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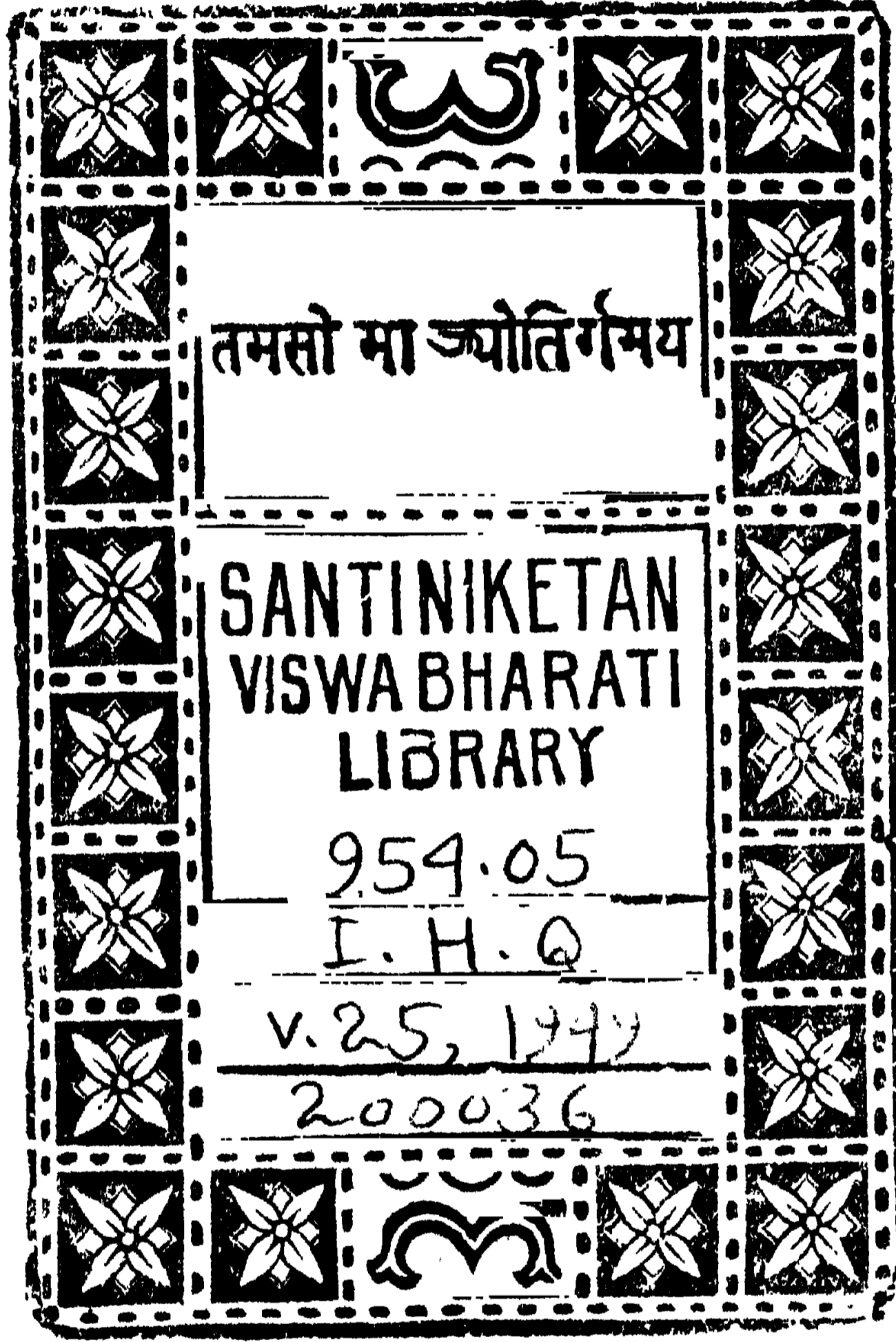
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The Indian Historical Quarterly

EDITED BY

DR. NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., PH.D.

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The Indian Historical Quarterly

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March, 1949

No. 1

Excavations at Kasrawad

At a distance of about three miles to the south of Kasrawad, which is a Mahal town in the Nimad District of the Holkar State in Central India, situated on the southern bank of the river Narmada, lies a site called Itbardi or mound of bricks. It is a rocky uneven tableland measuring about 500 ft. in length and 450 ft. in breadth, situated half way on a hillock full of dwarf jungle trees. It is all hilly to its south and on the other sides there is no habitation at a distance of less than two or three miles. The site is therefore altogether uninviting. The late Mr. V. R. Karandikar, Secretary of the Narmada Valley Research Board, while he was examining the archaeological remains on the banks of the Narmada, luckily hit on this place, and with some pecuniary help from the Holkar Government began excavations there in the winter of 1936. But unfortunately, in a few months he suddenly died, leaving the work incomplete. The excavations were however continued by Mr. V. N. Singh, the then Hon. Curator of the Indore Museum, with the help of Mr. D. P. Gupta, the Archaeological Overseer, in the cold seasons of 1937-39. As a result of these excavations very important remains of a Buddhist establishment were discovered. Why this uninviting place was selected by the establishment is a question, but it may be because it lies at a short distance of only six miles on the other side of the Narmada from Maheshvar, the ancient Māhishmati, or Mahissati of the Buddhist records, which must have been an important place in those days. For it is stated in the canons of the Buddhists that they should dwell at a place which is neither very far nor very near a big city. As the archaeological finds which, as will be shown below, belong to one period only, viz. the second century B.C. it seems that the site so unsuitable for habitation was

soon deserted. When exactly this was done and what was the immediate cause for it is not known. —

The finds can be divided into the following sections: All of them which were removable were removed to Indore and have been now preserved in the State Museum there.

A

Buddhist Stūpas and residential blocks etc.

