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KALIVARJYA* (ACTIONS FORBIDDEN IN THE KALI AGE)

(P. V. KANE, M.A., LL.M., Bombay.)

Among ancient peoples the Golden Age has been in the past. India is no exception. Even in the Ṛgveda we come across a verse betraying the feeling that as time passes there will be progressively greater deterioration, both moral and physical. In the famous dialogue of Yama and Yamī, Yama is represented as saying 'those later ages are yet to come when sisters would do what is not sister-like' (Ṛgveda X.10.10). But the Ṛgveda does not give any indication that the theory of four *yugas* had been evolved at that time. The word *yuga* occurs at least thirty-eight times in the Ṛgveda, but the meaning is rather doubtful. In a few places *yuga* means yoke (Ṛg. X.60.8 and X.101.3 and 4). In many places it appears to refer to a very brief period, *e.g.*, in 'Vaiśvānaraḥ Kuśikebhir—yuge yuge' (Ṛg. III.26.3), where Sāyaṇa renders 'yuge yuge' by 'pratidinam'. Generally *yuga* appears to mean in the Ṛgveda 'generation,' *e.g.*, 'praminatī manuṣyā yugāni' (lessening the life of human generations, Ṛg. I.92.11 and I.124.2). *Vide* also Ṛg. I.103.4, II.2.2, III.33.8, V.52.4. In other places 'yuga' must be given the sense of a 'long period of time', *e.g.*, 'tvām dūtam-agne amṛtaṁ yuge yuge dadhire' (Ṛg. VI.15.8 'they made you, O Agni, an immortal messenger,

* This paper which was accepted by the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference is now published with the permission of the Conference.

carrying oblations in each period'), ' devānām pūrvye yuge asataḥ sadajāyata' (Ṛg. X.72.2 'in the primeval period of the gods developed matter came out from the undeveloped one); *vide* also Ṛg. VI.8.5, X.94.12, X.97.1. In Ṛg. I.158.6 ' dīrghatamā māmateyo jujurvān daśame yuge' ('Dīrghatamas, the son of Mamatā, had grown old in the tenth *yuga*), *yuga* probably means a period of four years. Whatever be the meaning attached to the word yuga, the Ṛgveda does not contain the names of the four well-known ages. The word *Kṛta* seems to have been used in the sense of the best throw of dice or of the seeds of the *vibhītaka* tree in gambling in Ṛg. X.34.6 ' the seeds of *vibhītaka* bestowing the *Kṛta* throws on the rival gambler that (increase) the gambler's desire (appetite) for gambling'. Kali is the name of the author of Ṛg. VIII.66 and in verse 15 of the hymn the composer says ' O descendants of Kali do not be afraid' (Kalayo mā bibhītana). In Ṛg. X.39.8 the Aśvins are said to have rejuvenated Kali who had become old. But there is no reference in the Ṛgveda to Kali as a throw in gambling or to Kali as the name of an age. The words *kṛta*, *tretā*, *dvāpara* and *āskanda* (for Kali) occur in the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā (4.3.3). In the Vājasaneya Saṁhitā (30.18) also these very words occur.[1] In the Śatapatha-brāhmana (S.B.E. vol. 44, p. 416) also the same words are used 'to the kṛta one who takes advantage of mistakes in the game; to the tretā one who plays on a regular plan; to the Dvāpara one who plans to over-reach (his fellow-player); to the Āskanda a post of the gaming room' (Eggeling's tr.). In the Tai. Brāhmaṇa[2] we read ' to the Kṛta the master of the gaming hall, to the Tretā one who takes advantage of mistakes, to the Dvāpara one who sits outside, to the Kali (one who is like) a post of the gaming house (*i.e.*, never leaves it).' Here Kali is substituted for the word *Askanda*. It is clear that in all these places kṛta and the other three words are throws in gambling. Kṛta is the most lucky throw and Kali is the most unlucky. The Tai. Brāhmaṇa

[1] अक्षराजाय कितवं कृतायादिनवदर्शं त्रेताय कल्पिनं द्वापरायाधिकल्पिनमास्कन्दाय सभास्थाणुम्। वाज. सं. 30.18.

[2] कृताय सभाविनं त्रेताया आदिनवदर्शं द्वापराय वहिःसदं कलये सभास्थाणुम्। तै. ब्रा. III. 4.16. The interpretations of आदिनवदर्शं given by महीधर and सायण differ.

(I.5.11) says 'the four stomas (*viz.*, Trivṛt, Pañcadaśa, Saptadaśa, Ekaviṁśa) are Kṛta and the five are Kali, therefore the catuṣ-ṣṭoma (should be performed).'[1]

This shows that kṛta meant either four or any multiple of four and Kali a throw which when divided by four left one as remainder. When we come to the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa[2] in the well-known story of Śunaḥśepa ('one lying down becomes Kali, when about to leave the bed he becomes Dvāpara, when rising he becomes Tretā and he becomes Kṛta when moving about') we find that the words Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali have come to be used in a figurative sense as representing either the *yugas* (periods of varying standards of morality) or at least progressively higher and higher stages of human activity. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa v. 4.4.6 identifies *Kali* with *abhibhū* and appears to suggest that *Kali* is a throw of five dice that vanquishes all other throws (*aya*).[3] In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad[4] also (IV.I.4) we read 'as (in a game of dice) all the lower casts belong to him who has conquered with the kṛta cast' and in the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad[5] (I. 2. 1) we are told 'this is the truth; the sacrificial works which they (the poets) saw in the hymns have been performed in many ways in the Tretā.' Here the word 'Tretā' is explained even by Śaṅkarācārya first as referring to the threefold priestly duties (hautra, ādhvaryava and audgātra) based on the three Vedas and alternatively as referring to the Tretā age. There are thus grave doubts whether the theory of four ages called Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali was known to the ancient Vedic Literature.

The Nirukta (I. 20) makes a distinction between sages of ancient times and those of later times 'the (ancient) sages had an

[1] ये वै चत्वारः स्तोमाः कृतं तत् । अथ ये पञ्च कलिः सः । तस्माच्चतुष्टोमः । तै. ब्रा. I. 5.11.

[2] कलिः शयानो भवति संजिहानस्तु द्वापरः । उत्तिष्ठंस्त्रेता भवति कृतं संपद्यते चरन् ॥ ऐ. ब्रा. Chap. 33, Khaṇḍa 3. The Śāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra reads (15.9) 'शयानः पुरुषः' and 'उत्थितस्त्रेता.'

[3] अथास्मै पञ्चाक्षान् पाणावावपति । अभिभूरस्येतास्ते पञ्च दिशः क्रन्तामित्येष वा अयानभिभूर्यत्कलिरेष हि सर्वानयानभिभवति तस्मादाहाभिभूरसीति । शतपथ ब्रा. V. 4.4.6.

[4] यथा कृताय विजितायाधरेया : संयन्त्येवमेनं सर्वं तदभिसमेति । छा. उ. IV. 1.4

[5] तदेतत्सत्यं मन्त्रेषु कर्माणि कवयो यान्यपश्यंस्तानि त्रेतायां बहुधा सन्ततानि । मुण्डकोपनिषद् I. 2.1.

intuitive perception of *dharma* and they imparted by instruction the (Vedic) *mantras* to later (sages) who had no intuitive perception of *dharma*.'[1] Āpastamba[2] declares that 'among sages of old are observed transgressions of the precepts of śāstra and also violent actions, but that on account of their distinguished spiritual greatness they incurred no sin and that if a person of these latter days were to look upon them as worthy of imitation and were to do those acts he would sink into sin.' The Gautama-dharmasūtra[3] (I.3-4) expresses a similar view almost in the same words. Āpastamba[4] further says that sages are not born among men of latter days on account of the transgressions of religious ordinances (rampant in later ages). But the ancient dharma-sūtras do not exhibit the full-fledged theory of four *yugas* with their peculiar characteristics.

It is only in the Viṣṇudharmasūtra, the Mahābhārata (*e.g.* Vanaparva 149 and 183), Manusmṛti (I. 81-86), the Purāṇas (*e.g.* Brāhma, chap. 122-123, Matsya chapter 142-143, Nāradīya, pūrvārdha, chapter 41) that we have a complete theory of the four yugas, their characteristics and of the progressive religious, moral and physical decadence in them. It would be impossible to fix the period when this theory was first proclaimed. But it may be conjectured that it was perfected during the five or six centuries preceding Christ when the great schism due to the genius of Buddha spread over India. The evidence of inscriptions does not carry the antiquity of this theory far enough. Among the earliest is the Pīkira grant[5] of Pallava Simhavarman where we have the words 'Who was ever ready to extricate *dharma* that had become sunk owing to the evil effects of *Kaliyuga*.'

[1] साक्षात्कृतधर्माण ऋषयो बभूवुरतेऽवरेभ्योऽसाक्षात्कृतधर्मभ्य उपदेशेन मन्त्रान्सम्प्रादुः। निरुक्त I. 20. Almost the same words occur in the Mahābhārata, Vanaparva 183.67 (Bom. ed.).

[2] दृष्टो धर्मव्यतिक्रम: साहसं च पूर्वेषाम् । तेषां तेजोविशेषेण प्रत्यवायो न विद्यते। तदन्वीक्ष्य प्रयुञ्जान: सीदत्यवर: । आप. ध. सू. II. 6.13.7-9; the भागवतपुराण X (पूर्वार्ध Chap. 33.30) has 'धर्मव्यतिक्रमो दृष्ट ईश्वराणां च साहसम् । तेजीयसां न दोषाय वह्ने सर्वभुजो यथा ॥'

[3] दृष्टो धर्मव्यतिक्रम: साहसं च महताम् । अवरदौर्बल्यात् । गौ. I. 3-4.

[4] तस्मादृषयोऽवरेषु न जायन्ते नियमातिक्रमात् । आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 4.

[5] E. I. vol. VIII. p. 162. 'कलियुगदोषावसन्नधर्मोद्धरणनित्यसंनद्धस्य ।'

This theory of four *yugas* provided a formidable weapon to writers on dharma when inconvenient texts had to be explained away. Many of our authorities[1] have one verse in common *viz.* 'the religious ordinances are different in the Kṛta age and in Tretā and Dvāpara also; in the Kali age different ordinances apply to men in order to suit the decadence (of dharma) in each age.' Any practices that shocked the feelings of later writers were declared to be forbidden in the present age and were consigned to remote ages. Very amusing results follow from this. Parāśara (I. 24) claims that his smṛti contains the ordinances peculiar to the Kali age.[2] Parāśara lessened the periods of impurity due to death or birth according as a man was learned in the Vedas or otherwise[3]; he allowed a woman to remarry in case of five calamities *viz.* when the husband was missing or dead or had become an ascetic, was impotent or guilty of a *mahāpātaka*[4]; he allows even brāhmaṇas to take cooked food from *dāsas*, cowherds, barbers, &c.[5] But it will be noticed from the extracts given later on that all these practices are condemned by later writers as forbidden in the Kali age.

In many digests like the Smṛti-candrikā, the works of Hemādri, the Parāśaramādhavīya, the Udvāhatattva of Raghunandana, the Samayamayūkha of Nīlakaṇṭha long extracts are given from a few purāṇas and from Śaunaka which condemn certain practices as forbidden in the Kali age (*Kalivarjya*). It is an interesting question to find out when these verses about *Kalivarjya* came to be composed.

[1] अन्ये कृतयुगे धर्मास्त्रेतायां द्वापरेऽपरे । अन्ये कलियुगे नृणां युगह्रासानुरूपत: । मनुस्मृति I. 85; पराशर I. 22.

[2] कृते तु मानवो धर्मस्त्रेतायां गौतमः स्मृतः । द्वापरे शाङ्खलिखितः कलौ पाराशरः स्मृतः ॥ पराशरस्मृति I. 24.

[3] एकाहाच्छुध्यते विप्रो योग्निवेदसमन्वितः । त्र्यहात्केवलवेदस्तु द्विहीनो दशभिर्दिनैः ॥ पराशरस्मृति III. 5.

[4] नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते क्लीबे च पतिते पतौ । पञ्चस्वापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥ पराशर IV.

[5] दासनापितगोपालकुलमित्रार्धसीरिणः । एते शूद्रेषु भोज्यान्ना यश्चात्मानं निवेदयेत् ॥ पराशर XI.

Even Āpastamba (II.6. 14.6-10) condemns the practice[1] of giving all property to the eldest son as opposed to Śāstra, but he does not use the word *Kalivarjya*. Among the earliest references to practices once current but forbidden in the Kali age is a passage of Bṛhaspati[2] quoted by Aparārka (p. 97 Ānandāśrama ed.) where *niyoga* is said to be impossible owing to decadence (of dharma) in the several ages and where the several kinds of sons are declared as impossible in the present age. The Prajāpatismṛti refers to the ancient practice of offering flesh in śrāddha and prescribes that wine and all flesh are to be eschewed in śrāddha in the Kali age.[3] The Laghu-Āśvalāyana smṛti (21. 14-15) says that the two kinds of sons called Kuṇḍa and Golaka were permitted in other ages but are condemned in Kali. It deserves to be noted that Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi do not quote a single verse about Kalivarjya. Even Vijñāneśvara quotes a single verse about Kalivarjya[4] in which *niyoga*, the giving of a special share to the eldest son and the killing of a cow in a sacrifice are condemned as not allowable in the present age. Even when almost all the Purāṇas wax very eloquent over moral and physical decline in the Kali age, most of them do not contain any verses about *Kalivarjya*. The Nāradīya Mahāpurāṇa contains four verses about Kalivarjya.[5] Aparārka quotes one verse and a half from

[1] ज्येष्ठो दायाद इत्येके । . . . तच्छास्त्रैर्विप्रतिषिद्धम् । आप ध. सू. II.6.14. 6 and 10.

[2] उक्तो नियोगो मनुना निषिद्धः स्वयमेव तु । युगह्रासादशक्योयं कर्तुं सर्वैर्विधानतः ॥ . . . द्वापरे च कलौ नृणां शक्तिह्रानेर्विनिर्मिता ॥ अनेकधा कृताः पुत्रा ऋषिभिर्ये पुरातनैः । न शक्यास्तेऽधुना कर्तुं शक्तिहीनतया नरैः ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क p. 97.

[3] 'मद्यमप्यमृतं श्राद्धे कलौ तत्तु विवर्जयेत्। मांसान्यपि हि सर्वाणि युगधर्मक्रमाद्भवेत्' प्रजापति verse 151 [Ānandāśrama ed.]

[4] उक्तं च । यथा नियोगधर्मो नो नानुवन्ध्यावधोपि वा। तथोद्वाहविभागोपि नैव संप्रति वर्तते ॥ मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ० II. 117.) The स्मृतिचंद्रिका (व्यवहार काण्ड, ed. Gharpure) says that this verse is taken from the संग्रह [i.e. स्मृतिसंग्रह].

[5] समुद्रयात्रास्वीकारः कमण्डलुविधारणम् । द्विजानामसवर्णासु कन्यासूपयमस्तथा ॥ देवराच्च सुतोत्पत्तिर्मधुपर्के पशोर्वधः । मांसादनं तथा श्राद्धे वानप्रस्थाश्रमस्तथा ॥ दत्ताक्षतायाः कन्याया पुनर्दानं वराय च । नैष्ठिकं ब्रह्मचर्यं च नरमेधाश्वमेधकौ ॥ महाप्रस्थानगमनं गोमेधश्च तथा मखः । एतान् धर्मान् कलियुगे वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ नारदीयपुराण, पूर्वार्ध, Chap. 24 vv. 13-16 (Venkateshwar Press ed.). These verses are quoted as from the बृहन्नारदीय in the उद्वाहतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (p. 112, Jivananda's ed.), the निर्णयसिन्धु (p. 367 Nirṇayasagar ed.)

the Brahmapurāṇa on practices forbidden in the Kali age, *viz.* perpetual *brahmacarya* (student-hood), the taking of a *kamaṇḍalu*, marriage with a *sagotra* or *sapiṇḍa* girl, killing a cow, human sacrifice and Aśvamedha (horse sacrifice).[1] I was not able to trace these in the Brahmapurāṇa published by the Venkateshwar Press. The Prāyaścittatattva of Raghunandana (p. 520, Jivananda's ed.) says that these passages of the Brahmapurāṇa were quoted as from that Purāṇa by Halāyudha, Śūlapāṇi and Gṛhasthratnākara. Aparārka (p. 98) quotes one verse and a half more from the Brahmapurāṇa forbidding remarriage of women, procreation of a son from the husband's brother and independence of women in the Kali age[2]. The Smṛticandrikā[3] quotes from the Āditya-purāṇa a verse saying that five actions should not be practised in Kali, *viz.*, the remarriage of a woman once married, the special share given to the eldest (on a partition), the killing of a cow, (intercourse) with the wife of one's brother and taking up of a *kamaṇḍalu*. Apararka (p. 233) quotes a verse from the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa in which the view of Bhṛgu that in the Kali age no animal is to be offered in Madhuparka is mentioned. Aparārka[4] (p. 233) quotes two verses from a Smṛti without naming the author, one of which forbids in the Kali age the killing of a cow in a sacrifice, the procreation of a son from the husband's brother (by niyoga), sacrificial sessions called *sattras*, the carrying of a kamaṇḍalu, the employment of wine (in the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice), and being a *sannyāsin* (of the Parama-

[1] दीर्घकालं ब्रह्मचर्यं धारणं च कमण्डलोः। सगोत्राद्वा सपिण्डाद्वा विवाहो गोवधस्तथा॥ नराश्वमेधौ मद्यं च कलौ वर्ज्यं द्विजातिभिः। ब्रह्मपुराण quoted by अपरार्क pp. 15 and 63; स्मृतिचंद्रिका, आह्निककाण्ड p. 12 (ed. by Gharpure), पराशरमाधवीय Vol. 1 part 1 p. 133. The last two lines are quoted in the निर्णयसिन्धु (p. 367), but following the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका it reads 'गोत्रान्मातुः सपिण्डाच्च विवाहः' &c. This last will mean 'marriage with a sagotra girl or with a girl who is a sapiṇḍa of one's mother' (or who is the maternal uncle's daughter, as some explain).

[2] क्षीणे पुनर्विवाहस्तु देवरात्पुत्रसन्ततिः। स्वातन्त्र्यं च कलियुगे कर्तव्यं न कदाचन॥ यतः पातकिनो लोके नराः सन्ति कलौ युगे। ब्रह्मपुराण quoted in अपरार्क p. 98.

[3] ऊढायाः पुनरुद्वाहं ज्येष्ठांशं गोवधं तथा। कलौ पञ्च न कुर्वीत भ्रातृजायां कमण्डलुम्॥ आदित्यपुराण quoted in स्मृतिचंद्रिका, आह्निक p. 83; vide also p. 12 of the same and p. 266 of स्मृतिचंद्रिका, व्यवहारकाण्ड; हेमाद्रि, परिशेषखण्ड p. 666.

[4] अत एव स्मरन्ति। गोपशुं देवरात् पुत्रं सत्रयागं कमण्डलुम्। सुराप्रयोगं भिक्षुं च न कुर्वीत कलौ युगे॥ तथा। अक्षता नरमेधश्च गोयज्ञश्च कमण्डलुः। देवराच्च सुतोत्पत्तिः कलौ पञ्च विवर्जयेत्॥ अपरार्क p. 233.

haṁsa type), while the other forbids (the remarriage of) a girl whose marriage has not been consummated, human sacrifice, sacrifice of a cow, taking a kamaṇḍalu and *niyoga*. The Smṛticandrikā, the Caturvargacintāmaṇi of Hemādri, the Parāśaramādhavīya, the Nirṇayasindhu, the Samayamayūkha and other digests quote a very long passage from a purāṇa (which most of them cite as Āditya-purāṇa) which enumerates the practices that were forbidden by the great sages at the beginning of the Kali age after considering the reasons for and against them. That passage is set out in the appendix and a translation is given here with brief notes wherever necessary. The foregoing discussion shows that definite rules on *Kalivarjya* began to be prescribed about the 4th century A.D. with Bṛhaspati and other older smṛtikāras, that the work called Saṁgraha (which is certainly earlier than the 10th century) contained such a list, that Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi (both of whom flourished between 800-925) do not quote verses on Kalivarjya and that from the 12th century onwards (as the Smṛticandrikā and Hemādri show) long lists of *Kalivarjyas* come to be quoted in the digests on *Dharma*. Therefore the period during which *Kalivarjya* practices figure in the Purāṇas and other works must be taken to be from about the 4th century A.D. to the 8th or 9th century A.D., when Buddhism was vanquished and the Indian social fabric was being reconstructed.

The several *Kalivarjyas* as mentioned in the passage of the Ādityapurāṇa will now be set out.

(1) To appoint the husband's brother for procreating a son on a widow.

This refers to the practice of *niyoga*, which was allowed by Gautama (18.9-14), Nārada (strīpuṁsa, verse 58), Yājñavalkya (I.68-69), though it was condemned by Manu (9.64-68), and Bṛhaspati.

(2) The re-marriage of a (married) girl (whose marriage is not consummated) and of one (whose marriage was consummated) to another husband (after the death of the first). This refers to re-marriage of widows. Nārada (strīpuṁsa, verses 98-100) allowed re-marriage of even brāhmaṇa widows in certain calamities and Parāśara did the same (*vide* note

4, p. 5 above), while Vasiṣṭha (17.74) and Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra (IV.1.18) allow the re-marriage of a girl whose first marriage was not consummated.

The passage is read 'bālikākṣatayonyāśca' also; in that case it will mean only 'a married girl whose marriage has not been consummated' while the other reading refers to two kinds of widows (whose marriage is consummated and whose marriage is not so).

3. The marriage with girls of different *varṇa* among persons of the three twice-born classes.

Most ancient smṛtis allowed *anuloma* marriages *e.g.* Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra I.8.2-5, Vasiṣṭha I.24-27, Manu III. 14-19, Yājñavalkya I. 56-57.

4. The killing even in a straight fight of brāhmaṇas that have become desperadoes.

This is a subject which very much exercised the minds of writers on dharma; Manu (8.350-351), Viṣṇu V. 180-90, Vasiṣṭha (III. 15-18) permit the killing of an ātatāyi-brāhmaṇa, while Sumantu says 'there is no sin in killing an ātatāyin, except a brāhmaṇa and a cow', and so forbids the killing even of an ātatāyi-brāhmaṇa. Vide Mitākṣarā on Yāj. II.21 for a discussion on this.

5. The acceptance (for all ordinary intercourse such as eating with him) of a twice-born person who is in the habit of voyaging over the sea in a ship, even after he has undergone a prāyaścitta.

Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra I.1.20 mentions sea voyage as a practice peculiar to brāhmaṇas of Northern India and condemns it, by placing it first among *patanīyas* (II. 1.41). Some writers say that the prohibition applies to one who often crosses the sea as the compound 'nau-yātuḥ' shows. Aṅśanasa says that 'Samudraga' is *patita* (p. 525, of Jivananda).

6. The initiation for a *sattra*.

7. The taking a Kamaṇḍalu (a jar for water).

Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra (I.3.4) prescribes among the observances of *snātakas* (those who have finished their study and have married or are about to marry) that they should carry a

(earthen or wooden) pot filled with water; Vasiṣṭha 12.14 and Manu 4.36 and Yāj I. 132 also do the same. The Madanapārijāta (p. 15-16) while quoting some of these verses says that 'Kamaṇḍalu-vidhārana' refers to perpetual studenthood, but that is not correct, since in the Nāradīya-purāṇa quoted above (note 5, p. 6) the two are separately mentioned as forbidden.

8. Starting on the Great Journey.

This refers to the practice of starting towards the north-east in the case of those who had become forest-dwellers (*vide* Manu VI. 31 and Yaj. III. 55) and the practice of old men killing themselves by starting on the great journey till the body falls, by falling from a precipice or by entering the Ganges at a holy place like Prayāga or by entering fire. *Vide* Aparārka p. 536 where the smṛti passages allowing this are quoted. Note that Śūdraka, the reputed author of the Mṛcchakaṭika, is said to have entered fire and *vide* Raghuvaṁśa 8.94; Atri, verses 218-219 which are quoted even by Medhātithi on Manu V. 88; E. I. vol. I. p. 140 and E. I. XII. 205 for instances of kings throwing themselves into the Ganges at Prayāga.

9. The killing of a cow in the sacrifice called Gomedha; *vide* Sāṅkhāyana-śrauta 14.15.1, Kātyāyana-śrauta XXII.11.3-4 and Manu XI. 74.

10. The partaking of wine even in the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice.

This is a sacrifice principally to Sutrāman (*i.e.* Indra) in which three cups of wine were offered to the Aśvins, Sarasvatī and Indra and a brāhmaṇa had to be hired for drinking the remnants of wine offered. *Vide* Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa I. 8. 6. 2, Sāṅkhāyana-śrauta 15. 15. 1-14 and Śabara on Pūrva-mīmāṁsā-sūtra III. 5. 14-15.

11—12. Licking the ladle (*sruc*) after the *agnihotra homa* in order to take off the remains of the offerings and using the ladle in the *agnihotra* afterwards when it has been so licked. Vide Tai. Br. II. 1.4 and Satyāṣāḍhaśrauta for this.

13. Entering into the stage of forest hermit as laid down in śāstras about it. Āp. Dharma-sūtra II. 9.21. 18–II. 9.23.2,

Manu VI. 1-32, Vasiṣṭha IX. 1-11 contain elaborate rules about this stage.

14. Lessening the periods of impurity (due to death and birth) in accordance with the conduct and Vedic learning of a man.

Vide Parāśara (note 3, p. 5) quoted above saying that a brāhmaṇa who is endowed with both Vedic learning and *agnihotra* has to observe āśauca (mourning) only for one day and he who is only learned has to observe it for three days. *Vide* also Bṛhaspati quoted by Haradatta on Gautama 14.1. In Kali a flat rule of ten days for all came to be prescribed. Viśvarūpa on Yāj III. 30 has an elaborate discussion on this text and ultimately gets rid of it by saying that it is only an *arthavāda* meant to praise the absence of greed and presence of excellent conduct. It is not quite unreasonable to infer that if Viśvarūpa had attached any value to or known these verses on Kalivarjya he would not have failed to make use of them for explaining away Parāśara.

15. Prescribing death as the penance (prāyaścitta) for brāhmaṇas.

Manu (II. 89 and 146) says that for wilfully killing a brāhmaṇa and drinking wine the prāyaścitta is death. Gautama 21.7 says the same, following Manu.

16. Expiation (by secretly performed prāyaścittas) of the mortal sins other than theft (of gold) and the sin of contact (with those guilty of Mahāpātakas).

Manu XI. 54 enumerates contact with those guilty of the four mahāpātakas as a fifth mahāpātaka. Gautama 24 and Vasistha 25 prescribe secret prāyaścittas even for mahāpātakas like *brahmahatyā*. This rule says that there are no secret prāyaścittas in Kali for brahmahatyā, or drinking wine and for incest. *Vide* Aparārka p. 1212 for rules as to who was entitled to secret prāyaścittas.

17. The act of offering with *mantras* animal flesh to the bridegroom, the guest, and the *pitṛs*.

Madhuparka was offered to honoured guests among whom the bridegroom was included. *Vide* Gautama V. 25-35, Yāj.

I. 109. The offering of flesh of various animals in śrāddha was supposed to conduce to the enjoyment of pitṛs. *Vide* Yaj. I. 258-260, Manu III. 123. According to Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra I. 24.26 Madhuparka could not be offered without flesh. *Vide* Vasiṣṭha IV. 5-6.

18. The acceptance as sons of those other than the *aurasa* (natural) and adopted sons.

Manu 9. 165-80, Yaj. II. 128-132 and others speak of twelve kinds of sons.

19. Ordinary intercourse with those who incurred the sin of (having intercourse with) women of higher castes, even after they had undergone the prāyaścitta for such sin.

Gautama (IV. 20 and 22-23) severely condemns the intercourse of men of lower castes with women of higher castes and holds that their progency is *dharmahīna*.

20. The abandonment of the wife of an elderly person (or of one who is entitled to respect) when she has had intercourse with one with whom it is severely condemned.

Vasiṣṭha 21.10 says 'four kinds of women *viz.* one who has intercourse with a pupil or with the husband's teacher, or one who kills her husband or commits adultery with a man of degraded caste, should be abandoned.'

Yāj. (III. 296-297) is against and says that even such women should be kept near the house and given starving maintenance. *Vide* Atri V. 1-5.

21. Killing oneself for the sake of another.

The Smṛtis say that a man should run the risk of life for cows and brāhmaṇas; *vide* Manu XI. 79 and Viṣṇu III. 45.

22. Giving up food left after one has partaken of it.

Vasiṣṭha 14. 20-21 says that food left after one has partaken of it from what was taken out for oneself or food touched by such leavings should not be eaten. Or this may mean 'giving to another the leavings of food'; some smṛtis permit giving Ucchiṣṭa to Śūdras and the like, which is forbidden here. *Vide* Gautama X. 61 and Manu X. 125.

23. Resolve to worship a particular idol for life (in return for payment). Manu III. 152 makes a brāhmaṇa performing worship for money unfit for invitation in śrāddha and 'devakṛtya.'

24. Touching the bodies of persons who are in impurity due to death after the charred bones are collected.

Collection of charred bones took place on the fourth day after cremation. Viṣṇu 19.10-12; Vaikhānasa-Smārtasūtra V. 7. ; Saṁvarta, verses 38-39.

25. The actual slaughter by brāhmaṇas of the sacrificial animal.

26. Sale of the Soma plant by brāhmaṇas. Kātyāyana-Śrauta (VII. 6.2-4) says that Soma should be purchased from a brāhmaṇa of the Kautsa gotra or a śūdra; but Manu X. 88 forbids a brāhmaṇa the sale of Soma along with many other things even through living by agriculture and the avocations of a vaiśya and Manu (III. 158 and 170) condemns a brāhmaṇa who sells *Soma* as unfit for being invited at a Śrāddha.

27. Securing food even from a śūdra when a brāhmaṇa has had no food for six times of meals (*i.e.* for three days).

Manu XI. 16 allows a brāhmaṇa who has had no food for three days to take food for one day from one whose actions are low and so does Yaj. III. 43. If we read 'hīnakarmaṇā' it would mean 'even by doing what is low' (*i.e.* by begging or theft or by such actions as are described in Nārada, abhyupetyāśuśrūṣā, *vv.* 5-7).

28. Permission to (a brāhmaṇa) householder to take cooked food from Śūdras if they are his *dāsas*, cowherds, hereditary friends, persons cultivating his land on an agreement to pay part of the produce.

Many smṛtis allow a brāhmaṇa to have cooked food from Śūdras if they are that brāhmaṇa's *dāsas*, barber, cowherd or cultivator of his land, hereditary friend. *Vide* Gautama 17.6, Manu IV. 253, Yāj. I.166 (where the first half is the same as here), Aṅgiras 120, Parāśara XI (note 5, p. 5).

29. Going on a very distant pilgrimage.

30. Behaviour of a pupil towards his teacher's wife as towards a teacher that is declared (in smṛtis).

Manu II. 210 prescribes that the wives of one's teacher, if they are of the same varṇa as the teacher, are to be honoured like the teacher and if they are not of the same varṇa then by rising to receive them and by saluting them.

31. The maintenance by brāhmaṇas in adversity (by following unworthy avocations) and the mode of livelihood in which a brāhmaṇa does not care to accumulate for to-morrow.

Gautama VII. 1-7, Āp. Dh. S. I. 7.20.11—I.7.21.4, Yaj. III. 35-44 and others allow a brāhmaṇa to live by the occupations of a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya in adversity. Manu IV.7 places before a brāhmaṇa the ideal that he should not accumulate more corn than what is required for three days or for the current day. Both these extremes are forbidden here.

32. The acceptance of araṇis (two wooden blocks for producing fire) by brāhmaṇas (in the *homa* at the time of jātakarma) in order that all the ceremonies for the child from jātakarma to his marriage may be performed therein. The Saṁskāra-kaustubha quotes a gṛhyapariśiṣṭa for this.[1]

33. Constant journeys by brāhmaṇas.

34. Blowing of fire with the mouth (*i.e.* without employing a bamboo *dhamanī*).

In Manu IV. 53 also the same prohibition occurs. In Vedic passages blowing at the fire with breath from the mouth direct was allowed. Vide Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I.5.15.20.

35. Allowing women who have become polluted by rape, &c. to freely mix in the caste (when they have performed prāyaścitta) as declared in the *śāstric* texts.

[1] परिशिष्टान्तरे तस्मिन् कुमारस्य तु जातस्य अरणीं षोडशाङ्गुलिम्। आहृत्य चोत्तरामर्णां ताभ्यामग्निं तु मन्थयेत्। कुमारकर्माणि विवाहान्तानि कारयेत्।

Even so late a smṛti as Devala's (verse 47) allows a woman raped even by Mlecchas to become pure after prāyaścitta for three days. The Ādityapurāṇa appears to be most harsh on innocent and unfortunate women.

36. Begging of food by a *sannyāsin* from persons of all varṇas (including śūdra).

Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra II.10 allows a *sannyāsin* to beg food from all varṇas, while Manu (VI. 43) and Yaj. III.59 prescribe that he should beg in a village in the evening and Vasiṣṭha also (X. 7) requires him to beg at seven houses not selected beforehand. But Vasiṣṭha says a little later on (X.24) that he should subsist on what he would get at the houses of brāhmaṇas.

37. To wait (*i.e.* not to use) for ten days water that has recently been dug in the ground.

38. Giving fee to the teacher as demanded by him (at the end of study) according to the rules laid down in the śāstra.

Yaj. I.51 prescribes that a student after finishing Vedic study and performing *vratas* should give fees to the teacher as the latter desires and should perform the ceremonial bath.

39. The employment of śūdras as cooks for brāhmaṇas and the rest.

The Āpastamba-dharmasūtra II.2.3.4 allowed Śūdras to be cooks for the three higher varṇas under the supervision of *āryas*.

40. Suicide of old people by falling from a precipice or into fire.

Vide item no. 8 above.

41. Performing *ācamana* by respectable people in water that would remain even after a cow has drunk it to its heart's content.

Vasiṣṭha III. 35 says that water accumulated in a hole on the ground would be fit for *ācamana* if it is as much as would quench the thirst of a cow. Vide Manu V. 128 and Yāj. I. 192.

42. Fining witnesses who depose to a dispute between father and son.

Yaj. II.239 prescribes a fine of three paṇas for witnesses in disputes between father and son.

43. Sannyāsin should stay where he happens to be in the evening.

This may also mean 'a sannyāsin should beg at the houses in the evening.'

Manu VI.55-56 and Yaj. I.59 prescribe for *Yati* begging in the evening.

These are the Kalivarjyas set out in the Ādityapurāṇa.

Besides these the passages quoted above also mention the following as *Kalivarjya*.

Govadha—A cow was killed in Madhuparka (Mānavagṛhya I.9.19), in the Aṣṭakā śrāddha (Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya II.15.1) and a barren cow was sacrificed for Mitra and Varuṇa (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 26, pp. 387-391).

Uddhāravibhāga—giving a larger share to the eldest brother on a partition. Vide Manu 9.112 and 117.

Puruṣamedha—Vide Śatapatha—brāhmaṇa, 13th kāṇḍa, adhyāya 6 ; Śāṅkhāyana-Śrauta-sūtra 16.10-14.

Aśvamedha—Vide Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, 13th kāṇḍa, adhyāyas 1-4 for it.

Brahmacarya for a very long time or perpetual studenthood.

Parāśara II.5, Bhāradvājagṛhya 1.9, Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra I.2. 1 prescribed brahmacarya for 48 years. Vide Śabara on Jaimini I.3.3 who shows how Baudhāyana is opposed to Vedic injunctions (quoted in 'History of Dharmaśāstra' p. 26, n. 73).

Madya—Wine was forbidden to brāhmaṇas at all times and in all stages (Gautama II.25). There was divergence about Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas. Many authorities agreed that wine from flour was forbidden to Kṣatriya and Vaiśya householders, but not that which was prepared from raw sugar and honey. Vide Mitākṣarā on Yaj. III. 253.

APPENDIX.

