbable, according to some, in an age when saints were, as a rule, exceedingly long-lived.

On the death of Varadāchārya the Āchāryaship devolved on the greatest of his disciples, Āṭrēya Rāmānuja. But as the latter preferred to remain at Conjeeveram, the discharge of Āchāryic duties at Śrīraṅgam fell on his brother-disciple Sudarśanāchārya. The two scholars were carrying on their duties in their respective spheres of work with great profit to their flock and great credit to their names. Āṭrēya Rāmānuja seems to have predeceased the other; but as we have reasons to believe that he died soon after the completion of the studies and the marriage of his great nephew Vēṅkaṭanātha (whom he trained with a view to invest him with the pontificate after himself), and as Vēṅkaṭanātha is reputed to have acquired his encyclopedic scholarship by the twentieth year of his age, we shall be quite justified in fixing the time of Āṭrēya Rāmānuja's death in about 1295 A. D. At the point of death he, of course, appointed his nephew as his successor. From this time onward there was a new activity in Conjeeveram.

Appiḷār and Vēṅkatanātha. The genius, the learning, and the character of Vēṅkaṭanātha gained universal reputation; and a new time of prosperity to Viśiṣṭādvaitism came into existence. Vēṅkaṭanātha was engaged in his lectures and his tours till about 1310, when an event which happened at Śrīraṅgam led to his departure from Conjeeveram for the formal assumption of the dignity of pontiff at the holy Vaishṇava stronghold on the Kāvēri. A great Advaitin challenged Sudarśanāchārya and his disciples there to either beat him in controversy or to believe in Advaitism; and none, including Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya and his admirers, was equal to the task, and a special invitation in the name of

god Raṅganātha was sent to Vēṅkaṭanātha ; and he, as will be shewn later on in detail, defeated the challenger, established the alleged superiority of Viśiṣṭādvaitism, and laid the foundations of a new epoch in the history of Vaishṇavism.

SECTION II.

THE TEṅGALAI VERSION OF APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION.

We have already seen how, after Rāmānuja, the Bhāshya Simhāsana were adorned by four persons and the Bhagavatvishaya Simhāsana by Tirukkuruhaipirān Piḷḷān alone, and how, in course of time, both the dignities came into the hands of Vēṅkaṭanātha. But the Teṅgalais or the Southern school of Vaishṇavism, while acknowledging this Simhāsanic arrangement, nevertheless in practice ignore it, and have their own version of apostolic succession. According to them the immediate successor of Rāmānuja was his cousin and admirer Embār.¹ There is a difficulty, however, in believing this. Embār was, according to the very authorities which say that he was Rāmānuja's successor, dead long since. Only eight years younger than Rāmānuja, he would have been about 113 years old when that great scholar and philosopher died ; but he died, if we are to believe the *Tirumuḍiadaivu*² of Appiḷḷai, a Teṅgalai writer of authority,

Embār and
his date.

when he was 105 years of age. That is, he ought to have died eight years *before* Rāmānuja.

To be more exact, as the Bhāshyakāra left this world in A. D. 1137, Embār must have died about 1130 ; and to say that he succeeded him as Āchārya is therefore inconsistent and absurd. There is also another objection. A recent critic of the Vaḍagalai school has observed that Embār could not, in the natural course of events, have been a disciple of Rāmānuja. He was, in reality, his co-student and companion, not disciple. Embār's preceptor was his uncle Tirumalai Nambi, who was also the uncle and preceptor of Rāmānuja. Could Rāmānuja, the critic asks, have been the teacher of one who was the disciple of his own teacher ? True, the Teṅgalai writers assert that Tirumalai Nambi gave Embār away to Rāmānuja. As if Embār was a chattel ! Even if so, how could the relation of preceptor and pupil have risen ? The attribution of such a relation is absurd and the invention of Teṅgalai writers. It should be acknowledged that this second objection savours too much of pedantry.

1. See T. G. 189a, pp. 166-7 ; T. G. 1909, p. 496 ff.

2. See the edn. of 1897, p. 59-60. It is clearly stated here that he was born in K. 4126 (1024 A. D.) and lived for 105 years.

It is difficult to see why Embār, even supposing that he was the disciple of Tīrumalai Nambi, could not have been, as Teṅgalai writers say, the pupil of Rāmānuja. There is nothing absurd or incongruous in such a relation ; but the chronological difficulty remains.

The Teṅgalai Guruparampara ¹ does not say for how many years Embār was Āchārya. It simply tells us that at the point of his death, he nominated Śrī Parāsara Bhaṭṭar, the son of Kurēśa, as his successor. Here again there are difficulties, chronological and traditional. Chronologically, Bhaṭṭar is said to have been born ² in K. 4163 or A. D. 1062, and to have lived only for 28 years. His death must have taken place, therefore, in A. D. 1090, that is, 47 years before the death of Rāmānuja and 39 years before that of Embār. How could he, under such circumstances, have followed the latter on the apostolic throne ? Again there are intrinsic evidences to shew that Bhaṭṭar could not have been the disciple of Embār. The same critic whose views in regard to Embār's place I have already given, disputes the alleged discipleship of Bhaṭṭa to Embār. His argument is that Bhaṭṭar and his twin-brother Vēdavyāsa Bhaṭṭar (or Śrīrāma Piḷḷai) had for their preceptor their father Kūrāt Ājvān alone. This, he says, is borne out by the 36,000 itself ³ which says that, immediately after his explanation of the 10th verse in the 32nd Tiruvāymoli, the father and teacher taught the *Tirumantra* to his boys on the ground that none knew when they would die and therefore ought to be prepared for it at all times. Soon after this, Bhaṭṭar died in the 28th year ⁴ of his age, his father being evidently alive. It is very unlikely that when Rāmānuja and his own

¹ For a summary of Embār's teachings see T. G. 1909, pp. 496-501. The T. G. 1892 does not give these details.

² See Appiḷḷai's *Tirumuḍiāḍaiṉu*, p. 60. T. G. 1892 does not say that Bhaṭṭar was 28 years old when he died, nor does it give the date of his birth except the month and constellation *Vaikāsi Anuvādha*. T. G. 1909 gives the month and constellation alone as regards birth, but says that he lived 28 years. (See pp. 353 and 534). The *Tamil Encyclopædia* places Bhaṭṭar's birth 60 years later, i.e., in K. 4224 or 1122 A. D. The other details are the same as in Appiḷḷai's *Tirumuḍiāḍaiṉu*,—namely *Śubhakṛit*, *Vaikāśi*, *Paurṇami*, *Anuśam*, *Wednesday*. But it does not give the age or date of his death. This date of Bhaṭṭar's birth does not agree with the dates of Rāmānuja, Kūrattālvan, as given in the Guruparamparas. But if it is accepted, then Bhaṭṭar must have become Āchārya about 1140 A. D. and died about 1150.

³ The 32nd *Tiruvāymoli*, verse 10, speaks of man's shortness of life and the insecurity of this body.

⁴ Bhaṭṭar has left eight works of his, all in Sanskrit. These are the *Sahasranāma-bhāṣya*, a commentary on the 1,000 names of Viṣṇu ; the *Aṣṭasloki*, a commentary on the Mantra ; the *Tatparatnākara*, the *Pranavaivāraṇa*, the *Gunaratnakōśa*, the *Śrīraṅgarajastava*, the *Kriyādīpam* and the *Tatrayastōham*. The *Trien. catal.* Tamil, 1913, says that some of Bhaṭṭar's teachings to his disciple are in a treatise known as *Bhaṭṭar pāttaritam* (pp. 203-4).

learned father were alive, Bhaṭṭar would have had Embār for his teacher. It is true, the critic continues, there is a tradition to the effect that when Bhaṭṭar was a child, Embār once brought him to Rāmānuja, and while bringing him, uttered the *Dvaya Mantra* with a view to remove the evil eye, and therefore became, at the instance of his master, the spiritual teacher of the child ! But this is, the author points out, an idle tale, the result of the ignorance of a Sanyāsin's duties, and cannot be reconciled with the Sanyāsic restraint of both Rāmānuja and Embār. It seems to me that the critic is, in this case as in the former, more pedantic than reasonable, but the chronological difficulty, as in the former case, still remains.