Eleven stūpas were discovered at this place, one big in the centre and ten smaller ones in the eastern part of the mound. Except for one stūpa which was built of undressed stones, all of them were built of large bricks. The upper portions of the stūpas by which their elevation could have been determined, are considerably damaged, but their basements are almost intact, which shows that they consisted of a drum which was hemispherical in section. Stūpa No. 1 which is the biggest one measures 35' in diameter. It was paved all round with slabs of plaster and concrete, measuring 4'-8" in length 3'-3" in breadth and 4¼" in thickness. Such pavements are not found in any of the archaeological sites excavated so far. Stūpa No. 2 is at a short distance to the east of stūpa No. 1 and is the northernmost of the group of smaller stūpas. It measures 18'-10" in diameter. Turning to the south and getting down three brick steps and crossing the remains of a brick wall we come to the stūpa No. 3 which measures 24' in diameter. Stūpa No. 4 measuring 25' is to the northwest of No. 3. Like the stūpa No. 1 it is paved all round with plaster and concrete. To its east is stūpa No. 5, which measures 21'. To the east of stūpa No. 5 is the stūpa No. 6 which measures 13'. To the south of stūpa Nos. 5 and 6 and at some distance is stūpa No. 7 which measures 20'. To its west is stūpa No. 8 measuring 20'. Then turning back to the north, and passing by stūpa Nos. 5 and 6 leaving them to the left we come to the stūpa No. 9 which is to the east of stūpa No. 3. It measures 19'. To the north of stūpa No. 9 and to the west of stūpa No. 3 is the stūpa No. 10 which measures 25'. To the north of stūpa No. 9 and to the east of stūpa No. 2 is stūpa No. 11, which measures 24' and is made of stone boulders.

To the north-east of the main stūpa and to the north-west of

stūpa No. 2, is a structure which looks like a kuṇḍa built with bricks all round, tapering at the base. It measures 16' × 10' × 8'-3". The bottom is paved with bricks. What this building served for is not known, but it could not be a water reservoir as on the dry rocky site no water channel could have been turned into it and there are no traces of such a one. Water could not have been stored in such a big kuṇḍa. Although paved with bricks it is not plastered, as the space of circumambulation of at least two stūpas had been.

Lower portions and foundations of some well planned and well laid out residential blocks—built of bricks and stones, and traces of roads, drains etc. have been found, specially in the western portion of the site. But they are not sufficient to give a definite idea of their exact measurements and construction. There was probably a long assembly hall measuring 75' × 20' to the north of the main stūpa. Traces of a building 80' in length divided into separate compartments are seen to the north-west of the main stūpa. Remains of the western and southern walls of a house or enclosure are seen to the south of stūpa No. 2. Structural remains are noticeable in some other places also. Brick pavements of roads are noticeable in some places e.g. to the south of stūpa No. 4.

The huge bricks used in building these monuments are well-baked and measure 20" × 11" × 4" and resemble those found in excavations of other Mauryan sites e.g. Ujjain¹ which is only 70 miles to the north of Kasrawad. Such bricks of a large size are found in some other places like Maheshvar, Sāmeda, and Mathlāya in the neighbourhood of Kasrawad. Some of the bricks found in the excavations round stūpa No. 1 bear peculiar signs which do not seem to be ancient characters but may be some irregular marks of the brick makers.

Huge bricks of a conical shape measuring 1'-9" in length, 10" in breadth at the base and 1'-10" by the hemisphere which are found in the Kasrawad excavations are rather extra-ordinary. They must have been used as coping bricks on the top of walls or on the drains.

The drain pipes which are slightly tapering in size and have thick rings on the outside, measure 1'-5" in circumference. Unfortunately no complete pipe is found.

Roof tiles with one or two holes at the top were found which

¹ *Annual Rep. Archl. Surv., Gwalior*, 1938-39, Pl. XVIII-XXI.

resemble those found in other archaeological sites of the early period, e.g. Bhita².

B

Household pots and miscellaneous clay objects

Innumerable pieces of different kinds of pottery which were found in the excavations have been preserved in the Indore Museum. It is an unfortunate thing that the pieces defy all attempts to form more or less complete objects. It can however be seen that the collection consists of household pots of different sizes and miscellaneous clay objects of household use. (Photos Nos. 2 & 3). The following kinds of pots are found: Saucers or bowls with narrow base and deep sloping sides, with inward brims; flat and high cups or tumblers, dishes or *thālis*, with a flat base, several varieties of water jars or *loṭās* *Sirais*, *Gībadas* with spherical bases and lids some ordinary and some with cavity in the middle like those found at Bhita³. Some of this pottery is glazed black or red or yellow, both inside and outside and sometimes on one of the sides only. Some of it bears inscriptions in Brāhmī characters, while some bear on the outside various ornamental patterns like the Swastika, a leaf, a flower, a fish, a cock, a pendant ear ornament and some geometrical designs with creeper and flower etc. The inscriptions, designs and the lasting glaze make the Kasrawad pottery a unique collection.

Most of the inscribed pieces of pottery are very small and except in rare cases no two of these can be joined together, the result being that only a few unconnected letters can be read on them. One or two letters only are preserved on many pieces. It seems that the number of original inscriptions was very large and the loss is certainly very great. The characters are Brāhmī assignable to the second century B.C. They are inscribed in different hands, sizes and forms which shows that before the clay pots were baked, they were inscribed by different persons with their own names or with names of other persons or with symbols of their choice, like the Swastika, the fish etc. Since after a careful examination of the characters it is seen that they do not show any evolution of the script it can be said that they are

2 *A.S.I.*, 1911-12, Pl. XXIX-26 & Pl. XXX-92

3 *A.S.I.*, 1911-12, Pl. XXIX-33, 34.

all of the same period. The characters generally resemble those used in the edicts of Aśoka but more closely with those of the Barhut inscriptions and the Besnagar inscriptions⁴ assignable to the 2nd or 1st century B.C. अ is the only vowel found in the inscriptions and that too, only twice. Except the following consonants ढ, ढ, क्ष, व, ठ, थ, फ, ब, श, and ष all the consonants are represented in the inscriptions. *Anusvar* is used at least in three places. *Sandhi* is not observed where it was possible, for example in the word संधिगुप्तम्. (photo 6. 4). Some irregularities in the writing are found e.g. the symbol of the medial vowel is placed to the right of the letter instead of to the left in the word Sethiye (photo 5. c.) Once the word Perigādake is written as Perigakada, the last two words being written from right to left. Probably the scribe might have been from Taxila. (Photo 2.2)