Verses on Kalivarjya collected from the Smṛticandrikā, Hemādri (Pariśeṣakhaṇḍa), Parāśara-mādhavīya Vol. 1, part 1, pp. 134-137), Nirṇaya-sindhu, Samayamayūkha, Udvāhatattva.

विधवायां प्रजोत्पत्तौ देवरस्य नियोजनम् ।
बालिकाक्षतयोन्योस्तु वरेणान्येन संस्कृतिः ॥
कन्यानामसवर्णानां विवाहश्च द्विजातिभिः ।
आततायिद्विजाग्र्याणां धर्मयुद्धेन हिंसनम् ॥
द्विजस्याब्धौ तु नौयातुः शोधितस्यापि संग्रहः ।
सत्रदीक्षा च सर्वेषां कमण्डलुविधारणम् ॥
महाप्रस्थानगमनं गोसंज्ञाग्निश्च गोसवे ।
सौत्रामण्यामपि सुराग्रहणस्य च संग्रहः ॥
अग्निहोत्रहवण्याश्च लेहो लीढापरिग्रहः ।
वानप्रस्थाश्रमस्यापि प्रवेशो विधिचोदितः ॥
वृत्तस्वाध्यायसापेक्षमघसंकोचनं तथा ।
प्रायश्चित्तविधानं तु विप्राणां मरणान्तिकम् ॥
संसर्गदोषः स्तेनाद्यैर्महापातकनिष्कृतिः ।
वरातिथिपितृभ्यश्च पशूपाकरणक्रिया ॥
दत्तौरसेतरेषां तु पुत्रत्वेन परिग्रहः ।
सवर्णान्याङ्गनादुष्टौ संसर्गः शोधितैरपि ॥
अयोनौ संग्रहे वृत्ते परित्यागो गुरुस्त्रियाः ।
*परोद्देशात्मसंत्याग उच्छिष्टस्यापि वर्जनम् ।
*प्रतिमाभ्यर्चनार्थाय संकल्पश्च सधर्मकः ।
अस्थिसंचयनादूर्ध्वमङ्गस्पर्शनमेव च ।
शामित्रं चैव विप्राणां सोमविक्रयणं तथा ।
षड्भक्तानशनेनान्नहरणं हीनकर्मणः ।
शूद्रेषु दासगोपालकुलमित्रार्धसीरिणाम् ।
भोज्यान्नता गृहस्थस्य तीर्थसेवातिदूरतः ।

शिष्यस्य गुरुदारेषु गुरुवद्वृत्तिरीरिता ।
आपद्वृत्तिर्द्विजाग्र्याणामश्वस्तनिकता तथा ।
प्रजार्थं तु द्विजाग्र्याणां प्रजारणिपरिग्रहः ।
ब्राह्मणानां प्रवासित्वं मुखाग्निधमनक्रिया ।
बलात्कारादिदुष्टस्त्रीसंग्रहो विधिचोदितः ।
यतेस्तु सर्ववर्णेषु भिक्षाचर्या विधानतः ।
नवोदके दशाहं च दक्षिणा गुरुचोदिता ।
ब्राह्मणादिषु शूद्रस्य पचनादिक्रियापि च ।
भृग्वग्निपतनाद्यैश्च वृद्धादिमरणं तथा ।
गोतृप्तिशिष्टे पयसि शिष्टैराचमनक्रिया ।
पितापुत्रविरोधेषु साक्षिणां दण्डकल्पनम् ।
यतेः सायंगृहत्वं च सूरिभिस्तत्त्वतत्परैः ।
एतानि लोकगुप्त्यर्थं कलेरादौ महात्मभिः ।
निवर्तितानि कर्माणि व्यवस्थापूर्वकं बुधैः ।
समयश्चापि साधूनां प्रमाणं वेदवद्भवेत् ॥

*These two half lines do not occur in some of the older digests like the Smṛiticandrikā.

THE SECT OF IMAM SHAH IN GUJRAT.

By W. IVANOW.

1. *Preliminary Remarks.*

There are many sects in India in which the beliefs of Islam are strangely mixed up with the beliefs and practices of Hinduism. Such, for instance, are the widely spread branches of the Panjpiriya on the Gangetic plains, or different local sects worshipping the tombs of various Muhammadan saints in the Punjab, Sindh, and practically everywhere in Northern India. In some places large numbers of Muslims, who are generally regarded as orthodox, follow Hinduistic beliefs and practices. Millions of nominally orthodox Muhammadans of rural Bengal worship Kali, Sitala, etc., as much, if not more than Allah and His Prophet.

Such is the state of affairs to-day; most probably centuries ago, when Islam was gradually spreading in this country, such transition forms between Muhammadanism and Hinduism were more numerous, and were followed by a much greater proportion of the whole Muhammadan population of India.

The ground for such symbiosis of these two widely different religious standpoints was double. Islam, introduced and encouraged by Muhammadan rulers, never developed an adequate propaganda organisation, which probably always remained dependent on sporadic and spontaneous efforts of different individuals or private bodies. Under these circumstances there was rarely sufficient possibility to get rid entirely of all that was contrary to the spirit of Islam in the "mentality" of the new converts. In some other cases, most probably, a certain amount of those beliefs which were unessential by themselves, were consciously left by missionaries whose intention was to make conversion for Hindus as little difficult as possible.

On the other hand, Hinduism itself shows a great deal of a quite spontaneous inclination towards some aspects of Muhammadan worship which it easily incorporates into its rather amorphous structure. Such especially is the worship of tombs of

different saints, participation in the processions of Muḥarram, etc. The demand for belief in miracles was apparently always so great in Hinduism that it did not hesitate to worship the graves of those saints who, when alive, were taking special pride of being irreconcilable enemies of the Hindu religion.

Such paradoxical phenomena in popular religious life should appear extremely interesting to every student of Indian sociology and cultural evolution; unfortunately, just as many other features of the life of masses, they very rarely find an expression in literature, or leave any tangible records, and thus are extremely difficult to observe.

One of the strangest, and the most interesting sects of this kind apparently is the sect of the Imam-Shahis, or Satpanthis, as they call themselves. They are found at present in Gujrat, Kathiawar, Kachh, Berar, and Khandesh. Almost all of them are Hindus of different castes, chiefly agriculturists and traders. Their number is differently estimated at about 200,000, but this number is rapidly decreasing, especially of late, when many Hindu bodies are making efforts to reconvert the Satpanthis to Hinduism.

The sect came into existence in Gujrat about the first quarter of the XVIth century, when Muḥammad, son of Imâm Shâh, has severed his connection with the parent sect of the Nizari Ismailis. But as originally the Satpanthis of Gujrat were converted by Imam Shah, the sect is called after him, though, as far as it is possible to see from the few records which are available, he himself remained faithful to the original religion.

Satpanth, i.e. "True Path", was the name under which the Nizari, or Persian Ismailism was preached in India by the Persian Ismaili missionaries in the beginning of the XIVth century. The new religion was rapidly spreading in what at that time was the cultural centre of the Muslim power in India, *i.e.* Upper Sindh and the Panjab. The establishment of a new Muhammadan dynasty in Gujrat in the beginning of the XVth century opened a new field for missionary activity, and Imam Shah, who started the campaign, met with remarkable success. The split, caused by his son, separated his community from the original Satpanth,

which is now better known as the Khoja Nizari Ismaili community. The latter, preserving contact with their Imams in Persia, and being more open to influences of the original Persian Ismailism, continually pursued the policy of getting rid of those Hinduistic elements which earlier missionaries permitted, and of replacing these with purely Islamic ideas. Contrary to this, the seceding sect was left entirely at the mercy of the Hinduistic ideas, and, in the course of time, has gradually lost all touch with the Islamic world. Thus in the course of time a great gulf has formed between these two communities, and though at present both of them revere the memory of the ancient missionaries, and regard their books as their sacred literature, they widely differ in many essential dogmas and practices.

The student who would like to take up this most interesting subject, will find himself quite helpless. A great difficulty is added by the confusion in the names of the sect. As usual in India, caste and sectarian names do not often coincide. For instance, the well-known term Khoja, by which the world at large would not hesitate to understand a Nizari Ismaili, is merely a *caste* name. The majority of Khojas really are Nizari Ismailis. But there are also Sunni Khojas, and Ithna-'ashari Khojas, etc. Similarly, there are Momnâs (from *mu'min*) who are for the most part Imam-Shahis. But some of them may be Sunnites, etc. Thus when in historical records there is a mention of Matias, or Kanbis, etc., there is no guarantee whatever that this refers to the followers of Imam Shah exclusively.

Satpanth possesses a remarkably large religious literature, taking into consideration the fact that probably about 99 per cent. of its followers always were illiterate peasants. This literature consists of religious books in old Sindhi, Gujrati, and sometimes Panjabi and Hindi.

These books contain sacred hymns (*gnans*),[1] moral advices, miracle stories and legends, ecstatic poems, etc. But, in complete agreement with the Hindu spirit, they never take any interest in historical matters. Oral tradition, which can never be regarded

[1] The meaning of this term is explained further on, see p. 29.

as a reliable source, is here plainly and obviously unreliable, partly because it always prefers legend to historical facts, and partly because it is invariably prejudiced by some sectarian feelings, supporting the claims of one or other of the numerous branches of the sect, often bitterly hostile to every other. On the other hand, it would be obviously useless to search for any information about the sect in general historical literature, because it almost always existed as a secret community. Even now a great proportion of it, the Guptis, as they are called, are in appearance ordinary Hindus, quite undistinguishable from their fellow-castemen.

The information preserved about them in the official publications of the Government of India, such as the Gazetteers, etc., is often very valuable. But, as is well-known, it is not always based on sufficiently reliable sources with regard to the historical side. During the last few decades a new literature, in Gujrati, has sprung up, attempting to some extent to clear up the history of the Khojas and the Imam-Shahis. As a rule it is of very little help, partly because it is chiefly based on legends and oral tradition, and partly because it is almost invariably conceived by the spirit of propaganda, controversy, or factional quarrels between the different branches of the sect.[1]

Such, for instance, is the *Khoja Vratant* (Ahmedabad, 1892), by Sachedina Nanjiani, a Khoja renegade, who attacks his former co-religionists. *Khoja Komno Itihas* (1908), a history of the Khojas, by Jaffer Rahimtoola Kadru; *Nûri waḥdâniyyat*, and *Ismaili Darpan*, on the religion of the Khojas, by Hasham Bogu Master; *Khoja Komni Tawarikh* (Amreli, 1912), a controversy, by Edulji Dhonji Kava; *Momin Komno Itihas* (Bombay, 1936), a history of Imams, by Miyanji Noormahomed Roohkash; *Pirana Satpanth ni Pol* (1926), a controversy, by Patel Narayanji Ramgibhai Contractor; *Tawârîkhi Pîr*, I (1914) and II (1935), by Sayyid Ṣadru'd-dîn Dargâhwâllâ of Nawsari; the works by the learned editor of the

1 My own knowledge of Gujrati is insignificant, and for all information derived from the Gujrati and Sindhi sources, as well as many important facts, I must acknowledge my great indebtedness to my friends, Haji Mahomed Fazal, and to Mr. Husein Sherif, the assistant editor of the "Ismaili" (Bombay), who generously offered me their time and labour.

" Ismaili " (a Bombay weekly) Alimahomed Janmahomed Chunara *Ismaili Nar Ratno* (Bombay, 1931); *Ismaili Virla* (Bombay, 1932) and *Noorun Mubin* (Bombay, 1936),—all three representing the orthodox point of Khoja Ismailism, etc.

The following is the list of the sacred religious works accepted both by the Khojas and the Imam-Shahis. About their authors see further on.

I. Pîr Shamsu'd-dîn: 1. *Sloko Moṭo* (*gnans*); 2. *Garbî* (also *gnans*); 3. *Mansamjâṇî* (Sufic, on self-knowledge); 4. *Bharam Prakâsh* (on knowledge of God); 5. *Kathâ Râjâ Govarchand* (instructive story); 6. *Vâyak moṭo* (moral doctrine); 7. *Hans Hanslî* (legend).

II. Pîr Ṣadru'd-dîn: 1. *Sloko Nâno* (*gnans*); 2. *Buj Nîrânjan* (Sufic); 3. *Gîrbhâwali* (story of the creation); 4. *Das Avatâr, Nâno* and *Moṭo* (two versions of the well-known mythological history of the world, narrating the events which took place under the ten successive incarnations of the Deity); 5. *So Kîrîya* (100 religious rites); 6. *Ârâdh* (prayers); 7. *Vînodh* (lamentations); 8. *Gâvantrî* (story of the creation); 9. *Atharv Vedh* (an imitation of the *Attharva Veda*); 10. *Sûrat Samâchâr* (physiognomy); 11. *Budh Avatâr* (the 9th avatar); 12. *Khaṭ Dharsan* (six pilgrimages); 13. *Khaṭ Nîrîṇjan* (six invisible worlds).

III. Pîr Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn: 1. *Aṇant Akhâṛo* (eschatology, description of life after death); 2. *Vel* (*gnans*); 3. *Bharam Gâvantrî* (story of the creation); 4. *Nav Chhugâ* (nine appeals to the Imam); 5. *Hasna Purî* (description of Paradise); 6. *Samvad Pîr Hasan Kabîru'd-dîn wa Kânîpâ Jogi* (contest between the Pîr and a jogi).

IV. Imâm Shâh: 1. *Jugeshwâr Abdu-nâ Gnân* (Sufic); 2. *Mur Gâvantrî* (story of the creation); 3. *Parb Pândav* (the story of the Pandavas); 4. *Sî Ḥarfî* (30 moral rules); 5. *Atharvedî Gâvantrî* (incarnations of the Diety); 6. *Jannat Purî* (description of his journey to Persia); 7. *Satvarṇî Moṭi* (*miracle stories*); 8. *Bâvan Gâṭî* (eschatology: Hell); 9. *Naklank Gîtâ* (avatars of the Imams).

V. Nar Muḥammad Shâh: *Satvarṇi* (history of the Fatimid Imams), and *Satveṇî ji Vel* (on rituals, Imams and Pîrs).

VI. Pîr Ghulâm 'Alî Shâh (a minor saint, whose grave is found in Keyra, Kachh): *Manhar* (on asceticism and philosophy).

VII. Sat-Gur-Nûr (buried in Nawsari): *Putlâ* (miracles).

It may be noted that there are also several anthologies each containing a selection of one hundred *gnans*, by different *pîrs*. They are simply called "*gnans*," without any special designation.

There were several early historical works which at present are apparently lost. Such was the *Ta'rîkhi Muḥammadiyya* (or *Maḥmûdiyya*), attributed by the author of the *Manâzilu'l-aqṭâb* (on which see further on) to the son of Imam Shah, Nar Muḥammad. But it is quite possible that this is the Persian title of his other well-known work, in Sindhi, the *Satveni-ji Vel* ("Creeper of the True Religion"), which has been repeatedly printed of late. The work is in verse, and is divided into 150 "paths." It gives a kind of legendary history of the Imams and the *pîrs*, in rather florid and bombastic style, chiefly dealing with miracles. Here and there purely moral or religious prescriptions are inserted. It gives some dates, here and there, the latest being 1516 and 1520 A.D. It is quite possible that the author of the *Manâzilu'l-aqṭâb* has based on it various portions of his book, namely those dealing with Imam Shah.

It is not clear whether the next attempted history of the sect has ever been completed. It was undertaken by "Mahdî Ṣâḥib", or Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdî, a great-grandson of Pîr Muḥammad Shâhi Dûla, who flourished in Burhanpur most probably in the first quarter of the XII/XVIIIth c. A manuscript copy of the *Malfûẓâti Mahdî Ṣâḥib* was shown to me by the son of the present *Sajjâda-nishîn*, Sayyid Nûr 'Alî b. Ashraf 'Alî Shâh. The *Malfûẓât* in fact consist of two small fragments, *i.e.*, the initial portions of two different hagiological works, in Persian. The first, about fifteen pages long, contains the story of the origin of the line of pîrs, with biographical information about some of them; this is almost exclusively confined to stories about their miracles. Many of such stories are in verse. The narrative in this fragment ends with Nar Muḥammad. It is not clear whether the work was ever finished, and whether other copies of it exist.

The value of this work for research is nil. It is merely an attempt to put into a written form the legends which were in circulation, and this was done rather badly. The sequence of names is completely confused. It is said that the pîrs of the line are descendants of the Ithna-'ashari Imam 'Alî Riḍâ, while in the next fragment quite a different genealogy is given. Ṣadru'd-dîn is confounded with Sat Gur Nûr of Nawsari, etc. No dates, no history. Apparently this work is summed up and made the basis of the account which is given in the modern work, *Ta'rîkhi Burhânpûr* (see further on).

The second fragment is just over two pages, and contains the beginning of the genealogy of the line, not from 'Alî Riḍâ, but from Imam Ismâ'îl, whose name, however, is omitted, together with the name of his son and successor, Muḥammad. These perversions, as also those in the preceding fragment, show that these works were intended for the general public, and that the author tried his best to dissociate himself and his ancestors from all connection with Ismailism by suppressing some facts and names in the sectarian tradition, which were scarcely known outside the sect.

It is difficult to find whether there were any other works composed by the leaders of the Imam-Shahis, and dealing with historical matters. But, according to the *Manâzilu'l-aqṭâb*, one of the descendants of Imam Shah, known as Baṛâ Miyā (Sayyid Badru'd-dîn), who flourished in the beginning of the XIXth century, had arranged that a history of the sect should be written, apparently in Persian, under the title of the *Malfûẓi Imâmu'd-dîn, i.e.* "Sayings of Imâm Shâh." This work was chiefly based on oral tradition, and various "Hindi" books that were available (most probably the *Satveni*). It is not clear why it was called "*Malfûẓ*," and what relation it had to Imam Shah, because its narrative is brought down to the time of Baṛâ Miyā himself. It is not certain whether copies of this work still exist.

Apparently soon after this, *i.e.* in the early years of the XIXth century, another work was composed, dealing with some saints, most probably the *pîrs* of the sect. It has the title *Jawâhiru'l-awliyâ'*,

and its author is Qâḍî[1] Raḥmatu'l-lâh b. Ghulâm Muṣṭafâ, of Aḥmadâbâd. Here it is again doubtful whether copies of this work exist. It is merely referred to on a few occasions in the *Manâzilu'l-aqṭâb*, a later work of the same author.

This work, with the full title *Manâzilu'l-aqṭâb wa basâṭînu'l-aḥbâb*, was apparently compiled soon after 1237/1822, probably also under the patronage of the same Sayyid Baṛâ Miyã, who is profusely eulogised here. The reasons of his interest in the history of his sect were by no means Platonic. There were serious doubts as to the genuineness of his genealogy, and thus of his claims to the headship of the community. Probably in order to give the book a larger circulation, by making it appeal to a wider circle of readers, many matters dealing with the history of Gujrat, its Sufic and other saints, etc., were added.

The work, is a large volume of over 730 pages,[2] and is composed in a fairly clear, though provincial Persian. It opens with a short doxology and a short preface in which the author explains the purpose of his work, which is to give a history of the sect, and biographies of different saints of Gujrat. Then he proceeds with laudatory accounts of the Prophet, of the twelve Imams of the Ithna-'asharis, and a number of biographies of some famous Sufis of India. Then, on pages 137-315, he narrates the story of the sect of the Imam-Shahis, beginning with the biography of Imam Shah himself. Apparently here the original version had to end, as the author, in the strain of different *khâtimas*, again mentions the title of the work, and invokes the usual blessings. But probably having changed his mind, he adds almost as much as the earlier portion of his work, discussing various subjects: a short history of Gujrat, from the earliest times, and its kings (mostly, as he

[1] It is doubtful whether the author was particularly learned; his surname *qâḍî* would not necessarily imply his being a judge. It is quite possible that he descended from a judge's family, and the title *qâḍî* was hereditary in it, just as this happens with the title *shaykh*.

[2] The size of the pages is 9 and $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch by 5 and three quarters, 13 lines to a page, three and three quarters of an inch long. Thick hand-made paper; handwriting is bold, not calligraphic, but clearly legible; many orthographical mistakes. Headings in red.

himself mentions, abbreviated from the *Mir'âti Sikandarî*, the well-known work of Sikandar b. Muḥammad Manjhû Akbar, who wrote in 1020/1611), and then a long series of biographies of Sufic and other saints of Gujrat, tombs and shrines of Ahmadabad, of its districts, Hindu places of worship, topography of Ahmadabad, various sects which are found there, etc. All this is almost verbatim taken from the *khâtima* of the well-known history of Gujrat, the *Mir'âti Aḥmadî*, by 'Alî Muḥammad Khân who has begun it in 1161/1748, and completed in 1174/1761.[1] The author followed his original so slavishly that in some places he refers to 1173/1759 as the year current at the time of his writing, which, in reality, was the year in which 'Alî Muḥammad, the author of the *Mir'âti Aḥmadî*, was writing.

It appears that the author never refers to other early works on the history of Gujrat, such as the *Ma'âthiri Maḥmûd-Shâhî*, by 'Abdu'l-Karîm (*ca.* 890/1485);[2] or *Ta'rîkhi Abû Turâb Walî* (*ca.* 995/1587);[3] or *Ta'rîkhi Gujrât*, by Sayyid Maḥmûd b. Munawwari'l-Mulk (*ca.* 980/1573),[4] etc. It is also strange that he probably knew nothing about the work which is specially devoted to the biographies of the Sufic and other saints who flourished in Gujrat, namely the *Gulzâri abrâr*, by Muḥammad Ghawthî b. Ḥasan b. Mûsâ Shaṭṭârî, who completed it soon after 1022/1613, and dedicated it to Jahângîr.[5]

The copy of the *Manâzilu'l-aqṭâb*, which I had a chance to peruse due to the courtesy of Sayyid Ṣadru'd-dîn who is in charge of the dargâh of Pîr Sat Gor Nûr at Nawsari, apparently is unique.

1 It was repeatedly lithographed; the latest, printed edition, forming vol. xxxiii of the Gackwad Oriental Series, is still incomplete, and not free from mistakes.

2 See about it C. Rieu, The Catalogue of the Persian MSS in the British Museum, III, 996.

3 See *ibid.*, III, 997.

4 See E. Sachau and H. Ethé, Catalogue of the Persian, etc., MSS in the Bodleian Library, No. 271.

5 See W. Ivanow, Catalogue of the Persian MSS in the (old) collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (vol. I, 1924), No. 259, where a complete list of biographies given in the work is offered. There is another copy of the same work in the Hyderabad State library; it is not as old as the Calcutta copy.

It may therefore be added here that its orthography has many peculiarities which considerably affect the spelling of the proper names found in it. This especially applies to the passion for nasalisation which the author,—or perhaps the scribe,—displays, by writing *shumân*, *Mawlânân*, *Bhrûnj*, etc., for *shumâ*, *Mawlânâ*, Bharûch, etc. But not content with this, he almost always adds an initial *n* to the forms of the Substantive verb when they follow such nasalized long *â*, as in *...shumân nast...* for *...shumâ ast*, etc. But he always writes *chunî* for *chunîn*.

During a tour in Northern India in November 1935, visiting several shrines of the ancient *pîrs* of the sect, I found yet another Manuscript, in Urdu, in possession of the *mutawallî* of the shrine of Pîr Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn, situated within about a mile's distance from the ancient town of Uchh (now in Bahawalpur State). It is a kind of a notebook which contains the genealogy and some stories about the miracles performed by different early *pîrs*. The owner simply called it the *Shajara*, i.e. "genealogical tree." A slightly different copy of apparently the same work was also shown to me at the shrine of Pîr Ṣadru'd-dîn, some fifteen miles further South.[1] Apparently yet another copy belongs to the *mutawallî* of the shrine of Shamsi Tabrîz, in Multan, but I had no chance of seeing it.

The *Shajara* is chiefly devoted to the genealogy of the Sayyids who own the shrines, and regard the early saints as their own ancestors. About these they have the most fantastic stories of their miracles, and only very few dates which for the most part are utterly unreliable. It is quite obvious therefore that the *Shajara* was compiled at a late period, and probably contains little or no original information.

2. *History of the Sect.*

Having given an account of the sources of information about the sect, we may try to arrange here systematically the materials which are so far available.

[1] In the copy which I saw in the shrine of Pîr Ṣadru'd-dîn, the author of the *Shajara* calls himself Fayḍ Muḥammad, *maddâḥi jinâbi Amîru'l-mu'minîn 'alay-hi's-salâm*, son of the late Khwâja Amîr Muḥammad, a descendant of Khwâja Anṣârî. It is possible that he was in reality not the author, but merely a copyist, who later on added some material from himself.

According to the tradition preserved by the Khoja community, who represent the parent sect from which the Imam-Shahis seceded in the beginning of the XVIth c., the movement was started in the XIVth c. by several Ismaili missionaries who came from Persia soon after the fall of the stronghold of Alamut (654/1256). The learned and wise missionaries, coming to India, first of all took up the study of the local languages, Sanskrit, and the literature of Hinduism, which they mastered perfectly. By judicious combination of the tenets of Hinduism with those of Islam, they paved the road to the latter, facilitating the conversion of a great many Hindus. They expounded their teachings after Hindu models and standards, in versified sermons, written in *ślokas*, in different local dialects. Such hymns, or versified didactic or ecstatic treatises, were called *gnans*, from Sanskrit *jnanam*, knowledge. They vary in their contents from almost pure Sufism to pure Hinduism. It is generally accepted that in the earliest times they were not written, but simply committed to memory by the faithful; it was only much later that they were written down in Sindhi (Khojki) characters. Many of them are in old Sindhi, but there are also many in old Panjabi, Hindi, Gujrati, and in mixed patois. Sometimes one and the same *gnan* would contain separate verses, or even sentences, in different dialects. Their grammar is often irregular, and the metre faulty.

An analysis of the doctrine and of various historical indications may suggest a certain amount of scepticism about this theory of the origin of the sect as narrated by this tradition. But the question is far too complex to be raised here. It may therefore be postponed till some other occasion. *Satveni-ji Vel* is the earliest of the available sectarian sources of historical information; it was composed by Nar Muḥammad, son of Imam Shah, who states that the original ancestor of the *pîrs*, or the heads of the sect, was the great saint of Multan, now popularly known as Shamsi Tabrîz, whose grave is still the place of worship. The local ideas about the saint, energetically supported by his supposed descendants, the *mutawallîs* of the shrine, are quite definite: he is the same mysterious darwish who exercised such a great influence upon Jalâlu'd-dîn Rûmî, the author of the great

Mathnawî.[1] Many extraordinary legends are told about him; there is a Hindu temple, about two miles away from his shrine, called Keshupuri, where he has performed the miracle of bringing down the sun from the sky.

The *Satveni-ji Vel* narrates that he was in reality the Ismaili Imam, Shamsu'd-dîn Muḥammad, the son of Ruknu'd-dîn Khûrshâh, the last Imam of Alamut. According to historical information, he was a small boy when his father was killed. His reality seems to be indubitable, and it is quite probable that he was successfully hidden, and survived the destruction of his family, residing somewhere in Northern Adharbayjan. The *Satveni* gives (in the 94th "Path") 710/1310 as the date on which he abdicated, appointing his son Qâsim, as an Imam, and himself coming to the Panjab as a *pîr*.[2] If this Shamsu'd-dîn is the same person, he would have been more than sixty years of age at that time,—scarcely a suitable age at which one would start the extremely difficult and lengthy study of Sanskrit, Indian dialects, Hindu religious matters, etc., and even after this, apparently achieving his object, to have enough time to make many converts. The story of abdication itself is very doubtful. A small but a suspicious detail is the mention of the Panjab, for at that date Multan and the country around it were still regarded as a part of Sindh.

Some Khojas still believe that Shamsu'd-dîn of Multan was the same person as Shamsu'd-dîn Muḥammad, the son of Ruknu'd-dîn Khûrshâh, but the Imam-Shahis do not. It seems that there are three principal variants of his genealogy.

[1] This Shamsi Tabrîz, according to the earliest biographer of Rumi and his associates, Shamsu'd-dîn Aflâkî (who wrote in 754/1353), was killed in Qoniya, in Asia Minor, in 645/1247, *i.e.*, apparently before the birth of Shamsu'd-dîn Muḥammad, the Ismaili Imam. His grave is in Qoniya. It is an interesting fact that in a note on him Nûru'l-lâh Shustarî, in his *Majâlisu'l-mu'minîn*, states that he descended from the "Ismaili headmen" (in the VIth *majlis*, p. 291 of the old Persian lithograph: *ki pidar bar pidari ú az a'yâni*—or, as in some other copies,—*dâ'îyâni Ismâ'îliyya bûdand*).

[2] It is quite probable that he really died about this date, 710/1310. Anyhow, the famous Ismaili Persian poet, Nizârî Quhistânî (d. *ca.* 720/1320) apparently refers to him as his *mamdûḥ* in some of his poems.

Apparently the earliest version is preserved in the *Shajara*. It is given in a very perverted and corrupt form, but may be corrected with the help of other sources. According to this version, Shamsu'd-dîn was a descendant of Imam Ismâ'îl, but belonged to a line quite independent from that of the Persian Ismaili Imams. A correct form of it is given in the *khâtima* of the *Mir'âti Aḥmadî* (mentioned above), and is orally preserved by the faithful in Pîrâna (cf. further). It is as follows:

1. Imâm Ismâ'îl b. Ja'far; 2. Muḥammad b. Ismâ'îl; 3. Ismâ'îl II (in different versions also called Imâmu'd-dîn, or Musâfir, or Musâfir ibn Imâmi'd-dîn,—all obviously being his later surnames); 4. Manṣûr,[1] or Muḥammad Manṣûr; 5. Ghâlib, or Ghâlibu'd-dîn, or Ghâlibdîn (obviously later modifications); 6. 'Abdu'l-Majîd (in the oral tradition—Ṣâdiq); 7. Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh (orally simply Muḥammad),—very strange and surprising; 8. Aḥmad Hâdî; 9. Hâshim; 10. Muḥammad; 11. Maḥmûd (orally Mushafar, *sic*); 12. Muḥibbu'd-dîn; 13. Khâliqu'd-dîn, Khâliqdîn, Khâlid, Khûbdîn, *i.e.* obviously 'Abdu'l-Khâliq, as in the *Mir'ât*; 14. Mu'min or 'Abdu'l-Mu'min; 15. Islâmu'd-dîn, Islâm Shâh, Salâmu'd-dîn; 16. Ṣalâḥu'd-dîn, or Ṣâliḥdîn, or Ṣâliḥjî; 17. Shamsu'd-dîn.[2]

This gives fifteen generations for about 500 years, or 33 years per generation,—which seems not improbable. The *Shajara* adds that the ancestors of Shamsu'd-dîn were all settled in Sabzawâr,

[1] The best known and authoritative work on genealogy of the descendants of 'Alî, the *'Umdatu'ṭ-ṭâlib fi ansâb âl 'Alî Ibn Abî Ṭ'âlib*, by Aḥmad Ibn 'Inaba (d. *ca.* 825/1422), cf. Brockelmann, Gesch. d. A. Lit., II, 199, mentions only two of Ismâ'îl II's sons, Aḥmad and Muḥammad. It is possible that the second of them really had the surname Manṣûr. But further on there is no likeness between both these lines. Such names as Ghâlib, Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh, etc., appear quite strange for that period, and most probably are the result of various mistakes and confusion in the old MSS, even if they are genuine.

[2] The *Shajara* makes a complete mess of this genealogy, and mixes up different names, while omitting others. The same is the case with the modern work, *Baḥru'l-ansâb* (lith. Bombay, 1335), II, 139-140. The *Khoja Vratant*, and the *Gulzâre Shams* on the whole coincide quite well, as also the *Tarbiyati du'â*, the Khoja prayer book (in Gujrati).

in the province of Ghaznî, *i.e.* really Isfizâr, a town South of Herat.[1] It further states that Shamsu'd-dîn himself was born in Ghaznî, on the 17th Rajab 560/30-v-1165, *i.e.* about a hundred years *before* the fall of Alamut. The *Shajara* makes him come to Multan in 598/1201, and permits him to live till 675/1276, thus ascribing him a life of 115 years (the *Satveni* does not give the date of his death).

What may be regarded as a later version, is the one which is suggested in the *Satveni*. It makes Shamsu'd-dîn of Multan the same person as Shamsu'd-dîn Muḥammad, the Ismaili Imam, the son of Imam Ruknu'd-dîn Khûrshâh of Alamut. As we have seen above, according to this story, he abdicated in favour of his son Qâsim, and came to India as a *pîr*. It is quite easy to see why the author of the *Satveni*, Nar Muḥammad, would prefer this particular version. As will be seen further on, he proclaimed himself an Imam. But according to the most fundamental beliefs of Ismailism an Imam can only be a son of an Imam. As he surely could not pretend to be a son of an Imam, he had to invent a theory of his descent from the line of the Imams, and the coincidence in the names of his ancestor, Shamsu'd-dîn, with the name of Shamsu'd-dîn the Imam, offered an easy opportunity.

The third, apparently the latest version is that which makes Shamsu'd-dîn descend from the seventh Imam of the Ithna-'asharis, Mûsâ Kâẓim b. Ja'far. Quite possibly the sect, and its Sayyids, for the purpose of the "protective dissembling" (*taqiyya*), had to represent themselves officially as belonging to the only Shi'ite sect which to some extent was tolerated and left unmolested by the fanatics in this part of the world. Exactly the same thing was going on with the Ismailis of Persia and Central Asia. Such practice of the *taqiyya*, observed for very long periods, made the Ithna-'ashari religion so familiar to many Ismailis that they could sincerely believe that they really belong to it. At present all the descendants of these saints, who are in charge of the shrines, regard

[1] Sam'ânî in his famous dictionary does not mention any of these saints amongst the famous Isfizâris.

themselves as Ithna-'ashari.[1] This is one of the strangest instances in the history of religions, for the Sayyids, who are the religious leaders of the sect, themselves belong to quite a different religion, which always was, and still is bitterly hostile to the religion of the Imam-Shahis, who are their followers!

At the shrine of Imam Shah himself, at Pîrâna, near Ahmadabad, there is on the wall a gold embroidered genealogical tree of the twelve Imams, but the name of Ismâ'îl and Muḥammad b. Ismâ'îl also figure there. Being asked how the sectarians could at once recognize as the true Imams two mutually excluding lines, they simply tell that so it is, and it is not their business to bother with seeking for the reasons, why and how this should be so.

It is impossible to ascertain which of these three versions of Shamsu'd-dîn's genealogy is correct, or whether any of these is reliable.[2] But from Shamsu'd-dîn downwards the line is quite clear. He was succeeded by his son Naṣîru'd-dîn, and the latter by his son Shihâbu'd-dîn. Both are regarded as *pîrs*, but nothing at all is known about them. Most probably they occupied the office for only a very short time, and were not remarkable in any way.[3]

[1] The descent from 'Alî ar-Riḍâ is attributed to Shamsu'd-dîn, the *pîr* of Multan, in the well-known hagiological work, *Akhbâru'l-akhyâr*, by 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq Dihlawî (d. *ca.* 1053/1643); apparently from this book this genealogy was introduced in modern works such as the *Khazînatu'l-aṣfiyâ* '.

[2] In the genealogy of Shamsu'd-dîn, as it is preserved orally in Pîrâna at present, the surname *Chowt* is given to him, and he is called Shamsi Chowt. Firishta (lith. Nawalkishore edition, II, 336-7), quotes from the *Ta'rîkhi Rashîdî* of Mirzâ Ḥaydar a passage referring to a missionary of the fifteenth or sixteenth c. in Kashmir, called Shamsu'd-dîni Chowt. He preached the beliefs of the Nûr-Bakhshî sect, apparently a variety of 'Alî-Ilâhism, and obviously was not connected with Shamsu'd-dîn of Multan. In spite of my search I could not ascertain what his surname Chowt meant. In Gujrati *chowt* means a lock of hair at the top of the head, left by Hindus.

[3] In the *Ta'rîkhi Burhânpûr* (cf. further on) the name of the grandfather of Shamsu'd-dîn is given as Na'îru'd-dîn, and the father as Shihâbu'd-dîn but Ṣadru'd-dîn is made the son of Shams. Most probably this is simply a mistake in the sequence of the names, and Na'îru'd-dîn, whose name should be read Naṣîru'd-dîn, was the son of Shamsu'd-dîn.