However that might have been, the Teṅgalai *Guruparampara* gives a glowing account of the alleged period of Bhaṭṭar's Āchāryaship. He is said to have distinguished himself so much by his expounding of the Vaishṇava cult, that he became a terror to all rivals. One of his opponents was an Advaitic Vēdāntin of Mysore, Mādhava by name. This man had in his pride seated himself on a throne with six feet, signifying the six *darśnas* which he claimed to have conquered. Learning of his existence and extravagant claims through a Brahmin pilgrim, Bhaṭṭar resolved to vanquish him and bring him over to Vaishṇavism. He therefore proceeded to Gangōrai¹, the residence of the Vēdāntin in Mysore.

The Teng. Guruparamparas give an eloquent description here of Bhaṭṭar's arrival. With the large retinue which followed his golden palanquin, the sounds of heralds' praises, the music of *chinnam* and other instruments, and with the gorgeous paraphernalia which surrounded him, his march seemed to be the march of a king ! On his arrival at Gangōrai, we are told, Bhaṭṭar was told by a Brahmin that he could not see the Vēdāntin if he went to him in such splendour ; that the disciples of that philosopher used to zealously exclude controversialists from an audience with their master by engaging them in controversy themselves ; and that the best way in which Bhaṭṭar could meet him face to face, was by giving up his grandeur, by mingling in the crowd of Brahmins whom the Vēdāntin, rich and charitable as he was, used to feed every day, and then to challenge him for controversy at the time when he was looking after the guests and when he hardly expected an invitation to it. Bhaṭṭar did so. Casting aside his golden robes and ordering his followers to stay outside the town, he went, in the guise of a poor, yellow-robed Brah-

¹ This is said to be a place somewhere near Śringēri.

min, to the choultry, and joining in the crowd of guests, suddenly asked the learned host to give him alms in the shape of a philosophic disputation, instead of the satisfaction of physical hunger. The Vēdāntin was taken aback by this singular and daring request. He had heard, the *Guruparampara* tells us, of only one scholar whom he might have occasion to fear, and he was far away at Śrīraṅgam ; but he instinctively felt that he now stood before him. He therefore asked the bold intruder whether he was the renowned Bhaṭṭar of Śrīraṅgam and on being replied in the affirmative, straightway began a debate on philosophical topics ! Ten days of controversy followed, and none was able to beat the other till, on the eleventh day, we are told, Bhaṭṭar vanquished his adversary with the aid of the *Tirunedāṇḍakam* ¹ of Tirumaṅgai Ālvār and *Māyavadākhaṇḍanam* of Yāmunāchārya, on the suggestion of the Lord through the usual channel of a vision. The defeated philosopher then became a convert to Vaishṇavism and Viśishtādvaitic philosophy, and very soon took advantage of the uncharitable spirit of his two wives to renounce the world and proceed to Śrīraṅgam, and embrace the life of a Sanyāsin. The keen devotion and princely generosity of the new Sanyāsin who spent all his wealth in the feeding of poor Vaishṇavas, gained the special admiration of his teacher, who therefore hailed him with the title of *Nam-Jiyar* (i.e. *Our Jiyar*). As time went on, Nanjiyar obtained, by his scholarship and erudition, the encomium of all the people of his school, and was therefore raised, on the death of Bhaṭṭar, to the position and dignity of leader.

A few interesting references to certain alleged contemporary kings in the career of Bhaṭṭa may be mentioned here. The *Guruparampara* says that a king named Vira-Sundara-Brahma-Rāya ² built at this time certain walls of the Śrīraṅgam temple and that, in the course of the construction, he demolished the house of a Vaishṇava scholar, in spite of Bhaṭṭa's advice to the contrary. The latter therefore withdrew from Śrīraṅgam and stayed at Tirukkōṭṭiyūr, till the death of the king enabled him to return. The *Guruparampara* also refers to a certain Vira-Śikhāmaṇi-Pallava-Rāya ³ who, in consequence of the pressure of his royal duties, was unable to study the *Prabandhas*

¹ The 1892 edn. does not refer to any vision or the *Tirunedundāṇḍakam*; but the 1909 edn. refers to it.

² I have not been able to identify this king. He is said to have repaired the sixth wall of the shrine as it had become dilapidated. *Tamil Ency.* 629.

³ There is another version which says that one "Ammaṇi Ālvān of Bhōsaja country" resorted to Bhaṭṭar and got this advice. I have been able to identify neither Vira-Śikhāmaṇi Pallava-Rāya nor Ammaṇi Ālvān.

and who learnt from Bhaṭṭa that the highest religion was the placing of entire faith on Rāma. A third king, Tribhuvana ¹ Vira-dēva-Rāya by name, asked the teacher to come to him once ; but the resignation of Bhaṭṭa refused to wait on a man, however great he might be.

It has been already said that Bhaṭṭar was succeeded by Nañjiyar. The usual chronological inconsistency baffles us in this matter also. The birth of Nañjiyar ² is attributed to K. 4214 or A.D. 1112, that is 22 years after the expiration of Bhaṭṭa. To make him therefore the disciple and successor of the latter is the height of absurdity. Nañjiyar did a great service to the party of which he became the leader. He wrote an extensive commentary on the *Tiruvāymoḷi* called, from the number of the granthas contained therein, "the 9000." The story is that, when Nañjiyar completed his work, he wanted a good copyist to make a fair copy of it ; and a scholar, Nambūr Varadarāja by name, was on the recommendation of some people entrusted with the task. With the original, Varadarāja was proceeding to his village across the Kāvēri, when the current swept him and his burden off. The 9000 was thus lost ; but Varadarāja, great scholar as he was, wrote the whole commentary from his own memory, ³ —a task which was not very difficult for him as he had scrupulously attended Nañjiyar's lectures and followed them closely. And when he brought the work to his teacher, the latter found it occasionally not only different from his own interpretation, but infinitely better. He inquired how it happened and then learnt the story of the loss of the treatise in the floods and the reproduction of it from memory. Surprised and satisfied, Nañjiyar commended the profound scholarship of Varadarāja, called him his own son (*Nampīlai*), and ever after, kept him near himself as his most favourite disciple. And when the time came when he felt weak and unable to lecture, he appointed him as Āchārya in his place.

¹ The history of this man is equally obscure. He may have been a Pāṇḍya, or Chōja or Hoysaja king.

² The details are K. 4214, *Vijaya, Panguni, Uṭṭiram*. He was born, it is said, at Tirunārāyapuram. He is said to have lived 105 years, but this can be doubted on the fact that the No. 105 is more or less the ideal and attributed by Teṅgalai writers to almost every teacher whose age is not distinctly known. Appillai's *Tirumuḍaiḍāvū*, p. 60. The T. G. 1892 gives no date except month and constellation (p. 226).

³ T. G. 1892. T. G. 1909 gives a more elaborate version. It says how Varadarāja was lost in grief, how God appeared to him in a vision, comforted him, and told him that he would inspire him if he took the pen on hand. According to this version, thus, the 9000 was the work, occasionally, of God himself. Hence it was that Nañjiyar found it superior to his previous work in certain portions.

It is difficult to say when Nampiḷḷai formally became the leader of his party. The *Guruparampara* says clearly that he came to wield that dignity years before the death of his Āchārya. And yet orthodox chronology does not support this statement. According to it Nañjiyar died ¹ in his 100th year, *i.e.*, A.D. 1213 as he was born in 1113, and according to it, Nampiḷḷai was born in K. 4308 or A.D. 1207. The latter must have been, in other words, six or seven years of age when Nañjiyar died. How could he, under these circumstances, have been

Nampiḷḷai
and his importance
in the growth of
Teṅgalaism.

his disciple and his successor? Chronology thus once again fails to support tradition and must necessarily be rejected. However it might be, there can be no question that Nampiḷḷai's period of Āchāryaship was epoch-making. It was he evidently that paved the way for the future sectarianism of Vaishnavism. His genius or industry seems to have been the cause of that partisanship which was later on to stereotype itself into a caste. The *Guruparampara* does not say this openly, but it gives certain information which enable us to make such an inference. It says that Nampiḷḷai was once rebuked in very harsh language in the temple by Tōlappa, a descendant of Kandāḍai Mudali Āṇḍān ² and therefore a member of the extreme orthodox party. Tōlappa's wife, however, was an admirer of the Prabandhic teacher, and she refused to do anything with her husband unless he begged pardon of Nampiḷḷai. He therefore went to the Āchārya's house one day, and fell at his feet, and seeing how humble and modest he was, gave vent to these remarkable words: "Sire, I have all along been thinking that you are the Āchārya of a few people alone; but now I find that you must be the Āchārya of the world." The story is significant enough. It tells us in a clear and unmistakable manner how the Prabandhic movement was looked upon as heterodox, how it began in a small scale and how it gained strength in the time of Nampiḷḷai by bringing round even such orthodox men as the Āchāryic Kandāḍais. The withdrawal of the Ubhayasimhāsanātipati Varadāchārya to Conjeeveram ³ happened at

¹ See T. G. 1909, p. 550, where Nañjiyar is said to have lived 100 years. Appiḷḷai's *Tirumūḍāḍaiyuvu*, on the other hand, says that he lived 105 years. If this were the case, Nampiḷḷai would have been eleven years old at the time of Nañjiyar's death, and even if we accept this version, the objection pointed out holds.