The vowel अ has two forms. In one the arms do not meet, on the vertical. (photo 5. d). It thus differs from the Aśokan form, in which the two arms meeting each other, form sharp angles. It resembles the Besnagar *a*. The letters क, ख and ग, the last with a sharp angle, are perfectly Aśokan and Besnagar-like. The curve of ङ is not as deep as in the Aśokan form and is slightly raised up. The Kasrawad ङ consists of a big zero and is generally without a *bindu* inside it, as in the Aśokan form. The Kasrawad ङ is different from the Aśokan and Besnagar forms in that an acute angle is formed in the former in its central portion and the lower arm of the letter is much turned to the right. न has a vertical on a sharp angle, the verticle being contiguous with the elongated left arm. It is more similar to the Aśokan than to the Besnagar form. द with two verticles joined by a half square is exactly Aśokan but slightly different from the Besnagar form. The Kasrawad ध is different from the Aśokan ध but is exactly like the Besnagar ध. The hollow portion is to the left of the verticle in Kasrawad and Besnagar while it is to the right in Aśokan. न and ष are exactly as in Aśokan, Barhut and Besnagar inscriptions, Kasrawad म is somewhat different from the Aśokan form, in that the central portion is much curved in the former while it is almost flat in the latter. The two arms of the Aśokan म fall out but those in the Kasrawad

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, vols. X and XXI and *Barhut Inscription* by Barua and Sinha Calcutta University. Luders List No. 687. *Select Inscriptions* by D. C. Saker, p. 90. Pl. X, Luders List No. 669

forms look like a bull's horns slightly turned in as in the Barhut and Besanagar inscriptions. The Kasrawad म looks sometimes like a big zero superimposed with two arms as once in the Besnagar form. य is exactly Aśokan and Besanagar-like. र is generally like a straight verticle line but is sometimes nearer to ढ. It is rarely like a corkscrew as in Aśokan and Besnagar. ल, व, स, and ह, are like Aśokan but sometimes the forms have a tendency to be angular. The closed curve at the bottom of व in Kasrawad is once or twice slightly turned to the left of the verticle so as to look like the opposite of च. The left hand tail of ग is sometimes straight but mostly curved as in Besnagar.

A letter which looks like the *Kharoṣṭhī* letter श is engraved on a piece No. 4971 of the Museum register. It is an unfortunate thing that the portion of the pot containing other letters of the *Kharoṣṭhī* inscription which begins with this letter is lost. It is strange that this solitary *Kharoṣṭhī* inscription is found in the midst of *Brāhmī* inscriptions. Probably a pilgrim from Taxila might have visited the Kasrawad monastery and deposited or left there a pot with a *Kharoṣṭhī* inscription.

An examination of the *Brāhmī* characters in the Kasrawad inscriptions shows that they can be assigned to a date slightly later than that of Aśoka or more accurately to the date of the Besnagar inscriptions of Bhāgabhadra i.e. to the 2nd century B.C. and if the supposition that some of the proper names found in the Kasrawad inscriptions may be identical with those found mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions as shown below is accepted, both the Kasrawad and the Barhut records can be assigned to the same period. It may be seen that both the places are in Central India, one in the west and the other in the east.

As regards the language of the Kasrawad inscriptions there is no doubt that it is Prākṛit as can be seen from the genitive and dative case-endings of the proper names. Much cannot be said on this point as the inscriptions consist of a few letters only mostly of the proper nouns. Not a single verb is known from them nor any other part of speech.⁵ No conjunct consonant is used in the inscriptions.

The persons whose names are found in the inscriptions must

⁵ The letters *mikapuceva* on a piece may make an exception. But much cannot be said on this point (Photo 313).

have been in some way connected with the Buddhist establishment at Kasrawad either as inmates or as temporary pilgrims. The following are the names of the persons, some of which are incomplete. They are mentioned below together with their case-endings.

Complete names : -

असड अपनस गोपालिस, जिनकम, तरक, तिक, तिसगुतम, दोतंकम, धनग, धमगिगा, धमपालम, धमरखितम, धममेन, नंदभागम, निगठम, पालितिये, पुरकम पेरिगडक, महभरग, महार, मितस, मूलदेव व(च)लकम, वज्रतिये मंधिगुतम, गामिक, मोटालिकये, मुमनग, मुविमाख, सेठिये, मृठिये, मूरिये होंगल (?)

सरखितम, जपालक पामा लुवागा (?) विनि, निक, रिक (पुरिक ?), परिवे[श्री]

The following place-names are found :—

तकेमेलिन, सीहाल

The following expressions are found -

गिरिगा, दानं धमगिनारो (?), भूतिये मधम,

It will be seen that some of the proper names and expressions remind us of similar proper names and expressions found used in the Barhut inscription which contain the largest number of proper names" hitherto found in an inscription of the early period.

The proper nouns वलक, धमरखित, गामिक, असडा महार, मित and मुमन mentioned in the Kasrawad inscriptions are found in the Barhut inscriptions also as of monk-donors under Nos. 23, 17, 27, 93, 15, 42, 82, 10, respectively. As both the Kasrawad inscriptions and the Barhut inscriptions can be assigned paleographically to the same period viz. to the 2nd century B. C., it is not unlikely that they represent the same persons. The proper name वलक or चलक is found incised on a small but well preserved *Surai* pot found in the Kasrawad excavations. A symbol which looks exactly like the Brāhmī *va* is incised after the inscription वलकम but as this symbol is of a much bigger size than that of the letters of the inscription and is rather separated from it so as to show that it is not a part of the inscription, it may be supposed that the symbol which is also like the form of a *Surai* pot might have been incised as a fun to denote that the particular *Surai* belongs to the man वलक (photo 4. 2). The name Gopāli (photo 3. 2. 8) found in two of our inscriptions is also found in one of the Prabhosa cave inscriptions which have been assigned to the 2nd or 1st century B. C. But it is doubtful that both the Gopālis represent the same lady. None of

the other proper names are found in any of the other contemporary inscriptions.