The son of the later *pîr*, Ṣadru'd-dîn, most probably was the real founder of the sect. To him belong many important *gnans* and other works, and they are said to bear traces of high inspiration. Both the *Satveni* and the *Shajara* tell a few miracle stories about him. The first does not give the date of his death. The *Shajara* offers 689/1290 as the date of his birth, and 782/1380, as that of his death, but both dates appear to be unreliable. He is buried about fifteen miles away from Uchh, in Bhawalpur State. There are no inscriptions on his tomb or mausoleum. [1]

His son and successor, the third great *Pîr*, Abû Qalandar Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn was born, according to the *Shajara*, in 726/1326, lived exactly 150 lunar years, and died in Uchh in 876/1471. The *Manâzilu'l-aqṭâb*, which, curiously, does not give his biography, incidentally gives the date of his death as 875/1470. Not only is such longevity quite remarkable, but it is quite extraordinary that when he died at the age of 150, his son, Imam Shah, was only 19 or even 15 years of age; thus he was born to him when he was about 130 years old. Thus all these dates are made of the same stuff as the miracle stories. The *Satveni* in the 109th Path, gives the date of his death as 853/1449, which seems to be more probable. He is buried within about a mile's distance of Uchh. No inscriptions, except repair records, quite modern, are found on the mausoleum. [2]

He was succeeded by his brother, Tâju'd-dîn,[3] who is recognized as a *Pîr* by the Khojas, but not by the Imam-shahis. Nothing authentic is known about him. He is referred to in the *Satveni*, if this is not a later interpolation.

1 He is locally known under the name of Ḥâjî Ṣadar Shâh. A mela, or fair, is held every year on his *'urs*. The nearest village is apparently called Jetur. The place is about 12 or 13 miles from the nearest railway station, Chaudhuri.

2 He is locally called Ḥasan Daryâ. It is interesting that the *Satveni* gives many miracle stories about his, and his father Ṣadru'd-dîn's journeys to Persia, for visiting (*dîdâr*) the Imâm.

3 He was buried in the village Shahturel, or Juṇ, in Sindh, not far from the station Talhâr (Badin Railway), district Tandoo Bagho. The date of his death is given in the *Gulzare Shams* as 872/1467. The name Shahturel is also applied to the *pîr* himself.

At the point of the death of *Pîr* Kabîru'd-dîn Ḥasan the story of Imam Shah begins, and is narrated with many legendary details in the *Manâzilu'l-aqṭâb*. But before we proceed any further, it is necessary to introduce a few explanatory remarks which may facilitate the understanding of the narrative.

The dates in the history of the sect usually are very unreliable, confusing, and contradictory. One of the reasons surely must be the absence of reliable records: the date of the event is usually calculated as so many years before, or after the death of so-and-so, or some other remarkable event, and this always is very shaky. Besides, those dates which are given in the Hijri era, are usually transferred into it from the Hindu solar calendar, in quite primitive and inaccurate ways. Thus there is bound to be a great deal of inaccuracy.

It is also necessary to explain the implications of the ambiguous term *pîr*. It means "old," and "old man" in Persian; in early Persian Sufism it was used as an equivalent of the Arabic *shaykh*, *i.e.* an (old) experienced Sufi, who could guide others. In India it was widely used at the period of the great importance of Sufic organisations. [1]

Persian Ismailism had great affinity with Sufism; in some instances Sufic elements probably outweighed the Ismailitic in various doctrines. Apart from this, a certain vagueness of the ideas and irregularities in the observation of the prescribed practices, regarded as permissible to Sufis, always excellently suited all kinds of sectarians who differed in some respects from the orthodox standards. [2] Therefore it was quite easy that the early Ismaili missionaries and saints appeared to the world at large, to the uninitiated, as Sufic *pîrs*. [3] Probably due to continuous use in this

1 The Gujrati term is *Gur*, i.e. *guru*, really meaning teacher. The word *Sat* in the names such as Sat Gur Nûr, etc. means "true,"—*pîri ḥaqîqî*, etc.

2 Cf. Firishta, II, 337 (of the Nawalkishore lithograph) in what he narrates about Shamsi Chowt, mentioned above: *dar panâhi taṣawwuf gurîkhta khûd-râ Ṣûfî nâm nihâdand.*

3 According to the *Manâzil* the early *pîrs* really were initiated in the Suhrawardî and other *silsilas*. This seems quite probable because Sufic affiliation were so popular at that time that not only the people with special religious interests, but also laymen belonged to one or several of them. Not long ago so it was in Persia, and I personally saw several Ismailis who belonged to the Ni'matu'l-lâhî order. Initiation in a Sufic *silsila* was approximately something like belonging to a Masonic lodge; the religious persuasion did not interfere with this.

sense this term in India has become synonymous with the sectarian religious head, teacher, missionary. It has preserved this meaning even later on. But with the gradual evolution of the community, it became applied to the *ḥujjat*, the head priest, or a kind of an Ismaili bishop in charge of a see.[1] With the evolution of this latter idea, the *ḥujjat=pîr* began to be regarded more and more as a kind of superhuman being, the one who guides humanity to the knowledge of the Imam. The ancient Indian ideas about the Divinity of the priest who offers sacrifices, etc., probably also helped the idea of the *pîr* to grow in importance almost as great as the idea of Imam himself. In the Hinduistic mentality of the Imam-Shahis the difference between the Imam and the *Pîr* has almost entirely disappeared. *Pîrs* receive exactly the same epithets as those of the Imams, or even God Himself; various miraculous signs and qualities believed to prove the dignity of the Imam are attributed (as in the *Manâzilu'l-aqṭâb*) to the *pîrs*. Thus the alternation of *pîrs* and Imams in the same genealogical line has become quite natural in the eyes of the followers. It must be noted, however, that the term *pîr* is not ordinarily used by the Persian or Central Asian Ismailis in this sense; they would rather, in a mystical sense, apply it to the Imam himself.[2] In ordinary language the term *pîr* is applied in Central Asia to local village darwish teachers, or *murshids*.

In the original Ismailism *ḥujjats* were the able, learned priests or missionaries, who, in due course, for their talents, services and abilities, were promoted to the posts of "bishops" of different sees. The office, quite naturally, was never hereditary. But one sees in the sect of the Imam-Shahis that pîrship is hereditary, and that great importance is attached to the direct descent; *pîrs* are appointed to succeed their fathers even when children; their followers swear allegiance to them, etc. All these are developments on Indian soil. They are partly due to Hinduistic ideas, and

[1] The doctrine about the spiritual implications of the office of the *ḥujjat* is dealt with in detail in the text edited and translated by me in the "Ismailitica" (Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. VIII, pp. 1-76).

[2] Cf. the Dîwân of Imâm-Qulî Khâkî Khurâsânî, ed. by W. Ivanow, Bombay, 1933, verses 1434, 1543, etc.

partly, most probably, are supported by economical considerations. In Persia the chief thing was the doctrine preached by the *pîr*; his talents and saintliness would draw crowds of *murîds* to him. When he dies, his grave is respected, and some religious people will even visit it and pray at it; but the grave cannot replace the teacher himself. Quite a different thing happens in India, with its different religious ideas and mentality. Here busy people would care little or nothing for what the saint teaches. All that he says, most probably, would be quite unintelligible to them. They will be quite satisfied with the silliest stories about his "miracles," taking no interest in whether they are true or not. So long as so-and-so has all the appearance of an ascetic, and his reputation, by whatever means, spreads, nobody will bother to question his claims. He *himself* becomes the object of worship so long as he is living. And when he dies, his importance may increase thousandfolds, if the people in charge of his tomb possess sufficient commercial talents. [1] His followers, and also strangers will flock from long distances to attend the fairs on certain anniversaries (*'urs*),—a purely Indian custom, which does not exist in Persia. They will bring their cocoanuts, or other offerings of insignificant value, will go through some ceremonies, etc., and then return to their homes with their religious sentiment refreshed at a small cost.

The question of succession, and of recognition of a certain *sajjâda-nishîn*, *makhdûm*, etc., in such cases has great importance,

[1] Those who have not seen with their own eyes how the "grave of a saint" sometimes comes into existence would scarcely believe it. Some ten years ago Calcutta was stirred to excitement one morning when in one of the passages of the principal municipal market, in the centre of the city, a grave was dug, and a "saint" was buried on the spot on which he died, inspite of objections of the authorities. The "saint" was an Indian Christian beggar. But for some reasons his death has caught the fancy of the Muslim mob of petty traders and coolies, who proclaimed him a Muhammadan saint and miracle worker. The situation became so threatening that the authorities even could not well insist on the remains being exhumed and transferred to some cemetery. His grave was ornamented with flowers, etc., some commercially minded people opened shops with sweets, ornaments, etc., nearby; others began to collect money, and visitors began to flock in thousands. With great difficulty the authorities succeeded in putting a stop to all this, and a brick wall was built round the grave.

but really it has nothing to do with religion. It is quite natural that the family of the deceased saint (and saintly ascetics usually have very large families), would eagerly defend their rights to collect in their favour the offerings of the devotees. Very often, as can also be seen from the history of the Imam-Shahi sect, they are the owners of the buildings erected to protect the tombs. The tomb is usually regarded as their joint property. As their head, and official representative, a direct successor of the saint, is appointed. In the cases of dispute the office is snatched up by the most energetic and unscrupulous, and the rightful, but not successful heir may be deprived of his rights. There is not the slightest pretence even to connect the hereditary occupation of the post with anything like ascetic virtues, learning, pious life, etc.

Such is the state of things, as far as can be seen, all over India. It presents many great difficulties. But the case of the Imam-Shahis is especially aggravated by an institution which is apparently quite unique in the practice of the Muhammadan organisations. It is the evil institution of the *kâkâs*. Originally a *kâkâ* (according to the *Mir'âti Aḥmadî*) was the headman of the converted Hindu community, appointed by the *pîr*, or his missionary, from amongst his fellow-converts; his duty was to instruct those who were not strong in the religion, to settle their disputes, and, the most important, to collect the religious taxes, which he had to forward to the *pîr*. In the Imam-Shahi community all the converts were Hindus. For tactical reasons, and for self protection, many kept their conversion secret. But even those who did not conceal this preferred not to sever their connection with their caste, and were permitted outwardly to comply with the prescriptions of their original religion.

Thus the original *kâkâs* played an important part as go-betweens, bringing about mutual understanding between the missionaries and their converts, who would follow them only in case they were advised and directed by the *kâkâs* to do so. Apparently this institution was introduced at an early period not only in petty village communities, but also penetrated into the centre. As narrated by the author of the *Manâzil*, who probably is right, the immediate cause of the final legalisation of the position of the *kâkâs* in the centre were the rivalries and quarrels of the sons of Nar

Muḥammad Shâh (the author of the *Satveni*). In order to create an apparatus for more or less impartial distribution of income amongst the different quarreling members of his family after his death, he arranged that the taxes and offerings should be collected by a specially appointed head *kâkâ*, who would make the distribution, keep up the shrines, etc. He was appointed for life, had to take vow of celibacy, and receive for himself only his food and his clothing. Thus having made him safe from temptation to misappropriate the funds passing through his hands, the Sayyids expected him to work dispassionately, as a kind of a machine. But in reality, as the whole history of the sect shows, the *kâkâs* proved to be an inexhaustible source of intrigue and misery to the community, which has brought about the complete ruin of the sect.

Keeping all this in mind, we may return now to the history of the Imam-Shahi community.

According to the *Manâzil*, Imâm-Shâh, whose full name was Imâmu'd-dîn 'Abdu'r-Raḥîm b. Ḥasan, was born in Uchh either on the 27th Rab. I, or on the 11th Jum. II 856/1452. As shown above, his son Nar Muḥammad says that his father, Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn, died in 853/1449. The difference is small, and it is quite possible that Imam Shah was a small boy when his father died. The *Manâzil* tells that he was 19 or even 15 years of age at that time. It is interesting to note that almost all *pîrs* in his book succeed their fathers at the age either of twelve or fifteen. Qâḍî Raḥmatu'l-lâh gives the name of his mother, 'Ârif Khâtûn, and a great deal of purely obstetric details of his birth (which are almost literally repeated further on in connection with the births of many other *pîrs* of this line), intended to indicate the high and supernatural position of the child. As usual, the authority of the long-suffering Imam Ja'far aṣ-Ṣâdiq is made responsible for all this nonsense.

The narrative of the *Manâzil* entirely consists of legends and miracle stories which are scarcely worth repeating, except, perhaps, as an example of their style. Imam Shah, still a young boy, is not in Uchh at the hour of his father's death, but miraculously receives information, and arrives just at the moment when his corpse is carried in procession. He immediately starts demanding

his "share" [1] from his brothers (he had seventeen of them). When they object to such demands, at this most unsuitable moment, the hand of the dead saint comes out of the bier, with a rosary and a piece of sugar, gives it to Imam Shah, and the voice bids him to go to Persia, and to demand his "share" from the "brother" of his father. Imam Shah, still a young boy, immediately starts for Persia, reaches Kirman in 21 days, though there were still no motor cars in use at that time, alights at the house of a certain Ghulâm Muḥammad, a trusted servant of the Shâhi wâlâ-jâh (whom the voice of Kabîru'd-dîn calls Mîr Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Ḥayy, or 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq b. Imâm Ismâ'îl b. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣâdiq). He is received in audience by the latter, and the *ni'mat*, which he was seeking for, is handed over to him. "This is a great mystery," as the author says,—*în sirrî 'st bâṭinî*. It is interesting that in his book the author never calls this person an Imam, but usually a *sajjâda-nishîn*, or something in this strain.

Then Imam Shah returns to India, and goes to Gujrat.[2] All this apparently takes place in one and the same year, 875/1470-1, as can be inferred from the narrative of the *Manâzil*. The independent Muslim dynasty of Gujrat, which ruled over the province between 799/1396 and 980/1572, out of political considerations encouraged Muhammadan missionaries. It seems to be a fact that Imam Shah has come there in the reign of the most prominent king of that dynasty, Shâh Maḥmûdi Bêgṛâ (863-917/1458-1511).

1 It is not clear what kind of "share" (as in the *Satveni*), or "fortune," *ni'mat* (as in the *Manâzil*) he expected. Most probably all these legends, which were put in circulation much later on, when he was already the recognised head of the Gujrati branch, allude to the pîrship. As can be seen from the narrative of the *Manâzil*, the *pîrs* were so regularly succeeded by their youngest sons that it is easy to infer the existence of a firmly established custom. Popular belief apparently extended it back, upon Imam Shah himself, and it is quite possible that his demands for the *ni'mat*, i.e., pîrship after his father, were entirely based, in popular psychology, simply on the fact that he was the youngest son of the deceased.

2 According to the *Khoja Vratant*, which does not mention the source of its information, Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn died in 1449 A.D.; Imam Shah came to Gujrat, to Atuna, in 1452; in 1454 he married the daughter of a local Sufic saint, Shâhi 'Âlam,—Nar Muḥammad was born from this union. In 1468 he founded Pîrâna.

Anyhow, the tradition firmly connects both these names. Imam Shah settles at Pîrâna, near the village Girâmṭh,[1] which still exists, situated about nine miles from Ahmadabad, three miles off the Cambay road ; in some books this place is also called Imâmpûra. At present it is a necropolis of the sect, with only a few families of Sayyids and *kâkâs* staying there. According to the *Manâzil*, Imam Shah died there on the 27th Ram. 919/18-xi-1513 ; the *Satveni* gives 926/1520, *i.e.* again very near to the former work.[2]

All these legends most probably completely confuse the real events. It may be noted that Imam Shah has himself written an account of his journey to Persia to visit the Imam. How invaluable a document would it have been for the student of Ismailism if only this saint had sanely and sobermindedly described what he has seen, on the lines of his early predecessor, the great Nâṣiri Khusraw, in his most admirable *Safar-nâma* ! But this was quite beyond his capacities. His *Jannatpûrî* is a fantastic tale, full of miraculous stuff and vague exaggerations.[3] Its contents are to some extent expanded and embellished in the *Satveni* (Path 111 sq.). It is narrated there that seventeen brothers of Imam Shah have refused to give him his "share," and harassed him very much until he left for Gujrat. All seventeen died very soon. The Imam of the time comes to know that now there is only one of the *pîr's* family left, and he sends a letter to Imam Shah through a certain Chandan Vir, or Ḥaydar Beg.

Nothing is said whether the letter summoned him to Persia, but, anyhow, Imam Shah decided to go there. After 37 days'

[1] At present it is officially called Girâmtha, but in different books this difficult word is differently spelt as Girmatha, Gurmatha, etc.

[2] Over the entrance door of the shrine of Imam Shah in Pîrâna a small brass plate, or rather a fragment of it, is fixed. In a bad, and apparently quite modern handwriting there is stated that the date of his birth can be found from the word *nuṣrat*, i.e. 50+90+200+400=740/1340-1, and the date of his death is the end of Ramaḍân 815/ end of December 1412. The building was repaired and whitewashed in 819/1416 by a certain *kâkâ*. The date of the death of Imam Shah is given as 815/1412 also on the fly leaf of a (lithographed) copy of the Coran which lies near the tomb.

[3] *It was printed in Bombay in 1926. There is also a long gnan,* called *Janaza*, which gives another version of the same story.

journey he comes to the shore either of a river, or of a sea. He entered the sea, and travelled forty days by it. It is thus quite possible, that he really took the usual route which Ismailis used to take on their pilgrimage to Persia, namely the sea route through Hormuz, and later Bandar Abbas which sprang up near it. Unfortunately, Imam Shah has a great aversion to geographical names, and therefore his itinerary remains quite obscure. At last he reaches the *Kahk*, apparently for *Kâkhak*, which only means a summer villa or palace, in which probably the Imam resided. Nothing is said as to where it was. The name of Ghulâm Muḥammad, referred to in the *Manâzil*, is also mentioned here; he is called a *mukhî*. Imam Shah asks the Imam to permit him to see Paradise (Path 114). This is permitted to him; he goes there, and sees many ancient saints, both Hindu and Muhammadan. With his own grandfather, *Pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn, he even has a long and instructive interview. Quite obviously, this strange Gujrati *Divina Comedia* was simply a peculiar way of partly explaining eschatological beliefs, and partly, in the form of prophecies of the great saint, interviewed after death, to popularise the general plans and intentions of the missionary activity of the sect. But it may be noted that all this the faithful take quite literally.

Returning from Paradise, and taking leave of the Imam, the saint returns to India, and settles in Gujrat, at Pîrâna, in which a *qubba*, or mausoleum, was built. At its foundation was laid a golden brick which Imam Shah has brought with him from Paradise.

Thus, on the whole, it is possible that Imam Shah really visited Persia, and was sent to preach in Gujrat, where he had great success amongst the rural population. It is also quite possible that this happened during the reign of Shâh Maḥmûdi Bêgṛâ, and that he died some time in the first quarter of the XVIth century. It seems doubtful whether the mausoleum in which he, and his son Nar Muḥammad, are buried is preserved exactly as it was built at his time.[1]

[1] As it is at present, it was obviously repaired and rebuilt on so many occasions that its original features must have disappeared long ago. It does not resemble the peculiar Ahmadabadistyle of its Hindu-Muslim architecture, is thickly whitewashed, and has no stone carvings whatever. The building is still further disfigured by the newly made corrugated iron sheds, and other ugly additions.

Imam Shah was succeeded by his son Muḥammad, who is usually called either Nûr Muḥammad, or Nar Muḥammad, which imply his being an Imam.[1] According to the *Manâzil*, he was one year old when his grandfather, Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn, died. As Qâḍî Raḥmatu'l-lâh gives 875/1470-1 as the date of his death, it must be assumed that Nar Maḥammad was born in 874/1469-70, or about that date, and this, perhaps, is fairly possible.

It is not stated how long after the death of his father he undertook a reform which had very serious consequences. The author of the *Manâzil* tells that a certain Khêtâ, apparently a Hindu convert, was the head of 18.000 converted Hindus. He used to collect the *dasondh*, or *'ushr*, *i.e.* the religious tax, and send these moneys to *Pîr* Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn. As the latter was probably by this time dead for more than fifty years, it is obvious that his name here stands generally for the head of the Ismaili missionaries in India. The latter, as Raḥmatu'l-lâh says, used to send out of these moneys a certain amount (*chîzî*) to Persia, to the "*sajjâda-nishîn*," *i.e.* the Ismaili Imam. This is an important circumstance, and must be properly noted. Not only was this practice followed during the time of Imam Shah, but it is clear from this that it was carried on even under Nar Muḥammad himself, at the beginning of his rule. Thus the newly converted community of Gujrat so far remained faithful to their Ismaili Imams, who resided in Persia, and were not regarded as a separate sect.

At present the followers of the Imam-Shahi sect deny their connection with Ismailism, and even maintain that the early *pîrs* had nothing to do with it: they were Ithna-'asharis. With their usual confusion they, at the same time, accept the Ismaili Imams who held office before the split, caused by Nar Muḥammad, who is regarded by them as the last Imam; after him Mahdî, the 12th Imam of the Ithna-'asharis, concealed somewhere in a well or cave

[1] The term Nar is a Hindu Divine title, and is regarded as a synonyme of Imam. Nûr is apparently an "Islamization" of the former term. Some purists even make it Nûr 'Alî. It may be noted that Hindu terms and names are profusely applied to these *pîrs*. For instance, Imam Shah is called Indra Imâmdîn Kaylasi (*i.e.* the "Paradisial"), etc.

near Samarra, North of Baghdad, is coming to judge at the End of the World. It is, however, quite obvious from all that was said above that the Ismaili origin of the sect is beyond all doubt.

It is impossible to find anything authentic about the real nature of the activities of Nar Muḥammad. All that is recorded in connection with the split is that he ordered the pious Khêtâ to hand him in future all funds collected by him, instead of sending them to Sindh. This obviously amounted to the recognition of Nar Muḥammad as an Imam. Khêtâ flatly refused, a long quarrel, excommunication, etc., resulted, and thus the split was introduced. These early faithful Ismailis apparently were the ancestors of the present Khojas of Gujrat and Kathiawar.[1]

The claims of Nar Muḥammad Shâh to be an Imam were apparently carefully prepared by his propaganda. A lot of miraculous stories were invented and circulated. It was said that when Imam Shah visited the Imam, the latter, realizing the hardships which his followers in India had to endure when travelling to visit him, promised the *pîr* that after the death, he, the Imam, would become incarnated in one of his, Imam Shah's, sons, so-to-say for the convenience of the Indian public. There are various "prophecies" in the same strain scattered about in Imam Shah's *gnans*; probably a careful study might help to find whether they are later interpolations. He even promised that when the final Imam arrived in Pîrâna, the stone dome of his mausoleum would become solid gold. The gold brick, brought from Paradise as mentioned above, is probably one of the numerous details of such stories. The authors of the *Satveni* and of the *Manâzil* do not mention the story about the promise of incarnation, probably because it sounded too un-Islamic. But it is widely known now and every follower of Imam-Shah believes in it.

[1] In the *Satveni*, which is attributed to the authorship of Nar Muḥammad, there are references to *Pîr* Tâju'd-dîn, and admonitions to follow him. The names of the Persian Imams are given up to his own time, and do not end with Islâm Shâh. Probably only a careful critical study may solve the question whether all these are a later interpolation, or whether the *Satveni* was really composed by him.

The split, caused by Nar Muḥammad's pretentions, has done incalculable harm to his sect. Instead of being followers of Ismailism, the ancient and highly philosophical branch of Islam, with its great cultural traditions and the mentality of a world religion, they have become nothing but a petty community of "Pîrânawallas," a kind of inferior Hindus, and very doubtful Muslims. Anyhow, orthodox Muslims do not regard them as Muslims, and orthodox Hindus do not regard them as Hindus. Such a position of utter isolation can only be endured in the primitive conditions of village life, illiteracy and ignorance. As soon as the standard of living, education, etc., rise, the followers cease to find satisfaction in the faith of their forefathers, and turn to the religion of the more cultured strata. Thus the sect automatically loses all its cultural elements, and rapidly sinks deeper and deeper, with no prospect of early regeneration. So it is at present, and most probably so it always was in the past.

The *Manâzilu'l-aqṭâb* gives 940/1533-4 as the date of the death of Nar Muḥammad. Most probably it is approximately correct. In the *Satveni*, his work, the latest dates which are referred to are 1516 and 1520. He is buried in the same mausoleum as his father in Pîrâna.

According to the *Manâzil*, he had several sons, the two oldest being Jalâlu'd-dîn and Muṣtafâ. The author, who writes to defend the point of view of the Âṭhṭhiyâ branch of the sect,[1] apparently perverts the sequence and the nature of the events very considerably. According to him Nar Muḥammad had appointed one of his younger sons as his successor, namely Sa'îdu'd-dîn, popularly called Ṣayd-Khân (so his name is written in the *Manâzil*, in which the orthography is not of a high standard. Perhaps it is intended for Sayyid or Sa'îd Khân). At the same time Raḥmatu'l-lâh states that Nar Muḥammad advised him to go away, and to find a *jamâ'at*, *i.e.* to convert a community, for himself. From what is narrated further on it is clear that one of the elder sons remained in Pîrâna as the successor of his father—which one, cannot be determined from this work. Several stories are added

[1] This term comes into general use only about a century later, and will be explained further on.

about cruelty and vileness of Sa'îd Khân's elder brothers, their intrigues and even murderous attacks. The author vaguely states that the party of the "old servants" (*khâdimâni qadîm*), i.e. most probably the whole of the older generation, "remained faithful to the *mazâr*, tomb, of Imam Shah".[1] This expression again and again reappears in the course of the book, and it is not easy to gauge its real implications. It probably does not mean that, disgusted with the quarrels of the Sayyids, the "old servants" refused to follow any of the competing aspirants to pîrship. Most probably adhering only to the chief *kâkâ*, was merely a way to keep outside the quarrels, without giving any preference to the members of any line of the Sayyids.[2]

From different circumlocutions and occasional slips of the author of the *Manâzilu'l-aqṭâb*, one may infer that the shrine most probably remained in charge of the son of Nar Muḥammad, Jalâlu'd-dîn, and his descendants, for quite a long time, at least over a century, and the *pîrs* of the younger, the Âṭhṭhiyâ line, i.e. that of Sa'îd Khân, were almost always moving about the country.

It is not clear whether Sa'îd Khân was really exiled by his brothers, or was led by his adventurous spirit, but, anyhow, we see him wandering as a missionary, preaching in Surat, Burhanpur, and the towns of the Deccan and Karnatak. He converts Hindus by thousands, of course, and works numerous miracles. Apparently towards the end of his life some changes happened again in Pîrâna, perhaps due to the question of succession arising again on the death of one of his brothers. The author narrates,—as usual on such occasions,—about a deputation arriving to invite him to return to Pîrâna. For some reason he accepts their invitation, and returns. On the 26th Jum. II 980/3-xi-1572 he dies there,

1 *Iṭâ'ati khâd-hâ ba-ṭarafi mazâri Sayyid Imâmu'd-dîn wa kâkâ'i waqti ân ḥaḍrat burdand.*

2 It appears that there was a senior line of the *pîrs* which became extinct in 1075/1664-5. The names of the *pîrs* are: Shihâbu'd-dîn, Jalâl Shâh, Murtaḍâ Shâh, and Muḥammad Ashraf. But it is quite possible that the principle of heredity and strict sequence, from father to son, was not always followed. The different branches of the community, without any serious reason would abandon a *pîr*, but later on would flock to him, as appears from this history.

and is buried near his father's grave, in spite of the strong opposition of his relatives. The date of his death, of course, is open to doubt, and can be accepted only as approximate.

He was succeeded by his son, Sayyid Abû Âli Hâshim (*sic*) Muḥammad Ṣâliḥ, who was only 12 or 13 years of age at the time of his father's death.

The author most diplomatically tries to conceal the fact that Muḥammad Ṣâliḥ was not at once recognized by his followers as a *pîr*. He says that the members of the *jamâ'at* decided to postpone swearing allegiance (*bay'at*) to him until the representatives of all castes converted by him, "from far and near," came together. This happens on several occasions in the course of the history of the sect, and is always expressed in approximately the same words.

Most probably, in ordinary language, this means nothing more than he and his party had to carry on a long propaganda before they met with some support. The author even mentions that the *pîr* had to submit to a regular examination by his intending followers, who put him many questions, with the obvious intention of gaining some points to their advantage. Nothing is said here about the *Imâmat* of the saint, as in the case of the preceding *pîrs*, the author being content with attributing to him the degree of *khilâfat*.

The majority of the sect again "remained faithful to the *mazâr*, or tomb, of Imam Shah," which was in charge of the descendants of the senior line. Special mention is made about the intrigues of Nûr Shâh, the son of Muṣṭafâ, the brother of the late Sa'îd Khân. But Muḥammad Ṣâliḥ apparently had a sufficiently strong following to keep inside the Pîrâna walls; nothing is said about his missionary excursions. He died the 15th Rajab 1021/ 11-ix-1612 (approximately).

He was succeeded by his fifteen years old son Abû Muḥammad Hâshim. Apparently the long work of his father (or perhaps some special events in the life of Pîrâna) have considerably strengthened the position of his line. Nothing is said about waiting for the followers from "far and near" to come for swearing allegiance to him. Moreover, it is narrated that, seeing that the graves of his father, Muḥammad Ṣâliḥ, and his grandfather, Sa'îd Khân,

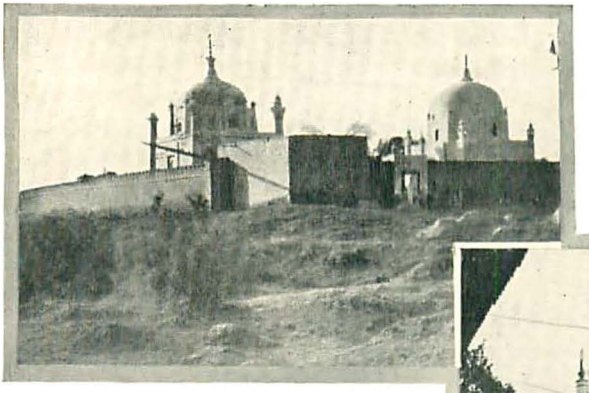
were in a poor condition, he,—most probably some years after his ascension,—decided to erect a decent mausoleum for them, near the shrine of Imam Shah. Nûr Shâh, mentioned above, who was at that time the official keeper of Imam Shah's shrine, and his brother Walan Shâh, fiercely objected to this. From words their opposition rose to armed obstruction, and in a pitched battle between the two parties the supporters of Nûr Shâh were defeated; then the mausoleum was built, as well as a residential house, which later on was known under the name of the *ḥuwaylîyi Râjî Ṭâhira.*

But inspite of this spectacular success, and the death of Nûr Shâh which happened soon after, the enmity and hatred between the two branches of the sect were going on unabated, and the majority "remained faithful to the tomb of Imâm Shâh" when Sayyid Hâshim died on the 15th Shawwâl 1045/23-iii-1636.

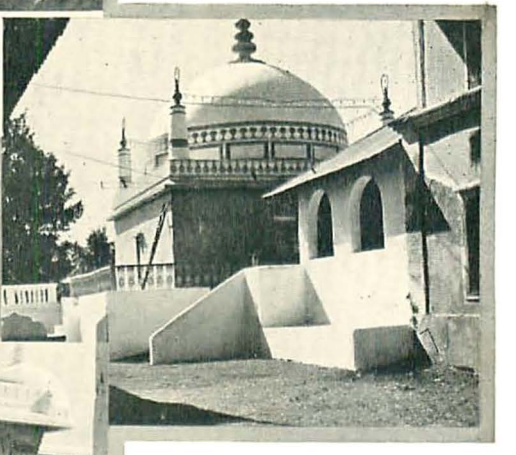
He was succeeded by his twelve years old son Muḥammad who later on became known as Muḥammad Shâhi Dûla Burhânpûrî. Apparently the term Âṭhṭhiyâ is now for the first time officially applied to the followers of this line. It means the "party of eight", because the *pîrs* who were successors of Sa'îd Khân were followed by eight different castes and sub-castes. The next party, Sâtiyâs, "the party of seven castes," apparently definitely comes into existence later on; and the last and latest of them are the Panchiyâs, "the party of five". In addition to this there is the party of those "faithful to the tomb of Imâm Shâh", though this seems to be the name for all sorts of dissidents.

The Sâtiyâs formally become known by this name when they separated from the Âṭhṭhiyâs by seceding after the death of Muḥammad Shâh, and following his son Bâlâ Muḥammad; and the Panchiyâs are those who followed Meghji Karbharî, the coachman of Râjî Ṭâhira, the wife of the son of Muḥammad Shâh, Shâhjî Mîrân Shawa'î.

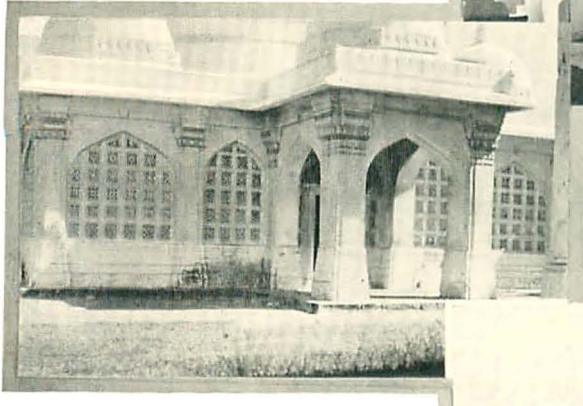
It may be noted that by the time Muḥammad Shâh has become a *pîr* of the Imam-Shahis, many important changes had taken place in Gujrat. For some time illustrious, but now quite degenerate, the dynasty of the Gujrati kings had fallen (in 980/1572) to Akbar, and the distressed conditions of the province were rapidly improving in consequence. From 1014/1605 it was ruled by



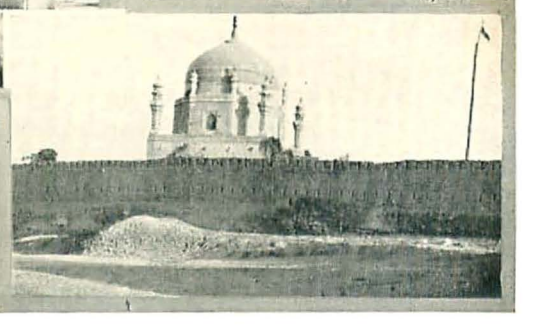
1. The Shrine of Pîr Ṣadru'd-dîn near Uchh.



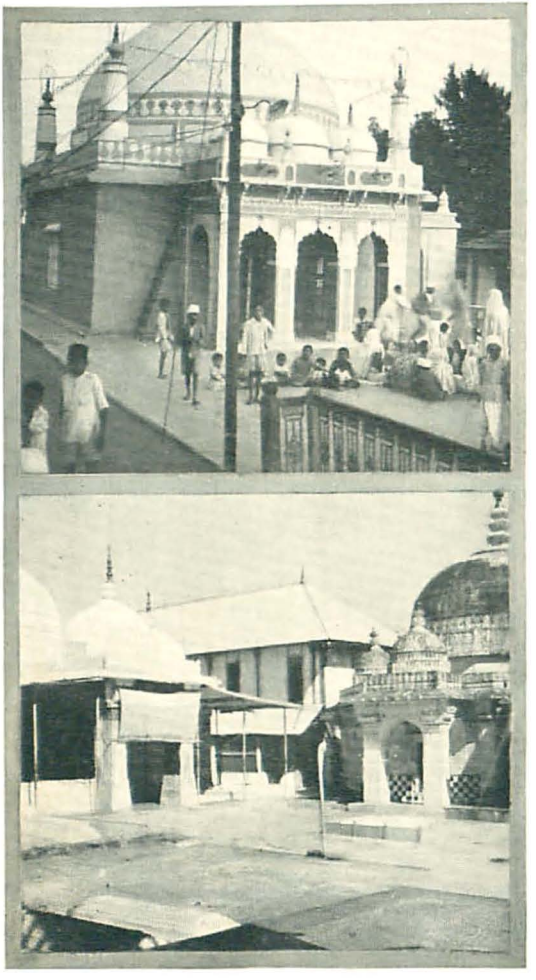
2. The back view of the tomb of Sat Gur Nûr, Nawsari.