² Tōjappa was the grandson of Mudali Āṇḍān and son of Kandāḍai Āṇḍān or Rāmānuja Guru who established the image of Rāmānuja at Śriperumbūdūr. Tōjappar was the ancestor of the family of Kōyil Aṅṅans."

³ Nampiḷḷai seems to have become the Prabandhic leader while Eṅṅaḷ Ālvān was Achārya. For the T. G. says that once when some people asked the elderly Alagia Jiyār whether he was right in becoming the disciple of Nampiḷḷai he asked them to consult Eṅṅaḷ Ālvān "as all the Śāstras he was an authority in." This is one of the few occasions when the T. Guruparamparas betray themselves and give a clue as to the true Āchāryic succession. Eṅṅaḷ Ālvān was followed by Nadādūr Ammaḷ or Varadāchārya and so Nampiḷḷai was his contemporary also.

this very time ; and Nampiḷḷai seems to have had a very fortunate chance, indeed, in this absence of the most uncompromising and traditional school. The presence of Varadāchārya and others would have been a thorn by his side. He would have been obscured by them. Their withdrawal left him without opposition, and clever as he was he did not let the opportunity slip.

He acted with energy, and gained a number of very great scholars and adherents. One of these, the well-known Peria Nampiḷḷai's
disciples :
(1) Peria Āchchān Pillai
(2) Pinbāḷagia Perumāḷ Jiyar.

Āchchān¹ Pīḷḷai, collected together all the prabandhic lectures of his master into a single treatise called "the 24,000." This learned writer wrote also some other works in the Maṇḍipravāḷa style to popularise the teachings of his school,—a commentary on the three *Gādya*s of Rāmānuja, on the greatness of *Āḷavandār* on the *Aṣṭākshara Mahimai*, etc. Another enthusiastic disciple, Pinbāḷagia Perumāḷ² Jiyar carried the doctrine of Āchārya-worship to its logical extreme and, besides composing the 12,000 on the Tiruvāymoḷi, he gave a sort of authority and tradition to the new school by ascribing to it a continuity of teachers from the time of Rāmānuja onward. It is well-known that one of the keystones of Vaishṇavism is the enormous importance it attaches to the Āchārya. A man may be a profound scholar, perfect saint ; but his teachings will hardly command a following unless he proves himself to be not an innovator, unless he shews that his views are based on recognized authorities and that a succession of Āchāryas had subscribed to, and taught, them in the past. Without this Āchāryic medium no teachings could command authority. We can easily believe that Nampiḷḷai was in that position. His lectures were exceedingly popular, based as they were on the ideas of the superiority of creed over caste, of the Prabandhas over the Vēdas, of Tamiḷ over Sanskrit, of Prapaṭṭi over Bhakti, and so on. But these views were held heresies by the traditional school. Nampiḷḷai's object was to shew

¹ He was born, according to Appiḷḷai's *Tirumuḷāḷatāṭu* in K. 4328 (A. D. 1226), *Sarvaḥṭi*, *Avant*, *Kṛishṇashānti*, constellation *Bōhṭi*, at a village called *Śeḡganallūr*. His real name was *Krishṇa*. See T. G. 1909, p. 581.

² The author of the 6,000 *Guruparampara* edited by Chitrakūṭam Tiruvēṅkaṭāchāriar in 1899—the standard authority on Āchāryic history from the Teṅgalai standpoint. His work necessarily stops with Nampiḷḷai. The period covered by the Āchāryaships of Peria Āchchān Pīḷḷai, Vadakku-tiru-vidi-pīḷḷai, Pillai—Lōkāchārya, Tiruvāymoḷi Pillai or Śrī Śailēśa, and Maṇḍavāḷa Mahāmuni, is dwelt upon by a later writer named Pīḷḷai—Lōkārya—Jiyar, in his *Yatindra pravāṇapradhāva*. This work also was edited by the same gentleman in 1891. A reprint of it has been issued in 1907. Both these works thus give a connected history of the Ālvār and Āchārya movements from the earliest times to the death of Maṇḍavāḷa Mahāmuni.

that they were not, that they were based on an unbroken continuity of Āchāryic teachings ; and this important function was discharged by his disciple Pinbaḷagia Perumāḷ Jiyar. His great service, in other words, was to write a *Guruparampara*, or an Āchāryic line of succession from Rāmānuja onward, purporting to hand over, in unbroken continuity, the real teachings of that great philosopher. In the construction of such a *Guruparampara*, Pinbaḷagia Perumāḷ Jiyar, it is certain, had naturally to suppress certain things and invent certain others.

He had to suppress or at least ignore the *Guruparampara* of the orthodox and traditional school who looked with such undisguised demur on the prabandhic movement. Hence his remarkable silence about the history of Piḷḷan the Ubhayasimhāsanātipati ¹ and the three other Bhāshyasimhāsanātipatis in spite of his formal recognition of their position in the beginning. He makes, in the first place, Embār, the successor of Rāmānuja, and Parāśara Bhaṭṭar, the successor of Embār. As a matter of fact these two scholars were never *especially* distinguished for prabandhic lore. They were indeed very learned men ; but if they had established a special distinction, they had established it not in the prabandhic field, but in Sanskrit. They have left works which are accepted by both the schools and which have no partisan spirit in them. Regardless of these facts and regardless of chronology, ² of tradition and of the received version of formal Āchāryic descent, the author of the 6000, made them the first media of Rāmānujic teachings to posterity. A learned Vaḍagalai writer observes that in Pinbaḷagia Perumāḷ's elevation of Bhaṭṭa to formal Āchāryic dignity we see perhaps a confusion of names. He believes that Parāśara Bhaṭṭa's brother Vēdavyāsa Bhaṭṭa or Śrī Rāma Piḷḷai was the person intended, but that from a natural mistake caused by the common family designation of Bhaṭṭar, the author of the 6000 G. P., made the elder brother the successor of the great Bhāshyākāra. That Śrī Rāma Piḷḷai was the person intended is maintained by this scholar on various grounds. First, he lived longer than Parāśara Bhaṭṭa and so there is no chronological inconsistency in his case. Secondly, he had a disciple named Nanjiyar (who, however, was, as will be shewn presently, a different person from the author of the 9000 commentary, but who has been confounded by the Teṅgalai author with his namesake). He was, in the third place, a

The latter's work
—the Guruparam-
para.

His
Guruparampara
criticised : Regard-
ing Bhaṭṭar.

¹ The T. G. 1892 and 1909 does not recognize this, but there are other editions which do so. Appillai's *Tirumudalāḍavu* and other works also clearly recognise the fact.

² The chronological inconsistency has been already shewn.

probable disciple of Embār. From these three facts the critic concludes that the real Bhaṭṭa of the Teṅgalai Ġuruparampara must be the younger Bhaṭṭa or Śrī Rāma Piḷḷai and not Parāśara Bhaṭṭa, the elder brother. But when once the mistake was made it was repeated and perpetuated and so Parāśara Bhaṭṭar became the usually recognized founder of the Prabandhic party—an honour of which he was quite innocent.