The peculiar name Perigādaka⁷ of a person, and the common name Sethi are found on a large number of potsherds, the former on at least thirty-five and the latter on thirty (photo 2. 1&2). The name Suviśākha is found on at least six pieces, (photo 1. 7; 6. 1) the word गिरिगु is found on four pieces, while the names भुमन, धम and सूरि are found on two pieces each. Perigāḍa is repeated thrice on the shoulder of a pot and on another pot the name Suviśākha is similarly repeated thrice around. The name नंदमागम is repeated twice (photo 1. 9, 5, 6, 3). The remaining names are found on one piece each. It will be seen that some of the proper names are derived from the names of the Nakṣatras as was common in those days. But the most confounding names are Jinakasa (photo 6.3) and Sūriye (photo 1. 4) and also the name Nigatasa if it stands for Nirgrantha. As the Kasrawad remains are undoubtedly Buddhist, the presence of these Jain names among the Buddhist ones cannot be easily explained. The expression *danam* denotes the donations of devotees (photo 3.2.1).

One of the potsherds which is inscribed with the words निगटस विटारे दीपे (photo No. 3) is very important. The expression means that a lamp or lamps were lighted in the Vihara built by Nigata which may be the Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit name Nighaṅṭu or Nirgrantha. The word *Vihara* or monastery, the proper names, धमपाल, धमरखित, धमसेन, धमगिणो (photo 5.6.1) some words beginning with the epithet धम and specially the expression भूतिये सधम used in the inscriptions and the discovery of a number of stūpas and of two relic caskets at the place, leave no doubt that it was the Buddhist establishment where all these antiquities were found. It is therefore better to derive the name Nigata from Nighaṅṭu than from Nirgrantha which term generally represents the follower of Jainism. This term is not found used with reference to the Buddhists. The epigraphists know that the lighting of a lamp in a vihāra is generally made in connection with the image of the Buddha. But although the Kasrawad establishment was Buddhist, no image of the Buddha was found. In fact the absence of the Buddha image is not sur-

7 Once or twice the word is spelt as Pedigalaka. It may be that the letter *Ra* is sometimes engraved in such a way as to resemble the letter *da*. In one case the letters *gāḍa* of the name are written from right to left.

prising, if the Buddhism in those days belonged to the Hīnayāna form which was prevailing in the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. to which the antiquities can definitely be assigned. It is well-known that the Buddha was worshipped in the form of an image in the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism which was promulgated by Aśvaghōṣa some time in the 2nd century A.D. The lamp in the Nigata's monastery must, therefore, have been used for lighting the rooms.

Similarly the words, भूतिये मघस (photo 3.5) found in one of the inscriptions are very important, though it is not known what kind of the Saṅgha is meant here. It is well known that there were at least eighteen sects of the Buddhists of which about six or seven were existing in the time of Aśoka. The Saṅgha at Kasrawad may be one of them.

The names of the following places तक्षिल (Taxila) and मीहल (Ceylon) the latter forming part of the word मीहलिकये (photo 1.3) which had already been famous in the time of Aśoka⁸ and later on are very important. There is nothing strange if there was any intercourse between Kasrawad which is only in the neighbourhood of the well known Māhishmati or Mahissati of the Buddhist records and other centres of Buddhist worship like Taxila. The coins found in the Kasrawad excavations are of the Ujjain⁹ type which shows that Kasrawad was intimately connected with Ujjain which was undoubtedly a centre of Buddhist worship in the time of Aśoka. It is not impossible that the Buddhist pilgrim visiting Ujjain might have visited the Buddhist establishment at Kasrawad also.

Some of the potsherds found in the Kasrawad excavations are as stated above (photo 4) ornamented with peculiar patterns of various kinds like the following: Svastika, double cross, fish cock, leaf, flower, ear ornament. The arms of the Svastika are generally at right angles bent at the end sometimes to the right and sometimes to the left. But sometimes the arms are too much curved¹⁰. Some geometrical designs which look like rough plans of houses and the compartments in them are incised on the pots (photo 5.1). Two pieces are incised with beautiful and elaborate designs as are found used in these days on the borders of Shawls. Fish symbol is found on many pieces but

8 Dhauri rock edict line 24. Besnagar Garuda Pillar Inscription, etc

9 *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Dec. 1946

10 *Excavations at Rairh*, Jaipur State, by K. N. Panu, Pl. XI, 2.

an extraordinary feature of one piece is that it is incised with a symbol of three fish¹¹ shown with one face only. It may be said that such a device of two lions shown with one face only, is well known in the Mathura sculptures of the Kushan period. Some pieces have in addition to the inscription the ornamentation pattern, generally the Svastika. One piece has a Svastika before and below the inscribed portion and a fish after it. Another piece has a big *ma* and a leaf by the side of letters. It may be noted that on many of the potsherds the solitary letter *Ma* of a much bigger size is incised inspite of their being much blank space before and after it. Sometimes only two big *mas* are incised together. In one piece one *ma* is placed above the other *ma*. This *ma* closely resembles the letter *ma* incised on potsherds found in the excavation at Rairh¹², assignable to the same period. The letter seems to be an enigmatic symbol and as suggested by Mr. S. K. Dikshit, the Malwa symbol, the Svastika, the Brāhmī letter *ma* etc. (to which the symbol of fish may be added) might have been originally connected with the worship of the mother goddess and might have been continued to be used as auspicious symbols. There is nothing extraordinary with the ornamentation which consists of rope and chain patterns made with the potter's finger nails generally around the shoulder of the pots as such is found in all kinds of pots excavated in other Maurayan sites, like Ujjain, Barhut, Sambhar¹³, Bairat, Rairh etc. But it may be said that the patterns are simpler on the Kasrawad pottery than on the pottery found in other places.