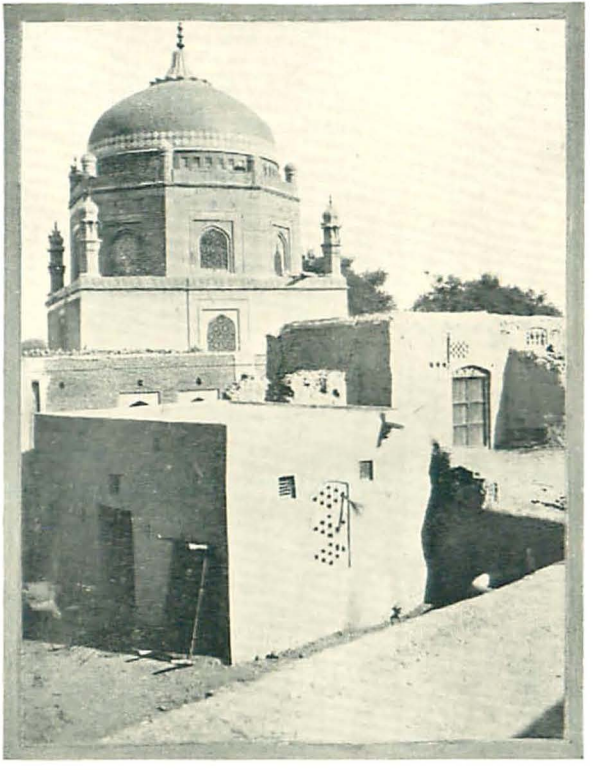


3. The back view of the tomb of Imam Shah, Pirâna.



4. The Shrine of Ḥasan Kabiru'd-dîn. Uchh.





The Shrine of Shamsi Tabrîz in Multan.

Left :—1. Front view of the tomb of Sat Gur Nûr in Nawsari.

2. Front view of the tomb of Imâm Shâh in Pirâna.

governors appointed by Jahangir. It seems, however, that in spite of the economic improvements, the position of the sect was not flourishing, and their internal rivalries were as rampant as ever.

An interesting, though rather confused note on the saint, Muḥammad Shâhi Dûla Burhânpûrî, is given in a modern work, in Urdu, the "*Ta'rîkhi Burhânpûr*", by Maulvie Muḥammad Khalîlu'r-Raḥmân Burhânpûrî, composed in 1316/1898, and lithographed some fifteen years ago in Burhanpur. The author has compiled his note apparently from oral tradition preserved in Bahâdurpûr, where the grave of Muḥammad Shâh is situated, adding information which he found in some books. His story is therefore quite independent from the Gujrat tradition, presented by the author of the *Manâzil*, and is therefore worth quoting.

It is not clear why Muḥammad Shâh really left Pîrâna, and went to Burhânpûr in Khandesh. The author of the *Manâzil* does not mention any special outbursts of rivalry or enmity between the parties. Judging from the fact that he left his elder son and successor, Shâhjî Mîrân, in Pîrâna, his party was probably quite strong. It may be noted that in the beginning of the XVIIth century Burhânpûr was a kind of a capital of Western India. It was a very large and flourishing city, excellently fortified, and its population, including the suburbs and the nearest villages must have been very considerable, judging from the extensive ruins that one sees at present. It was a favourite residence of the members of the royal family, in view of its comparative proximity to Agra.[1]

Muḥammad Shâh, on his arrival, for some reasons first settled in a large suburban village, some four or five miles from the city, Bahâdurpûr, where he was buried later on, and where his grave is still the centre of pilgrimage of the Satpanthis of Khandesh. Converting local Hindus, of course in thousands, he later on moved to Burhânpûr itself. Here, on the bank of the river Tapi (as it is called locally, though on the maps and everywhere it is called

[1] As is well known, Mumtâz Maḥall, the wife of Shâhjahân, for whom the famous Tâj Maḥall was built in Agra, died in Burhanpur. The garden where her original grave was situated is still shown on the other bank of the Tapi, opposite the fort.

Tapti), on which the city stands, just under the ancient fort, the ruins of which still exist, he appeared amongst the numerous Hindu temples, of which there are still many, and worked some special miracles which brought him many more converts. He was later on received by the governor of the province, Raḥîm Khân Âsîrî, became one of his intimate friends, and settled in the fort, where he lived with great pomp. He died on the 7th Rajab 1067/21-iv-1657, and was buried in Bahâdurpûr, mentioned above.

It may also be useful to give here the substance of the note given in the *Ta'rîkhi Burhânpûr* (pp. 195-201), based on different sources of information:

Sayyid Muḥammad Shâhi Dûla was a descendant of *pîr* Na'îru-'d-dîn Muḥammad, who in the sixteenth generation descended from Imâm 'Alî Riḍâ, the son of Imâm Mûsâ Kâẓim, *i.e.* the eighth Imam of the Ithna-'asharis. His ancestors came from Medina and settled in Lahore, where they converted a great number of Hindus... Their position was not inferior to that of kings... The tomb of Na'îru'd-dîn is in Lahore. His son and successor, Shihâbu'd-dîn Muḥammad, settled in a village near the town, and was locally known as Sulṭân Shâh Walî. His son and successor, Shamsu'd-dîn Muḥammad, went to Multan, where he is buried. His son and successor, Muḥammad Ṣadru'd-dîn, was a great miracle worker. He went to Nawsari, near Surat, in Gujrat... (the author obviously confounds him with Sat Gur Nûr, about whom see further on). His son, Sayyid Kabîr(u'd-dîn) Ḥasan *kufr-shikan* (destroyer of impiety), belonged to the Suhrawardî affiliation of the Sufis. He travelled widely in the world, came to Uchh, and settled there. 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq Dihlawî, in his hagiological work *Akhbâru'l-akhyâr*[1] narrates the same thing. According to him he reached the very old age of 180 years. He worked many miracles, and converted a great number of Hindus to Islam... This work was continued by some of his descendants. It is said that some of his descendants were misled by the temptation of their lower self, and fell into heresy, and this circumstance became the cause of the ruin of their reputation. He, Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn, died in 896/1491, and his grave is in Uchh.

[1] Cf. above, note 1 on p. 33.

The author of the *Ta'rîkhi Burhânpûr* adds in explanation of these statements of 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq a remark to the effect that this sad lapse really happened amongst the descendants of Kabîru'd-dîn in Gujrat, because they preached the Shi'ite religion. But in Burhânpûr itself, thanks to God, Muḥammad Shâhi Dûla, and his sons and grandsons are all good Sunnis, of the Hanafi school (though, in reality, with Shi'ite leanings).

He resumes the story of Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn, who had 18 sons, and appointed the youngest of them, Shâh Imâmu'd-dîn, as his chief *khalîfa*. He went to preach Islam in Gujrat and converted a large number of Hindus. He was born in 740/1339-1340, and died in 851/1447 (as we have seen above, according to this work, Ḥasan died in 896/1491). He appointed as his successor his son Nûr 'Alî Muḥammad Shâh (*i.e.* Nar Muḥammad), who was also a miracle worker, and converted a great number of Hindus, amongst whom was Nâyâ Kâkâ, who received the name of Naṣîru'd-dîn. He became a great saint. His son and successor was Sa'îdu'd-dîn Nûri Jahân, known as Sayyid Khân. He was a great saint and ascetic, who also converted a great number of Hindus. He composed a treatise in Gujrati, which is called the "Treasure of the mysteries of religious knowledge" (*Khizâna'i asrâri ma'rifat*, perhaps an allusion to the *Satveni*). He died in 900/1495, and was buried in the same mausoleum as Imâm Shâh. He was succeeded by his son Ṣâliḥu'd-dîn, who was an incomparable expert in *tafsîr*, *ḥadîth*, and *fiqh*, and a very successful missionary. His grave, in Ahmadabad itself, is much visited by his followers.

He was succeeded by his son, Sayyid Muḥammad Hâshim Shâh, who also was a great saint. His son and successor was the saint of Burhânpûr, Muḥammad Shâhi Dûla, who succeeded his father at the age of sixteen. He was always busy with worship of God, praying and fasting, worked many miracles, and slept very little; every day he used to put on a new dress, and distributed the old one to the poor. For this reason he was surnamed *Dûla* (bridegroom).[1] He did much missionary work in Khandesh,

[1] It was explained to me that, according to tradition, he wore not ordinary good clothes, but only those used on festive occasions, such as wedding, etc.

converting "thousands of lakhs" of Hindus... He came to the village Bahâdurpûr near Burhânpûr, spreading his teaching, as far as Nâgpûr and elsewhere. He died on the 26th Rajab 1160 (obviously a mistake for 1060), *i.e.*, the 25th July 1650... His son and successor was Bâqir Shâh, who greatly benefited by his saintliness the peoples of Gujrat, Khandesh, and Berar. His second son, Ghulâm Muḥammad, was in charge of the community in Nâgpûr and other places. The grave of his brother, Sayyidâ Miyã, is near the city of Burhânpûr, outside of the Râjpûra gate[1]... At present (*i.e.* in 1316/1898?) his descendant in charge of his tomb is Sayyid Shihâbu'd-dîn, son of Imâmu'd-dîn. The information mentioned here was communicated by him (the author adds several names of his sons and close relatives whom he knew).

The end of the note furnishes a key to the strange story of Muḥammad Shâhi Dûla being a Sunnite. Most probably the author being a personal friend of the descendant of the saint and his family, felt himself bound to include a note on his friend's illustrious ancestor. But, as it was rather awkward to include the name of an Ismaili saint in a book devoted to notes concerning the most orthodox saints of the ancient city, he made him a Sunnite also. *Taqiyya* is often practiced by sectarians; but the present *sajjâda-nishîn* and his family really are Sunnites, there is no doubt about this.

Muḥammad Shâhi Dûla, was succeeded (in Pîrâna) by his eldest son Abû Muḥammad Shâhjî Mîrân, who was born in Pîrâna, and remained there when his father left for Burhânpûr. The author of the *Manâzil* mentions that he miraculously received information about his father's death, and arrived in time to Bahâdurpûr to bury him. In his note on Shâhjî Mîrân the author obviously copies what is said about him in the *Mir'âti Aḥmadî*, where he is referred to in the narrative of events during the governorship of Shujâ'at Khân, just before 1100/1688-9. Unfortunately, the chronology is here hopelessly confused.

From what is said here it is possible to see that Shâhjî Mîrân was a weak sickly man, entirely dominated by his energetic wife,

[1] The author apparently heard nothing about his successor in the centre, Pîrâna, Shâhjî Mîrân.

Râjî Ṭâhira. He hated crowds, and the necessity of appearing before them and accepting their expressions of worship. But, surely because his followers were always insistently taught never to come to see their *pîr* with empty hands, he had to submit to the dictates of custom. And, as it was too much for him, he sat behind a curtain, stretching out one of his feet to be kissed by his followers, coming for the *ziyârat*. The author of the *Manâzil* states that he was born in 1025/1616, and was thus over 35 when he succeeded his father. But such dates are usually quite unreliable, especially in this portion of his work.

It is doubtful whether under the circumstances he could do much for making his sect popular; but, strangely enough, he appears to be more popular than any of his immediate predecessors. Thus it is necessary to assume that the activities of his energetic wife amply compensated for his own lack of energy. As shown above, she even started a separate branch of the sect which was composed of the followers of her Hindu coachman.

Shâhjî Mîrân came to a tragic end about the beginning of the next century. The policy of intolerance introduced by Aurangzib, who by that time had become the ruling sultan, introduced many changes everywhere. Remote Gujrat, too, was not left alone, and the local governor received orders to summon the aged Sayyid to Dehli. The story of this event is differently narrated by the authors of the *Manâzil*, and the *Mir'âti Aḥmadî* (whose account was certainly familiar to the former). According to the *Mir'âti Aḥmadî*, certain officials with an armed escort were sent to Pîrâna to bring the Sayyid. The sickly old man refused to go. Then, apparently being dragged by force, he poisoned himself on the way to the city, and died not far from his native Pîrâna, where he was brought back to be buried there. It is quite possible that he died not from poisoning, but from heart failure owing to shock, and this was regarded as the effect of self-poisoning. According to another version, which is accepted by the author of the *Manâzil*, who tactfully mentions nothing about the refusal to go, he was brought to the city of Ahmadabad, and poisoned himself in the house of one of his friends with whom he stayed for the night, to appear next morning before the governor.

The rumours of the tragic death of the old Sayyid spread at once, and produced an immense commotion amongst his followers. Many thousands of the most peaceful peasants, especially those belonging to the caste of Matiya Kanbis, picking whatever arms they could get, began to flock together and move towards Ahmadabad. Arriving opposite the fort of Broach, on the Narbada river, they seized the ferry boats which they found there, crossed the river, slaughtered the weak garrison, and occupied the fort. They then proclaimed the little son of Shâhjî Mîrân, Sayyid Muḥammad Shâh, as the king of Broach, and for a long time successfully resisted the forces sent against them. Quite considerable armed force was necessary to suppress the insurrection, and to disperse this people. Muḥammad Shâh was seized and sent to Dehli.

The author of the *Mir'âti Aḥmadî* frankly admits that he is not certain about the date of these events, and only knows that this happened during the governorship of Shujâ'at-Khân (*cf.* p. 324 of the first vol., in the Gaekwad series edition). But the author of the *Manâzil* gives the date of the death of Shâhjî Mîrân as the 10th Shawwâl 1113/10-iii-1702. Later on, however, he gives the date of the death of the son of Shâhjî Mîrân as 1110/1698, and this clearly shows that his dates are here hopelessly confused. *The Bombay Gazetteer* (vol. IX, part II, Bombay, 1899), p. 66, referring to these events, gives the date as 1691, *i.e.* 1103 A.H. Only the *Mir'âti Aḥmadî* is quoted as an authority, but, as we have seen, it really gives no date for the events. It is quite possible, however, that the date 1113, given by the *Manâzil*, is a mistake for 1103/1691-2.

According to the *Mir'âti Aḥmadî* the son and successor of Shâhjî Mîrân was twelve years of age. The *Manâzil* gives six or seven years. The former mentions nothing about his further career, but the *Manâzil* narrates that he was presented to Aurangzib who sent him to Dawlatabad in the Deccan, where he was educated " with Prince Bahadur Shah." This is rather misleading, since it would appear as if the Prince was also a young boy at that time. In reality he was quite an old man, the governor of the province. Obviously Sayyid Muḥammad Shâh was simply educated at his court, in honourable captivity. The *Manâzil* even mentions the name of his teacher in religious subjects, as Qâḍî 'Abdu'l-lâh.

Sayyid Muḥammad Shâh spent twelve years in captivity. All this, of course, may only be as reliable, as the majority of the statements of the author.

Shîvdâs, a devoted follower of Shâhjî Mîrân, then finds his way to the young *pîr*, comes to Dawlatabad, and serves him. He enters into friendships with different courtiers, and, when Bahadur Shah ascends the throne in 1119/1707, he succeeds in obtaining the release of the Sayyid, and permission for him to return to Pîrâna. As Bahadur Shah ruled only for five years, 1119-1124/1707-1712, the event is easy to date.

The young Sayyid Muḥammad Shâh returns to Pîrâna only to discover that there is not much enthusiasm about his return. It is not clear whether the powerful Râjî Ṭâhira was his mother. Nevertheless she at once starts arranging for his marriage. The place, however, was entirely in the hands of the *kâkâs*; the Sâtiyâs and the Panchiyâs were in the ascendance, and the Âṭhṭhiyâ people were not hurrying up with their support. Accustomed to live in the luxury of palaces, he even found no house ready for him, and the general rustic conditions differed widely from what he had been accustomed to.

According to the *Manâzil*, his original intentions were to build a house, to marry, and to stay in Pîrâna. For all this money was required, and he asked the *kâkâs* to supply it. But the *kâkâs* definitely refused. It is difficult to understand the proceedings, unless we admit that possibly either Muḥammad Shâh was not recognized as a *pîr* by the majority, or that on account of the insurrection, and general policy of persecutions, the sect was financially in very shallow water. The young *pîr* threatened to curse and to abandon his people, but the *kâkâs* were adamant. Then Muḥammad Shâh leaves for Burhânpûr, where he has an interview with Bahadur Shah on his visit there. Something like four months later two messengers arrived from Pîrâna with an invitation to him to return there. They expressed their complete submission to him as a *pîr*, whom they were prepared to regard as an almost Divine being, in accordance with their beliefs. But, with regard to money they were not prepared to be more lavish than to the extent of offering him a generous contribution of rupees five only, *per mensem*. Five rupees were really produced

from their pockets, and offered. In his furious indignation the young Sayyid threw them back their money, cursed the messenger and the whole community, and never returned to his native Pîrâna.

He was wandering in different towns of the Deccan, and ultimately lived for some time in Aḥmadnagar, where he died while still quite young. The date 1110/1698 most probably should be read something like 1130/1718.

Shîvdâs, mentioned above, hurried to Pîrâna to carry the sad news, and to inform the followers that the Sayyid has married not long before his death, and that a son was born to him from this marriage, Muḥammad Fâḍil, who was only one year of age, and was the legitimate successor of the deceased. The body of Sayyid Muḥammad Shâh was brought for burial in Pîrâna, but his son remained for twelve years in Aḥmadnagar, where he was brought up under the supervision of Shîvdâs. Later on he was taken to Lâchhpûr, where Shîvdâs carried on propaganda in his name, and lived on tithes collected from new converts.

Again, something had happened in Pîrâna, and the result of such events was the fact that a huge deputation, of some two hundred people, was sent to invite the young *pîr* to come back. The story is very doubtful, and it is quite probable that the author invented it, or at least embellished and grossly exaggerated, as this point is of great importance for what he aims at in his book. It is possible that a party was formed who supported the young *pîr*, or, in other words, Shîvdâs himself. Anyhow, the Sâtiyâs and the Panchiyâs, as mentioned in the *Khoja Vratant*, believe that Fâḍil Shâh was in reality the son of a certain 'Aqîl, who went to Dehli, and succeeded in obtaining a certificate from the Moghul government to the effect that Muḥammad Fâḍil was the legitimate successor of Muḥammad Shâh.

According to the *Manâzil*, Sayyid Muḥammad Fâḍil Shâh was brought to Pîrâna, where he was met with great pomp, and apparently accepted by his alleged grand mother, the aged Râjî Ṭâhira. The enmity and jealousy between the local *kâkâs* and Shîvdâs burst out with great fury ; intrigues and accusations against the newcomers were started, and wild propaganda was carried on against the new *pîr*, who was proclaimed an impostor. Meanwhile

Râjî Ṭâhira was arranging for his marriage to the daughter of a certain Sayyid Dosâ b. Âchhâ ; in the poisonous atmosphere of hatred, enmity, and intrigues, she died amidst these preparations, and the young man's chances appeared lost. He left Pîrâna, and tried to settle in Nawsari, at the shrine of Sat Gur Nûr, but was unsuccessful in this, and returned to Ahmedabad, where a son was born to him, on the 19th Shawwâl 1140/29-v-1728, and was named Afḍal. The author plainly states that the *kâkâs* conspired to poison the young *pîr*, believing that it was impossible to bring about the unity of the sect so long as he was alive.

On the 11th Rab. I 1144/13-ix-1731 another son was born to him, Sayyid Sharîf. The *pîr* by that time gave up all hopes of settling in Pîrâna, and went to Champanîr, where he had a great success in his missionary activities. The governor of the place received him with honour, and even gave him a gift of land. He died there on the 22nd Sha'bân 1159/9-ix-1746, and was succeeded by his younger son, Sayyid Sharîf.

The author of the *Manâzil* does not spare any sign of greatness and miraculous powers to exalt the position of the new *pîr* ; but he really seems to have been an able man. He succeeded where his father failed, namely in strengthening his position, and making possible his return to Pîrâna. This took him about twenty-five years of work, and in or about 1185/1771 he came back to Ahmedabad. The enmity and hostility of the rival parties, though considerably abated, had, however, by no means died out, but now took the form of incessant litigation, which has since never ceased, and is still going on.

Gujrat was passing through hard times owing to the disintegration of the rapidly decaying Moghul empire. Local authorities were not only corrupt, but were also practically powerless. Under the conditions such as these, Sayyid Sharîf, after his return to Pîrâna, soon discovered that his life was not quite safe in this home of intrigue and envy. He tried to settle in Cambay, which is about twenty miles distant from the place, but even his temporary absence brought about some ugly developments. The *kâkâs*, by bribes, as the author says, arranged with the local authorities to seize the ancient historical house of the *pîrs*, the *ḥuwaylîyi Râjî Ṭâhira*,

built by the grandson of Sa'îd Khân; they pulled it down, selling all that could be sold, and using the material for repairs of their own houses. When news of this act of vandalism, or rather sacrilege, reached the Sayyid, he rushed back, only to find that it was too late. Curses and excommunication followed, and the atmosphere of the holy place remained as tense as ever.

Probably the greatest success of the new *pîr* was achieved by his diplomatical talents, by uniting the Sayyid family against the *kâkâs*. The *mutawallî*, or the chief guardian of the shrine of Imâm Shâh, a direct descendant of the saint, by senior line, of undisputable genealogy, Sayyid Karâmu'l-lâh b. Ja'far, who had no male issue, decided to give his daughter in marriage to the *pîr*. All this was offered under the appropriate "sauce" of miracles, Divinely inspired dreams, etc.; as it was clear to every body, it was tantamount to the recognition of the genuineness of Sayyid Sharîf's claims for pîrship, and of his descent from Imâm Shâh. Moreover, when on the 2nd Rajab 1189/29-viii-1775 a son was born to him from this union, the aged Sayyid Karâmu'l-lâh appointed his infant grandson as his successor in the hereditary office of the guardian of the shrine. To make this quite safe, he even registered his will with the authorities.

This son of Sayyid Sharîf, Badru'd-dîn surnamed Baṛâ Miyâ, was also a very clever man; he proved this when he succeeded his father on the latter's death in the end of Rajab 1209/about the 20th February 1795.

He continued the policy of his father by gradually reducing the importance of the *kâkâs*, and by preserving good relations with the local authorities. He had done much prozelytising work, and gradually brought under his control the different shrines of the sect outside Pîrâna, especially that of Sat Gur Nûr in Nawsari (in 1237/1821-2).

Here the narrative of the *Manâzilu'l-aqṭâb* ends. The author apparently personally participated in the *pîr's* excursion to Nawsari.

According to the tradition, Badru'd-dîn died the 7th Jum. II 1243/26-xii-1827, and was succeeded by his son, Bâqir 'Alî. The latter is considered as the last *pîr* by the Âṭhṭhiyâs. He died most probably in 1251/1835, without leaving any successor, and thus the

ancient line came to an end. It would be interesting to record a correct story of these events.

The necropolis of Pîrâna undoubtedly is an extremely interesting relic of Mediaeval India ; it would really form the most interesting subject of a detailed and critical monograph, giving its historical topography, history, etc. At present it is rapidly declining not only due to the unceasing quarrels and litigation between the rival parties of Sayyids and the *kâkâs*, but also, in a greater degree, owing to the "modern spirit" in India. This brings rapidly growing religious indifference, political agitation, and aggressive propaganda of various Hindu organisations, especially the Arya Samaj, which draw a great number of the followers of Imâm Shâh back to Hinduism, while, on the other side, the Sayyids have neither energy, nor money, nor education to carry on missionary work. Some of them are very learned in their *gnans*, but know nothing besides this.

Before leaving the subject of the history of the sect, it is necessary to add a note on the worship of Sat Gur Nûr, an ancient saint, whose shrine is in Nawsari, not far from Surat, and is visited not only by the followers of the Imâm-Shâhî sect, but also by many Parsees.

Students owe a debt of gratitude to the learned guardian of the shrine, Sayyid Ṣadru'd-dîn, who devoted a very detailed monograph to the *Pîr*. His *Tawârîkhi Pîr*, in Gujrati, has already appeared in two parts (1914 and 1935). In it he gives a great number of interesting legends, miracle stories, an account of the history of the sect, some information about the doctrine of the Pîrs, etc. Unfortunately, notwithstanding all this, the student has to start afresh because his book is written from the view point of a pious believer, who never doubts as to the truth of the miracles of the *Pîr*, however strange they may seem to the modern reader.

It must be frankly admitted that we know absolutely nothing about the date at which the *Pîr* settled or died in Nawsari, who he was, and what religion he really preached. There are some well-known *gnans* ascribed to him, but they scarcely contain enough material to permit of an exhaustive answer. According to common belief, faithfully upheld in the *Tawârîkhi Pîr*, the saint was in reality the seventh Imam of the Ismailis, Muḥammad b. Ismâ'îl.

All that is authentically known about the latter is that he was a very learned man, who, fearing the plots of the Abbasid caliphs, migrated to Persia, where he died, most probably, about the end of the second, or beginning of the third century A.H., *i.e.*, in the first quarter of the IXth c. A.D. The followers of Sat Gur Nûr at present give 487/1094 as the date of his death in Nawsari. Thus he had to live for more than 350 years. The date 487/1094 is also engraved on his tomb (in quite modern writing). In fact, this is the date of the death of the Fatimide caliph of Egypt, al-Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh. It is quite possible that for some reason this date became familiar to the local followers of the saint, and was accidentally associated with his death.

There is no doubt that Ismaili missionaries were at work in this part of India under the early Fatimids. Quite possibly there were also Qarmatian missionaries here before them. But while several graves of such ancient missionaries are still known in Cambay, and still revered by the Bohoras, or the Ismailis preserving the Fatimid tradition, they know nothing about Pîr Sat Gur Nûr. It is quite possible therefore that the grave really may contain the remains of a very ancient Ismaili missionary; but it is also possible that he came about the time of Imâm Shâh. Very unfortunately, his mausoleum has been rebuilt and restored so many times that practically no external indications of antiquity of the place are left at present. A visitor can scarcely believe in the extraordinary age claimed for it by its present guardians.

3. *A Summary of the Doctrine of the Sect.*

A detailed and exhaustive study of the doctrine of the sect will only be possible when all the works of the early *pîrs*, on which it is based, had been critically studied. In a short note such as the present it is only possible to mention a few of the principal tenets which may be regarded as the basic ideas on which the whole structure rests.

As mentioned above, the spirit of caste in the life of the converts to the new religion proved much stronger than any other principle. The Hindus converted to the Pîrâna faith remained Hindus, and members of their corresponding castes. This was probably partly due to the general social system of Indian life in the Middle Ages,

or was deliberately left undisturbed by the missionaries. But, anyhow, there was probably little change in the case of the converts' life and psychology after their conversion. Their customs, ideas, ideals, and practically everything except in purely religious sphere, had to be that of the people who surrounded them. The tenets of Islamic origin were chiefly concerned with the inner and intimate life, *i.e.*, with the "soul."

The fundamental principles of Islam, as is well-known, are usually summed up as belief in One God, who has no companions or rivals, and in the mission of His Apostle and Prophet, Muḥammad, who has taught the religion revealed to him by the Deity. If only these principles are concerned, the Imam-Shahis can justly claim to be faithful Muslims because they accept both these beliefs. But further on the matters become much more complex. The form of Islam which was preached by the early *pîrs* was Ismailism, with its rationalistic and Shi'ite tendency. At the same time the *pîrs* also introduced the Sufic spirit which has been absorbed by mediæval Persian Ismailism. Thus, laying stress on the moral and spiritual moments in religious life, the doctrine of the *pîrs* did not attach special importance to the forms of outward piety. This was an asset, and at the same time a danger. Non-insistence on reciting the daily prayers, etc., made conversion of Hindus much easier than it would otherwise have been. But the absence of the outward signs of connection with Islam, especially having regard to the conditions in which the great majority of the converts lived, offered a great possibility to Hinduism to hold them within its fold even after they officially have renounced it. For this reason those converts who remained faithful to the original Ismaili doctrine, the Khojas, as they are called in India after the community to which the majority of them belong, could evolutionize towards purer forms of Islam, gradually giving up their original Hindu psychology and practices. But those who sided with the Imam-Shahi *pîrs* after the split were bound to yield to the continuous pressure of Hinduism, and to shift further and further away from Islam.

The Imam-Shahis believe in One God, the Creator of the world. His idea is the same as in the Coran. But at the same time they admit the theory of incarnation, or avatar. This does not mean

that God, in His greatness, becomes a man, or whatever may be. The idea is approximately the same as in Christian speculations about Jesus Christ. The Divine Light, which is the source of life, order and consciousness of all beings, becomes, so-to-say, focused upon a certain mortal man, who, remaining an ordinary man as far as his body is concerned, is at the same time the bearer of the Divine substance, which is one and the same as that of God Himself; and, as this substance, obviously, is indivisible, and cannot be partly in one place, and partly in another, there must be a complete equation between him and God. All this can only be comprehended by intuition, or creative effort of intellect; the laws of logic are powerless over this.

Such Divine Man, or man participating in the Substance of God, is the Imam, the direct descendant, and rightfully authorised successor of ʿAlî ibn Abî Ṭâlib, the son-in-law and cousin of the Prophet. As is well-known, the idea of the Imam differs in various Shiʿite sects, and even in different branches of the Ismailis. According to the ideas of the Persian Ismailism from which the Imam-Shahis have taken it, the Imam is the Divinely inspired leader of mankind; there must always be an Imam in the world, which would instantly perish, if the Imam disappears even for a moment.

According to the most fundamental historiosophic theories of Ismailism, the world after its creation has a history which is divided into millennial cycles or periods (*dawr*). At the beginning of each *dawr* God sends a great Prophet, a founder of a new religion, or rather civilisation which develops under the guidance of the Imams, who succeed one after the other. By the end of the *dawr*, when the old religion, most probably, ceases to meet the requirements of the time, God sends another Prophet who cancels the religion of his predecessor, and preaches his own. According to these ideas there have already been six *dawrs*: of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and of Muḥammad. There were Imams during the first five *dawrs*, but their names for the most part are forgotten. In the *dawr* of Muḥammad the first Imam was ʿAlî, and he was succeeded by his direct descendants and successors.

This original scheme of the world's history closely resembles the Hindu cosmogonical myths, with their *yugs*, and *avatars*. As it was practised on many occasions in India by many Muham-

madan theologians who planned a *rapprochement* with Hinduism, these forgotten pre-historical saints and Imams were quite easily identified with different figures in the Hindu pantheon. Thus Vishnu, or Parmeshvar, is the name of God the Creator, the same as Allah in Muhammadanism. Adam becomes Mahadev, or Shiv, etc.

As is well-known, Hindu cosmogony consists of different myths, which often do not tally one with the other, as they are narrated in the canonical eighteen Puranas. It appears that at first five eternal Prakartis were created, *i.e.*, five elements: earth, water, air, fire, and *akas*, *i.e.*, space or sound carrying ether. Other versions give different names for the elements. The great abstract formative and regulating force, the *'Aql* of the neo-Plantonic philosophy accepted by Ismailism, is here identified with Brahma, to whom Parmeshvar = Vishnu = 'Alî entrusts the Ved, *ma'rifat*. There are four Veds,—Ruguved, Yazurved, Shamved and Atharvved (as their names are pronounced in Gujrati). The latter includes also the Coran, and also Jambul (Zabûr, or Psalms), and Tawrat. But about the latter two exotical books the Pîrâna-wâllâs know next to nothing. The Veds are not preserved in their entirety, only fragments exist.

The Coran is thus of Divine origin. The sect accepts the usual Shi'ite belief that originally it was composed of forty *pâras*, but the ordinary copies contain only thirty of these, and the other ten are known only to the Imams.

It would require too much space to give here all the cosmogonical myths of Hinduism which the sect accepts. The reader may find them in the books dealing with Hindu cosmology. The history of the world is divided into four *yugs*, and each of these into several periods during which the Creator manifested himself in a certain form. The first *yug*, Satya, or Kartayug, is divided into four, the second into three, the third into two avatars, and the last, the Kaliyug, contains only one avatar, that of 'Alî. Thus there are ten avatars in all. According to ancient prophecies it was believed that the last, tenth avatar will come in the kingdom of the Mlechh, *i.e.*, foreigners. By the time the early *pîrs* came to India the term *mlechh* had already acquired special meaning,—Muslim. Thus they could easily identify the Imam of the Muslims with the tenth avatar.

The fundamental idea of an avatar is the fight of the Deity against the Arch-enemy who either steals the Ved, or does some other mischief. The unsophisticated people may accept these stories literally, the more sophisticated may seek in them symbolical expression of different moral or philosophical ideas. The Khojas, under the guidance of the Imams, regard the earlier nine as symbolical; but the true Imam-Shahis take them literally.

The first avatar is called Machh, fish, because the Deity accepted this form, and went into the sea in search of the Ved stolen by the Enemy. The next was Kachh, or Korab, tortoise, the shape of which Vishnu took to fight the Enemy in the form of a scorpion; the third is Vara, the boar, fighting the peacock. The fourth—Narsinh, man-lion; the fifth,—Vayaman, or dwarf, who in three and half steps covered the whole world; the sixth is Parsram the Brahman; the seventh—Ram, the hero of the Ramayan; the eighth is Krishna, and the ninth is Buddh, a sort of a strange being.

The Arch-enemy will make his appearance, in the form of Kalinga, *i. e.* the Dajjâl, at the end of the world, and the "stainless" (Niklanki, *ma'ṣûm*) Imam will defeat him. The Imam-Shahis believe that this last and final Imam will be Imam Mahdî, the twelfth Imam of the Ithna-'asharis, who still remains alive in a cave North of Baghdad. It is quite obvious that in their ignorance they have misunderstood the term *Mahdî*, and thus apply it to the Imam of a different line.

It appears that they have given up the fundamental Ismaili principle about the uninterrupted chain of the Imams, and believe into *ghayba*, *i.e.*, the possibility of the world remaining without the Imam. Moreover, they accept the possibility of the transfer of Imamate from an Imam to a person who is not his own son; this is absolutely against the Ismaili principles. Their ideas about the *pîr*, or the head missionary of the sect, fall little short of those about the Imam.

It is interesting that some Imam-Shahis assure us that there are only forty Imams; other members of the sect take only thirty-six. It is remarkable that they omit some of the Imams who are accepted by the Nizaris in general. Thus they omit Ruknu'd-dîn Khûrshâh, the last Imam of Alamut, and take after him: Shamsu-'d-dîn, Qâsim Shâh, Islâm Shâh, then the son of Imâm-Shâh,—

Nar Muḥammad Shâh; then a certain Shihâbu'd-dîn, then Jalâl Shâh, then Murtaḍâ Shâh, and Muḥammad Ashraf, who died in Dehli in 1075/1664-5, in the time of Aurangzib. It is quite probable, however, that the saints after Nar Muḥammad are simply *pîrs*, representing the senior line of the guardians of Pîrâna. Another version which I noted in Pîrâna equally omits Ruknu'd-dîn, but after Islâm Shâh gives Nûr 'Alî, then Imâm Shâh, then Nar Muḥammad Shâh, and then the four last Imams of the preceding line. As usual, there is a great confusion in the names of the earlier Imams, and even their number; thus one and the same genealogy may be regarded by them as containing either 40 or 36 names.

The evolution of the *pîr*, as mentioned in the preceding section, was largely prepared by the Hinduistic theories deifying the priest who offers the sacrifice, the Brahman, etc. In reality, of course, the chief cause was the peculiar Hindu thirst for deification and worship of all sorts of gurus, mahatmas, etc., whether genuine or not, which has already been referred to above.

These are the basic ideas about God and His manifestations. Now, taking the second part of the Muslim *kalima*, or creed, about the Prophet, it is necessary to note that in the course of speculations the difference between him, the Imams, and the *Pîrs* has entirely vanished. The Prophet is called *Pîr*, or *Gur*; there are, in fact, *pîrs* of different ranks. He, his son-in-law 'Alî, his daughter Fâṭima, and both his grandsons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, the *Panj-tan*, are also regarded as Divine beings. Fâṭima is usually identified with some female deities of the Hindu Olympus.