Passing on to Naṅḷiyar, the same learned critic points out the same chronological difficulty and confusion of names. His contention is that Naṅḷiyar, the author of the 9000, was in reality *not* the disciple of Bhaṭṭar but of Kḍāmbi Āchchān the Bhāshyic ¹ Āchārya. While yet an Advaitic scholar, continues the critic, he vanquished many a philosophic disputant, and coming to Śrīraṅgam, challenged Rāmānuja who was then the Pontiff. The latter ordered Kḍāmbi Āchchān ² to meet him, and that scholar gave a rude shock to the proud stranger, compelled him to acknowledge his defeat, and at the instance of his master, imparted holy instructions to him. Soon after his conversion Mādhava went home, to Mysore ; and later on, when Rāmānuja was dead and his own teacher was lecturing on the Bhāshya at Conjeeveram, Mādhava came thither, studied the Bhāshya and then with his preceptor's permission, composed commentaries on the *Śrīsūkta*, the *Tiruvāymoli* (in 9000 grānṭhas) and certain other parts of

the Prabandha. Kḍāmbi Āchchān was pleased with them and honoured them by including them in the holy studies of the age. It was after this that Mādhava renounced the world, and became a sanyāsin ³ under the name of Namperumāḷ Jiyar, which afterwards became shortened into Naṅḷiyar. The author of the 9000 thus was never a party leader. He was a loyal disciple of the Bhāshya Simhasanātipati. If he was not the Āchārya of a separate prabandhic movement, it will be asked, how did his name come to be included by Pinbaḷagia Perumāḷ in his *Guruparampara*? The critic answers this question by saying that it is a case of confusion of names. There was, he says, a contemporary of Naṅḷiyar, the author of the 9000, another Sanyāsin named Nanjīyar. He was the

¹ The authority for this is the *Rahastrayasāra* of Vēdānta Dēśika where, after speaking about God and Lakshmi, the author speaks about Naṅḷiyar's study under Āchchān. The *Śrīsūkta-Bhāshya* also refers to it.

² In other words, according to this writer, Kḍāmbi Āchchān and not Bhatta was the hero in this affair.

³ This explains the fact that even Vēdānta Dēśika refers to Naṅḷiyar as an authority. He would have hardly done so if he had been a party leader.

grandson of Embār's younger brother, Govinda the younger, and on account of his age was known as Nanjīyar the younger. He was further the disciple of Vēda Vyāsa Bhaṭṭa. Pinbaḷāgia Perumāḷ Jīyar confounded this person with his namesake and made the latter the Prabandhic Āchārya.

Having thus established that the Nañjīyar of the 9000 fame was the disciple of Kḍāmbi Āchchān, the critic then takes the case of Nampiḷḷai and proves that he too had not really an independent Āchāryic position and that Pinbaḷāgia Perumāḷ has distorted facts in connection with him also.

Regarding Nampiḷḷai, Nampiḷḷai was, he says, the manager (Mañiyam) of Uttamar Kōil north ¹ of Śrīrangam. A great Tamil scholar, he was desirous of completing his religious studies. He therefore came to Conjeeveram, and became the student of Kḍāmbi Śrī Ranga-rāja, the grandson of Kḍāmbi Āchchān and the father of Rāmānuja Appiḷḷān, who was then lecturing. At his feet Nampiḷḷai learnt the Bhāshyas as well as other works, including the 9000 of Nañjīyar which Āchchān had received from its author. "Probably Nampiḷḷai got from his teacher the 9000 with a view to have a copy of it for himself. Taking it to Uttamarkōil he completely made a transcript of the whole. He was then returning to Śrīrangam both with the original and the copy, when the river suddenly rose and swept away both the man and the palm leaves. Nampiḷḷai managed to save himself and a few leaves both of the original and the copy ; and by putting them together and writing the missing portion from his memory, he brought the whole to Śrī Raṅgarāja and told him what had happened. Śrī Raṅgarāja found from a cursory perusal that the new work differed in meaning in certain places from the old and so wanted to go through it at leisure."² The 9000 thus became, thanks to Nampiḷḷai, an unorthodox treatise, and so ceased to be studied by the orthodox. Soon after this, continues the learned writer, Nampiḷḷai resorted to Nañjīyar the younger, and learnt from him certain other interpretations of the Prabandhas which he taught to Vaḍakkuti-ruvidhi Piḷḷai, Iyūṇṇi Mādhava, Peria Achchān Piḷḷai and others. From these facts, concludes the writer, it will be plain that Nampiḷḷai was never the disciple of that Nañjīyar who was the author of the 9000 ; that he was in reality the disciple of the Kḍāmbi line ; that in his later days, however, he was a disciple of the younger Nañjīyar ; and that Pinbaḷāgia Perumāḷ Jīyar and, following him, the later Teṅgalai writers have confounded Nañjīyar the younger with Nañjīyar the elder.

¹ The orthodox Teṅgalai treatises do not give this fact.

² Compare this interpretation with that of the other party.

Such is the criticism passed on Pinbaḷagia Perumāḷ Jiyar's *Guruparampara*. It is hardly necessary to point out that this view will not be endorsed by the other party as it entirely demolishes its long-cherished version of Āchāryic succession and gives all the importance to the leaders of the Vaḍagalai party. The historian need not trouble himself as to which of the versions is true. Such a trouble may, while it can have no practical value, embitter party strife and revive an acute controversy which can never be ended by argument. All that is needed is to shew that there are two sides to the whole question ; that the Teṅgalai version has been very strongly, and to some extent successfully, criticised by the other party ; that the chronological chaos of the Teṅgalai Guruparampara, the occasional betrayals of the superior authority and existence of the Āchāryas of the other school, and the glaring inconsistencies often shown between profession and practice,—all seem to shew the attempt of Pinbaḷagia Perumāḷ Jiyar to construct a *Guru-*

The 6000
Guruparampara
nevertheless
authoritative.

parampara was not as skilfully made as it might have been. After all in matters like this, popular belief is the most important thing ; and popular opinion does not go into the philosophy or history of things. It does not care to inquire whether Nañjiyar was a real Āchārya or not ; whether Nampiḷḷai was an orthodox leader or heretic. It takes things for granted ; and from this standpoint, the Teṅgalai version of apostolic succession is as staunchly and promptly believed in as the Vaḍagalai version ; and however hoarse the others may cry about the chronological, traditional and other inconsistencies in the Teṅgalai version, it can hardly be doubted that Pinbaḷagia Perumāḷ Jiyar accomplished his object and did an incalculable service to his party in giving it a historic past, a continuity of tradition.

It will now be seen how important an era was started by the labours of Nampiḷḷai and his disciples. It is not known when Nampiḷḷai died.

Nampiḷḷai's
successor Peria
Āchchān Piḷḷai.

But as it is mentioned that he was born in 1207 and that he lived for 95 years, we can infer that he must have died in 1302. He was followed by his disciple Peria Āchchān Piḷḷai as the leader. A very able and industrious writer, Peria Āchchān Piḷḷai who had already made his name by his commentary of the 24000, further strengthened his party by producing a number of authoritative ¹ works. Peria

¹ See Note 34. Besides the 24000 and other commentaries on the *Nāḷāyiraṣṟabandha* he composed various treatises, viz., *Paranda Rahasyavivarāṇa*, *Māyickamḷalai*, *Navaratnamḷalai*, *Sakalāpṛomāṇatāṭparyam*, *Upakāra-Ratnam*, *Gūḍyatrayavyakhyānam*, *Charma-rahasyam*, *Anusandhānarahasyam* and *Niyamanappāḍi*. (Appiḷḷai's *Tirumuḍiāḍāvū*, p. 61). All these works are in Maṇipravāḷa.

Āchchān Piḷḷai was succeeded in his exalted station by Krishnapāda or *Vaḍakkutiruvīdi Piḷḷai* his co-disciple. The new leader was even more erudite than his predecessors. He had composed a grand commentary, called 36,000, on the Tamil Vēda. This work is generally known to orthodoxy by the name ¹ *Īḍu*, literally "the equal;" for it was held by its talented author to be equal to the grandeur of Nammālvār's work, and, according to another view, to the highly learned commentary on the Śrī-Bhāshya which his great contemporary, Sudarśana Bhaṭṭa of Vēda Vyāsa Bhaṭṭar's family, had composed on the basis of Varadāchārya's lectures. The *Īḍu*, however, never became a work of authority; for it was in the eyes of the writer's own preceptor, an unauthorised production as it was written without the Āchāryic sanction. It remained in private ² hands till it was to be corrected, revised and popularised by the great Manavāḷa Mahā Muni in the early part of the 15th century. *Vaḍakkutiruvīdi Piḷḷai*'s son and successor was the celebrated Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya, the contemporary of Vēnkaṭanātha, and the alleged founder of Teṅgalaism as a *distinct* sect. A curious story is given of the circumstance of Lōkāchārya's ³ birth. It is to the effect that his father, *Vaḍakkutiruvīdi Piḷḷai* saw in his newly wedded bride a serpent furious and inapproachable; that his mother, unable to endure this strange hallucination on the part of her son, prayed to her preceptor to remove the disease and to bless him with the boon of a progeny; that the teacher, in consequence, secured, by his spiritual powers, the removal of the illusion, and that the

¹ He was born in K. 428 (1226 A.D.), *Sarvajit, Āni, Svati*. His wife was called Ranganayaki. He was evidently the admirer and disciple of Nadādūr Ammal under whom he studied the Bhāshya at Conjeeveram,—if we are to believe the V. G. But T. G. disregards or rather ignores this view and describes him as the disciple of Nampiḷḷai alone. The latter was very angry when he saw the 36,000 of his disciples as he considered to be written without authority and as a rival of Peria Āchchān's 24,000. But *Vaḍakkutiruvīdi Piḷḷai* maintained that he simply wrote his lectures for refreshing his memory. Nampiḷḷai thereupon changed his attitude, and proclaimed that it would be published later on by the Bhāshyakāra himself who would be once again born as Manavāḷa Mahāmuni. Till then the *Īḍu* was to be in private hands and not to be studied with the other treatises of the party. It will be seen from this story that the *Īḍu* had never secured the authority of the orthodox even among the Teṅgalai party and that the credit of Manavāḷa Mahāmuni was to bring it out.