Among the miscellaneous clay objects of household use special mention may be made of two big jars which are found almost intact. They have very little bulge in the middle and are tapering towards the mouth and the base, which seems to have been pointed domical. They might have been used for storage of water or corn and might have been buried into the ground. Their thickness is only $\frac{2}{3}$ ". The jar whose lower portion is damaged measures 4'.

11 It may be noted that some punchmarked silver coins are found which contain a somewhat similar symbol of three fish from three sides holding the semi-circular object in their mouths. See Walsh, *J.N.S.I.*, vol. Dec 1942, p. 90 and Durga Prasad's punchmarked Coins No. 19, p. 10, *Numismatic Supplement* No. XLV, 1934.

12 *Excavations at Rairh*, Jaipur State by K. N. Puri, pl. XI, 23.

13 *Excavations at Sambhar*, Jaipur State, by R. B. Dayaram Sahni.

3½" high and 5'-9" in circumference at the middle portion. The diameter of its mouth which has a very thick rim is 2'-1". The other jar whose upper portion is lost measures 2'-4" in its present height and 4'-4" in circumference.

Special mention may also be made of a peculiar clay object with a ring at the tapering end and resembling a Linga (photo 4.1). It is partly broken and measures 11" in length and 1'-3" in circumference. The discovery of such a find, probably of Saiva worship among Buddhist antiquities cannot be explained.

Nearly thirtyone dabber-like round clay objects have been found which are quite uniform in shape and are of regularly graded sizes and weights. Some of the well preserved dabbers weigh, 1¼ tolas, 2½ tolas, 5 tolas, 6 tolas, 9, 15, 17½, 25, 32½, 35, 47½, 50 and 55 tolas. Some of these weigh exactly the same. Three dabbers weigh six tolas each, two 17½ tolas each, three 35 tolas each, two 47½ tolas each and two 50 tolas each. This shows that there was some ratio in the weight and they might have been used not as potters' mallets used for tapping the surface of pottery jars on their removal from the wheel as is supposed, but as weights, e.g. for weighing vegetable etc.¹⁴

Small triangular bricks of different sizes the largest measuring 3" cube were found. They are fairly well polished. For what purpose they were used is not known. It may be noted that triangular bricks of this kind and size were also found in the excavations at Mahenjodaro and Harappa.

Small round and perforated clay objects with an opening in the bottom and small pinnacle-like object also with an opening in the bottom were found. For what purpose they were used is not known.

There is nothing peculiar in the clay spindles, beads, cleaning brushes etc. found in the Kasrawad excavations as similar objects are found also in other Mauryan sites.

It requires to be specially noted that no terracotta toys representing human figures, animals, birds etc. which are generally found in other sites are found in the Kasrawad excavations, probably because it was

¹⁴ This point is discussed in more details in an article published in *J.N.S.I.*, vol. IX.

a purely solitary Buddhist establishment situated at a distance from the busy town in which families and children lived.

C

Metal Objects

The only gold object found in the excavations is a very small ornament measuring 4'' in diameter and weighing only seven grains. It has the form of a wheel with eight spokes, with a hole in the centre. The workmanship is extremely beautiful and delicate.

The silver punchmarked coins numbering 29 in all are the only silver objects found. They are described below under section D.

A small casket or *dibbi* measuring $\frac{1}{2}$ '' in height $\frac{3}{4}$ '' in breadth and $2\frac{1}{2}$ '' in circumference and weighing 336 grains, a lid only of another box (527 grains) a coiled wire bangle, pieces of a very small metal pipe or tube, a bell, a small ladle like the one used in performing Sandhyā and three pieces of thin plates one of which is bored on four sides are the only copper objects found. The copper coins numbering 126 which are found in the excavations are described below under section D.

The cylindrical objects measuring 9'' and 6'' in length and weighing 247 grains and 166 grains respectively are the only lead objects found. They might have served the purpose of weights.

Among the iron objects, the most important is a peculiar object having two handles embossed with the face of a dog. (Photo 6.6). What purpose this object had served is not known. But it may be said that metal objects with peculiar forms of animals on handles have been found in the excavations of ancient sites. A number of round headed iron nails of different lengths resembling those found in the Taxila excavations¹⁵ have been found in the Kasrawad excavations.

D

Coins

In the excavations at Kasrawad 29 silver and 126 copper coins were found. These coins being found in one place and along with

15 *ASL*, 1914-15, Pl. XXV.

many Buddhist antiquities definitely assignable to the 2nd cent. B. C. possess both chronological and geographical importance.

The silver coins are all punchmarked, a majority of them being rectangular. Most of them are of the varieties already known from Allan's *Catalogue of Ancient Indian Coins in the British Museum* and some other publications on the subject, e. g. *B. M. C.* Class I, group I var. b; Class II, group II var. a; group III var. c, group IV, var. u; group VII var. k; group X, var. b; Group XI var. c, Class VI, group I var. h; Durga Prasad's pl. 13 No. 46. But the remaining coins present new varieties, though they are somewhat like the known ones, the combination of the already known symbols being slightly different.¹⁶

A majority of the 126 copper coins are rectangular. They are of different sizes and weights. Their weights varying from 132 grams to 3 grams only.

Ten of them are punchmarked. Although they have not been well preserved, they give us some unpublished types. One of them which is important is round, size 5", wt. 55 grams, and has on the obverse sun, shadarchakra, branch and peacock and on the reverse, Caduceus and the Ujjain symbol.

About sixteen coins of the lot are cast coins. They too are generally worn out. Most of them have the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. Some of them exactly correspond to *B. M. C.* var. j (p. 88, pl. XI, 8).

The remaining 100 coins, which have the well-known Ujjain symbol on the reverse, and the symbols generally found on the Ujjain coins on the obverse can be said to belong to the series of tribal coins generally known by the name of 'Ujjain' type though they have some common features with the coins of the 'Eran' type.