The Divine revelation, the Coran, is accepted. As in Ismailism, it is allegorically interpreted by the Imam and the persons who are authorised by the latter. This method of *ta'wîl*, as it is called in Arabic, is here called *alankar*. Such *ta'wîl*, or *alankar*, explanations are found in the large literature of the *gnans* and other works of the ancient *pîrs*, about which much is said above. These, in reality, constitute the principal contents of the religious knowledge of their priests, who rarely possess enough knowledge to refer directly to the Coran itself. Many of them, especially the *kâkâs* or *mukhis* from amongst the Hindus usually do not know the Arabic alphabet.

The religion which is based on the *gnans*, as far as I could ascertain from others, without being in position to read the original

works of the ancient *pîrs*, much more resembles popular Sufism rather than Ismailism. The prayers contain some familiar Arabic formulas, to which are added different appeals, etc., of the type of Sufic *dhikrs*. But regular Islamic *namâz* is never performed by the Imam-Shahis (contrary to the Khojas). And on the top come recitations of the *gnans*, Special prayers are recited at *chandrât*, *i.e.*, the first night on which the new moon becomes visible. There are only very few special holidays, or days of mourning during the Muḥarram memorial days.

To this Islamic religious nucleus are added all sorts of the original Hindu taboos, customs, restrictions, prejudices, etc., etc., of which Hindu life is so full. The Imam-Shahis are strict vegetarians, and have thousands of local, caste, season, etc., observances and customs to follow. Generally, they do not fast, but only when the new moon becomes visible for the first time on Friday. There are some other special days. Nothing is so remote from the original spirit of Ismailism, with its exceptional sobermindedness, rational outlook, and contempt for all sorts of superstition.

In the moral system, the Hindu ideals of piety, quite naturally, predominate, though Sufic virtues are often emphasised (but probably never attained). Caste, and its customary regulations always dominate all; but the Sufic shifting of the stress upon the inner, spiritual life, appeals to some. The Ismaili ideals about the harmony between the soul and body, and avoidance of every form of exaggeration, unbalanced devotion, etc., are not much in demand. What Muslim theologians call *taqlîd*, or blind following to the established standards and example of leaders, is the rule. It is to some extent supplemented by the *taqiyya*, or precautionary dissembling, and outward complying with the practice of the religion of the hostile majority, as generally permitted by the Shi'ites.

It is interesting to quote the list of sins which completely deprive the sinner from all hope for salvation. They are: 1. *parninda*, or calumny; 2. *âḷ*, or false and ruinous allegations; 3. *pargaman*, or adultery, rape, etc.; 4. *âp-hatiya*, or suicide; and 5. *baḷ-hatiya*, or infanticide. This set is really remarkable. Thus infanticide and suicide are mortal sins, but ordinary murder is not. Calumny and false allegations (which seem to be one and the same thing) are great sins, but fraud, robbery, theft, etc., are not.

Great importance is attached to repentence, *tawba*, and sin removing, *lahe-utarni*, which is performed by the village *kâkâ*, or *mukhi*. The sinner comes, bringing four copper coins, an earthen jug, or cup, a tin or brass box, and some frankincense. He confesses that has committed a sin, though he, or she, has no need to explain what it was. The *kâkâ* recites some appropriate prayers, burns the incense, and the sin is gone.

An important religious duty is the payment of the *dasondh*, or tithe (*'ushr*). It is paid to the *kâkâ*, on behalf of the dead saint. The moneys so collected are to be distributed amongst the descendants of the saint. Of late, however, there was much litigation, and the point of view of the *kâkâs* is that the moneys should be spent in accordance with their own ideas.

In addition to this regular payment, the visitors to the shrine must not come empty-handed, especially on the occasion of the anniversary (*'urs*) of the death of the saint, etc. Formerly valuable presents were brought, but now 99 per cent. of offerings consist of cocoanuts, and cheap foodstuffs. The cocoanuts are usually broken at the shrine, in a special place. Most probably the hairy appearance of the cocoanut was intended to resemble the head of the devotee, symbolically offered to the saint. I do not know whether this idea is implied by the visitors. But it is very interesting that parents bring their infant sons to the shrine, and have their hair shaved before it. This custom was followed even by many Khojas, but they have now discontinued it.

Marriage, inheritance, etc., is regulated by the Hindu customs of the castes to which the devotees belong. The dead are cremated, but the bones which remain are buried. The well-to-do pay quite large sums for permission to bury the bones of their dead in the compound before the shrine of Imam Shah. It is paved with many slabs covered with inscriptions in Gujrati. As far as I could see, there are no really old ones, i.e., more than a hundred years. The *kâkâs* are supposed to be buried without being cremated.

On the *'urs* occasions special ceremonies are performed, the silver cover of the tomb is washed with milk, annointed with sandal wood paste, etc. So it is the custom at the shrine of Sat Gur Nûr in Nawsari. It is interesting that women, who are otherwise freely admitted to the mausoleum of that saint, cannot be present at this ceremony. All males rush in, so that there is

terrible heat and stench; nevertheless doors are closed and the ceremony goes on for almost the whole of the night.

The salvation which the faithful expect to attain by compliance with all the rules and laws of their religion is pictured in the rather Sufic style of *fanâ fi'l-lâh*, or *baqâ bi'l-lâh*, or, as the sectarians themselves explain in a mixture of Arabic with Gujrati, *asal-mân wasal*, i.e. what should be *al-waṣl ilâ'l-aṣl*, "return to the original source."

Souls (*arwâḥ*, *atma*) are created by the Creator. Each soul possesses an individuality, and is subject to rebirth. It is reborn in the form of either objects of inorganic life or animal life for one hundred thousand times, until it becomes born in a human form. In this it should be reborn for 84 times,—35 times in the first *yug*, 25 in the second, 16 in the third, and only eight in the fourth. Only those souls are saved which become followers of Imam Shah and his successors when incarnated in a human form. Between rebirths there are periods of waiting. *Mukti*, or *moksha*, salvation, is dissolution in the Deity. Swarg, Paradise, and Nark, Hell, though often figure in their speculations, possess rather symbolic sense.

Though all this is purely Hinduistic, such Islamic ideas as weighing of souls, the "bridge," the Last Day which will last 50,000 years, etc., are also accepted. Angels, and various eschatological figures, such as Burâq, on which the Prophet travelled in the night of Mi'râj, etc., are treated as minor deities.

All this appears very primitive, indeed, if stated in plain and dry language, and the success which the religion had during nearly half a millennium, and by which it still keeps together about two hundred thousand followers, surely could not entirely depend on this. The chief thing that is the real mover and creative element in the religious life of an Imâm-Shâhî is the strange fascination, the majestic pathos, and beauty of its sacred religious poetry, the *gnans*. Its mystical appeal equals, if not exceeds, that exercised by the Coran on Arabic speaking peoples. They are the centre around which the religious life of the sect revolves. Nothing would probably be left of their magic force and fascination if they were translated, especially into a modern European language, just as nothing is left of the majestic beauty of the Coran in a translation. But it seems a great pity that so far the *gnans* remain unknown to the students of Indian antiquity.

ADDENDA.

After this article was set up in type, and paged, I received more information about the independent Eastern branch of the Satpanthi sect, founded by Muḥammad Shâhi Dûla, who was referred to above (cf. pp. 48-52). At present the followers of the sect are for the most part agriculturists, and belong to the castes of Kunbis, Rajputs, Gujurs, and Malis, usually speaking Marathi or Hindi; they are found in the districts of Khandesh, Berar, and Nimar. It is said, — most probably quite optimistically,—that there are about twenty thousand of them. The headquarters of the sect is Bahâdurpûr, a village four miles from Burhanpur, in which, as already mentioned, Muḥammad Shâhi Dûla,—and later on many of his descendants,—are buried. The village is still the residence of the hereditary *pîr*, or *sajjâda-nishîn*. The family of the latter are at present Sunnites.

Muḥammad Shâhi Dûla, as is known, was recognized as a *pîr* by all branches of the Satpanthis, but his son, and the subsequent heads of the branch had only local importance. His son, Muḥammad Bâqir, and grandson, Zaynu'l-'âbidîn, were not so remarkable as the son of the latter, " Mahdî Ṣâḥib ", as he is usually called, or Muḥammad Madhî, who probably flourished in the beginning of the XII/XVIIIth c. He had no sons, and, on his death, was succeeded by one of his daughters, Faḍlan Begum. The latter was succeeded by her sister, Sulṭân Begum, who adopted one of her relatives, Jân Ṣâḥib, who succeeded her as a *pîr*. This Jân Ṣâḥib was the son of Shâh-jî Miyâ, son of Imâmu'd-dîn, son of Zaynu'l-'âbidîn, and therefore was the son of her cousin. He had a son, Sikandar 'Alî, who succeeded him. But he left no posterity, and was succeeded by his wife, Shâhjahân Begum. The latter adopted as her successor on her death in 1280/1863 her relative, Shihâbu'd-dîn, who was a son of Imâmu'd-dîn, a brother of Jân-Ṣâḥib. Shihâbu'd-dîn, on his death in 1324/1906, was succeeded by his son, Sayyid Ashraf 'Alî Shâh, the present *sajjâda-nishîn* who is about 80 years old. He has already appointed as his successor his son Sayyid Nûr 'Alî Muḥammad Shâh.

There is no fundamental difference in the doctrine of the branch as compared with other branches of the Satpanthis, but

occasionally there are some differences in practices. For instance, the Burhanpuris do not cremate their dead, but bury them. Eating meat is tolerated. The ceremony of removing a sin (*lahe uttarni*) is not practiced, etc. They occasionally go on a pilgrimage to Pîrâna and Nawsari, and regard this as a meritorious act. But they have no *kakas* in the centre (just as in Nawsari). They have the same *gnans* and other religious books, but though they remain in their original languages such as antiquated Sindhi, Gujrati, Panjabi and Hindi, they usually employ the Nagari alphabet, instead of the Gujrati.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SO-CALLED GRECO-BUDDHIST SCHOOL OF SCULPTURE OF GANDHĀRA.

By H. Heras.

When the first images and carvings of the Gandhāra school reached the hands of the early European scholars working in India, at once they unhesitatingly affirmed that those works of art evidently reflected Greek influence. There has always been a type of European scholar who has seen European influences everywhere. Happily, the type is more uncommon at present than it was in former days. Yet, in fairness, it must be said that the invasion of Alexander the Great through the north-western corner of India, the existence of Greek kingdoms in Afghānistān and the north-western frontier of India and the apparent similarity between some of the works of art of these regions and those of Greece gave some likelihood, if not certainty, to those early opinions.

The archæologist who has most propagated this idea has been Monsieur A. Foucher. [1]

When I was in Afghānistān, last year, I visited the northern Buddhistic monasteries of Kakrak, Bāmiyān and Aibak and specially the ruins of the famous Bactres. This city was so famous a Buddhist centre as to receive the name of "little Rājagṛiha." [2] It was at the same time the capital of the Greek kingdom of the East. I then imagined that I would enjoy the sight of numerous Greco-Buddhist images, even more beautiful than those I had seen a few days before in the Museums of Lahore and Peshāwar. I suffered a great disappointment when neither in those monasteries, nor in the ancient province of Bactria, which roughly corresponds to the modern province of Afghān Turquestān, could I find a single specimen of that school of art. It is true that according to the testimony of Huien-Tsiang the Buddhists of Bactres belonged to

[1] Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art* (Paris-London, 1917); *L'art greco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, (Paris, 1905, 1918-22); *Sculptures Greco-Bouddhiques* (Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1900); etc.

[2] Beal, *Records of the Western World*, I, 44.

the Hīnayāna school of thought, [1] but it is also recorded by the same Chinese pilgrim that though Hīnayānists, they had images of Buddha in their monasteries. [2] In any case in the monasteries of Bāmiyan and Kakrak the *bhikkhus* were certainly not Hīnayānists; the images of Buddha were numerous both in sculpture and painting and nothing is found there revealing any Greek influence.

The first specimens of the Greco-Buddhist school of art are found south of the Hindu Kush and the Kōh-i-baba, in the fertile valley that extends south-east of Chārikar. Twelve miles south of this town there lies a vast plain called Bēgram that has been identified, as the site of ancient Kapiśa. [3] There, as far as I know, one bas-relief belonging to this school was unearthed by Mons. Foucher. It represents Buddha seated between four persons. The scene may represent, according to Mons. Hackin, either the first visit of Bimbisāra to Buddha or Brahma's and Indra's invitation to preach. [4] Another carving representing the miracle of Śravasti, found at the same place, and which is now at the Museum of Kābul does not belong to the same school of art.

There is still in Kābul a third bas-relief found at Kapiśa, which has noting Greek either. It represents Maitreya Bodhisattva between two groups of three each Buddhist devotees. Three of them are Scythians and the other three Afghāns, as their dresses clearly show. (Pl. I, *a*).

Coming down to Kābul, the specimens of this school are already more frequent. Round an old ruined *stūpa* called Tappa-i-Kazanah, between the city of Kābul and the mountain Sher Darwaza and very near the Kābul river, the Curator of the Kābul Museum unearthed a number of small stucco heads which every body may recognise as belonging to the Gandhāra school. To the

1 Beal, *op. cit.* I, p. 44-45.

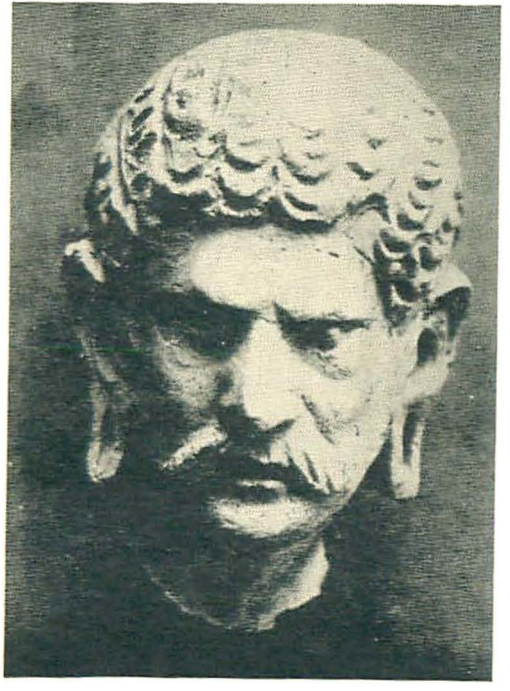
2 *Ibid.*

3 Foucher, *De Kapisi a Pushkaravati, Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, VI, p. 342.

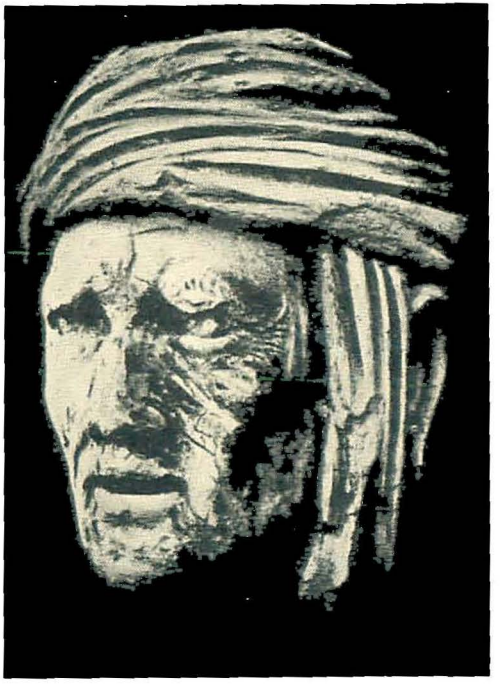
4 Hackin, *La Sculptura indienne et tibetanie au Musée Guimet*, pl. XI, (Paris, 1931).

a. Haḍḍa. Head of a Roman
Kābul Museum

b. Haḍḍa. Head of a Kuśāna ruler
Kābul Museum



a. Haḍḍa. Head of a *Śaka*
Kābul Museum



b. Haḍḍa. Head of an Afghān
Kābul Museum

same school belonged the images discovered round the *stūpa* of the Tappa-i-Marandjan along the Peshāwar Road, images which crumbled away a few minutes after they were discovered. One of these images nevertheless was luckily saved and is now housed in the Museum of Kābul. It represents Maitreya Bodhisattva seated in *dhyāna-mudra*. (Pl. II, *a*).

But where the images of the Gandhāra school are really extraordinary, not only on account of their number, but also on account of their beauty, is in the valley of Jalālābād and specially in the small village of Haḍḍa. (Pl. I, *b*). The site of the ancient Nagarahāra, the ancient capital of these districts, has not been so fruitful. The Chinese pilgrim Huien-Tsiang had visited Haḍḍa, then called Hiḍḍo, and describes some of its monasteries. [1] The French Archæological Delegation has conducted extensive excavations on this spot with the most alluring results. The album containing the photographs of the sculptures found at Haḍḍa has one hundred and twelve plates, 15 × 11 inches, and a total number of 497 photographs. [2]

After crossing the Khyber Pass the same richness in sculptures of this school is found in the plains of Peshāwar. A great number of them, many from Peshāwar itself, or from the Khyber Pass, others from Shahr-i-Bahlol or from Takht-i-Bahi or from Charsada (the ancient Puṣkalāvati), or from other places, are kept in the Peshāwar Museum. [3] Yet when examining the sculptures of the Peshāwar Museum one very easily realizes that the majority of the Peshāwar sculptures are not as beautiful nor as lifelike, as the images of Haḍḍa. There is a deterioration in the art, at least it is a sub-section of the school that never rose to the prominence of the Haḍḍa section. The same may be said of the Taxila images. (Pl. II, *b*). Further deterioration is found in the Museum of Lahore, and in the sculptures proceeding from the Swat Valley. If you go further south-east, the majority of the specimens of the

[1] Beal, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 95-97.

[2] Barthoux, *Les Fouilles de Hadda*, III, *Figures et figurines, Album photographique*, (Paris, 1930).

[3] Cf. Hargreaves, *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum*, (Calcutta, 1930).

Mathura Museum belonging to this school are but degenerated manifestations of the pure art of Haḍḍa. Hence it is clear that the centre of the so-called Greco-Buddhist School of Gandhāra was Haḍḍa, in south-eastern Afghānistān.

It is now time that we should consider the result of these observations from the geographical as well as from the historical point of view.

Geographically the school of Gandhāra is not represented at all north of the Hindu Kush, in the ancient kingdom of Bactria which was the centre of the Greek domains in the East. All the specimens are found south of the Hindu Kush and in the North Western Province, the Punjab and the United Provinces, where the petty Indo-Greek kingdoms of the second and first centuries B.C. flourished.

Now let us consider the same problem from the historical point of view. In what period or in whose reigns were the statues, reliefs and stucco heads of southern Afghānistān and northern India produced? For this we must consult the reports of the early explorers of the stūpas of these regions as well as some of the latest reports of the Archæological Department. The inscription at the foot of the seated image of Buddha found at Bēgram seems to be of the Kuṣāna period, either of the reign of Vīma Kadphises or of Kaniṣka. [1] As regards the Kābul images all seem to belong to the Kuṣāna period. The coins found inside the *stūpa* of Tappa-i-Maranjan, which was discovered two years ago, were all of the late Kuṣāna period, when the Kuṣānas of Kābul were practically under the sway of the Sassānian monarchs of Iran. The stūpas that were explored in Kābul and in its neighbourhood by Messrs. Honigberger and Masson during the first half of the 19th century afforded no other coins than those of Kaniṣka and his immediate successors. [2] The *stūpas* of the valley of Jalālābād, very early explored by the same scholars, gave still a more interesting result. Those of the villages existing on the site of the old city of Nagarahāra and its surroundings, east

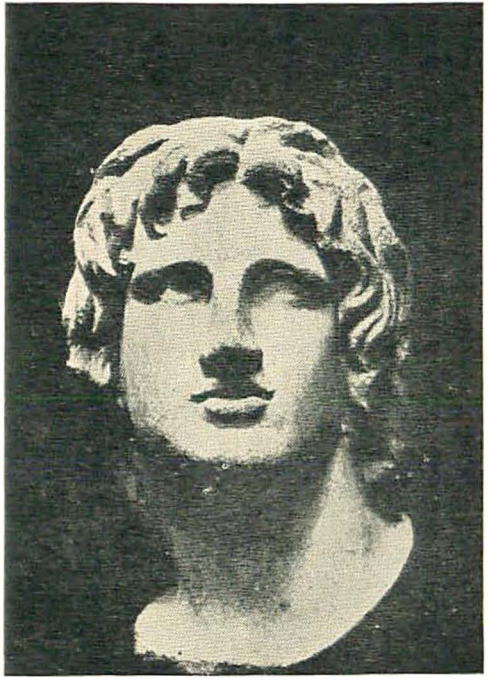
[1] Konow, *Kharoṣhṭhi Inscription on a Begram Bas-relief*, *E. I.*, XXII, pp. 13-14.

[2] Wilson, *Arriana Antiqua*, pp. 114-117.

a. Shāhjī-kī-Dherī. Kaniṣka's casket with Buddha's Relics

Peshāwar Museum

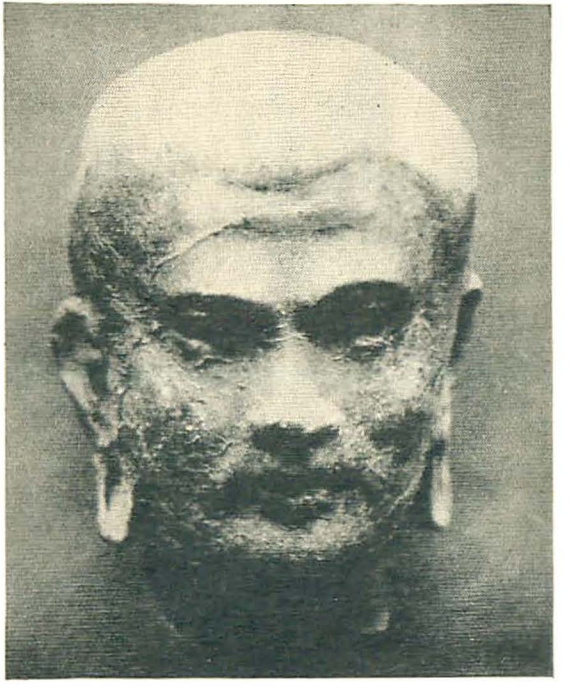
Copyright. Archæological Survey of India



b. Head of Alexander the Great (After Lysippus)

British Museum

a. The Charioteer
Delphi Museum



b. Haḍḍa. Head of a *bhikkhu* in meditation
Kābul Museum

and south-east of the present Jalālābād, gave only coins of some of the late Indo-Greek rulers and of their contemporaries and successors, the hellenized Parthians; [1] while the *stūpas* of Haḍḍa afforded coins of Kaniṡka, Huviṡka and some of the Roman Emperors of a previous period. [2] Of the same date are the monuments of Peshāwar and its surroundings. Many of the specimens of the Peshāwar Museum come from the monastery of Shāhjī-kī-Dheri [3], that is the monastery endowed by Kaniṡka, next to which, according to Huien-Tsiang, he erected a *stūpa* to enshrine some pieces of the begging bowl of Buddha. [4]

In the great Manikyala *stūpa* in Northern Panjab which was explored by General Ventura, coins of Kaniṡka and Huviṡka were found together with a gold coin of Yaṡovarman of Kanauj and some contemporary Sassānio-Arabian coins of the 8th century A.D. The king of Kanauj seems to have rebuilt the original *stūpa* of King Huviṡka which after seven centuries was undoubtedly in a ruinous state. [5] *Stūpa* No. 2 of Manikyala, explored by Gen. Court, gave coins of Kajula Kadphises, Vīma Kadphises and Kaniṡka together with some Roman *denarii* of the beginning of the first century A.D. [6] Similarly, *stūpa* No. 15, also explored by Gen. Court, afforded a coin of the Parthian Satrap Zionises and of Kajula Kadphises. [7] Since the Kuṣānas succeeded the Parthians, we must admit that this *stūpa* was also built during the Kuṣāna period.

We must, therefore, acknowledge that the majority, if not all, of the Buddhist monuments of those centres, where the Greco-Buddhist School of Gandhāra flourished, were produced during the time of the Great Kuṣānas; and that when the monuments of a place belong to an earlier period, then we do not come across specimens of that school there.

1 *Ibid*, pp. 61-99.
2 *Ibid*, pp. 105-113.
3 *Report of the A.D.* 1908-09,pp. 38-60.
4 Beal, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 98-101.
5 Cunningham, *Archæological Report*, II, pp. 159-160.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 162.
7 *Ibid.*, pp. 166-168.

Yet it may easily happen, it may be objected, that though the rulers under whom that school flourished were not Greek, nevertheless the actual sculptors may have been Greek or descendents from the original Greeks. Quite so; in point of fact we know of at least one Greek descendent who worked as a sculptor during the reign of King Kaniśka. His name was Agesilaos and he is styled "the superintendent of works at Kaniśka's vihāra for the teachers of the Sarvastivādin school."[1] We know likewise one of his productions which has kept his name and designation after nineteen centuries. It is the casket that contained the relics of Buddha's begging bowl. One might expect that this casket would be a Greco-Indian master-piece, but it is not so. It is an ordinary casket in Indian style and there is nothing in it that might suggest Hellenic workmanship. (Pl. III, *a*).

It might still be said that the sculptors employed by the great Kuṣanas though perhaps Indian were influenced by Greek models, which they tried to imitate. Yet these models which could only come from Greece were never found in Afghānistān or in India. The only fruits of real Greek workmanship discovered in Afghānistān and northern India have been a *patera*, a sort of a large cup, on which the triumph of Bacchus is represented[2] and very numerous coins from Greece itself, from the Seleucian monarchy of Syria and from the Greek kings of Bactria. On all these coins there are busts and symbolic figures executed with marvellous skill and high æsthetic ideals. Yet no art critic will ever seriously think that these small figures and reliefs could have been the cause of such a well defined school of sculpture as the Gandhāra School.

Moreover, if the images of the Gandhāra School are carefully studied, one cannot but realize that the ideals of both schools, the Greek one and that of Gandhāra, are totally different.

The Greek artists wanted to reproduce the bodily perfection of man, not as was found in the real world, but according to an

[1] Hargreaves, *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum*, p. 47, footnote.

[2] Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 360, pl. LXXVI (Oxford, 1911).

idealistic type of perfection. A sort of idealized naturalism grew out of this conception. As a consequence of this ideal, Greek portraits are not like the Roman portraits minutely revealing the features of the portrayed person, but they are rather ideal portraits, they represent the heroes as they ought to be rather than as they were. Thus when Lysippus set out to carve the portrait of Alexander the Great, he did not reproduce his features as an ordinary sculptor would do; he represented him as the last descendent of a race of heroes, being ready to conquer the world (Pl. III, *b*). That was the reason why Plutarch wrote the following anecdote in his life of Alexander:

"When Lysippus first made a portrait of Alexander with his countenance uplifted to heaven, just as Alexander was wont to gaze with his neck gently inclined to one side, some one wrote the following note in an appropriate epigram:

"'The man of bronze is as one that looks on Zeus, and will address him thus: "O Zeus, I place earth beneath my feet, do thou rule Olympus."'"

"For this reason Alexander gave orders that only Lysippus should make portraits of him, since he alone, as it would seem, truly revealed his nature in bronze and portrayed his courage in visible form, while others in their anxiety to reproduce the bend of the neck, and the melting look of the yes, failed to preserve his masculine and leonine aspect."[1]

The second consequence of this original idealism of Greek sculpture is that the statues are really beautiful in their proportions, in their physical perfection, in their pose; but in spite of that the majority of their statues, even those that are in a dynamic pose, are lifeless. Because the really ideal man does not live in this world; he is only in the artist's mind; he is dead. (Pl. IV, *a*).

Moreover, the Greek sculptors did not want to spoil the ideal man by the addition of ornaments. Even when the statues are not nude, the garb is very plain, and the headgear is very simple. The Tyche of Antioch, now in the Vatican Museum, fully illustrates

[1] Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, IV.

this principle. A simple crown—a reproduction of the walls of the city of Antioch—adorns the head of the matron. Her body is covered with a plain tunic. No jewels of any kind will be discovered on this statue.

Finally the aim of reproducing the ideal physical beauty of man forbade the Greek artist to represent the purely spiritual side of his character. At most in the later development of the school the physical feeling were reproduced, but never the innermost spiritual affections of the soul. Thus in the famous Laocoon group of the Vatican Museum, you may see the physical sufferings of the miserable father and his two sons, but you cannot discover in their faces the repentence of the soul.

The characteristics of the Gandhāra School of Art are totally different. Certainly it also aims at reproducing the physical beauty of man as one may easily realize while contemplating some statues of Buddha or of some Bodhisatvas; but this physical beauty of man is not represented in an ideal way. So, the images of Buddha or of the Bodhisattvas are shown in the monkish or in the princely garb respectively, not as athletes making a show of their physical development. At most that part of the body which the dress allows to be nude, is manifested in all its physical beauty; but it is evident that this is not the main idea of the artist. So the School of Gandhāra may be called a realistic school, fostering that sort of realism that is opposite to the ideal naturalism of the Greek school.

A good example of this vital principle of the Gandhāra school is the image of Buddha's meditation and fast at Gayā, which is now in the Lahore Museum. The artist wanted to show the physical loss produced by that fast in Gautama's body. This is a marvellous study in anatomy, perhaps repulsive on account of its extraordinary realism. A similar specimen had never been produced by a Greek sculptor.[1]

Very realistic is also a little fragment of stucco image of the Kābul Museum that represents death. This grim figure of the

[1] There is another statue similar to this, almost a replica, in the Peshāwar Museum. But, unfortunately, it is broken and mutilated. Cf. Hargreaves, *op. cit.*, pl. 3.

a. Haḍḍa. Brahman holding a *lota*
Kābul Museum

b. Haḍḍa. Head of an Iranian
Kābul Museum

a. Haḍḍa. Head of a Rajput
Kābul Museum

b. Haḍḍa. Head of a Chinese
Kābul Museum

first century A.D. seems to be the forerunner of all these images of death in the famous (dance of death) which is so familiar an argument for the painters of the Middle Ages, a figure which never inspired any Greek sculptor.

One of the consequences of this realism is the truthfulness of the Gandhāra portraits. While going through the magnificent collection of heads recovered from the excavations of Haḍḍa, now housed in the Kābul Museum, one may easily recognise the different types and races that have passed through Afghānistān, some members of which settled there and were portrayed by the artists. Amongst them some are not types of beauty; just the contrary. They are ugly, idiotic, repulsive types. It will be useful to examine some of them.

The first is the portrait of a Buddhist monk, with his head clean shaven, his ascetic look, modest, silent, quiet, the real face of a young Brahman converted to the faith of Gautama. (Pl. IV, *b*).

Then a Roman with a well trimmed moustache, with curled hair crowned with ivy. He shows his sensuality in his languid eyes and curved mouth; he is a personification of the ordinary type of the Roman of the Empire: proud, but nevertheless showing already the seeds of the imminent ruin, almost at hand. (Pl. V, *a*).

Now it is a Turk from the far east; one of the Kuṣāna kings, with cunning eyes and well-set jaws, a man of indomitable character, who by the narrow diadem round his scanty hair shows his wish to become hellenized, but remaining always a nomad chief of the hordes of Central Asia. (Pl. V, *b*).

After this a Scythian, a ferocious Śaka, with cruelty in his eyes and with iron constitution; his narrow forehead reveals his undeveloped mind; his small eyes and minute chin disclose his animal instincts. Yet his well-trimmed and carefully combed hair reflects an interesting side of his repulsive character—childish vanity. (Pl. VI, *a*).

One of the most beautiful portraits is that of an old Afghān in an angry mood. His head is covered with a plain turban, the end of which is hanging down in front of the left ear. His eyes are

terribly fixed on his enemy and wrinkles appear over his eyebrows. His toothless mouth is slightly open, as if he were contemptuously insulting his opponent. (Pl. VI, *b*).

Here there is a Brahman with his *yajñopavīta* across the chest and with the lota full of water in his hand. The lota is so heavy that though his right hand holds it by the mouth, it is also supported by his left hand. His coiffure is extremely interesting. The knot of hair tied over his head is imitated by some of the modern *sādhus*. (Pl. VII, *a*).

Now it is an Iranian with a characteristic headdress and intelligent look. He is a man of character and decision. (Pl. VII, *b*).

Then a Rajput with a tuft of hair towards the right, a stout man with broad nose and malignant eyes. His beard unmistakably discloses his nationality. (Pl. VIII, *a*).

Then a Chinese with quite a characteristic headdress and slanting eyes also enters this galaxy of portraits. (Pl. VIII, *b*). Numerous Chinese existed in Kābulistān from the time of the last Greek king Hermaios, as his coins with Chinese inscriptions evidently show.[1]

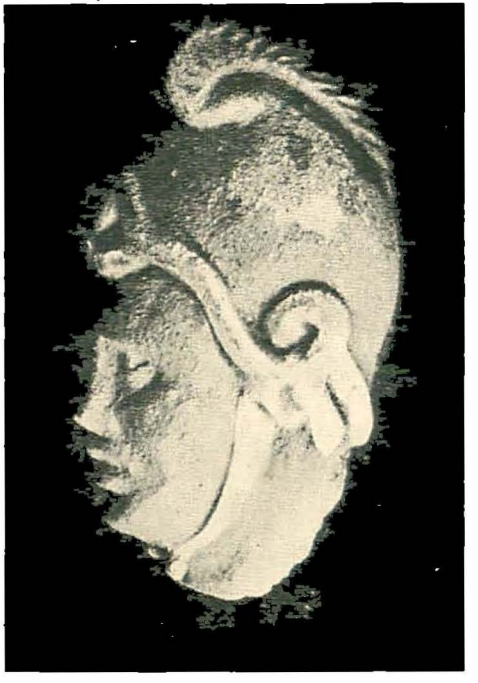
A very remarkable portrait is that of a man keeping a short pointed beard and a waving moustache. His small but cunning eyes and his one-horned peculiar cap give him a devilish aspect. If this head were produced in modern times it would be christened "Mephistofeles." (Pl. IX, *b*).

Here is the portrait of a soldier, his head well protected with a beautiful helmet. He is a young man, almost a boy, absolutely hairless. His appearance shows his inexperience in the art of warfare. (Pl. IX, *b*).

The following portrait comes from the village of Shahr-i-Bāhlol, in the Peshāwar plains. It is the head of a Buddhist *bhikkhu*. His dome-like skull suggests a powerfully intellectual brain; his small but vivid eyes manifest the shrewdness of his character; his aquiline nose betrays his tendency to interfere in other people's affairs; finally his well-set lips and chin show an indomitable

[1] Morgan, *Manuel de Numismatique Orientale*, p. 363.

a. Haḍḍa. Head of Mefistofeles (?)
Kābul Museum



b. Haḍḍa. Head of a Greek soldier
Kābul Museum

a. Shahr-i-Bahlol. Head of a Jew
Peshāwar Museum

b. Haḍḍa. Negro covered with a *pustin*
Kābul Museum

decision to carry out his designs. These features and the traits of character revealed by them give us sufficient grounds to recognise in this portrait a Jew of the north-western frontier of India in the first century of the Christian era.[1] Yet on account of the monkish tonsure we may recognise a Buddhist monk in it. It was therefore a Jew converted to the faith of Buddha who finally joined the *saṅgha*. (Pl. X, *a*).

This collection of portraits of the first century A.D. will be closed with the likeness of a negro, of undeveloped forehead, flat nose, protruding lips; the characteristics of the negro race are fully embodied in it. This negro, coming from Central Africa, feels the cold weather of Afghānistān and in order to keep himself warm, draws the *postin*, or sheep-skin cloak, over his head, as the peasants of that country do even to-day. Numerous negros from Africa undoubtedly arrived in Afghānistān as slaves of the rich Roman merchants. But this figure is still more remarkable from the point of view of technique. This relatively tall person, wrapped up in this fur mantle that covers him from head to foot, but adheres to the body in such a way as to allow its form to appear through it; the twisted pose of the body as if revealing an internal, unspeakable, unbearable pain; the very nebulous appearance of the whole figure—left by the artist apparently unfinished, if the head is excepted—remind one of some contemporary works of art, of the statues of Epstain for instance, and one naturally wonders who was the author of this figurine, who foresaw the modern artistic ideals in his inspiring mood eighteen centuries ago.[2] (Pl. X, *b*).