² It was in the possession of Nampiḷḷai's disciple Īyuppi Mādhava, then his son Padmanābha Perumā, then his disciple Nālūr Piḷḷai who gave it to his disciple Śrī Śailēsa. The latter then gave it to Manavāḷa Mahāmuni and he published it. For 200 years the *Īḍu* was thus in private hands and the *Īḍu Guruparampara* is in consequence different from the ordinary *Tengalai Guruparampara*. See T.G. 1909, pp. 567 and 586; also *Yatindrapravana-prabhāsa*, p. 20.

³ The date of his birth is alleged to be K. 4366 (A.D. 1264), *Krōdhana, Aippasi*, constellation Śravaṇa. He must have been born when his father was 38 years old. (See Appiḷḷai's *Tirumuṇḍāḍaivu*, p. 61.)

disciple, freed from his trouble, found in his wife no longer a serpent, but a dutiful partner of his life, who presented him, in process of time, with a son, called, in consequence of the circumstance of his birth, "Lōkāchārya's son" or Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya.¹ At the expiration of a year, we are informed, when the gratified parents took the child, in company with Nampiḷḷai and other great men, to the temple, the deity did not only shower his grace on the infant, but bestowed, through the priest's word, another son, like himself, to Vaḍakkutiruvīdi Piḷḷai. The result of the divine grace was that Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya had soon a brother, to achieve in after days as much glory as himself. In recognition of the divine grace as the cause of his birth, he was christened Aḷāgia Maṇavāla Perumāḷ Nāinār. The two brothers, it is said, evinced a strong attachment to each other. The mastery of the *Bhāshya* and the *Prabandhas*, of the works of Rāmānuja and the Ālvārs, they soon acquired; but brought as they were under the influence of the southern school, they revelled in the study of the Tamil Vēdās and their commentaries. Educated in the profession of what was later on to become Teṅgalaism, they were devoutly attached to the faith, or as their opponents termed it, the heresy of *Prabandhic* supremacy. For the benefit of the common people, they explained the purity of their creed in a number of treatises, the most important of which were known as *Vachana* ² *Bhūshana* and *Āchārya-Hridaya*. These summarised, in a masterly but difficult and sūtraic style, the essentials of the doctrine of Prapatti in all its bearings. For the benefit of women and the common people, Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya composed 16 other treatises. These were: the *Tani Tirumantram*, an exposition of the sacred Ashṭākshara; the *Nigamanappadi* ³, in three chapters, on the three Rahasyas; *Mumukshupadi* ⁴, a commentary in three chapters on the three Rahasyas (Mūlamantra, Dvaya and charama slōka) which are intended to teach the doctrine of Prapatti; the *Tatvatraya*, a treatise on the characteristics of the three fundamental entities of soul, matter and God ⁵; the *Arthapañchaka* ⁶ which treats about the nature of the

His Works.

¹ Another interpretation of the name is "Lōkāchārya the younger" to distinguish him from Nampiḷḷai who was also called Lōkāchārya.

² Parthasārathi Yogi of Triplicane translated this work for the Chicago Parliament of Religions, 1893.

³ This is also attributed to Peria Āchchān Piḷḷai.

⁴ See *Triennial Catalogue* of MSS. (1910-13), Tamil, 1913, p. 115. For commentary, pp. 134-5.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 116. There exists Maṇavāla Mahāmuni's commentary on it. *Ibid*, 34.

⁶ *Ibid*, 119-20; absurdly styled "the most important summary of modern Bhāgavata doctrine of South India that we possess." J.R.A.S., 1910, p. 565.

self, of God, of the goal to be reached, of the means to be employed therefor, and the obstacles to be surmounted therein ; the *Archirādhī*¹ which speaks of the various stages of development which a person, desirous of salvation through God's grace, must necessarily pass through ; the *Navaratnamālai*, a work which "explains what a Prapanna should think of himself, his body, his relatives, his fellow beings, the deities other than Viṣṇu, the devotees of Viṣṇu, the religious teacher, Lakshmi, and Lord Nārāyaṇa"² ; the *Tanipraṇava*³ "which treats of the meaning of Praṇava which is conceived to contain in itself the meaning of the eight syllabled mantra addressed to Nārāyaṇa" ; the *Tanidvaya* which explains the meaning of the *Dvaya* mantra ; the *Tanicharumam*, a commentary on the *charamaslōka* ; the *Tatvasēkharām*, a treatise on the true knowledge of God, of the soul⁴ and of the means of attaining salvation ; the *samsāra sāmrajyam*⁵ which "represents metaphorically the life in this mundane world to be a kind of kingship which diverts a person from pursuing in life the proper aim of salvation"; and a few others. Most of these works were very small in size, consisting sometimes of a few lines. But they came to be considered by the Teṅgalai or Prabandhic party as the only true expoundments of the cults of Rāmānuja and the Ālvars, and are even to-day known as the *Aṣṭadaśarahasyas* or 18 Rahasyas of Piḷḷai Lōkācharya. They form the first real philosophic basis of Teṅgalaism, and Piḷḷai Lōkācharya has been rightly held in grateful veneration by the Teṅgalai sect.

It was just at this time that the traditional school had Vēṅkaṭanātha for its Āchārya, and the relations between the two great men will be narrated in detail on a future occasion. It is enough to point out here that they became the usually recognized heads of the two sects.

Such is the remarkable history of Vaishṇavism in the two centuries which elapsed from Rāmānuja to Vēdāntāchārya. It will now be clear how the Vaishṇava religion became gradually divided into two distinct sects and how people came to pay allegiance to two distinct sects of teachers. I shall now proceed to describe in detail the chief points of dispute that led to the formation of parties and with this, an important chapter in the history of Śrī Vaishṇavism would be concluded.

¹ Ibid, p. 120-1.

² Ibid, p. 205.

³ Ibid, p. 212.

⁴ Ibid, p. 215.

⁵ Ibid, p. 221.

Note.—A comparative table of the two sets of Āchāryas.

Rāmānuja. (1017-1137.)

(Common to both.)

Piḷḷān (1157-1161 ?)	Embār (1024-1129)
Eṅgaḷ Ālyān (1161 ?-1200 ?)	Bhaṭṭar (1062-90)
Varadācharya (? 1200-1275 ?)	Naijḷiyar (1112-1213)
Rāmānuja	Nampiḷḷai (1207-1302)
Appiḷḷān (1275 ?-1290 ?)	Peria Āchchān Piḷḷai
|	| (1226-1321)
|	Vaḍakkutiruvīdi Piḷḷai,
|	| 1226-?
Vēdānta Dēśika (? 1290-1310 when he became universal Āchārya at Śrīrañ- gam).	Piḷḷai Lōkachārya (1264-1327)

In this table I have given only the probable *Āchāryic* periods in the case of the Bhāshyic leaders and the *alleged whole* date in the case of the others. The weakness of the latter *Guruparampara* can be seen at first sight.

SECTION III.

THE POINTS AT ISSUE.