Like the uninscribed coins from Eran (Allan, *B. M. C.* XVIII. n. 23) the Kasrawad coins have on the obverse, a horse, Ujjain symbol, tree within railing. But the triangle-headed banner, elephant, shadarchakra and a symbol resembling the sun are absent. The Eran coins are generally plain on the reverse. The Kasrawad coins have the Ujjain symbol there. Overlapping of symbols is common with the Eran

¹⁶ For a detailed description of these silver punchmarked coins, see *JNSI*, vol. XI.

coins, while it is rare on these coins. Most of the Kasrawad coins are rectangular in shape which shows that the theory that the coins of Ujjain were round in shape as contrasted with those of Eran which are rectangular is not correct. As Ujjain is nearer to Kasrawad than Eran, we naturally expect the coins to belong to the Ujjain type.

Only one of the hundred coins exactly corresponds to the *B.M.C.* Class I, var. a (p. 24) and three coins to the var. i of the Ujjain coins. All the remaining coins present quite new varieties of the Ujjain coins.

Most of the large size coins, though they are generally of the type of the *B.M.C.* Class I, var. a, have some symbols which are not found on the *B.M.C.* coins, and do not have some symbols which are found on the *B.M.C.* coins. Tree within railing, 'Ujjain' symbol, river with fish, spoked wheel with eight umbrellas, line of taurines and svastikas are common with the coins of this hoard and Class I var. a. But the Kasrawad coins do not have tank with fish and cross with the additional lines to the right which are found on *B.M.C.* coins. Unlike the *B.M.C.* coins which are round the Kasrawad coins are rectangular. The horse by the side of the tree in railing in rare cases a lion or a bull, which is the most characteristic feature, of the Kasrawad coins is absent in the Ujjain coins. It may be stated that the animal is both in the position of a right angle with the tree in railing sometimes facing it and sometimes facing opposite it and in the position parallel to the tree which is rather uncommon.

Most of the small size coins bear a general resemblance to *B.M.C.* Class I, var. d, which has on the obverse sun above horse and tree within railing on the left. But the Kasrawad coins show some variations in the symbols on the obverse.

An important feature of the copper coins found at Kasrawad is that they are of various denominations, weighing 132, 120, 112, 108, 85, 70, 65, 55, 50, 46, 30, 15 grains. But the more important feature is that the hoard contains many coins of very small sizes and weights 10.5, 9.6, 7.6, 6.5, 4.6, 4, and 3. What weight system was followed is difficult to judge from this datum. It may be said that coins of such small denominations are known to have been issued only by the Malwa republic ruling in Rajputana and by the State of Avanti one or two centuries before the beginning of the Christian era. The most important feature of these coins of very small sizes and

weights is that they are not mere small pieces cut out of bigger ones but that they are almost complete coins in themselves being stamped with the symbols comparatively reduced in size.¹⁷

A small piece of copper which might have served as a plate of copper from which the 'Ujjain' coins are cut with a scissors may be noted here. It was found with the other copper coins. It measures 1' 1" in length, 4" in breadth and 1" in thickness and weighs 58½ grs. On one of its sides are faintly seen in a low incuse the symbols of a horse and a tree in railing, exactly like those found in the other copper coins from Kasrawad. But unlike all the copper coins its other side is blank. It seems that such small pieces of plates of copper were punched with symbols and were subsequently cut in the form of coins. The present piece might have been tried only once on one side and before the Ujjain symbol was embossed on the other side might have been thrown away as condemned.

A number of small white *cowrie* like objects are found. They are of different sizes, the smallest weighing 6 grains and the biggest 24 grains. They have no cavity on one side like the ordinary *cowries*. It is possible that these *cowries* also formed a currency in those days since we know from the Chinese traveller Ia Hien's remarks that *cowries* were in extensive use in the bazars of the Gupta cities.

F

Stone Objects

The number of stone objects found in the Kasrawad excavations is comparatively small. No stone vessels were found. Two grinding stone slabs and four grinders exactly like those found in other excavated sites e.g. at Rairh¹⁸ and Perambair¹⁹ and three stone balls with a slightly flat base probably used as weights are the only household stone objects found.

The most important stone objects are two soap-stone caskets. One of them which was complete was found at a distance of 5½' to the east of stūpa No. 4 which was paved with concrete all round.

¹⁷ For a detailed description of these copper coins see *JNSI*, vol. VIII, Dec. 1946, pp. 99 ff.

¹⁸ *Excavations at Rairh*, Pl. XVII-10.

¹⁹ *ASI*, 1908-09, Pl. XXXII-23.

It measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in height and 2" in diameter. Unfortunately the casket was subsequently stolen away from the Indore Museum where it was preserved and so nothing more can be said of it. Soapstone pieces of the lid only of another relic casket were found near the main stūpa. They have been preserved in the Indore Museum. It deserves to be noted that none of the caskets was found inside a stūpa.

F

A Stone Inscription

An inscribed stone slab was found near the stūpa No. 2 to its south. It is almost round, measuring 1'-9" in length and 1'-7" in breadth. Unfortunately this inscription which could otherwise have been the most important find had it been well preserved, is so much worn out that only a few letters here and a few letters there can be deciphered with difficulty. The inscription seems to contain eight lines of writing. The characters seem to belong to the 2nd century B.C. to which the other antiquities found in the excavations can be assigned, and from the words, Kasaṇaga, Putasa, which can be read, there is no doubt that the language of the record is Prākṛit. From the unconnected words the object of the record cannot be known. The word Kasaṇāga (Kṛṣṇaṇāga) which is well preserved is important. It shows the existence of a Nāga family at Kasrawad in those days. It may be noted that a number of proper nouns beginning with the word Nāga are found in the contemporary Barhut inscriptions also.

- | | |
|------------|--------------|
| 1. कसनाग क | 5. नस पुतस |
| 2. क-स | 6. सड |
| 3. ड त का | 7. साज ग साग |
| 4. -पुतस | 8. द सेटि |

G

Miscellaneous Objects

Among these special mention may be made of human bones which were found filled up in an earthen pot of the form of a Surahi, found near the relic casket mentioned above, to the east of Stūpa No. 4. The pot was broken while digging, but the bones are all there.