Due to this realism of the Gandhāra School, its productions are full of life. A single comparison will disclose the difference. In the Lateran Museum there is a beautiful marble statue of a square-shouldered youth called Antinous Vertemnus carrying a bunch of flowers, perhaps as an offering to the temple. (Pl. XI, *a*). The idea is beautiful, execution is delightful, but if we

[1] The existence of Jews in this part of the country is already known to the scholarly world through unmistakable sources.

[2] Mons. Hackin, *L'Oeuvre de la Delegation*, pp. 12-13, thinks that this figure is a demon.

dispassionately examine the statue we shall realize that it is only a statue; that youth has no soul, no blood runs through his veins. He is absolutely lifeless. Two years ago a broken plaster figure was discovered at Haḍḍa which may be called an improved replica of the Vatican youth. (Pl. XI, *b*). The idea is the same, the execution is also excellent, and yet how different are these two productions! In spite of the fragmentary state of the Haḍḍa image, any art critic will prefer this to the Vatican statue, because the Haḍḍa young man is full of life. Moreover the treatment of the hair is much more natural in this figure. The hair of the Vatican Museum statue, beautiful as it is, gives the impression of a wig. The *pallium* that hangs from the shoulders of the Haḍḍa youth and leaves only the chest bare, has a much more æsthetic effect than the loose cloth round the waist of Antinous.

Another specimen of Haḍḍa will reveal in itself the difference between a lifeless limb of the human body and another full of life. Mons. (Pl. XII, *a*). Barthoux[1] and Mons. Hackin[2] style this piece of sculpture "a demon." Yet I think it represents one of those fervent Buddhist devotees, who like Sirisaṇghabodhi, king of Ceylon[3] or Nāgārjuna[4] used to offer their head to the Buddha in order to obtain Buddhahood in a future generation. The pious man severs his head by lifting it up from above his shoulders with his two hands. The two portions of the spinal cord protrude in a gruesome way, as if by his pulling it the spine itself were extended and dislocated. The arms are full of life while holding the head tightly and pushing it upwards; but the head is already the head of a dead man: the eyelids are slightly shut just as when a person dies, the skin of the cheeks is falling down in a baggy fashion, forming deep furrows near the eyes and the nose. It is a grim figure, full of life in its very death.

As regards ornamentation the Gandhāra School is also totally different from the Greek school. Oriental Art is always profuse

[1] Barthoux, *op. cit.*, pl. 100, c.

[2] Hackin, *L'Ouvre de la Delegation Archæologique Francaise en Afghanistan* (1922-1932) I, Fig. 20.

[3] *Mahāvaṃśa*, LXXXV, 73-77.

[4] *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, VII, 7.

a. Antinous Vertumnus
Lateran Museum

b. Hadḍa. Young man throwing flowers
Kābul Museum

a. Haḍḍa. A devotee offering his head to Buddha
Kābul Museum

b. Shahr-i-Bahlol. Head of a Bodhisattva
Peshāwar Museum

in ornamentation, and accordingly the taste of the Gandhāra School is far distant from those Attic ideals of beauty of the Greeks. According to them natural beauty does not require any ornament; but the artists of Gandhāra seem to believe that natural beauty is improved if ornamented. This ornamentation is specially seen in the coiffures of practically all the figures excepting the images of Buddha himself who according to his profession of asceticism cannot wear ornaments. There is an impressive head of a Bodhisattva in the Peshāwar Museum that will illustrate this point. (Pl. XII, *b*). Apparently the Bodhisattva is represented as a prince, just as Gautama was at the time of his renunciation according to Buddhist tradition; his crown however is not a plain one, but really oriental, decorated with jewels, flowers, figures of animals and ribbons. Some of these crowns or headgears have a small figure in front (Pl. XXIV, *b*), that seems to be the beginning of the Tantric custom to place on the head of the god the figure of the Buddha whose emanation the god is. This profusion of ornamentation is specially noticed in statues that represent Bodhisattvas which are still complete. One found at Shāhbaz-Garhi, which is now kept in the Musée de Louvre, Paris, is a good specimen of this characteristic of the Gandhāra School. (Pl. XIII, *a*). His garb is not simple at all. His crown is most complicated. His necklaces, and *yajñopavīta* almost cover his nude chest. His arms wear armlets. Rings are seen round his fingers. Heavy ear-rings hang from his ears. Even his sandals are rich and elaborate. And the pedestal itself of the image has not many inches without a figure or a decorative motive. Never could an artist in Greece produce such a statue absolutely Indian in all its traits.

Another fourth difference of the school of Gandhāra from the Greek school, which is also derived from its realism, is that the artists of Gandhāra try to disclose the innermost spiritual affections of the soul: the fervent devotion felt in the practice of contemplation, the spiritual peace enjoyed by those who deny themselves, the contempt of the vanities of the world, etc. Study for instance the heads of the Buddha in *dhyāna mudra* (Pl. XIV, *a*, *b*) and you will discover the affections of the soul through those eyes half shut, through those lips smoothly closed, through the whole

peaceful appearance of the countenance, as if he were in a rapture; and then compare them with some of the heads of Bodhisatvas who have not yet obtained perfection in all the virtues already mastered by the Buddha. In one you will discover vanity, in another you will see anger, in a third you will detect restlessness. Similarly you will find images of *bhikkhus* or *bhikkhunis* full of devotion and compunction, while others show themselves vain and distracted even in the exercise of their religious duties, (Pl. XIII, *b*) or give some proof of the joy of their soul in the religious service. Here a devotee will show the anguish of his soul when lifting up his eyes to the sky petitioning help (Pl. XV, *a*); whilst another will reveal the peace of her soul in the exercise of her devotion. (Pl. XVI, *a*). There another one will disclose his effeminate character; (Pl. XV, *b*) while a girl in spite of the intricacies of her *coiffure* will show herself very modest and almost shy. (Pl. XVI, *b*). Two *upāsakes* (novices) will invite you to meditate on death while pointing to a skull they hold in their left hands. Their youthful faces show in their smile the spiritual fruit of such meditation and how glad are they in their renunciation of the vanity of the world. (Pl. XVII, *a*).

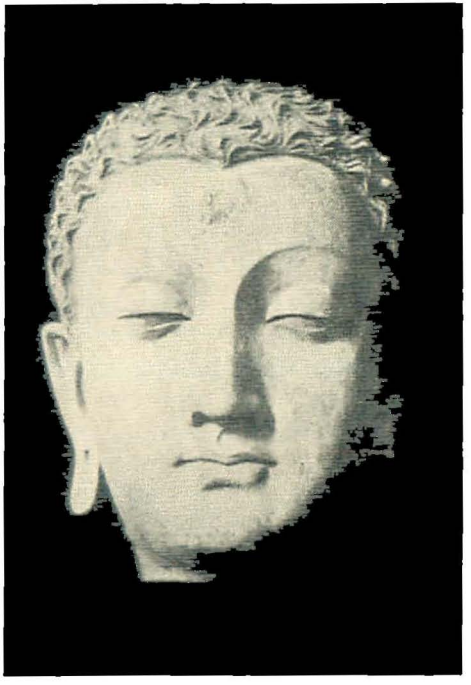
It may still be said that a few of these figures show Greek influence at least in some details, for instance, the treatment of the hair, the profile of some faces, the way of Buddha's holding the *saṅghāṭi* under the right arm. Let us examine these features separately.

The treatment of the hair is indeed very peculiar. Among the recently discovered stucco heads of Haḍḍa, there are some, for instance several heads of young Phrygians, whose hair is similar to the hair of the British Museum bust of Alexander; other heads of Buddha have curled hair, for instance one discovered at Amarāvati by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil of Pondicherry, which is now exhibited in the Musée Guimet of Paris. Actually this head has on this account been compared with the head of Harmodios in the Museo Nazionale of Naples.[1] First of all, we must admit that the treatment of the hair is so varied in the heads found at

[1] Hackin, *op. cit.*, p. 10. Cf. Joubeau-Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 10 and pl. J.

a. Shāhbaz-Garhi. Statue of a Bodhisattva. Musée du Louvre, Paris

b. Haḍḍa. *Bhikkhus* and *bhikkhuni* Kābul Museum



a. Haḍḍa. Head of Buddha
Kābul Museum

b. Haḍḍa. Head of Buddha
Kābul Museum

Haḍḍa that nothing can be decided out of some similarity between the hair of some of these heads and some Greek statues. Sometimes the hair is undulated and projecting. Other times it produces the effect of creepers embossed in the hair. Now the hair is long and dressed backwards. Then it is cropped short and curled in different directions. The illustrations reproduced in the course of this paper have already shown a great variety in this respect. It is not therefore strange that in this galaxy of *coiffures* some of the artists of India should agree with some of the artists of Greece, for we must admit that two artists may have a similar inspiration independently of each other.

As regards the curled hair of the two statues referred to above, there is indeed an apparent similarity, but if well considered there is a great difference between both cases. The curled hair of Buddha's statue is one of the *mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇas*, or marks of the perfect man, and according to the prescriptions of ancient Buddhist literature the curl goes from left to right. While in the statue of Harmodios the curls go from right to left.

As regards the profile of some images of Buddha, the resemblance with the ancient Greek statues is very striking. (Pl. XVIII, *a*). But this similarity was not necessarily influenced by Greek statues, which on the other hand have not been found in Afghānistān and northern India, as said above. This is a facial type which was undoubtedly common in ancient Greece. Many of those Greeks who came to India had beyond doubt the same type of face. Some of their descendants in India, at least in the beginning of the Christian era very likely inherited these characteristic features. Even during my tour through Afghānistān I could trace them in four men I came across, one of them being a youth, a Tajik, who was working in the garden of the Italian Legation at Kābul. It is not therefore strange that in the statues they produced the artists of the Kuṣāna period should have copied some of these features, that existed in reality amongst their neighbours.

Finally the style of wearing the *saṅghāṭi* is also very peculiar. (Pl. XIII, *b*). In the Museum of Kābul next to one of the images of Buddha carved in this fashion there is a photograph of the famous classical statue of Sophocles in order to show the similarity

existing between the two fashions. I would readily admit Greek influence in this case, but not precisely influence from Greek works of art. Many a Greek had been in those regions some centuries before. This fashion of wearing the *toga* was undoubtedly imitated by indigenous people. Even now-a-days Afghān shepherds, in winter, wrap themselves in a blanket passing it from above the right shoulder to under the left arm, the hand coming out in the same graceful style of Sophocles' statue.[1] The Gandhāra artist copied real life in his statues; no wonder then that Buddha's statue should be clad in the style observed by him in daily life.

The study of these little details invites us to notice that, contrary to what is being said about the Greek origin of these Gandhāra sculptures, many of them show that they are really Indian. We have already mentioned the curls of hair of Buddha's statue, as one of the *lakṣaṇas*, of the perfect man, according to ancient Buddhist literature. The *uśnīṣa* or skull protuberance in all Buddha's images is certainly not a Greek feature, but another of these *lakṣaṇas*. Not only some images of Buddha, but practically all the images present another *lakṣaṇas viz.*, the oblong ear lobe practically down to the shoulder, a thing that no hellenic artist would ever have dared to reproduce, being for them a really barbaric feature. Let us also notice that specially in many heads discovered at Haḍḍa the eyes are not a faithful reproduction of these organs as they are in the world of reality. (Pl. XVII, *b*). They have already the tendency to become almondshaped, as we see in the sculpture and paintings of the whole of India from the 5th to the 13th century. Some Haḍḍa girls specially are clearly the forerunners of the Ajanta maidens.

It is therefore evident that the so-called Greco-Buddhist School of Gandhāra is not Greek at all, neither influenced by Greek sculptors nor models in any way; but it is purely an indigenous

[1] In a lecture I gave tāKabul under the auspices of the Anjuman-i-Adabi, on the 3rd of November, 1934, I already remarked that the people of the country use still to wrap themselves in the same graceful manner as the people of ancient Greece. Cf. *Islah Kabul*. Nov. 5th, 1934.

a. Haḍḍa. A Buddhist Devotee in Prayer
Kābul Museum

b. Haḍḍa. Head of a vain girl
Kābul Museum

a. Haḍḍa. A devout Girl
Kābul Museum

b. Haḍḍa. Head of a modest girl
Kābul Museum

school of sculpture, with different ideals and with features which are absolutely and unmistakably Indian.

But here the following question will naturally arise: Who were therefore the sculptors of Gandhāra? Who created that art so different in its Indian characteristics from the art and sculptures produced later in India in its classical times and after? For the great dissimilarity existing between the Gandhāra sculptures and the sculptures of the rest of India from the Gupta period down to the Hoysaḷa times and even the Vijayanagara ages has been the main cause why many historians and art critics were inclined to explain it as influenced by the Greeks in the northern territories.

This is indeed the crux-question of the whole problem, which we shall try to study in its widest possible sense. For doing so let us first investigate who were the inhabitants of that part of the country.

First of all, there were Āryans left there from the time of the Āryan invasion at least 2,000 years before. They had partly mixed with the people of the country, as everywhere else in ancient times. But the Indo-Āryans had never as yet proved good sculptors. In the *Ṛgveda* there is no word about images,[1] nor did they seem to exist; it is after a few centuries they came into being perhaps by virtue of Dravidian influence.[2] As a matter of fact among the first three images spoken of in a historical document two are images of Dravidian gods admitted into the Āryan pantheon. Pātañjali, in the second century B.C., commenting upon Pāṇini speaks of the exhibition of the gods Śiva, Skanda, and Viśākha.[3] Thus these exhibitions took place at least in Pātañjali's days in the second century B. C., and even perhaps during the life of Pāṇini, two centuries earlier. The practice of

[1] One case in which a statue of Indra seems to be mentioned is very doubtful (*Rv.*, I, 21[3]).

[2] Cf. Macdonnell, *Development of Early Hindu Iconography*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1917, p. 602. The aversion of Buddha towards idols seems to be a manifestation of the primitive Āryan faith against an influence from outside.

[3] Cf. Sten Konow, *Note on the Use of Images in Ancient India*, *I.A.*, XXXVIII, p. 149.

carving images undoubtedly continued and increased, for from about the middle of the first century A. D., Hindu gods were represented with four arms on Indian coins,[1] which beyond doubt means that such images were already used and worshipped. Yet none of these images has come down to us. The earliest image of an Āryan god known hitherto is the statue of Surya in the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Gudimallan, North Arcot District.[2] (Let us note *en passant* that this icon is found in the centre of the Dravidian country.) The statue is very probably of the middle of the second century A.D. or beginning of the third.

One century earlier the images of the School of Gandhāra were already being produced. The perfection of the specimens of the Gandhāra school supposes indeed a long tradition and we do not know of any tradition about Indo-Āryan skill in carving and modelling.

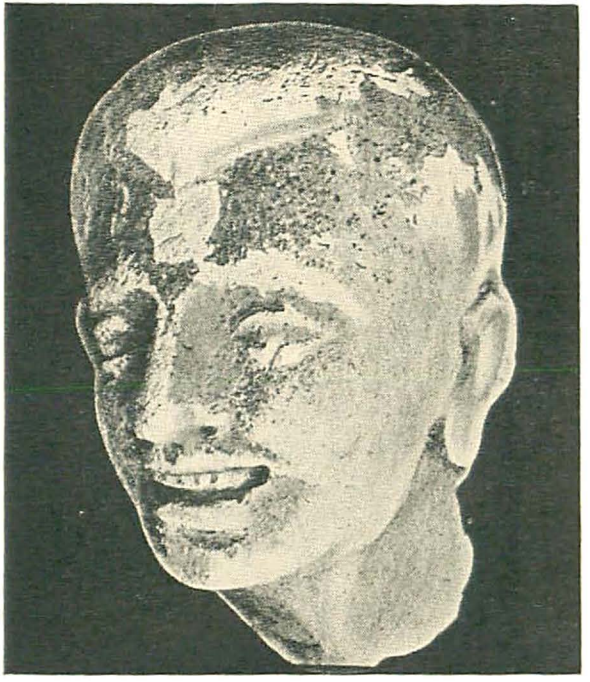
But were there other people in the territory where this school flourished? Let us turn back some pages of the proto-history of Hindustān; and in Vedic literature we shall find that south of the river Kubhā (Kābul) up to its mouth in the Indus, and even down the eastern side of the Indus itself, there dwelt a large tribe of people called Gandhāris.[3] The Gandhāris are mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* united with the Mūjavants, Aṅgas and Magadhas.[4] So, as the Aṅgas and Magadhas marked the eastern boundaries of the Āryan possessions, in the same way the Gandhāris and the Mūjavants were on the north-western borders. The natural consequence of this enumeration seems to be that as the Aṅgas and Magadhas were pre-Āryan people, in the same way the Gandhāris and Mūjavants seem to be pre-Āryan. This consequence is confirmed by the fact that the *Atharvaveda* itself banishes fever (*takman*) from the Āryans to the Mūjavants, who were all north-western tribes and enemies of the Āryans, otherwise

[1] Macdonnell, *The Development of Early Hindu Iconography*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1916, p. 130.

[2] Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, Part 2, pp. 312-313.

[3] Zimmer, *Altindische Leben*, pp. 30-31.

[4] *Av.*, V, 22^{14}.



a. Haḍḍa. Head of a *bhikkhu* in a happy mood
Musée Guimet, Paris

b. Haḍḍa. Head of a girl with almond-shaped eyes
Kābul Museum

a. Haḍḍa. Profile of a head of Buddha
Kābul Museum

b. Haḍḍa. A statuette of Buddha wearing the *saṅghaṭi* in the Greek fashion
Kābul Museum

takman would not be sent to them. As a matter of fact the Gandhāris seem to be much older than the Āryans in the *Ṛgveda* itself. In a hymn that praises king Bhavya who ruled on the banks of Sindhu, there is a stanza in a different metre that refers to the sheep reared by the Gandhāris.[1] This stanza is acknowledged as part of a popular song of an erotic nature which must naturally be much older than the Ṛgvedic hymn itself, and consequently prior to the Āryan invasions.[2]

Besides other minor clans which seem also to be pre-Āryan, such as the Madras, the Śivas, the Bālhikas, the Bhalanas and others, we must mention two more tribes whose role seems to be of some more importance in the north-western territories, *viz.*, the Kambhojas and the Takhas or Takṣas. The former are said to speak a language different from that of the Āryans,[3] while the latter, who were once defeated by Sudas in the battle of the ten kings, belonged, according to the *Mahābhārata*, to the Nāga race and were therefore Dravidians.[4] All these tribes, though originally Dravidian, were Āryanized in the course of time; yet their Āryan neighbours disapproved of many ancient non-Āryan customs still remaining amongst them after centuries of Āryanization. Thus the *Mahābhārata* disapproves of the customs of having Kshatriyas as priests as was common amongst the Madras.[5] Similarly during the same period, the Bālhikas used to eat their food from wooden or earthern vessels, a practice that is abominated by the same epic.[6]

Were these Dravidian tribes in any way capable of producing such works of art as the specimens of the Gandhāra School? First of all, let us bear in mind that the Dravidians possessed a much higher degree of civilization than the Āryans when the latter

1 *Rv.*, I, 126 [7].

2 Cf. Law, *Some Ksatrya Tribes of Ancient India*, p. 255; Griffith, *The Hymns of the Rigveda*, I, App. I, p. 648.

3 *Nirukta*, II, 2.

4 *Mahabharata*, Adi Parva, Paushya, p. III.

5 *Mahabharata*, Karna Parva, p. XLV.

6 *Ibid.*, p. xliv.

invaded the country.[1] Moreover, there are among the Dravidians a very early sculptural tradition and high æsthetic ideals. The first works of art that mark a very great development in sculpture come from Harappa and Mohenjo Daro.

This is not the place to prove that the civilization of the Indus valley is pre-Āryan, a fact which has been sufficiently demonstrated by Sir John Marshall, Mr. Ernest Mackay and others, whose arguments have never been weakened by those who wish to see manifestations of Āryan culture in those two cities. Suffice it to say that the horse, an animal eminently Āryan, is totally unknown to the inhabitants of Mohenjo Daro, who otherwise know the bull, the goat, the buffalo, the unicorn, the tiger, the elephant and perhaps other animals; that the worship of the *liṅga* seems to have been known there; that tree worship was very common; that one of the most common signs of the Mohenjo Daro seals—the sign read *gau* or cow by Dr. Pran-Nath[2] and which seems to be the forerunner of the *taurus* sign, but which really is the suffix of possession *adu*—has been found engraved in some prehistoric pottery in the village of Vallalur in Coimbatore District, in the heart of the Dravidian country.[3]

Now two fragmentary stone statuettes have been unearthed in Harappa (Pl. XIX, *a*, *b*) which made Sir John Marshall[4] write the following statements in connection with their discovery:—

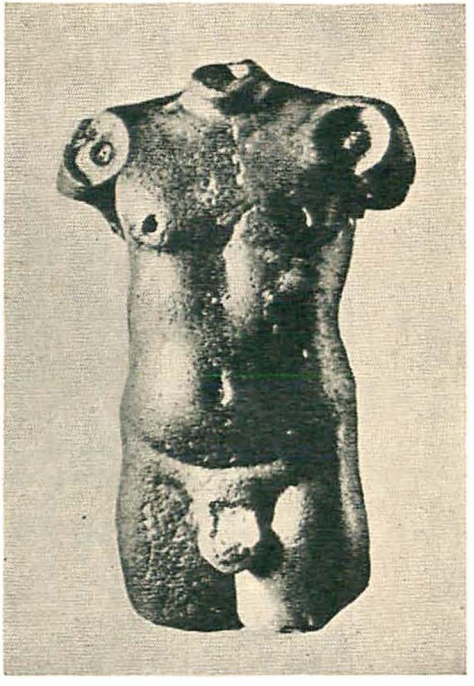
"When I first saw them I found it difficult to believe that they were prehistoric; they seemed so completely to upset all established ideas about early art. Modelling such as this was unknown in the ancient world up to the Hellenistic age of Greece, and I thought, therefore, that some mistakes must surely have been made; that these figures belonged to the Indo-Greek, Scythian, or Parthian period in the Panjab, and somehow or

1 Cf. Banerji, *Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India*, pp. 12-14.

2 Nath, *The Dawn of Indian Writing, Illustrated Weekly of India*, 13th October, 1935, pp. 20,31 and 32.

3 Bruce-Foote, *Catalogue of the Prehistoric Antiquity, Government Museum, Madras*, pl. XXXV.

4 Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation*, I, p. 45.



a. A torso from Harappa (front)
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b. A torso from Harappa (back)
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other had found their way into levels some 3,000 years older than those to which they properly belonged. This, too, I expect, will be the first idea of everyone else who is familiar with the history of early sculpture."

Yet Sir John Marshall was easily convinced that they could not but be prehistoric on account of the circumstances of the discovery and because of the internal evidence afforded by the statuettes themselves.

One of them is a torso in fine red stone. "The pose", continues Sir John Marshall, "is a frontal one with shoulders well back and abdomen slightly prominent; but the beauty of this little statuette is in the refined and wonderfully truthful modelling of the fleshly parts. Observe, for example, the subtle flattening of the buttocks and the clever little dimples of the posterior superior spines of the ilium. This is work of which a Greek of the fourth century A.D. might well have been proud. And yet the set of the figure, with its rather pronounced abdomen, is characteristically Indian, not Greek; and even if Greek influence could be proved, it would have to be admitted that the execution is Indian."[1]

Sir John Marshall also describes the other statuette, made of dark grey slate, as follows:—

"It is the figure of a dancer, standing on his right leg, with the body from the waist upwards bent well round to the left, both arms thrown out in the same direction, and the left leg raised high in front."[2]

When after describing the two images, Sir John Marshall makes the final criticism of these two surprisingly early works of art he reminds us of those differences which essentially exist between the Greek art and these masterpieces of the Indian artist, which nevertheless superficially seem to be so similar: "They (the statuettes)," says he, "give us the form, not the substance, of Greek art. Superficially, they call to mind the Hellenistic prototypes of which they are to some extent transcripts; and they

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

possess besides many merits of their own in which Hellenic inspiration had no part. But they miss altogether that characteristic genius of the Greek which delighted in anatomical truth and took infinite pains to press it convincely. Now, in these two statuettes it is just this anatomical truth that is so startling, that makes us wonder whether, in this all-important matter, Greek artistry could possibly have been anticipated by sculptors of a far-off age on the banks of the Indus."[1] Such artists who anticipated the Greek ones by so many centuries were Dravidian sculptors.

These Dravidian artists were not less skilful in engraving the figures of animals on seals than in producing the two startling statuettes described above. Let us examine the humped bull of one of the seals foundat Mohenjo Daro. (Pl. XX, *a*). "Its engraver," says Sir John Marshall, "has obviously made a careful study of his subject and given us a faithful rendering of it, but he has done much more than this; he has tempered realism with breadth of treatment and restraint, and has brought out the dignity of that animal in a way that only the eye and the hand of a true artist could have done."[2] The dignity of the animal, so well emphasised by Sir John, corresponds to that revelation of the spiritual side of the image mentioned above as one of the characteristic notes of the School of Gandhāra.

The far-off age of these works of art does not allow us to continue this artistic tradition year by year. Moreover many of those ancient works must have totally disappeared on account of the perishable material of which they were made, for instance wood or clay. Finally the wars fought in northern India as a consequence of the Āryan invasion, the subsequent wars of Kurukṣetra and those of Alexander and Chandragupta Maurya did not allow the Dravidian artists to produce new manifestations of their national school. But in the fourth century B.C., corresponding to the period of peace started by Aśoka after his war with the Kaliṅgas, we suddenly come across two small heads which again reveal the artist of the same school. I refer to the two delightful terracotta heads of a boy and a girl, perhaps brother

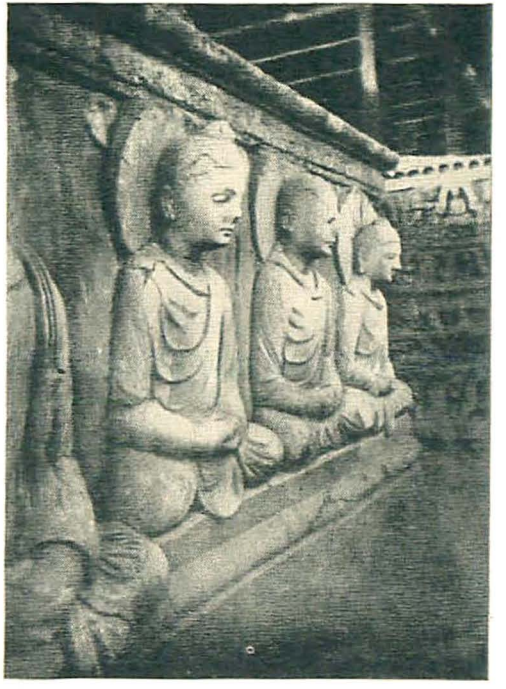
[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

a. Kapiśa. Maitreya Bodhisattva surrounded by devotees
Kābul Museum

b. Haḍḍa. Buddha's Great Renunciation
Kābul Museum

a. Kābul. Maitreya Bodhisattva
Kābul Museum



b. Taxila. Buddhas in *dhyāna-mudra* round a stupa in the Jaulian Monastery
Copyright. Archæological Survey of India

and sister, found in the excavations of Pataliputra and now kept in the Patna Museum. One is the real portrait of a serious and thoughtful girl, between 10 and 12 years old. But the likeness of the boy is still more remarkable. (Pl. XXI, *a*). If you except the exotic headgear, which on the other hand must be an exact reproduction of the headgear worn by boys those days, the sculpture may be styled a modern work of art, or a work of art of the Renaissance period. But a Greek sculptor has never produced the portrait of any person in such an exultant mood. That 7 or 8 years old boy is laughing, but laughing in such an innocent and uproarious way that one imagines one hears his laughter sounding as the drops of a fountain falling over the marble basin. The portrait clearly reveals the innocence and joy of the boy's heart.

Yet were these two pieces produced by Dravidian artists? Undoubtedly. Pāṭaliputra had been the capital of Magadha since the days of the Nandas. The contempt with which the Vedic *ṛṣis* spoke of the Magadhas is well-known. It was a Dravidian kingdom which proved to be very reluctant to accept Āryanization. The dynasty reigning at Magadha during the *Mahābhārata* war was not Āryan. Jarāsandha, the king then reigning at Rājagṛiha, was himself a Dravidian. In the time of the Mauryas, Magadha was much Āryanized; but the Dravidian element was beyond doubt prevalent. The kings undoubtedly used Dravidian sculptors who had been such skilful artists in the past.

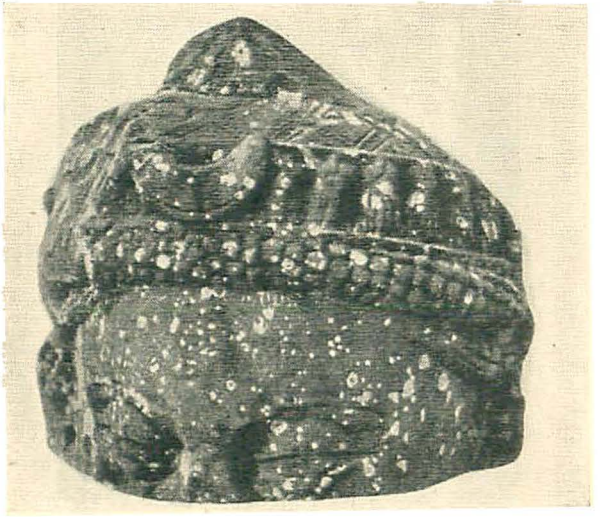
But besides this the internal evidence of these two heads confirms the same origin. They are portraits, real portraits of life, but revealing the state of the soul in a wonderful way: the steadiness of the girl's character and the boyish character of that youth; he laughs now, but he may cry a moment afterwards. Among the stucco heads discovered at Haḍḍa there is one that may be styled a replica of the boy of Pāṭaliputra. (Pl. XXI, *b*). The authors of these two heads though separated by hundreds of miles of distance and by more than four centuries of time, must belong to the same School.

As stated above, Aśoka, after having decided not to wage war any more, must have employed many Dravidian artists, for we come across works of this school in several parts of his

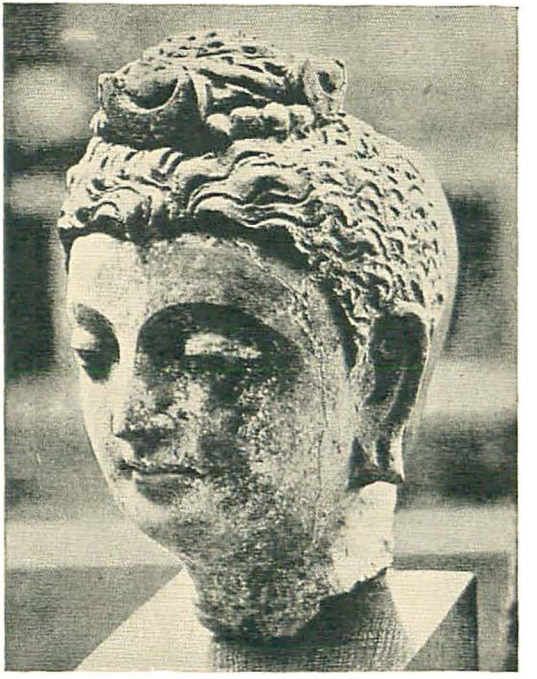
dominions. Let me mention only some of the magnificent capitals of his edict pillars where some figures of animals are skilfully carved. The lions of the Sārnāth pillar are really living animals totally different in technique from the lions of Persepolis and from the lions of Indian iconography of later times. Still far surpassing the beauty of these lions are the three animals represented in bas-relief on the plinth of the bell-lotus that forms the same capital. One is a horse, as if running in a race, full of vigour. Another is an elephant, calm, powerful and resigned. (Pl. XXII, *a*). The artist has been very diligent in showing the foldings of the loose skin under the neck and the trunk and behind the front legs. The third animal is a bullock also portrayed with wonderful skill and executed with unsurpassed technique. (Pl. XXII, *b*). The young bull that crowns Aśoka's capital at Rampurva which is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, is evidently together with the bullock of Sārnāth, a continuation of the tradition in animal engraving which we have admired among the artists of Mohenjo Daro.

There is in the Museum of Mathurā a fragmentary head of the same period, which is evidently of the same school, (Pl. XXIII, *a*), a circumstance which is of the greatest importance, for Mathurā being in the ancient Madhyadeśa, the centre of Āryan culture, shows that the Dravidian artists spread also to the purely Āryan kingdom. This specimen unfortunately shows only the upper portion of the head, probably of a woman crowned with a fillet which is adorned with a crescent in the front. This simple head-gear is also very common in Gandhāra proper (Pl. XXIII, *b*). The forehead, eyes and bridge of the nose might have been carved by a Haḍḍa sculptor.

After these the specimens that mark the tradition of this school are the specimens of southern Afghānistān, Peshāwar, Taxila and Lahore. What was the cause of the sudden revival of this art in the north-western corner of India? In that portion of the country wars and invasions had succeeded each other at least from the time of Alexander's inroad. Plastic arts do not flourish in the midst of the clash of arms; but in the first century of the Christian era, Vīma Kadphises, the second Kuṣāna king of Hindustān, had conquered the country at least down to the Jumna. His son, Kaniṣka, a monarch of enlightened vision and of artistic



a. Coiffure adorned with a crescent
Mathurā Museum



b. Hadda. Coiffure adorned with crescents
Kābul Museum

a. Peshāwar. Pañcika and Harītī
Peshāwar Museum
Copyright. Archæological Survey of India

b. Haḍḍa. Coiffure adorned with a man's figure
Musée Guimet, Paris

pursuits, succeeded him. During his reign the best works of the Gandhāra School were produced. But the extraordinary efflorescence of this Dravidian art had within itself the seeds of its degeneration. So many images were required for decorating temples and monasteries that second class artists were also called to exercise their skill and they were the cause of a decay in the school. The fact that the degeneration of the school appears specially in Mathurā and southern Panjab, the ancient Madhyadeśa, makes one suspect that this degeneration was due to the Āryan element without tradition, without artistic ideals, without proper inspiration. This degeneration extended up to Gandhāra itself in a later period. One specimen only of the Peshāwar Museum will suffice to illustrate the spreading of this decay (Pl. XXIV, *a*). It is the group is Pañchika and Haritī, the god of wealth and the goddess of fertility. A number of children have been placed round the happy goddess. The feet of both figures are much too large, out of proportion, while their legs that may be detected through their dress are only shapeless sticks without muscles. There is nothing striking in this specimen of the degenerated Gandhāra School.

Before closing the study of this artistic tradition, I must mention another specimen of this school discovered at an ancient temple at Gudimallam. It is a standing statue of Śiva attached to a *liṅga*, of the first century B.C. The whole image as well as the *liṅga*, which is made of a reddish igneous stone, looks alive, and almost stepping out of its base. Śiva stands astride upon the shoulders of a Rakṣasa. He wears a loin cloth but this is so transparent that his well rounded legs are seen through it, though the creases and folds that are formed across the thighs are very delicately executed. The execution of his torso reveals a close study of the anatomy of the human body. He has only two arms. His right hand holds a ram by its hind legs its head hanging downwards, while his left hand holds a *paraśu* and a *kamaṇḍalu*. But the most remarkable feature of this statue is its head. The face is most clearly Mongoloid, but full of expression and life. It reveals its joy on account of Śiva's triumph over the Rakṣasa. Two large beads of a shape very common in India from the prehistoric period take the place of earrings. The ear-lobes hang down as far as the shoulders. He wears a turban-like *jaṭā-makuṭa*, of plaited hair.

The whole statue of Śiva as well as the *liṅga*, behind it are beautifully polished, just as the famous pillars of Aśoka and the interiors of the caves of the Barabar hills. This is very suggestive indeed, because if it proves anything, it proves that the extraordinary polish of those monuments, which has been a great puzzle to modern art critics and archæologists, must have been the secret of the early Dravidian artists, a secret which has passed into oblivion with the disappearance of that school.