From the death of Rāmānuja onward there were two schools of Vaishṇavism in south India. Under Rāmānuja there had been no schism, no hostile factions¹. All had united to uphold the creed of

¹ There is a good deal of controversial literature in regard to the two sects of Vaishṇavism. For a general description of the differences between them, see *Mysore Census Report*, 1891; *Ind. Antq.* III, pp. 124-5 and 136-7; *Madras Manual*, I, pp. 85, 89-90, and III, 466 and 951-2; Monier Williams' *Hinduism*, pp. 125-55; Bhandarkar's *History of Vaishṇavism*, etc., pp. 54-5; *J.R.A.S.* 1910, pp. 1103-55; *The Brahmavādīn*, Oct.-Nov. 1912, etc. The chief books in Tamil which are devoted to the controversy between the two sects are *Tennāchārya prabhāva* by a very vulgar and fanatical non-Brahmin writer Appāvoo Mudaliār; a reply to it from the Vaḍagalai standpoint—called *Tennāchārya prabhāva Khaṇḍanam*; a reiteration of the first work called *Paḷanaḍai viḷakham* and a reply to it called *Tolnaḍaitulakkam*, etc. All these works have for their chief object the proof of the traditional and ancient nature of their respective sects. The Teṅgalai writers endeavour to shew that *their* creed is the true one and quote passages from the Vēdas, the Purānas, the Smritis, the Tiruvāymoli, etc., to prove that both in doctrine and actual conduct of life, they are truer and more genuine Vaishṇavas. The Vaḍagalai writers criticise this and give authorities to prove their own contentions and their claims. The Vaḍagalai writers, on the whole, are cleverer, more scholarly and intelligent; and an impartial study of all shades of opinion cannot but lead to the conclusion that the Teṅgalai or popular movement is a later and reactionary movement against the orthodox creed of Vaishṇavism of which the Vaḍagalais are the best representatives. The analogy of other religious history throughout the world provides another corroborative evidence in favour of this conclusion. The whole will, I believe, be clear from the following pages.

Vishṇu as against other creeds and all had the same customs and observances, the same beliefs and doctrines, the same sacred books and writings, the same Āchāryas and teachers. There was no doctrinal or social difference then, to separate the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas into rival castes or societies. But immediately after the death of Rāmānuja, a schism, essentially doctrinal in nature, seems to have arisen. The question arose whether salvation could be best obtained through a study of the Sanskrit *Śrutis* or the Tamil *Prabandhas*. Was the language of orthodoxy, in other words, or the language of the people, to be the chief medium of religious worship and studies? Were the Vēdas and Upanishads to be the chief means of human emancipation, or the *Nālayiraprabandha* of the Tamil Ājvārs? Were the Bhāshyas, the great commentaries on the Sūtras of Vyāsa, for the completion of which Rāmānuja had laboured so much and so long, to be the chief object of a man's studies, or were the commentaries on the works of Śaṭhakōpa and Tirumaṅgai Mannan, of Tirumaṅṅai and Tondaraḍippoḍi?

First point of
dispute. Sanskrit
vs. Tamil.

So long as Rāmānuja lived, both the languages had occupied an equal position. The author of the most monumental works in Sanskrit, he never relegated the Tamil works to a minor or secondary place. His work was one of co-ordination and compromise, of harmony and union. To *him* his own Bhāshya and the 6000 of his disciple, Tirukkuruhaipirān Piḷḷān, on the Prabandha were equal in sanctity. To *him*, the Prabandhas were only Tamil Vēdās, the Vēdās only Sanskrit Prabandhas. To *him* the highest philosophy of the Vēdānta was the same as the highest philosophy of the *Tiruvāymoli*. But this balance of judgment passed away with his death. Extremists arose, and while some began to maintain that Sanskrit was holier and therefore the fitter language of religion, others came into existence who maintained an ardent advocacy of Tamil. In one sense all were Sanskritists and all were Tamilians; for no partisan had ever such a partisan spirit as to completely deny the efficacy of the other language. The Tamil school did indeed concede the glory of the Vēdas, the Upanishads, the Vēdānta and the Bhāshya; and the Sanskrit school did indeed concede the glory of the *Prabandha*; but as a matter of *fact*, in their admiration of their own language, they not unoften broke their own profession and did injustice to the other. The Tamil school were particularly to blame in this respect. So one-sided in practice did their attachment become that, in course of time, Sanskrit studies became a comparatively rare accomplishment among them. The result of this development was at once beneficial and harmful. It was beneficial in that it tended to bridge the gulf between the higher and lower classes of Vaiṣṇavism, in the democratisation of the creed, in its

understanding and profession by the inferior castes. With the neglect of Sanskrit and the increase of Tamil, Vaishṇavism tended naturally to become the creed of the people. Hitherto the religion of the few, it was now able to become the religion of the many. Hitherto the monopoly of scholars, it could now be equally the property of the comparatively illiterate. The masses, hitherto blind slaves, could now be deliberate followers. The mystery and the glamour that had surrounded and obscured the Vēdas and the Upanishads were no longer there. Everybody could read the *Tiruvāymoli* and everybody could study the Tamil commentaries and philosophical works of the Teṅgalai writers. The growth of Vaishṇavism was, in consequence, from the time of the Tamil movement, both steady and rapid. But while there was this benefit, there was a corresponding defect. The diminution of Sanskrit lore led to the diminution of real culture and philosophy, and what was gained in popularity was lost in the lesser range of scholarship and the lack of the halo of a language which, ever since the dawn of Indian History, had been inalienably associated with religion. That was why the other school, the Vaḍagalais as they came to be called, so passionately clung to the supremacy of Sanskrit for religious purposes. They were indeed not so extreme¹ or tactless as their opponents. For they did not neglect the Tamil writings to such extent as the Teṅgalais did the Sanskrit writings; but they made no secret of their preference of Sanskrit. Some of them wrote Tamil treatises; but all took delight either in composing or studying Sanskrit ones.

Closely associated with the linguistic difference there came into existence a doctrinal difference. Indeed it may be conceived that the doctrinal difference was the cause of the linguistic difference. It is well-

¹ The Teṅgalais treatises *Tennāchāryaṣrabhāva*, *Palanndaiṅiakkam*, etc., quote the passages from the *Pāncharātrum*, *Yadurvēda*, "the Śrūtis," the *Bhārgava Purāna*, *Bhaviṣyathpurāna*, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*, etc., to prove that the *Prabandhas* are holier than the Vēdas and that they are a sure and even *sole* passport to emancipation. The Vaḍagalai treatises point out that the theory of equality between the *Prabandhas* and the *Vēdas* cannot be pushed too far; that it is *auṣachārika* only. They further point out that the passages quoted by the other party are either not found in the originals and therefore clear interpolations, or are not authoritative (as in the case of the Purānas) as they are the work of prejudiced partisans. After all, if we take the *fact* alone into consideration we find that Vēdānta Dēsika is the only Āchārya who has composed devotional songs in Tamil after the Ālvars; and yet it is he that is most condemned by the Teṅgalais,—one of the large number of inconsistencies in the observances of that sect. Even in respect of commentaries, the Vaḍagalai writers are as numerous as Teṅgalai ones. For if the latter wrote the 9,000, the 24,000 and the 76,000, the former wrote the 6,000, the 74,000, the 18,000, etc. Dr. Grierson's statement that the Vaḍagalais wrote mainly in Sanskrit and the others, in Tamil seems therefore to be a little too sweeping (J. R. A. S. 19, 10, p. 56).

known that, in the time of the Ālvārs, the doctrine of Bhakti was developed into the more extreme doctrine of Śaraṇāgati or self-surrender.¹ Both these doctrines were based on man's love of God and God's love of man. But in the *Bhakti* method there was as much element of ceremoniatism and intellectuality as that of devotion. The Bhakta aimed at the realisation of God by love ; but this love was to be preceded by the strict performance of the duties prescribed by law (*Karma*) and by the acquisition of the *knowledge* of God (*Gnāna*). The Vēdāntic ideal of *Bhakti*, in other words, was that it was combined with Karma in the first place and Gnāna in the second, in the search after God. The Prapanna, on the other hand, depends entirely on God's grace. The process of uninterrupted yōgic contemplation which is the essence of Bhaktiyōga is one of great difficulty. A slight mistake in it would mean the defeat of the devotee's hopes, the non-achievement of his desires. It is also a slow process, and the suppliant of heaven may feel unable, in consequence of his great and all-absorbing faith, to endure so long. He therefore entirely surrenders to God, acknowledging his incapacity to realise him, acknowledging the futility, in his case, of any other method of emancipation than by throwing himself wholly on God's love. The Prapanna, in other words, is more helpless in his feelings than the Bhakta. He is an entire slave, a full dependent on God's grace. Now, the point to be noticed is, the Bhakti method is generally supposed to be advocated by the Upanishads or the Vēdānta, and Śaraṇāgati method by the emotional Ālvārs. This view is not quite correct. For the life-long labours of Rāmānuja were to interpret the Upanishads and the Vēdānta Sūtras not only in the light of *Bhakti* but of absolute Śaraṇāgati. His aim was, in other words, to prove that even in the Vēdānta, the method of Śaraṇāgati was one of the two methods of obtaining emancipation. Now a great difference arose in regard to the doctrine of Prapatti after the death of Rāmānuja. Disputes arose as to the actual method of preparation of a Prapanna and as to the circumstances under which he could practise the self-surrender. Both parties agreed in the necessity of self-surrender, but they came to differ in the details of the process to be adopted, the exact qualifications of the would-be Prapanna, the life which he would have to lead after Prapatti, and so on. The Vaḍagalai school attached, on the whole, greater importance to the actual performance of it, imposed greater restrictions on the performer, and enumerated a larger number

Dispute *re*
doctrine of
Prapatti.