EXCAVATIONS AT KASRAWAD



Photo No 1

I.H.Q., MARCH, 1949

EXCAVATIONS AT KASRAWAD

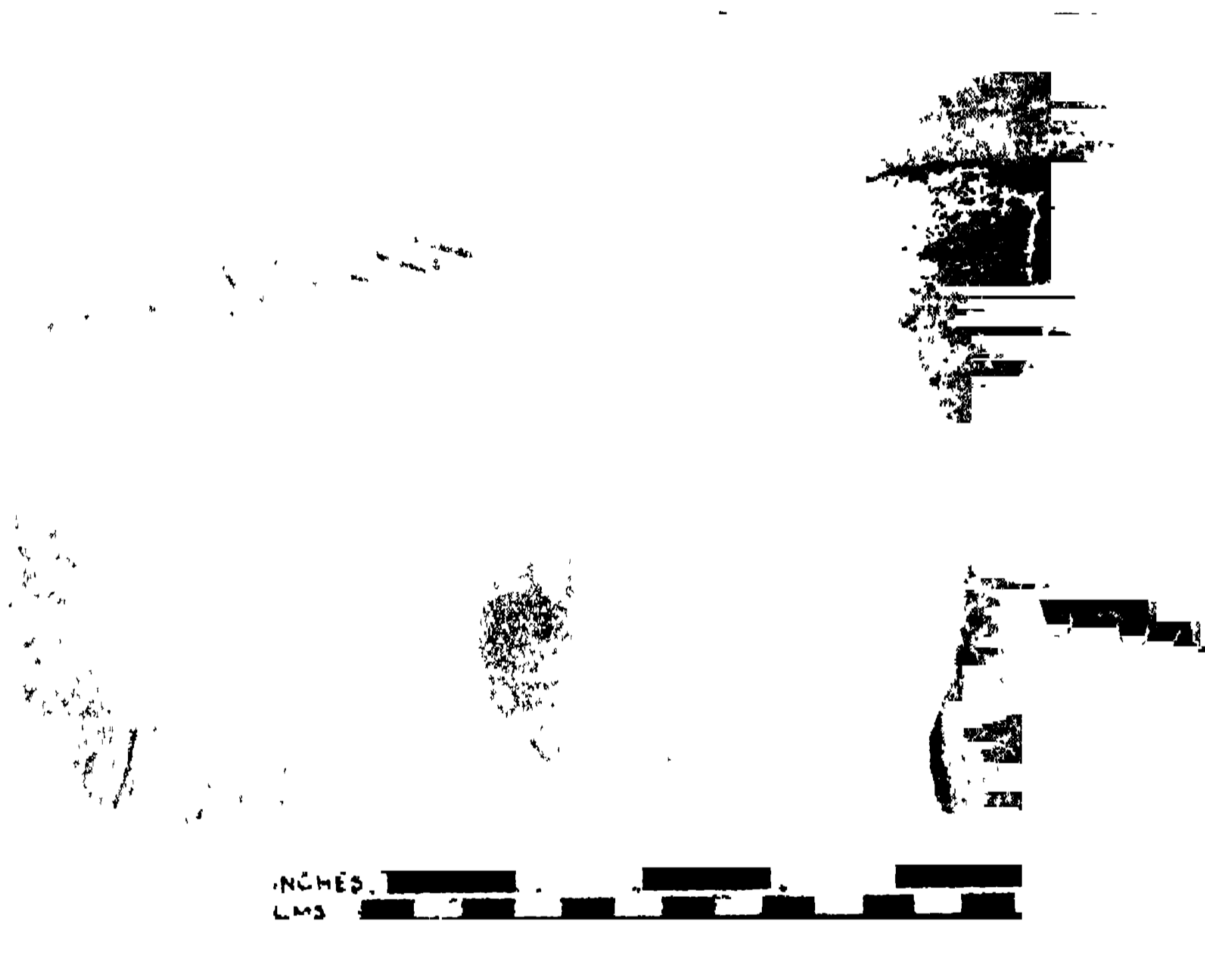


Photo No. 2

EXCAVATIONS AT KASRAWAD



Photo No. 3