This remarkable figure of Śiva contemporary with, or perhaps a little posterior to the Gandhāra icons, is the last production in the long tradition of the Dravidian school of sculpture, the first specimens of which date back to 3,000 years B.C. The Gandhāra school is only an off-shoot, very extraordinary indeed, of this Dravidian School.

The degeneration of the Gandhāra School continued rapidly down to the Gupta period. There was then a revival of the art of sculpture, the tendency of which moved along totally different lines. When during the same period the *Śilpaśāstras* and specially the *Mānasāra* were compiled, the tradition of Gandhāra was totally dead and the traditionally classical Indian sculpture has nothing resembling those models. An attempt at reviving that tradition was made in the 16th century A.D. in the most southern district of the Indian peninsula during the reign of Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka of Madura;[1] but the attempt failed. That was the end of the Dravidian School of sculpture.

The conclusions arrived at after this long study are the following:—

1. The so-called Greco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra did not flourish in the centre of the Greek possessions in the

[1] I have described some of the masterpieces of this Madura School in an article entitled, *A Realistic School of Indian Sculpture in the 16th century*, published in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, (History Section), I, pp. 13-18. I had then wrongly suggested—as I realize now—European influence in order to explain the sudden appearance of those realistic sculptures full of life. I recognise now that they are only the natural outcome of the æsthetic temperament of the Dravidian race. They are like a phenomenon of artistic atavism. In point of fact collectors of Indian bronzes know very well that those icons that come from the purely Dravidian country are generally much more artistic than those that come from the Northern Provinces, where Āryan culture has had more influence.

East, but only in the regions south of the Hindu Kush and in the north-western provinces of Hindustān.

2. The centre of this school seems to have been Haḍḍa on the plains of Jalālābād, 6 miles south of this city. The specimens of this school found in Peshāwar, Taxila and Lahore are not as beautiful as the Haḍḍa ones.

3. The so-called Greco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra is not at all influenced by Greek models or by Greek ideals; though the Gandhāra works of art have an *apparent* point of contact with those of the Greek school. Yet they are totally different in their main object and in their practical execution.

4. The school of Gandhāra aims at the reproduction of reality, not precisely the physical beauty of man. Hence it discloses the affections and feelings of the soul in the most marvellous way, an object which has never been within the scope of the Greek school.

5. The Gandhāra school is only the continuation of the artistic tradition of the Dravidian nation, whose first known specimens come from Harappa and Mohenjo Daro.

6. The Gandhāra school flourished so much thanks to the patronage of the Kuṣāna King Kaniṣka. The degeneration of its art was due to the admittance of Āryan artists among the Dravidian sculptors.

SHORT NOTES

I

INDIAN "ERAS" AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

By S. V. Viswanatha

The significance of the "Vikrama" and "Śaka" eras dating respectively from 57 B.C. and 78 A.D. and the events or incidents represented by them have been for long a matter of discussion and dispute, though some amount of agreement may be said to have been reached in regard to the details appearing in connection with them. The attempts made so far by the learned scholars engaged in this problem appear to have been rather one-sided, each striving to fix the importance of the years with reference to one significant incident or personality on which the respective studies were centred. They are seen, therefore, to be not free from the obsession of applying to a large portion of the country what really, according to their calculation, can apply only to a particular part of India with which they deal. There is no necessity at this stage to go once more over the various grounds so ably traversed by competent authorities in the field, and so well known now among scholars in Indian History. We shall deal here briefly with the importance of these two eras and the Chedi era starting in 248 A.D. which is also found to be of wide use in Indian literature and tradition.

The question that naturally suggests itself is, can a single event, even of great magnitude, have led to such wide recognition of its importance and for its date to be of so universal an application? The different names under which these eras are seen used in literature and epigraphy seem rather to point to a variety of incidents that should have taken place in the years assigned to them. Śaka era is Sālivāhana *śakābda* especially in the Dekhan and South India. The Vikrama is also the Mālava era, and is associated in tradition and legends with a king Vikramāditya of Ujjain in Malwa, one of the main centres of religion, learning and arts in ancient India. The Chedi era is the era of the Ābhīra-Traikūṭaka dynasty and is also known as Kālachuri or Uchchakalpa,

and found used in the history of the central dynasties of the Dekhan, whose sway extended from the eastern to the western coasts, though it is more localized and less universal than the others. Though the peculiar name given to an era might have been suggested with reference to the most significant of the events that had happened in the particular year, this date could have been accepted by immemorial usage as marking an era not because it was founded by any one king, however great he was, or because the hall-mark was set upon it by him. The year in which an era is dated must be a climateric year of great incidents.

1

57 B.C. the year of the Vikrama era was marked by the assertion of the imperial dominion in North India under the foreign prince Azes I. This was the year of a great defeat (*vikrama*) and conquest, and memorable for the reason that an alien dynasty Śaka or Pahlava had established itself in Hindustan. (See Rapson, *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, p. cviii) Azes I " was reigning in the third quarter of the first century B.C., while the probability that he may have founded an era is also suggested by the abundance of his coins which denote his pre-eminence among the Śaka-Pahlava sovereigns." (Marshall, *The Date of Kanishka*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, 171.) This will account for why the era should have been in use in the coinage and inscriptions of the Kshaharatas in both their branches at Mathura and near the gulf of Cambay. As the Kshaharatas belonged to the same race to which Azes belonged, the Vikrama era came to be looked upon as no other than the Kshaharata era. (Dubreuil, *Dekhan*, p. 21.) But why should it have found currency in other parts of the country, and among other dynasties of kings? The alternative name Mālava taken along with Vikrama will be found to give the answer. As Dubreuil says, (*Dekhan*, 15) it is possible that a Sātavāhana king helped Vasudeva Kaṇwa in overthrowing the old dynasty of the Śuṅgas. This Andhra king set himself up at Bhilsa, and came to be known as Sātavāhana of Sāñchi. There is room to think that the Sātavāhana mentioned in the Sāñchi gateway reigned at Bhilsa between 72 and 56 B.C. According to the Puranic Lists, of Dynasties, Svāti is mentioned as the Andhra king of Pratishṭhāna about this time.

From the *Avantisundarī Kathā* of Daṇḍin it may be inferred that Śūdraka a Brahman minister of the Sātavāhana king Svāti, managed to effect a revolution, defeated and killed the reigning king through one of his courtiers Mūla-Deva who is described as a master of thief-craft (*Chora Śāstra*), carried away the princess Vinayavatī and married her and crowned himself as king of Ujjain in Malwa. This incident was certainly of such importance as to have given rise to the Mālava year of reckoning. The old ruling dynasty became extinct in this part of India due to the efforts of Śūdraka. Daṇḍin refers to this king in the following terms: *Sudrakeṇāsakrt jitvā svachhayā khaḍgadhārayā jagat bhūyō 'vashṭabdham vāchā svacharitārthayā.* Allowing for poetic fancy the second line seems to contain a veiled reference to the "establishment once again of the sovereignty of the world" by Śūdraka and his warlike exploits, as are indicated in the story of the hero himself. This king and poet is referred to also as Vikrama and Sāhasa and Vishama śīla which are other names for Vikramāditya. The epithets "Vikramāṅka, Sāhasāṅka and Śaśāṅka" are seen to go together in tradition. The name Śaśāṅka, "one who has Śaśa for his mark" may be explained with reference to the character Śaśa who is described in Śūdraka's *Padmaprābhrtaka* as a messenger of the king's minister Mūla Deva. As Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi puts it with an intuitive insight, "one is strongly tempted to identify the king Śūdraka with the originator of the Vikrama era." (Oriental Conference Proceedings, Calcutta, 197).

2

It has been found that 78 A.D. was marked by the following incidents. The original theory that the Śaka era of this year was founded by the Kushana king Kanishka on his accession to the throne, has been refuted so much and no longer can hold the field, this sovereign being assigned now by all to about 120 A.D. It was the last year of the rule of Kujula Kadphises and the beginning of the imperial rule of the Kushanans (Śakas) in North India under Bhīma Kadphises (II). The Chir Stupa document of the 136th year of the Vikrama era, *i.e.*, 79 A.D. indicates that the king who ruled in this year was Kadphises II. Dr. Sten Konow said, "there

cannot be much doubt that the kushana emperor of the Panjtar and Taxilla records was Kujula Kadphises and not Vīma Kadphises." (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV. 289) Kujula was not an *Indian* sovereign proper, as is clear from the fact that no records of his are met with in North India. On the other hand, the coins of Kadphises II are found all over (Smith, 129) and obviously he was the first Kushana prince who conquered India and set up an imperial dynasty, whose territory extended as far as the Narbada. The year 78-79 A.D. in the Chir Stupa was marked, therefore, by the establishment in India of a foreign dominion under Kadphises II. In spite of so much that was written against his view, Konow said, "I am still of opinion that the Śaka era was established by Bhīma Kadphises." (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV. 141—The Ara Inscription.)

Cunningham expressed a theory long ago (1892) that the Śaka era may have been founded by Chashṭana the western Kshatrapa. Dr. Dubreuil, following him, affirms "that the only natural theory concerning the Śaka era is that it was founded by Chashṭana." (Dekhan, 35) Cunningham stated even then that the Śaka satraps claimed Kadphises as their overlord. The family of Chashṭana was itself of foreign origin and perhaps Śaka; and therefore it would look rather inappropriate to suppose that Chashṭana should have founded an era separately from that of his overlords and his kith and kin. It is, however, a fact that he should have secured an independent position for himself only after the destruction of the Kshaharatas. The extermination of foreign powers that had established themselves over the Indian soil must have been considered an event of first rate importance, a stirring event of profound magnitude. In one of the Nasik Inscriptions (No. 2, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, 61) Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarni is referred to as the destroyer of the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas; as having rooted out the Kshaharata race and restored the Sātavāhana family." Consistent with the philosophy of conquest in Ancient India and the recognized policy of the conquerors, the Sātavāhana appointed the foreigner as the viceroy (Kshatrapa) of his conquered country in West India.

Chashṭana and his descendants held the position of Kshatrapa under Gautamīputra, as is indicated by the insignia of "Chaitya with three arches" met with in the coins of Chashṭana, similar

to that on the coins of Gautamīputra (Rapson, *Catalogue of coins*, plate X). This is probably the reason why in South India the Śaka era is referred to as that of Śālivāhana or Sātavāhana. This cannot be accounted for adequately with reference to any incident that may have taken place in North India, but must be connected with the exploits of a Śālivāhana.

3

In a paper that I contributed to the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on the Ābhira-Traikūṭaka Dynasty I made the suggestion that Īśvarasena the Ābhīra-Traikūtaka established himself in an independent position in the year 248 A.D. on the decline of the Western Kshatrapas, and that this important event may have originated the era, known as the Ābhira-Traikūṭaka, Chedi or Kaṭachuri. Recently, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal expressed a theory that "the Chedi era was founded by the Vākāṭakas." Vindhya sakti, the "banner of the Vākāṭaka race" is mentioned in the Ajanta epigraph without any royal title. He was probably only a local chieftain. (*Arch. Sur. of West India*, IV, 124). Consistent with the chronology of the early kings of this dynasty, the utmost that is possible is that he may have founded the era in the last years of his life or that it may denote the date when his son Pravarasena I became a *Samrāṭ*. But if this theory is accepted, why should the era not have been known after the Vākāṭakas who were certainly the most important dynasty of the Dekhan during the period ? This is another indication that the date recognised as epoch-making depended not merely on the name by which it was known, but for the various incidents appearing in connection with it. Why again should it be found stated that the son of Pravarasena II (Narendra or Divākara) came to the throne in his eighth year and the era not have been used instead ? Do we find the dates of all the kings of this dynasty given in relation to this reckoning ? It is possible with reference to synchronisms known so far that Vindhyaśakti founded the Vākāṭaka dynasty of kings or that his son became a *Samrāṭ* in this year.

But the familiar name used for the era of 248 A.D. is never Vākāṭaka, so far as is known at present about it. It was known by the restricted name of the Chedi era, as it was most widely in use in

the inscriptions of the Kālachuri or kings of Chedi, and possibly because of the antiquity of the Chedi kingdom which is said to have been founded by the famous king Vasu Uparichara (*Ādi Parva*, 63).

In the year 248 the following events of importance appear to have taken place. The decline of the Western Kshatrapas led to the establishment of the Traikūṭaka and Vākāṭaka dynasties of kings. There is nothing in literature or in epigraphy that precludes the possibility of the fall of the empire of the Sātavāhanas in the same year. The last of the Āndhra kings was Pulomāyi in the eighth year of whose reign was issued the Myakadoni Inscription (*A.R.* for 1916, Madras, No. 509). The alphabet of this epigraph resembles that of the Jogayyapetta Inscription of the Ikshvāku king Śrī Purushadatta (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, 153). The Inscription states that the territory was included in the possessions of (Śiva) Skanda Nāga, who is described as "the great commander." The year 248 was one of considerable confusion, consequent on the fall of the mighty power of the Western Kshatrapas and of the imperial power of the Sātavāhanas, in the midst of which there was the establishment of the various dynasties in the Dekhan area. On the downfall of the Sātavāhana empire, Bappa Deva the father of Śivaskanda Varman founded and set up the Pallava (Bhāradvāja) family. Dubreuil says, (Dekhan, 54), "it is probable that the king surnamed Bappa Deva reigned in the second quarter of the third century A.D. (225-250)". Other royal dynasties that were formed in the same year were the Ikshvākus who styled themselves the "Śrī Pārvatīya Āndhrabhrityas," of whom the first king was the Purisadata of the Jogayyapeta and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa epigraphs; and the Brihatpalāyanas in the East coast under their king Jaya Varman. "The language and phraseology of the Kondamudi plates issued in the tenth year of this king (Jaya Varman) are so similar to the Nasik inscription of Gautamiputra Śrī Śātakarni and Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī Pulomayi that Jaya Varman's date cannot have been very distant from that of these two Andhra kings." "The alphabet of the inscription shows that he must have lived in the same period as the Pallava prince Śivaskanda Varman who issued the Mayidavolu plates." (Hultsch, in *Ep. Ind.*, VI, 315). "It is therefore certain that Jaya Varman reigned immediately after the Sātavāhanas." (Dubreuil, 84).

4

Now to summarise the position. What is attempted in this paper is only to put together all the incidents that would go to make each of these years remarkable land-marks in the history of India. It is hoped the conclusions arrived at would, in a way, reconcile the differences that have existed so far with reference to the significance of these eras, beginning with 57 B.C., 78 A.D., and 248 A.D.

So far as India and her political fortune were concerned these years were of marked failure as well as of splendid victory.

57 B.C. Ignominy of foreign rule under the Śaka, Azes I in the heart of Āryāvarta.

The glorious reign of Śūdraka at Ujjain in Malwa.

78 A.D. The establishment of an alien dynasty of Kushanas by Kadphises II in the centre of Hindustan. The splendid achievement of Gautamīputra against the foreign domination in general (*Śakāri*).

248 A.D. The decline of the Western Kshatrapas, a dynasty of foreign origin.

The fall of the Imperial Sātavāhana line; and the foundation of the dynasties of the Dekhan.

II

THE WORD "ŚATRAṂ" IN THE GAḌHĀ (JASDAN) INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀKṢATRAPA RUDRASENA, YEAR 126, OR 127[1].

By H. D. Sankalia

This word '*Śatraṁ*' is not yet satisfactorily explained.

Its context is as follows: *idaṁ Śatraṁ....Khara* (r) *patthasya bhātrabhiḥ Utthavita*(*ṁ*): [2] which is translated as "this *Śatra* was erected by the brothers of Khara(r) pattha...."

In a footnote on the word[3] the editor gives the different suggested meanings, saying that it was rendered as 'tank' by Bhau

1 *Ep. Ind., XVI*, 236.

2 *Ibid*, line 5 (Text), 238.

3 *Ibid*, 239, n. 2.

Daji; 'a kind of expensive soma sacrifice extending over many days' from a Prākrit form of *satra* by Hoernle; and compared with *sata* (? seat) occurring in a Buddhist cave inscription by Lüders.

R. D. Banerji took it as a Prakrit form of *satra* and translated it 'almhouse', which meaning that word has in most of the dialects of North India.

Surprisingly I find support for the views of Banerji in the Bāgumrā grant of Dhruva III. Samvat 789.[1] Therein a village is granted for the continuation of a *satra* (satrapravarttanārtthaṁ), etc.

Bühler explains it as '*Sadāvrata*'[2], *i.e.*, an almhouse, such as those which exist even to-day.

Bühler is fully borne out by the text of the inscription which says that on the receipt of a village from the king, a *satra* was founded where thousands of Brāhmaṇs and men of royal descent dined daily[3].

This is exactly what the Gaḍhā ins. says that a *Śatra* was erected. The word '*Utthavita*' may be translated as 'started' or 'founded' and not necessarily as 'erected.'

I may further add to the suggestion of Banerji that '*Śatra*' is a Prakrit form, particularly of the Māgadhi dialect where all sibilants are reduced to ś.[4]

III

A NOTE ON THE KṢATRAPA INSCRIPTIONS FROM ANDHAU, CUTCH

By H. D. Sankalia,

Unlike other inscriptions of the Kṣatrapas of the Chaṣṭana family, the four inscriptions, found at Andhau, in Cutch[5] used

1 *Ind. Ant.*, *XII*, 179.

2 *Ibid*, 181.

3 *Ibid.*, 184-185, ll. 44-45.

4 Bhandarkar, *Wilson Philological Lectures*, 1914, 82.

5 First noticed by Bhandarkar in A. Pro. Rep. A. S. I., W. C., 1905-06, p. 35, Summary, *Ibid.*, 1914-15, p. 67.
Ed. by Banerji, *Ep. Ind.*, *XVI*, 19-25.

only the word " Rājan " as the title of both Chaṣṭana and Rudradāman.

Again they do not mention their relation, but read as follows : *Rājño Chāṣṭanasa Ysāmotikaputrasa Rājño Rudradamasa Jayādāmasa putrasa....*" of king Chaṣṭana, of king Rudradāmasa son of Jayadāma."

This led Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar to suggest that these inscriptions speak of Chāṣṭana and Rudradāman as joint rulers as kings only.[1] R. D. Banerji explained this fact as due to the ignorance of the exact relation between Chaṣṭana and Rudradāman on part of the engraver of the inscriptions.

In support of this theory, cited the fact, previously unnoticed, that besides some such words as denoting relation, the usual titles Kṣatrapa or Mahākṣatrapa are also missing. This once again shows " that in a remote place like Andhau, on the Raṇ of Cutch they (the people) were not aware of the new titles of the new dynasty of rulers."[2]

Agreeing with Banerji I should only like to suggest that the authors of the inscriptions did not mention the titles and the relation not because the place far off and the dynasty merely new, but more probably because the dynasty was totally foreign to them.

These inscriptions show once again that the western Kṣatrapas of Malwa belonged to a foreign race *viz.*, the Parthians.[3]

1 *Ind. Ant.*, XLVII, p. 154, n. 26.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, *XVI*, *p.* 22.

3 But for the fact that even the few coins of Chaṣṭana and Jayadāman mention the titles 'Kṣatrapa' and 'Mahākṣatrapa' (see Rapson, *coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, pp. 72-77) along with 'Rājan,' it would be tempting to suggest that both chaṣṭana and Rudradāman were, at first, merely kings and later they acquired the titles of 'Mahākṣatrapa', a state of things which is evidenced by the Andhau inscriptions where these titles are missing and the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman, where Rudradāman boasts of having acquired the title of Mahākṣatrapa; further that Rudradāman was the first to acquire the title which was later used for his father and grandfather.

IV

ADDITIONAL NOTES FOR AN ISMAILI BIBLIOGRAPHY

By Asaf A. A. Fyzee

After writing my short paper on "Materials for an Ismaili Bibliography: 1920-1934"[1] I sent copies of the draft to Profs. Wensinck (Leiden), Kratchkovsky (Leningrad), Strothmann (Hamburg), and Semenov (Tashkent), with the request that it would be a matter for gratitude if they were to send me additional titles. They were all good enough to reply and furnish additional material.

First, Professor A. A. Semenov (Tashkent) was good enough to send me a complete bibliography of books and articles on Ismailism in Russian.[2] Being in a language which I could not read I sought the help of my friend, Mr. W. Ivanow, who with his usual courtesy went through the whole of the material and we selected the following seven titles as being of real value:

Bobrinskoy, A. A. (Count). The Ismailiya Sect in the Russian and Bukhara Districts of Central Asia. Originally published in the "Ethnographic Review" of the Imperial Society of Anthropology and Ethnography at the University of Moscow, 1902, vol. II, pp. 1-20. Separately: Moscow, 1902, 18 pp. in 8vo. (Very scarce).

————*The Hillmen of the Upper Panjab, the Wakhanis and Ishkashimis.* With 20 photographs. Moscow, 1908. Pp. viii and 150, in 8vo.

Semenov, A. A. Shaikh Jalālu'd-dīn Rūmī according to the ideas of the Ismailis of Shughnan. *Zapiski*, vol. xxii, St. Petersburg, 1915, pp. 247-256.

————A Shughnani Ismaili Legend about the Bukhara Shaikh Bahā'u'd-dīn. *Zapiski*, vol. xxii, St. Petersburg, 1915, pp. 321-336.

[1] 1935, *JBBRAS*, 59-65.

[2] His letter, 25th February 1935.

————A review of Nāṣiri Khusraw's *Book of Travellers' Provision* (*Kitābi Zādu'l Musāfirīn*). *Iran*, vol. i, Leningrad, 1927, pp. 224-231.

Aziz Niallo. *By Hill Tracks*. Notes on a tour in the Pamirs. Tashkent, 1933, 12mo. 156 pages.

(Semenov, A. A. *A History of Ismailism* by Md. b. Zainu'l-'Ābidīni Khorāsānī Fidā'ī. *In the press.*)

Professor Kratchkovsky (Leningrad) pointed out that No. 12 in the previous list is edited and translated by E. Berthels. He also suggests that "for an exhaustive bibliography it is desirable to notice articles in some greater and special encyclopaedias, as for example, *Ency. of Religion and Ethics*, by Hastings (Muhammadanism), vol. viii; *Ency. Italiana*, (Agha Khan), I, 1923, 888; *Butiniti*, vi, 1930, 377; *Islamisti*, XIX, 1933, 633, etc., *Ency. Brittanica*, and in Handbooks of the History of Religions."[1]

Professor Strothmann (Hamburg) wrote[2] that the bibliography was complete and he added a few titles from a list by Prof. A. E. Schmidt (Tashkent) sent to *Der Islam*, which has not yet been printed. All of them are to be found in the list sent to me by Professor Semenov, selections from which are given above.

Professor Wensinck (Leiden) says[3] "I cannot supply you with new data regarding this subject. I only venture to mention the general descriptions of Islam, in which the Ismā'īlīya movement is made mention of, *e.g.* that by Professor Snouck Hurgronje in Ed. Lehrmann, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (Tübingen, vol. I, 640, esp. p. 609) and that by Prof. M. Guidi in *Storia della Religione* (Torino, 1935) II, esp. pp. 91-95."

Gratitude is due to these scholars for sending me these valuable suggestions and notes. It is unfortunate that except those in English, none of the above foreign works of reference is available to me in Bombay.

1 His letter, 14th May 1935.

2 His letter, 28th May 1935.

3 His letter, 7th October 1935.

Concluding these notes I should like to add the titles collected by me in respect of the year 1935.

FYZEE, ASAF A. A. Ismaili Law and its Founder. *Islamic Culture*, IX, 107-112.

———— Materials for an Ismaili Bibliography : 1920-34. *JBBRAS*, 59-65.

HAMDANI, DR. H. F. بحث تاريخى فى رسائل اخوان الصفاء عيسى البابى الحلبى، مصر. ١٣٥٤/١٩٣٥. Pp. 32.

IVANOW, W. *Kalāmi Pīr*, a treatise on Ismaili doctrine, also (wrongly) called *Haft-Bābi Shāh Sayyid Nāṣir*. Edited in the Persian Original and translated with an introduction. Pp. lxviii, 146, ١١٧. Islamic Research Association Series, No. 5, Bombay.

NADVI, SYED ABU ZAFAR. The Origin of the Bohras. *Islamic Culture*, IX, 638-644.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

CATALOGUE OF THE ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE. Vol. II. (Part) II. Ṣûfism and Ethics, by A. J. ARBERRY, M.A., Assistant Librarian. Published by order of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Oxford University Press, 1936.

Several scholars have been commissioned by the trustees of the India Office Library to catalogue the collections of the Manuscripts which have so far not been catalogued. Each section was entrusted to a specialist, and that of Sufism was in charge of A. J. Arberry. A great proportion of these MSS was collected many years ago in Delhi. Every student interested in MSS who comes in touch with circles in India connected with Persian and Arabic studies often hears stories about the priceless volumes which have been looted from the palaces of the sultans during the Mutiny, and then bought for a mere song by the British, and taken away to Europe. This is one of the many legends which grow luxuriantly not from facts but from the credulity of people. About 200 different Sufic works, catalogued in the present fascicle, give a good general idea about the character of the collection.

Those who expect to find here "priceless gems," carried away from India, will be sadly disappointed: the great majority of the volumes in the collection seem to be just of the same character as they are in all Indian libraries, chiefly consisting of fairly new copies, dating from the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries, written in mediocre hand, worm eaten, and not remarkable in any way; they are chiefly the works of well-known authors, such as Ghazali, Ibn 'Arabi, 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani, Sha'rani, 'Ali Muttaqi, and a few other well-known Arab and Indian Sufic writers. There are many collections in India which can apparently boast of more rarities and important works.

Of all European collections this one bears the greatest resemblance to that in the Royal Library in Berlin, catalogued by W. Ahlwardt. This is quite natural, because the Berlin collection also comes from India, where it was acquired by A. Sprenger,

approximately in the same localities. Therefore nearly every item is accompanied by a reference to the Berlin catalogue.

With regard to the technique of cataloguing, the work of Mr. Arberry seems excellent. It follows the wise and businesslike system of Ahlwardt who considered it his duty to give all essential information about the *works*, without trying to turn his catalogue into a collection of *biographies of the authors*, at the expense of the former. I would only add a few remarks concerning rather a dry and purely technical detail, *i.e.*, what may be called description of the MS as such. The cataloguer had to follow in this section the system, introduced by Rieu, of placing such details at the top of the note, even before the title of the MS, thereby giving it special importance, from a librarian's point of view. But, at the same time, these notes are not sufficiently detailed. Is it really sufficient, after more than a century of development of scientific cataloguing, to note that a certain MS is written in "small angular *naskhi*, with red rubrics?" Almost 98 per cent. of all MSS have red rubrics, and every Arabic handwriting may appear as angular. Moreover, these notes entirely omit to mention the kind of paper. All such details may be quite uninteresting to the great majority of the students referring to the catalogue. But they may be invaluable for purely library purposes, and for special study and classification of Manuscripts. Such indications, if detailed, help not only to trace different volumes belonging to one and the same set, and scattered in different libraries, but occasionally may give indications as to the origin, etc., of the work itself. Muhammadan handwritings, due to prevalence of different fashions, or "schools," are comparatively very easy to identify, with regard to the period and locality to which they belong.

With regard to the works described in the catalogue, it may be added that there is another copy of the *Tabwîb sharḥi'l-ḥikam* (No. 1337) in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. A Persian translation of No. 1355 (*'Aynu'l-'ilm*) is noted in my catalogue of the Government (or "Curzon") collection in the same library (No. 503). The *Bawâriqu'n-nûriyya* (No. 1391) seems to be a common work in India; there is another copy of it in the same collection. The last item in this fascicle, No. 1421, has nothing to do with Sufism. It is a most interesting, and (in

sectarian circles) well-known Ismaili work, by Qâḍî Nu'mân (d. 363/974), the *Kitâbu'l-himma fî âdâb atbâ'i'l-a'imma;* it gives an account of the principles and rules which the faithful have to follow when coming in contact with the Imams, *i.e.*, Fatimid caliphs (see No. 85 of my "Guide to Ismaili Literature"). Copies of it are very common in the private collections of the Bohoras, but the book is regarded as secret by them, and is never sold to outsiders. It would therefore be extremely interesting to find out how it came to Delhi, and found its way into a collection of purely orthodox books. The copy is incomplete,—there are three more chapters to follow:

ذكر النهى عن انكار افعال الائمة سلام‌الله عليهم و الامر بتلقيها منهم بالقبول،

ذكر ما ينبغى لمن استرعى الامر رعايا الائمة من السيرة العادلة بالعدل فمن ولوه من الامة،

ذكر ما ينبغي ان يستعمله الدعاة الى الائمة صلعم فى دعائهم اليهم،

The heading of the first chapter is abrupt; it should be:

ذكر ما ينبغى لاتباع الائمة من اعتقاد ولايتهم و التدين بامامتهم و طاعتهم،

W. Ivanow.

The Tuhfa i Sami (section V) of Sam Mirza Safawi, edited in the original Persian, with an index, Persian and English prefaces, variants and notes, by Mawlawi Iqbal Husain, M.A., B.L. Published by the Patna University, Patna, 1934.

Manuscripts of Sam Mirza's anthology are extremely rare, and therefore are only accessible to few students. Every one interested in Persian literature would therefore welcome an edition of this work, about which the late Prof. E. G. Browne

was always so enthusiastic. But now that a considerable portion of the *Tuḥfa* has been printed in Patna, it is rather difficult not to feel disappointed. Partly because the meagre biographical notes given by Sam Mirza were repeatedly quoted by the compilers of later anthologies of this type, and partly because in the course of time more information has been collected from other sources, yet at present it is not easy to realise the cause of Browne's great admiration.

It is decidedly a pity that the editor was in such a hurry to publish the fifth section only, before other parts, thus disintegrating the work which is not large by itself. Surely, nothing specially terrible would have happened if he had postponed the publication until he had had time to prepare the whole work. It is still more regrettable because this appears as a publication patronized by the University of Patna. It is quite natural for beginners to lack a sense of proportion ; their ambitions often prompt them to mouth a bit which they are unable to swallow. Therefore Orientalistic literature produced by the younger generation of Indians, trained in European methods, abounds in grand undertakings which either are dropped at the start, or abandoned in the middle never to be brought to completion. Universities in India, whatever they are, should, after all, exercise some sort of guidance over their students, and it would only be proper that they would in every possible way discourage premature bursts of scholarship exhibited in piecemeal and unfinished works, and insist on the policy that only complete and mature works should be accepted for publication.

The book from the beginning to the end bears the stamp of haste which makes it raw. Surely, if the editor had bestirred himself with searching in historical works for information about Sam Mirza, he could have found much more than the well-known account which he took from Rieu and Browne. The haphazard notes on biographies of the poets mentioned in the text, and taken from well-known works, are scarcely an improvement. Either they should be given systematically, and be complete, or dropped altogether. As they stand they are of no use whatever to any serious student. The crude and elementary *fihrist* at the end is scarcely sufficient for serious work.

It would be well if the work was brought to completion, and the other parts printed. But it would be better to prepare the text without special haste. It always pays to be careful in proof-reading. There are here and there passages in the poetical quotations which seem to be meaningless, but it is difficult to suggest emendations without referring to the original MS. Such slips as the Indian bazar "*bâdshâh*", or *Hidâyatu'l-lâh*, written with ordinary *t* (*tâ'i qarasht*), may be good in Urdu newspapers, but they are unbearable in the work whose author was a highly educated Persian prince.

W. I.

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Urdu Mss. in the Library of the University of Bombay, by Khan Bahadur Professor Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ḳadir-e-Sarfarāz, I.E.S. (Rtd.). Liii+432 pp. Bombay University, 1935.

The long-expected catalogue of the University Arabic and Persian MSS. has at last come, and we may say, with the Persians, دیر آید درست آید. The catalogue before us is a sound piece of work and the author has done well to follow closely in the footsteps of such a recognized master of the art as W. Ivanow. The author describes 176 volumes in 243 notices. The catalogue is fuller in many respects than existing models, and replete with scholarly information. It gives the impression of undue prolixity.

A number of MSS. are described with great fulness, *e.g. Haft Iqlīm* (p. 67); *Kulliyāti Ṣā'ib* (p. 124); *Dīwāni Ẓuhūrī* (p. 170); *Shāhnāma* (p. 299). In a few instances the learned author has thrown fresh light on the MSS. examined. For example, he attempts to prove by internal evidence that *Nāmai Khiyālāt* (p. 33) cannot be ascribed to Amīr Khusraw, as it generally is. Many authorities believe that the *Dīwān* of Ibn Yāmīn is lost; Professor Shaikh has given us reasons to believe that a copy is extant in the Bombay University Collection (54). In regard to *Maẓharu'l-'Ajā'ib* he accepts the view held by Professor Ḥāfiẓ Māḥmūd Sherānī (Lahore) that the poem is a fraud, and cannot be the work of Farīdu'd-dīn 'Aṭṭār. We have touched only a few of the interesting points; there are many others which will fully repay study. In some instances, like his treatment of Firdawsī's

Shāhnāma, the author has gone far beyond the usual scope of a catalogue and included much useful and up-to-date information.

In regard to transliteration the learned author has neither adopted the scheme of W. Ivanow in its entirety, nor of any recognized scholar, nor of any Oriental Society. Although transliteration is often a matter for individual taste, and a certain divergence from the norm may be permissible, we do not approve of the variations in Ivanow's system introduced here. In the first place, it seems quite unnecessary to transliterate the *kasra* of *iḍāfat* by *e*. Secondly, even ordinarily *e* and *i* are used quite arbitrarily for the vowel *kasra*. For example, Ṣā'ib and 'Ādilshāh are spelt normally, and then we have, for no apparent reason, *She'ru'l-'Ajam*, *Khizāna-e-Āmera*, *Tuḥfa-e-Naṣā'ch*, Sayyed, etc.

It must be remembered that no scheme of transliteration ever gives, or professes to give, a complete phonetic equivalent of one language into another. For that we have the International Phonetic Script. All that can usefully be done is *the systematic transposition of the letters of one alphabet into another*. The English letter *i* stands for *kasra*, however it may be pronounced; so does the symbol *ḍ* for ض. It would create altogether too many difficulties if dialectical and phonetic variations are to be considered in each instance. One symbol should therefore be used for a vowel or consonant. Besides, pronunciation differs from age to age, and even province to province. The modern Persian pronounces ق as غ; shall we therefore transliterate *khalgh* for خلق? The present-day Egyptian pronounces ج as گ; how then shall we transliterate the letter, by *j* or *g*? And how shall we differentiate between *yāyi ma'rūf* and *yāyi majhūl*? Shall we allow the Persians the right to pronounce their language as they please, or shall we teach them the correct pronunciation of their own tongue? The learned author has *Soz o Gudāz* (p. 206) and *afsos* (p. 213); which would probably be considered as barbarous Indianisms by the highbrow Persian.

For these reasons we would have preferred the learned Shaikh not to have made the variations he has thought fit to make in the standard scheme of transliteration adopted by Ivanow and some others.

The get-up of the volume is good ; but the type is too large and unsuitable. The paper is too thick and makes the volume very bulky.

Our gratitude is due to the author for his painstaking and scholarly work. We hope the University of Bombay will take up the question of enriching its meagre collection of Arabic and Persian MSS. in right earnest, and not allow it to remain at its present, very modest proportions.

A. A. A. F.

AN ARAB ACCOUNT OF INDIA IN THE 14TH CENTURY, being a translation of the chapters on India from al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥu'l-A'shā*. By OTTO SPIES (Aligarh). 78 pages, demi 8vo. Jamia Millia Press, Delhi, 1935.

DR. SPIES is doing the useful work of encouraging at Aligarh the study of Arabic geographical, historical and scientific works. Indian students generally restrict themselves to the study of *ḥadīth, tafsīr, fiqh* and *adab* ; thus a large part of the legacy of Islam remains to be studied by the European scholars. For example, the Arabian contributions to geography, the exact sciences, such as algebra, trigonometry, navigation and mathematics, medicine, pure philosophy and music are almost entirely neglected by us in India; while it is the West that studies these topics systematically and discloses to us the true glory of Islamic civilization. But for the work of de Goeje in geography, of Ruska and Holmyard in chemistry, of Schoy in mathematics, Ferrand in navigation—not to mention a host of others—what would we know of the contributions of Muslim scholars in these subjects ?