¹ See Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism, etc.*, p. 54. As the *Karma* includes various rites it follows that *Bhaktiyōga* can be practised by the first three orders alone. The *Prapattimāraṅga*, on the other hand, can be adopted even by the Sūdras.

of obstacles to be surmounted by him in its performance. They ¹ said that *before* the resort to self-surrender there must be *self-effort*. It is only when this self-effort is unable to gain the realisation of God, and when in consequence, a feeling of complete helplessness and unalloyed faith in God's grace is firmly entertained, that one can resort to Prapatti. A good deal of preparatory efforts are, therefore, necessary. According to the other school, no such self-effort is necessary, as God's love is spontaneous and will, of itself, give salvation for mankind. The logical result of this doctrine is that one who wishes to become a Prapanna need not undergo those preparatory difficulties to which the other party attach so much importance. The Vaḍagalais in other words insist on the concomitancy of the human will, while their opponents are for the voluntary irresistibility of the divine grace. In the one case, as Barth says, there is the co-operation of man with God in salvation, while in the other there is the irresistible and free action of God. A curious but common method of expressing this difference of views is by a comparison of the respective behaviour of the monkey and the cat towards their young ones. One party "asserted that divine grace acted like the monkey, *i.e.*, the souls must exert themselves to get saved, as the young of the monkey actively seizes its mother during the latter's evolutions from tree to tree.

Others more indolent or more hopeful according as one may view it, asserted that God's grace was *like the cat*, which Markaṣa and safe-guarded its young, unaided by any efforts of the Mārjāra Nyāyas.² latter. God's grace, according to this latter school, was irresistible, and required nothing but an aptitude of receptivity to freely flow to the deepest sinner" (Ind. Rev. Dec. 1908.)

¹ The Vadagali doctrine is generally compared to the Armenian doctrine of free will and the Teṅgalai doctrine to the Calvinistic counterpart which is based on the helpless passivity of the spirit till it is acted on by the supreme spirit. Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism*, etc., pp. 54-6; *Ind. Antq.* III, 125; Barth, p. 227. The last writer, after comparing these two doctrines with the Armenian and the Gomarist, points that we "come back into India when we see that this grace is immediately personified in Lakshmi or Radha and that the very theologians who discuss these positions are often in close affinity with the Saktas." (p. 227).

² These two theories are generally known in orthodox phraseology as *Markaṣanyāya* and *Mārjāranāyāya*. A remarkable instance of the popularity of the two *Nyāyas* is seen in the fact that they became proverbs, among the people. See Carr's *Telugu and Sanskrit Proverbs*, quoted in *Ind. Antq.* III, 125. See also Hopkins' *Religions*, p. 501; Barth's *Religions*, p. 227. Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism*, etc., p. 57; J.R.A.S., 1910, pp. 567 and 584-7 and 1103. For an orthodox treatise on the voluntary nature of God's grace, see Mudaliandān's निहेतुकारहस्य. (*Trien. Catal. Tamil*, 1913, p. 225.) No truer statement on the whole question is possible than this of Bhandarkar: "The tendency of Rāmānuja's System seems to be to give an exclusive Brahmanic form to the traditional method of Bhakti or devotion to God, and this is definitely seen in the doctrines of the Vadakalai while the Tenkalai or south learning is more liberal and so shapes the doctrines of the system as to make them applicable to Śūdras also."

An immediate and logical result of this difference between the two parties in the idea of God's grace was the rise of a difference in the doctrine of sin and forgiveness. The belief that God's grace is spontaneous and that no self-effort on the part of man is necessary, naturally gave rise to the fatal dogma of the Tamil school that God is *Dōsha-bhōgya*, an enjoyer of sin, inasmuch as the practice of sin gives a larger scope for the display of his grace. The Vaḍagalai belief is that God's love is so generous as to ignore the soul's taints, while the other party hold that it welcomes such taints.

Another important doctrinal disagreement that arose between the two schools was in connection with the position of Lakshmi. According to the traditional or conservative school, Lakshmi is part and parcel of the Lord. She is, in fact, one important and necessary aspect of Godhood. She is indistinguishable from God in all his actions and thoughts. She is equally infinite and uncreated, equally great and illimitable. Without her the conception of the Lord is impossible. As she cannot be held to be separate from him, she is equally omnipresent and omnipotent and therefore has the equal power of giving Mōksham or final emancipation, not because she has any independent powers as such, but because she is always one with the Lord and co-operates with Him in the preservation and maintenance of the universe and in the determination and regulation of everything and everylife.¹ The southern school, on the other hand, believes Lakshmi to be only a finite Being, though divine. She is only a superior soul and servant of God. She belongs to the same category as Vishvaksēna and others who enjoy the everlasting bliss of Vaikuṅṭh and whose pleasure is to serve God and enjoy His company ; only she is superior to them all. She is also conceived to be a mere mediator (Purushakāra) between the sinning soul and the Lord. She can only plead with God the cause of a suppliant of heaven ; but she has no independent power to bestow salvation itself.

The Teṅgalai *doctrines* of the caste system, again, are more generous and equitable though in practice they are not less rigid in their observances or less exclusive in their society. A man of the lower caste becomes, in their view, in case he becomes a Prapanna, equal to the most orthodox Brahmin. The other school, on the other hand, contend with stern obstinacy, that creed cannot supersede caste, that the stain of caste can be extinguished only with death, that however holy and

¹ See the *Śrīvibhūta Samarthanam* (Trien. Catal. Tamil 1913, p. 232).

pious a man may be, he cannot free himself, during life, from the duties of his varna. The Śūdras and women, they say, do not deserve to use the Mūlamantra (*i.e.*, the Aṣṭākshara) with praṇava (*i.e.*, *om*), while their opponents believe the contrary.

The Caste System. For the same reason, the Teṅgalais hold that spiritual knowledge can be obtained from a teacher of the lower castes, a doctrine which the others denounce. The Teṅgalais, again, believe that pilgrimages are not quite necessary for salvation. The Vaḍagalais, on the contrary, believe that they are conducive at least to purification. The argument which the Teṅgalais give against even the Ganges is that the waters of that river flow after a sojourn in the midst of Siva's knots of hair and so cannot be considered to be quite pure. The other party argue that a plunge in the river is a purifying factor. So far as practice is concerned, the Teṅgalais are as enthusiastic pilgrims as their rivals.

A second point of difference is in regard to the duties of a Prapanna Pilgrimages, etc. and a Sanyāsin. One party hold that he is above ordinary humanity, and that he need not observe the rules of caste, though for convention's sake he may observe them. With the other, the observance of caste rules is an absolute necessity. Non-observance means social degradation and spiritual bankruptcy and, in consequence, ineligibility to religious teaching and preaching. A Sanyāsin can, in the opinion of the Teṅgalais, pay to and receive obeisance from householders ; in the opinion of the Vaḍagalais he cannot pay obeisance to a householder except in the case of a Guru. A Sanyāsin, again, need not, according to one school, beg ; he may, moreover, have copper and other utensils ; but according to the other party, he must live solely by begging and he ought not to touch metal.

Passing on from the speculative to the practical side of religion, we have to consider the equally numerous and important differences in regard to rituals and ceremonials. In the first place, a Śrāddha or ceremony falling on an Ēkādaśī day should be, in the opinion of the Teṅgalais, performed the next day, while according to the other sect, it can under no circumstance be postponed. Secondly, it is the belief of the Teṅgalais that the water touched even accidentally by the feet of the *Bhāgavatas*, is holy and productive of purification ; the other party believe that water accidentally touched cannot be pure, that a necessary condition of purity is its being granted willingly and with proper ceremonials by the giver. For the performance of the Pañcha-Shamskāra, again, for the wearing of the sacred thread, the Puṇḍra, etc., the Teṅgalais do

Ceremonial
differences.

not, like the Vaḍagalais, attach importance to the Hōma and the connected mantras. Their operations in these matters are consequently less orthodox and less solemn. Devoted as they are as much to the Bhāgavatas as to God, the Teṅgalais believe that prior to the performance of a Śrāddha, food should be offered to God in the first place and the Nityās and the Achāryās in the second; their opponents maintain that it must be dedicated to God alone. Sacrifices, again, are in the eyes of the southern school, cruel practices involving the death of animals and so must be avoided, while in the opinion of the other, they are conducive to the salvation of the *sacrificed* and so there is no real cruelty. As a matter of fact both the parties attach equal importance to it in practice.