It is for this reason that we greatly welcome a work like that of Dr. Spies which throws considerable light on the India of the 14th Century, A.D. Dr. Spies begins with an introduction giving us information about the author and his work, showing that the *Ṣubḥu'l-A'shā* is not so important as was once thought for the study of the early history of India, because al-Qalqashandī describes the India of Muḥammad Tughlaq, and merely follows, in most instances, the *Masāliku'l-Absār* of Ibn Faḍlu'l-lāh al-'Omarī.

The translation is entertaining and contains some delicious travellers' yarns. For instance, " the island of Zābaj " (pp. 43-44)

is described as being so high as to be visible from the mountains of the Yemen; in it there is a mountain wherein burns an everlasting fire, which can be seen from a great distance; there are big snakes in it which swallow up "men and buffaloes and elephants"—almost the rod of Moses, one presumes. This is only one illustration, instances of this kind could easily be multiplied.

We feel certain that a translation of this character would be of value for the study of the history of India in the Early Muslim period. The text of *Ṣubḥu'l-A'shā* is not available to me, but from what is known of the work of the learned translator, the translation would appear to be carefully prepared and reliable. The use of a few expressions however is questionable; "circumjacent" (p. 15) is hardly necessary, "surrounding countries" is simpler and better; on p. 9 we have "His *informations*, therefore, *are* ...."; "climate" (p. 19) has now come to acquire another sense, "clime" or "region" or "zone" would perhaps be better. These are not all, but on the whole the translation reads well.

We hope Dr. Spies will continue his work on the early Arab authors on India.

A. A. A. F.

THREE TREATISES ON MYSTICISM by SHIHĀBU'D-DĪN SUHRAWERDĪ MAQTŪL. Edited and translated by O. SPIES and S. K. KHATAK. Kitābistan, Allahabad, 1935. Rs. 6.

This volume consists of the text of three Persian *risālas* by Shihābu'd-dīn Suhrawerdī, the well-known Ṣūfī martyr, namely, *Lughati Mūrān*, *Ṣafīri Sīmurgh*, and *Risālatu'ṭ-Ṭair*. There is also a Persian commentary on the last named, and a biography of the author according to the *Nuzhatu'l-Arwāḥ* of Shahrazūrī. It appears that Professor Spies, in collaboration with Monsieur H. Cobbin, has planned a proper study of Suhrawerdī's works. Prof. Spies has already edited the *Mu'nīsu'l-'Ushshāq*, and now gives us these three *risālas*. M. Cobbin is to edit *Pari Jibrīl*. We welcome these carefully edited and translated Persian texts on mysticism, as they throw considerable light on the philosophical thought of the 6th Century A. H.

A. A. A. F.

ARABŌN KĪ JAHĀZ-RĀNĪ (Arab Navigation) by SAIYID SULAIMĀN NADWĪ. (In Urdu). Islamic Research Association Series, No. 5. 199 pages, demi 8vo. Re. 1. Bombay, 1935. (Printed at the Ma'ārif Press, Azamgadh, U. P.).

This is a collection of four lectures delivered in March, 1931, at the Anjuman-i-Islam High School, at the invitation of the Department of Education, Government of Bombay, and contains valuable material for the first time presented to Indian readers on the subject of the contribution of the Arabs to the science of Navigation. The book contains linguistic and historical information and is written in a lucid style. Being the first book of its kind in Urdu, it is likely to be of great use to readers of that language.

A. A. A. F.

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY JOURNAL, (Aligarh). Vol. II, No. 3. June, 1935.

The chief article in this number is "An Arab account of India in the 14th century," being the translation of an extract from The *Ṣubḥu'l-A'shā* of al-Qalqashandī, which we have already reviewed. The number contains varied material, ranging from a comparison of Dryden with the Urdu poet Saudā, to subjects connected with the *I'jāzu'l-Qur'ān*. It is doubtful whether such a heterogeneous collection is of real value. The Editors would do well to follow some different line of selection of material.

A. A. A. F.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE of the Government Collections of Manuscripts deposited at the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute: Vol. XVII Jain Literature and Philosophy; Part I (*a*) Āgamika Literature; pp. xxii+390. Part II (*a*) Āgamika Literature; pp. xxiii+363+24. Compiled by HIRALAL RASIKDAS KAPADIA, M.A. Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona, 1935, 1936. Rs. 4 each part.

The long awaited Descriptive Catalogue of the Jain Manuscripts of the Bombay Government deposited at the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, has at last made its appearance. In the general scheme of the Descriptive Catalogue of all the Mss. of the Government Library, Vol. XVII is assigned to Jain Literature and Philosophy

and is being compiled by Prof. H. R. Kapadia. Part one of this volume describes the Mss. of the 11 Aṅgas, the 12 Upāṅgas and the Prakīrṇakas of which 10 are considered as the principal ones, while the second part describes the Mss. of the 6 Cheda Sūtras and the 2 Cūlikā Sūtras, *i.e.*, the Nandī and the Anuyogadvāra.

The catalogue is very well prepared. It however seems to attach too much importance to the description of even the unimportant details pertaining to the external form of the manuscript, whereas, information regarding the date of the work, its author and such other data as is useful for the historical reconstruction of Jain Literature, gathered from the contents of the Ms. is generally not given. The defect is however to a certain extent, made up by the copious references given under a separate heading at the end. In arranging for description the Mss. of one and the same work, the author does not seem to have followed any sound principle. The result is that (A) among the Mss. of one and the same Collection, those that bear a subsequent serial number are often described before others that have an earlier one. See for example, Part I, pp. 7 and 8 (No. 364 before No. 11 of 1880-81); Part I, pp. 34 and 36 (No. 145 before No. 144 of 1872-73); Part I, pp. 48 and 49 (No. 222 before No. 221 of 1873-74); Part I, pp. 116 and 117 (No. 193 before No. 192 of 1871-72) and so on. Nos. 152 and 153 of 1871-72 are unnecessarily separated on pp. 1 and 4 of the same Part. (B) The Mss. of the earlier Collections are described before those of the later ones, throughout the two parts without any purpose: thus No. 364 of 1880-81 is described before No. 80 of 1872-73 at Part I, pp. 7-8; see also pp. 9 and 11 (No. 2 of 1881-82 before No. 372 of 1879-80); pp. 12-15 (No. 621 of 1892-95 before No. 29 of 1866-68, No. 79 of 1872-73 and No. 1085 of 1887-91) and so on. (C) The vernacular commentaries on a Sūtra are described either before the Sanskrit and Prakrit ones or in the midst of them. See Part I, pp. 59-61 (vernacular com.) and pp. 57-58 and 62-67 (Sanskrit commentaries); Part I, pp. 135 (verna. com.) and pp. 136-138 (Sanskrit commentaries); Part I, pp. 161 (verna. com.) and pp. 162-166 (Sanskrit commentaries); Part I, pp. 185 (verna. com.) and pp. 186-190 (Sanskrit commentaries); Part I, pp. 275-278 and 280-281 (Sanskrit commentaries)

and between them p. 279 (vernacular com.); Part II, p. 42 (verna. com.) and pp. 43-58 (Prakrit and Sanskrit com.); Part II, pp. 90-180 (Sanskrit com.), then pp. 181-186 (verna. com.) and then pp. 187-199 (Sanskrit commentaries: the Mss. of the Sandehavisaudhji on pp. 90-94 and 187-189 are unnecessarily separated); Part II, pp. 230-245 and 248-254 (Sanskrit and Prakrit commentaries) and between them pp. 246-247 (verna. com.); Part II, pp. 297 (verna. com.) and pp. 298-308 (Sk. and Pk. com). (D) The Mss. of works based on the Sūtras are described in the midst of the Mss. of the Sūtras themselves rather than at the end; thus the Ṣaṭtriṁśikās based on the Bhagavatī Sūtra are described in the midst (pp. 92-110) of the Mss. of the Bhagavatī Sūtra (pp. 80-91 and 110-112); similarly the Mss. of the Bharatacaritra, which is a portion of the Jambūdvīpaprajñapti Sūtra, is described in the midst (pp. 231-232) of Mss. of the Sūtra itself (pp. 215-230 and 233-240); both these are from Part I. (E) One or two awkward references, which it is very difficult to trace, are made at Part I, p. 23 and Part II, pp. 103, 256; the references are to the original numbers in the Collections, whereas they should have been to the serial numbers given to the Mss. in the present catalogue or at least to its pages.

These are no doubt minor defects but they cause much annoyance to the reader and spoil the appearance of an otherwise good work. We are sure they will be avoided in the future parts of the Catalogue which are eagerly awaited.

H. D. V.

'Die Lehre Der Jainas nach den alten Quellen Dargestellt' by Walther Schubring. Published in the Grundriss Der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Alterṭumskunde, Vol. III, Part VII. Berlin und Leipzig, 1935.

The efforts of Prof. W. Schubring in the field of Jain Research are too many and too well-known to be recounted here; but his latest contribution in this behalf, namely, Die Lehre Der Jainas nach den alten Quellen dargestellt is surely the best and the most useful one. In this learned book, he gives us a masterly exposition of the different topics connected with Jain Religion and Philosophy,

such as the nature and origin of the world with all its varied forms of life and matter, man's position in its midst, and the ways and means by which freedom from the bonds of the world is to be secured by him according to the teaching of the Jainas. The important peculiarity of this exposition is that it is supported at every step by references to the Jain Agamas. This makes the book invaluable and indispensable to students of Jainism at all times. The two chapters at the commencement, one on the history of Jain Research both in the East and in the West and another on the history of the origin and growth of Jainism, as also the Bibliographical survey given at the end have greatly added to the utility of the book.

The book is written in German and is for that reason not available to many, especially Indian, workers in the field of Jainism. We therefore earnestly request the author to consider seriously the question of publishing an English translation of this excellent book in the near future.

H. D. V.

ŚRĪMUKUNDAMĀLĀ (WITH TĀTPARYADĪPIKĀ OF RĀGHAVĀNANDA), edited by K. RAMA PISHAROTI, M.A. and published in the Annamalai University Sanskrit Series: No. I, Annamalainagar, 1933. Pp. vii+68+xxiv. Price Rupees 3.

Mukundamālā is supposed to be the earliest religious lyric in Sanskrit composed towards the end of the 7th century A.D. It is often printed, but as the editor tells us, the text in no two editions agree(s) and 'the text in the present edition does not agree with the same in any edition so far issued'. It is however not the aim of the editor to attempt to arrive at the original text of this important poem by a comparison of the various forms of it preserved in the different recensions, but merely to present to the reader a text of the poem which he believes to be more authentic than any other, because it was accepted as authentic and commented upon by Rāghavānanda, the commentator of the 17th century.

The author of the poem is King Kulaśekhara of Kerala, who lived in the 7th century according to the editor. The utility of

the edition is enhanced by the republication in the Appendix, of the editor's learned paper on Kulaśekharas of Kerala. This paper was first read before the VIth All-India Oriental Conference and published in the *Indian Historial Quarterly*, Volume VII, p. 319, The three indexes given at the end are also useful.

H. D. V.

THE JOURNAL OF THE VEDIC STUDIES, edited by Prof. RAGHU VIRA and others and published by Messrs. MEHER CHAND LACHHAMAN DAS, Lahore; Vol. I. No. 1, January, 1934. Annual subscription Rs. 12 or 20/-s.

We heartily welcome this first number of the first volume of the Journal of the Vedic Studies. The Journal is intended for the publication of unknown and rare Vedic texts in critical editions and also of articles dealing with higher criticism, exegesis and comparative studies. It is edited by Prof. Raghu Vira, M.A., Ph. D., &c., of Lahore, and A. C. Woolner, M.A., D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University (since deceased), Prof F. Edgerton of theYale University, Prof. A. B. Keith of the University of Edinburgh, Prof. Dr. H. Oertel of the University of Munich, and Dr. L. Renou of Paris.

The first number contains the texts of (1) the Gonāmika, a newly discovered Pariśiṣṭa of the Maitrāyaṇīya School, (2) the Drāhyāyaṇa Śrauta Sūtra with the commentary of Dhanvin, Paṭalas 11-15, and (3) the Bhāradvāja Śrauta Sūtra, Darśapūrṇamāsa, Praśnas 1-3, all critically edited by Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira from a number of Mss. At the end are given diagrams of Vedic fire altars required for the Ubhayataḥ Prauga and the Prauga Citis by the editor. We wish all success to the editors and the publishers in this new enterprise of theirs.

H. D. V.

THE RĀJA-DHARMA-KAUSTUBHA OF ANANTADEVA, edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya KAMALAKRISHNA SMRITITIRTHA and published in the Gaikwad's Oriental Series, Baroda. Pp. xxvii+506. Rs. 10.

A melancholy interest attaches to the publication of this work on *rājadharma* (king's duties and privileges). The editor, the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Kamalakrishna Smrititirtha, suddenly

passed away while the work was in the press to the regret of all Sanskrit scholars. Fortunately the famous scholar left behind a learned and dutiful son, Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L., who as in the ancient days of Bāṇa and his son, carried out with great ability and filial duty the work left unfinished by his revered father. The late Mahāmahopādhyāya, who edited about a dozen works principally on Dharmaśāstra, was an erudite scholar and combined in himself the best in the methods of the East and the West. The text is beautifully printed and Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya has added a useful introduction giving the personal history of the author Anantadeva (who belonged to the latter half of the 17th century) and a synopsis of the work. The original work is divided into four sections called dīdhitis (on *pratiṣṭhā vāstukarma*, *rājyābhiṣeka* and *prajāpālana*). We commend the work to all who are interested in the study of mediæval dharmaśāstra.

P. V. K.

THE BṚHATĪ OF PRABHĀKARAMIŚRA WITH THE ṚJUVIMALĀPAÑCIKA OF ŚĀLIKANĀTHA, edited by Prof. S. K. RAMANATHA SASTRI and published by the University of Madras, 1934. Pp. 424. Rs. 5.

This is a unique publication and the learned editor and the Madras University have laid under a deep debt all Sanskrit scholars, particularly those interested in the study of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā system. The Bṛhati, the commentary of Prabhākara on the Bhāṣya of Śābara, was known from quotations and references but no edition had so far been published. The present volume contains the Bṛhatī on the Tarkapāda (*i.e.*, Jaimini I-1). In spite of the fact that the text presented here is based on a single Ms. of the Bṛhatī, the text is readable enough, thanks to the herculean efforts of the editor. The usefulness of the edition is enhanced by the addition of an index of quotations most of which are traced to their sources. We may point out that the quotation 'sa sādhubhir-bahiṣkāryaḥ' on p. 284 (which is left unidentified) is Manusmṛti II. 11 (latter half). All scholars will anxiously await the publication of further instalments of the Bṛhatī.

P. V. K.

THE PADYĀVALI OF RUPAGOSVĀMIN, edited with an Introduction and Notes by Prof. S. K. DE, published by the University of Dacca. Pp. cxliv (Introduction) +1—178 (text) and 181-296 (notes and appendices).

Prof. De must be congratulated on the thorough way in which this work has been edited. The present edition is based on sixteen Mss. and two printed editions. This work is an anthology, but derives additional interest from the fact that its author was a famous disciple of Caitanya, the founder of Bengal Vaishnavism. The exhaustive introduction gives an account of the origin and development of the Vaiṣṇava movement under Caitanya and the part played by Rūpagosvāmin in it, and the important doctrines of Bengal Vaishnavism.

The text has been very carefully edited and in the footnotes important readings have been noted. The verses of the Padyāvali are selected and arranged so as to illustrate the general features of Bhakti as a *rasa*.

The notes at the end give information about the authors quoted in the Padyāvali. There are indices, at the end of the verses, of the authors and of metres. Altogether this is a very scholarly edition and reflects great credit on the author and the Dacca University.

P. V. K.

THE UPANIṢADS, WITH THE COMMENTARY OF SRI UPANISHAD-BRAHMA-YOGIN, edited by the Pandits of the Adyar Library under the superintendence of Prof. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., PH.D. Vol. I. Pp. 485.

This volume contains eight out of the ten principal Upaniṣads (*i.e.*, excluding the Chāndogya and Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads). The text and the commentary are beautifully printed and the general get-up is excellent. There is a Sanskrit index of names, and another of important words. For understanding the Advaitic interpretation of the Upaniṣads the commentary is very helpful and is written in a lucid though concise manner. This volume may be easily recommended to the general reader as a handy one for the study of the Upaniṣads.

P. V. K.

ORIENTAL STUDIES IN HONOUR OF CURSETJI ERACHJI PAVRY. Edited by J. DASTUR CURSETJI PAVRY. Pp. xviii + 503. London, Oxford University Press, 1933. 50/-

In this scholarly volume, which no single reviewer can hope adequately to review, homage is offered by the world of scholarship to a great Parsee scholar, Dastur Cursetji Erachji Pavry, on his 70th Birthday. His son, also a distinguished savant and traveller, has with filial reverence, sponsored the volume and edited it. We cannot do better than mention some of the illustrious names, with the subjects of their papers. There is a biographical sketch by Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson. W. Barthold writes on Der iranische Buddhismus und sein verhältnis zum Islām; C. A. F. Rhys Davids, on Urvan and the Devadūta Sutta; A. V. Williams Jackson, on a Manichaean fragment; A. Berriedale Keith, on the home of the Indo-Europeans; D. S. Margoliouth, on the poems of Mihyar the Dailemite; E. J. Thomas, on Recent theories of non-Iranian elements in ancient Persian; Sten Konow, on the Sakas and Zoroastrianism; Hanns Oertel, on the background of the Pantheistic Monism of the Upanishads. There are about sixty more articles from other Oriental scholars, specially written for this learned volume.

MEDIÆVAL INDIAN SCULPTURE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. By RAMAPRASAD CHANDA, F.A.S.B. With an Introduction by R. L. HOBSON, C.B. Published by Kegan Paul Trench Trubner & Co., London. Pp. xiv + 77 + 24 plates. 10/6.

This book, to begin with, is a very competent guide to the British Museum, for those interested in Mediæval Indian Sculpture. And as such, it fills a long-felt want. For, the subjects depicted in the Sculptures are so complex that without such instruction as is herein afforded, it is hardly possible for the layman to grasp the meaning the artist wants to convey; and in consequence he is liable to be robbed of a part of his pleasure by sheer bewilderment.

But the book is something more as well. Mr. Chanda offers guidance not only to the æsthetic and symbolic aspects of the representative specimens, but he does so in relation to the genre and the period to which they belong. He brings to the taste a

wide knowledge and experience, and even to the general reader the book should provide useful introduction to the subject.

EARLY BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES—a Selection. Translated and edited by EDWARD J. THOMAS, M.A., D.LITT., and published by Kegan Paul Trench Trubner & Co., Ltd., London, 1935. Pp. xxv+232. 10/6.

This volume contains translations of selected Suttas from Buddhist literature, both the Mahāyāna and the Hīnāyāna. The selection is made 'with the intention of presenting the main doctrines as impartially as possible, as they were understood by the compilers of the Canon.' The selection has been judiciously made and is sure to give the reader a fairly correct idea of the Master's life, His teachings and the Brotherhood that he started and organised. It also shows that all the scriptures contain some common fundamental doctrines of Buddhism in spite of the further developments of different schools. The topics illustrated in the book are:— (1) Biographical, (2) The Disciples' career, (3) Nirvāṇai, (4) Special doctrines, (5) Buddhology, (6) Discourses to laymen, (7) Other schools, (8) The monastic organisation. The translation reads natural. At a time, when interest in Buddhism is increasing, such informative works written in a spirit of critical enquiry, are welcome.

N. K. B.

BUDDHIST BIBLIOGRAPHY. Compiled by ARTHUR C. MARCH, and published by the Buddhist Lodge, London, 1935. Pp. 257.21/.

The author has done a useful service to Students of Buddhism by bringing out this handy volume of Bibliography.

The book is divided into 2 parts. The first is an Author-Index (or rather 2 Author indexes) and the second consists of an analytical Subject Index. The author proposes to issue in the month of May each year, supplements, indexing new works published during the year, as well as those that may have been omitted from the present work.

We congratulate the Buddhist Lodge for publishing a much-needed bibliography.

N. K. B.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE THIRD DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGARA. By N. VENKATA RAMANAYYA, M.A., PH.D., Madras University Historical Series No. 11. University of Madras. 1935. 6″×9″. Pp. xxxvii+527. Price Rs. 5/- or 7*sh.* 6*d.* Stiff bound cover.

The work under review shows a marked improvement upon Dr. Ramaṇayya's earlier attempts at studying the history of Vijayanagara which we have reviewed elsewhere (*Journal of the Bombay Historical Society* III and *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 1936). The author has presented to us in this work an attractive picture of the thirteen years of complicated history (A.D. 1530—A.D. 1543) of the reign of the Emperor Acyuta Deva Rāya and some details concerning the great Regent Aḷiya Rāma Rāja. He has shown a better grasp of the situation in this work than in his previous books, especially in the comparative study he has made of the indigenous and foreign accounts (Intr. pp. xvii, xxxi) and in the able manner in which he has enlivened his narrative with details concerning the *veli-guḍāra*, etc. (p. 133).

We wish we had stopped here; but it is our misfortune that we have to proceed further—in the cause of historical accuracy. Of the three parts into which the book is divided, *viz.*, the history of Vijayanagara from A.D. 1530 till A.D. 1543, pp. 3-93; Administrative Institutions, pp. 93-315; and Religious and Social Conditions, pp. 315-447, the first one dealing with political history fails to make any impression on serious students of Vijayanagara history. The reasons are obvious. The two great hinges on which Dr. Ramanayya's work rests are Nuniz and the *Local Records*. He rightly rejects many of the statements of Firishtah as unreliable (p. xxx), but places too much reliance on Fernão Nuniz whom he calls "thoroughly trustworthy" (p. xxv), and whose account he styles as "the most valuable" (p. xxv). This has naturally led the author to square the known facts of history with the statements of Nuniz. (On the unreliability of Nuniz as an eye-witness, read Saletore, *Indian Antiquary*, XLV 1932, pp. 2-3). The result is disastrous.

Dr. Ramaṇayya believes in the fiction of the foundation of the city in A.D. 1336, as given by Nuniz (and others too, we may as well say!) (p. xxviii). Nuniz's "testimony" leads the author to

reject the hitherto accepted facts relating to Vīra Narasimaha Śellappa's rebellion against Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya (p. 25), and thereby to bring forward a few theories concerning that rebel (pp. 22-7) which leave the matter more complicated than ever! Even if we agree with the author that Nuniz is a reliable foreign witness, yet on the strength of Dr. Ramaṇayya's own statements that Portuguese traveller ceases to command our attention. For, while making a comparative study of the indigenous authorities (the *Rāyavācakamu* by an anonymous *sthānāpati* [priest] of Viśvanātha Nāyanayya, Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's *Āmuktamalyadā*, and Tirumalācārya's *Nītiśa-sapadya sūtaka* which, it must be remembered, are eulogistic and theoretical accounts) and of the narrative of Nuniz, in regard to the severe discipline which the Emperor subjected himself to, (pp. 101-102), the reader will see easily that in no item is there any unanimity of opinion between the foreign traveller and the Hindu authors! Even the quotation from Nuniz on p. 103, n. seems to violate the few facts we know of the great Brahman generals like Rāyasam Koṇḍamarusayya and others, about whom it cannot certainly be said, as Nuniz declares of all Brahmans, that they were "well formed but little fit for hard work." Dr. Ramaṇayya forgets, while delineating the alleged conquest of Quilon by Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya (p. 28) that Nuniz places Catuir on the Coromandel coast (Sewell, *Forg. Emp.* p. 321). Why the author has failed to refer to Nuniz's graphic account of Emperor Acyuta's misrule (*e.g.*, pp. 242-3), one does not know.

It is not so much this partiality to Nuniz that is deplorable, but the manner in which the author cuts the facts of history to suit his dimensions. (The opening quotation from Sewell, p. 3, is wrong. Cf. Sewell, *ibid*, pp. 366-7). Dr. Ramaṇayya discusses the question of the successor of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya (about the date of whose death, by-the-bye, the author is uncertain: it is placed between May and October A.D. 1529 on p. 3, and later on in A.D. 1529-1530, pp. 23-25), and utilizes the evidence of a stone inscription to prove his assertions (pp. 4-14).

Dr. Ramaṇayya writes thus—"According to an inscription of Tirumaladeva, son of Kṛṣṇarāya, dated Śaka 1446 . . . a certain Konappa Nāyaka is said to have administered *gangōḍaka* to Kṛṣṇarāya" (p. 3). The reference given is wrong, the translation

erroneous, and the sense absurd. There is no *Mi.* in *E.C.* IX. but only *Mā* (gaḍi). (On the same page, para 1st, the author refers to *E.C.* the volume number of which is not given. It should be *E.C.X.*, and *Sd.* should be *Sg.*). The inscription relates the following—that in the time of Tirumala Deva, son of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, Konappa Nāyaka, who was the *bearer* of the Ganges water to Kṛṣṇ Deva Rāya (*Kṛṣṇadeva mahārāyarige Gangōdaka sevitar appa, E. C.* IX. Mg. 82, text, p. 132), made a specified grant that *dharma* might be to Tirumalarāya and to Timmaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka. There is nothing in this record to prove that Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya was dead, that Konappa *administered the Gangōdaka* to him, and that Tirumala Deva died in A.D. 1524, as the author imagines on p. 5. The author's failure to understand the significance of this record is responsible for his statement that Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya set aside the claims of his young son (p. 13), and the consequent unintelligible assertions on p. 14.

Turning to the other main source for the narrative of Dr. Ramaṇayya, we come to the *Local Records* and the *Mackenzie Collections*. Between the years A.D. 1796 and A.D. 1806, Captain Colin Mackenzie was deputed to collect all notices of inscriptions, oral and written tradition, etc., in fact all kinds of historical and legendary notices available in the Madras Presidency and the Nizam's Dominions. The result of this admirable survey was embodied in the *Mackenzie Collections* and later on in the *Local Records* by Mr. C. P. Brown, who had them corrected and retranscribed. These accounts were written in the last years of the eighteenth and in the early years of the nineteeth century A.D., and the persons who were entrusted with the work of collecting information, especially that relating to what Dr. Ramaṇayya calls "inscriptions," were merely petty hired-officials who can in no sense be compared to the trained men we are now having in the Government Archæological Department. All that they did was to give most often eye-copies of the inscriptions. To rely on them, as Dr. Ramaṇayya does (p. xxxv), and to assert that the Mss. mentioned in the *Local Records* and in the *Mackenzie Collections* give us an adequate idea of the conditions in the Vijayanagara Empire (as the author does with the *Aṭṭhavana Tantra*) is to underrate the value of contemporary records and to lessen the worth of

one's own work in the eyes of scholars. Only one instance is enough to prove that what is mentioned in the *Local Records* is by no means accurate. The *Local Records* maintain that Malla Rāja was the son of Depaṇṇa of Ummattūr (p. 40). But contemporary Ummattūr inscriptions tell us that Depaṇṇa had two sons—Immaḍi Depaṇṇa and Cikka Rāja Oḍeyar. (*E.C.* IV. p. 27). In the discussion of this question of the conquest of Ummattūr Dr. Ramaṇayya has got himself lost (pp. 34 seq.). The remarks on village organization (p. 161 seq.), police system (p. 253 seq.), and quite a number of details pertaining to administration and social institutions are based on the *Local Records* and the *Mackenzie Collections*, although, it must be admitted, the author has made use occasionally of Telugu literature.

Equally serious objection may be raised against the author's method of asserting facts and statements. How the author failed to acknowledge Sewell's identification of the son of Emperor Acyuta (*Forg. Emp.* p. 11) in his remarks on the same point (p. 11), cannot be understood. It is doubtful whether Acyuta Deva Rāya was the first to celebrate his coronation outside the Empire (p. 13), for, as the late Mr. B. Venkoba Rao rightly pointed out, Sāluva Nṛsimha seems to have done the same. (Intr. to Somanatha's *Vyāsayogicaritam*, p. cxvi.) Dr. Ramaṇayya makes Sāluva Narasinga Rāya patron and friend of Acyuta Deva Rāya (p. ibid) but, according to Ḍiṇḍima, it was Narasa Nāyaka who performed the coronation of that ruler (*The Sources*, p. 161). Nuniz does not say, as the author asserts (p. 26) that Salvanayque was the *prime* minister at the commencement of Acyuta Deva Rāya's reign. (Sewell, *op. cit. p.* 384.) Timmappayya was not the *lord* of Acyuta Deva Raya's treasury (p. 110) but merely his treasury officer (*bhaṇḍārakke karttarāda*) (*E. C.* IX. Cp. 152, p. 164).

Dr. Ramaṇayya has misunderstood the term *dharmada-pārupatyagāra* (ibid p.) It is not in "the capacity of *dharmada-pārupatyagāra*" that Aliya Rāma Rāja commanded a copy of a *dāna-śāsana* to be re-examined, but it was Sadāśiva Rāya who had it re-examined and granted. It had been given in the days of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya and set up in stone in the *dharmada pārupatya* (regime of righteousness) of Aḷiya Rāma Rāja. (*E. C.* XI. Mk. 1, p. 90). *Sunkadavaru* has never meant tax-farmers and their representatives

a. Pāṭaliputra. Head of a happy boy
Patna Museum

b. Haḍḍa. Head of a happy boy
Kābul Museum

a. Sārnāth. Elephant on the plinth of the capital of Aśoka's Pillar
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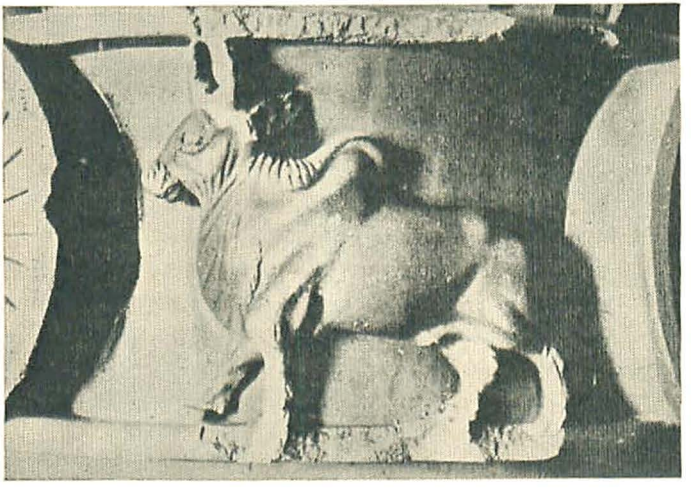

b. Sārnāth. Bull on the plinth of the capital of Aśoka's Pillar
Copyright. Archæological Survey of India

(p. 112) but only customs officials. Inscriptions gives us not only two kinds of *koḍage* grants (p. 184) but seven (Saletore, *Social and Political Life,* II. p. 253). In the division of the Vijayanagara army only cavalry, infantry, and elephants are mentioned (pp. 124 seq.), but nothing about the other three indispensable parts—camels, bulls, and artillery—is given by the author. We do not know how the statements in regard to the rulers of Gerasoppe and Kārkaḷa (p. 143) came to be written, for they have no basis in history. It is wrong to maintain that Vijayanagara rulers evolved the administrative system of the Karnāṭaka and the Telugu lands (p. 144). Provincial viceroys were never styled *Durgadaṇḍāyakas* (p. 151). This term was applied in rare instances perhaps to the commandants of hill forts. The term *cāvaḍi* has never meant an office (p. 155) but the outer part of the hall where the court was held. The village assemblies did not disappear by the end of the fourteenth century A. D. (p. 159), but continued to exercise their beneficial influence down till the last days of the Vijayanagara Empire. The author's remarks concerning private ownership of land (p. 167) strictly concern corporate existence and not the point at issue. *Gaṇācāra* was not a tax paid to the Jaṅgamas by the Śaivas (p. 232), but a tax on the Jaṅgamas themselves (*E. C.* IV. Gu. 67, p. 47). It was not the board of trustees that was known as Sthānikas (p. 330), but the priests called the Sthānikas themselves who constituted boards of trustees in temples.

But we must stop here in order to point out some minor points. The Marāṭha scribes had already murdered the word Rākṣsa-Taṅgaḍi into Rakkas-Tagdi, but Dr. Ramaṇayya goes further and gives us Rakṣasi-Tangiḍi (p. xxv). How the king of Orissa could have entered Kannaḍa (which is, by-the-bye, the name of the language, Karnāṭaka, of the land, and Kannaḍiga, of the people) like a dog, (p. 17), is a mystery! A wrong reference to Caityana is given on p. 97, for *E. C.* IX. Cp. 1 of A. D. 1533 makes no mention of Caityana at all. (Does the author mean Cp. 153 which refers to Brahmaṇya Tīrtha's disciple Vyāsarāya? Text, pp. 399-400). All quotations from Sewell (pp. 3, 10) and Briggs (pp. 18, 20) need checking.

Notwithstanding these and other demerits this work of the talented Telugu scholar, we acknowledge with pleasure, is a welcome

addition to the steadily growing literature on that most magnificent of our Hindu institutions—the Empire of Vijayanagara. The author writes in his preface—"The solutions offered to the problems discussed in this volume are very tentative in character. and may have to be modified in the light of future research." (p. v), And, may we add, in the light also of past investigations ?

B. A. SALETORE.

ANCIENT INDIA AND INDIAN CIVILIZATION, by P. MASSON-OURSEL, H. DE WILLMAN-GRABOWSKA and P. STERN. (Kegan Paul Trench Trubner & Co.) 1934. Pp. xxiv+435. 21/.

This book forms one of the History of Civilisation Series, and lives up to the high standard of scholarship set by its predecessors in that series. It is mainly the work of M. Masson-Oursel, and his two collaborators have contributed that part of it which deals with the æsthetic life of the period; and it possesses a synthetic unity, the collaborators having apparently worked upon an agreed plan. It is singularly free from the tendency to facile generalisation which is not uncommon in works dealing with ancient India. Indeed, M. Masson-Oursel is keenly aware of the vast diversity of his subject and of the manifold difficulties of the task of encompassing it, and warns the reader against 'over simplified conceptions of India'; though, owing to the limitations of space, and the summary nature of the work, he himself is obliged to present facts, problems and the many factors which go to make up the ancient Indian civilisation as being much simpler than they actually are.

A brief survey of the physical aspects of the country, and of the population is followed by a summary of its history from remote antiquity to the death of Harsha. This again is succeeded by a description of the social and political life of the period, scholarly, cautious, and thought-provoking. The largest section of the work is that dealing with the religions and philosophies, through the evolution of which the author discerns the principle of unity which is 'the special genius of India.' It is an instructive and informative study, at once rich, critical and clear, and emphasises the difference between the Indian and the Western method of approach to the problems of life and beyond.

The section on literature is contributed by Mme. Willman-Grabowska ; it is scholarly, and also makes very delightful reading, containing as it does summaries of the plots of some of the most important works. M. Stern who contributes the chapters on the art of the period is more concerned with the principles underlying it, and their evolution, than with a description of their several examples.

Altogether the book presents a complete and accurate picture of the history and civilisation of the Indian of the pre-Muslim period and must serve as an excellent introduction to the vast subject.

B. G. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

La Langue Braj. Dialect de Mathura. By DHIRENDRA VARMA. (Adrien Maisonneuve, Paris VI) 1935. Pp. 135.

Panini and the Veda. By DR. PAUL THIEME. (Globe Press, Allahabad) 1935. Pp. 132.

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Coins in the Cabinet of the Bhārat Itihās Sanshodhak Mandal, Poona. By G. H. KHARE, 1934. Pp. 55 and 4 plates. Re. 1.

Nizamu-l-Mulk Āsaf Jāh I. By Dr. YUSUF HUSAIN KHAN, D. Litt. (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay) 1936. Pp. 316. Rs. 6.

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Silāhāras of Western India. By A. S. ALTEKAR (Reprint from 'Indian Culture') 1936. Pp. 42. Re. 1.

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TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

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

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

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

Arabic.

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

Persian.

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

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