It is evidently after these doctrinal and ritualistic differences became rigid and stereotyped that social differences came into existence and that different outward symbols or caste-marks, in theory the less important parts of religion, but in reality the most potent cause of unending struggles in future, assumed a *new* significance thereby dividing the two classes for ever. From this time onward disputes came to centre on trivial externals, and shibboleths, to use the language of Monier Williams, to be intolerant of shibboleths.

In these outward symbols, the first great point to be noticed is the nature of different caste-marks. The Vaḍagalais use for their caste-mark a *puṇḍra*¹, a *namam* to use the common parlance, which begins between the brows and ends in three lines at the head, and which is at the bottom in the form of a crescent. The Teṅgalais, on the other hand, wear a *puṇḍra* which begins not between the brows, but further down, in the upper part of the nose, and which is, in consequence, not in the form of a crescent, but of a horizontal line crossed at one side by a line at right angles. The phi-

¹ The *Puṇḍra* is designed to represent the footmark of Viṣṇu. The middle line formed red ointment, unlike the two white lines, represents Lakṣmi. A good deal of Literature, controversial in nature, exists in connection with this. See *Thenna-charya Prabhava*, *Thenna-charya Khandana*, etc. Much ingenuity and learning has been displayed by the two sects to show that their respective *nāmams* were the more ancient and so the more correct. The summarising of the arguments on each side will occupy much space. They are generally based on (1) ancient written authorities, (2) the fixing of the marks in temples, etc., and (3) traditions. Both quote from the Vēdas, Smritis, the Purāṇas, etc.; both attribute their respective *nāmams* to the different temples of the land alleging any differences from their statements to be due to the past vandalism of their opponents; and both give traditions to support their claims. It is difficult to say which of them is true. For general remarks about *Puṇḍras* and their significance, see *Christ, Coll. Magas.* iii (1886), p. 818 *Wilson's Relig. Sects.* I, 38.

losophy of the *puṇḍra* is that it is the symbol of the footmark of Viṣṇu and of Lakshmi, that it is essentially the mark of the Vaishṇava, and that it should therefore be put on in the forehead. This was recognised by all, as well as the fact that it should begin *at the root of the forehead*. But differences arose as to the exact significance of this expression. The Vaḍagalais maintained that the space between the brows was meant, while the Teṅgalais held that it was further down on the upper part of the nose. Hence arose the difference in the shape of the Puṇḍrams; and when once the difference arose, persecutions and animosities began. People did not realise the smallness of the source of dispute. Enthusiasm grew into bigotry and bigotry into intolerance; and for the sake of a crescent or a line, blood came to be spilt and limbs broken. Few there were from this time onward who remembered that they belonged to the single creed of Vaishṇavism. They became so much the Teṅgalais or Vaḍagalais that they no longer remembered they were Vaishṇavas, so much the votaries of sectarianism that they no longer considered themselves the members of the same creed and the worshippers of the same God.

A second fundamental difference was in connection with the treatment accorded to widows ¹. The Teṅgalais were genuine reformers in this respect. They held that the tonsure of widows was an atrocious cruelty not sanctioned by ancient law. The Vaḍagalais, more true evidently to tradition than to reason and Tonsure of widows. religion, closely clung to it. Another point of difference was in regard to the dress of women. The Teṅgalais held that the upper fold of their dress should go over their right shoulders, while the Vaḍagalais were for the left ones! A number of differences relate to food. The Teṅgalais say that, when the meal is served, salt should be served in the presence of the eater; that iron spoons and the hand can be used for serving; that the left hand ought not to hold the plate Dress and food. during *Parishēchana*; that condiments and curries should be served before rice. The other sect hold that salt should not be served, that the hand and iron ought not to be used, that till the performance of the *Prāṇāhuti* the left hand should touch the leaf; that, as curries and condiments contain salt, and as salt is not an article to be offered to the *Prāṇās*, pure rice should be served first, the condiments coming only after the offering to the *Prāṇās*. During the performance of the *Pūja*, again, at home, the

¹ Both the parties quote passages from ancient books to prove this. For the Teṅgalai standpoint, see *Ind. Antq.*, Vol. III. Where Mr. Naranimha Aiyangar summarises the whole. For the Vaḍagalai standpoint, see *Tennācharya para bhāva khandanam*, pp. 91-9.

bell¹ ought not, in the opinion of the Teṅgalais, to be rung,—a foolish and childish innovation, a breach from longstanding tradition inspired by undue hatred to Vēdānta Dēs'ika, the alleged avatar of Vēṅkaṭanātha's *ghaṇṭa*. A number of conventionalities exist in regard to the performance and acceptance of

The ringing of bells. Salutations. Namaskārams or salutations, and afford similar grounds of contentions and controversies between the two sects. The Teṅgalai idea is that the Namaskāra should be done once only, that it is irrespective of age and occasion ; that elder people can make return Namaskārams to younger men ; that even the Guru is bound to return the disciple's salutation, that women can be fit objects of obeisance, and that it can be done mutually even in the presence of a deity or a preceptor. The other party contend that prostrations should be at least twice and always *even*, that old age need not return the salutes of youth as its function is blessing, that the preceptor should under no circumstance salute his disciple, that none else ought to be saluted in the presence of a deity or a preceptor, and that only the mother, the Guru's wife, and similar women of recognized position are worthy objects of obeisance. The Teṅgalai Brahmin does not scruple to prostrate himself before a Vaishṇava of the lower caste ; the Vaḍagalai holds the act in contempt, and contends that, while he can be revered in thought and in word, he cannot be revered by the obeisance of the body. Similarly, a Teṅgalai Sanyāsin can pay to and receive obeisance from householders ; his Vaḍagalai brother will not salute unless the object of his obeisance is his Guru.

All these facts clearly illustrate the broad and underlying features of the two great sects of Vaishṇavism. They prove that the Teṅgalai sect is due to a reaction from the extreme orthodoxy of the old Vaishṇavism, and that, in its enthusiasm for reform, it enlisted the support of the masses by emphasising the study of the Tamil Vēdas, by conversion, and even, it has been alleged with greater prejudice perhaps than truth, by a loose intermarriage system between the old votaries and the new converts. Less orthodox and less exclusive, it was naturally an attraction to the masses. The rigidity of observances, the preference to Sanskrit, the restrictions on the lower castes, the scrupulous regard for tradition, the

¹ The Teṅgalais base this custom on an alleged passage in the *Parāśara Smṛiti* which is considered to be an interpolation by the other party. One thing is certain, namely, even Bhattar, Tōlappār and Doddāchārya of Sholinghur point out the necessity of striking the *Ghanta*. Doddāchārya's descendants used to do the same till very recent times. The fact that the bells are rung in Teṅgalai temples shows them to be inconsistent. The bell in reality ceased to be rung because Vēdānta Desika is considered to be an avatār of Vishnu's *ghanta*.

suspicion of innovations, and other features of Vaḍagalaism made its votaries champions of the past as against the inroads of the present and the future. The struggle between the two schools, in fact, was the struggle between tradition and reform, between Sanskrit and Tamil, between orthodoxy and adaptability. It was also a struggle between the culture of classicism and the tongue of the common people, between the Śrutis, Smritis and Itihāsas, on the one hand, and the *Prabandhas* on the other. A struggle based on such differences could not but ensure success to the popular party, and the Teṅgalai faith spread rapidly¹ among mankind.

¹. The Teṅgalais, says Hopkins, are "more numerous and more materialistic", *Religions*, p. 801.

मातराजानात धातागोर को वेदा राजासि... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

چون در کیزاری و دد جری رساد جهان
دود خود بدلت عازم بر دست پرور
نیک بود ای فیروز شاه جهان اراجا عبور کرده بار
نالیس که بر خطاب در اجمانها او برفت
پایه سال تا سال در ایام
که در دد در کیزاری در اجمانها او برفت
پایت از کاشی در دد در کیزاری در اجمانها او برفت
در دد در کیزاری در اجمانها او برفت

Vertical text on the right edge of the stone, likely a date or inscription.