EXCAVATIONS AT KASRAWAD

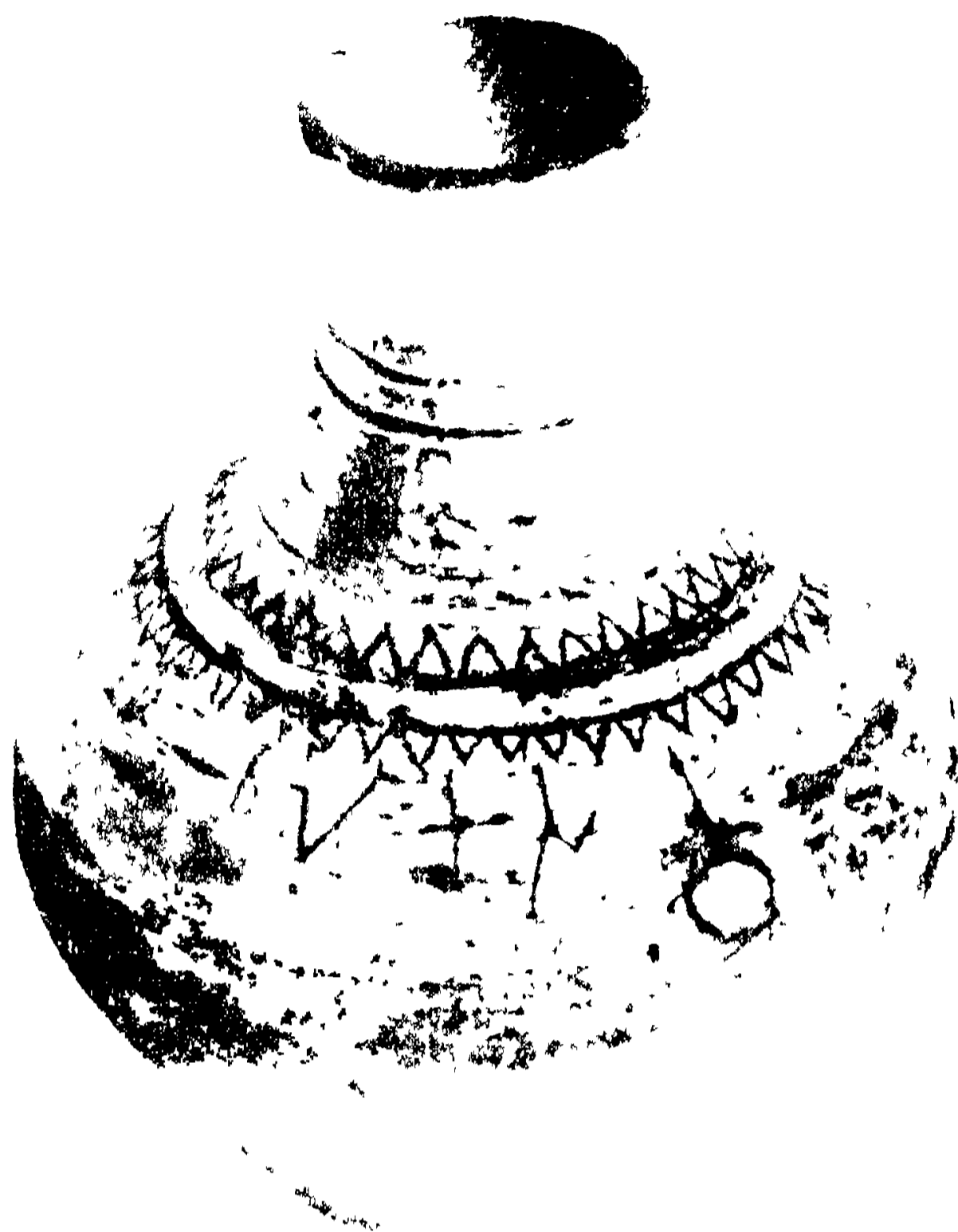


Photo No. 4

EXCAVATIONS AT KASRAWAD

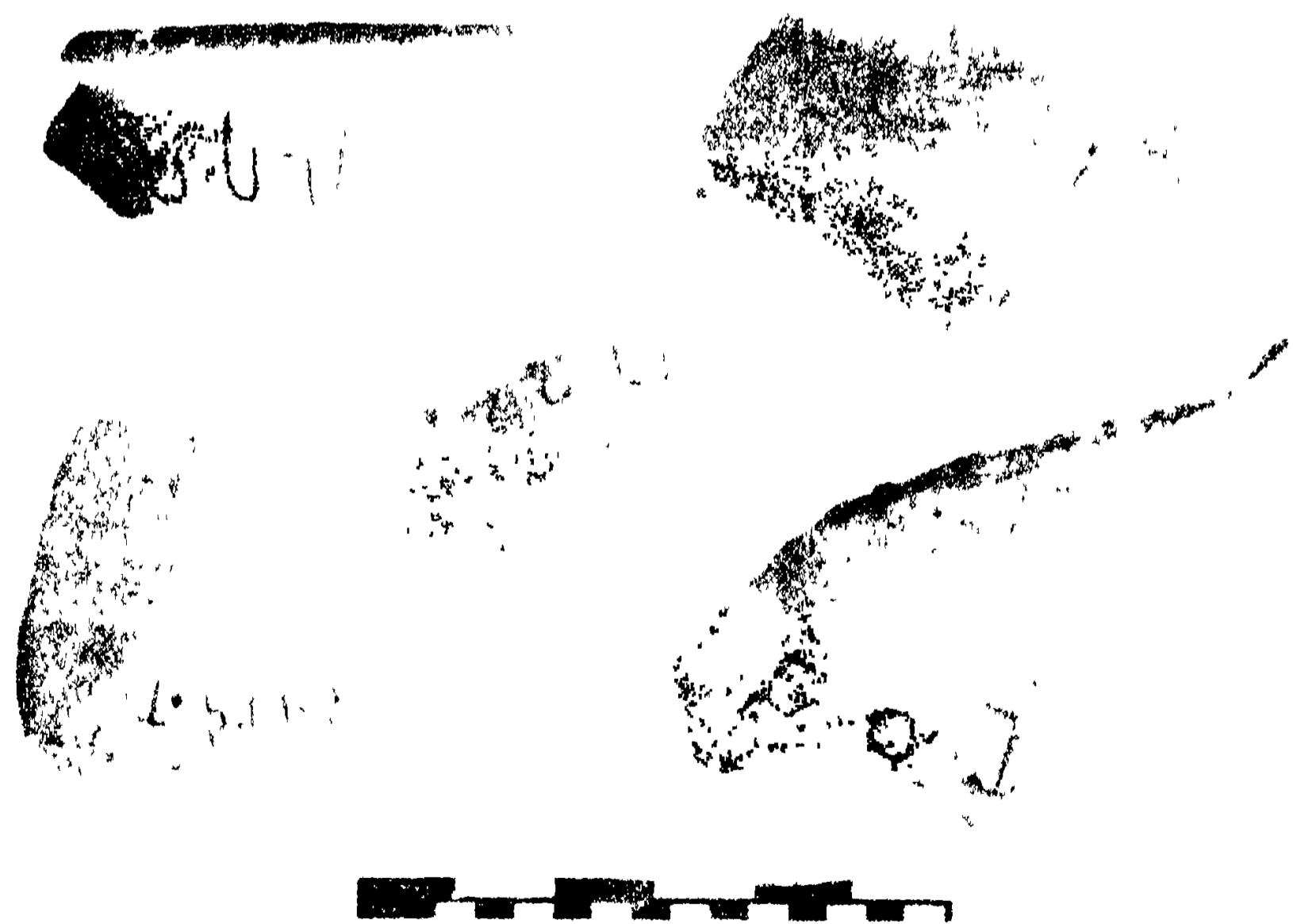


Photo No. 5

EXCAVATIONS AT KASRAWAD

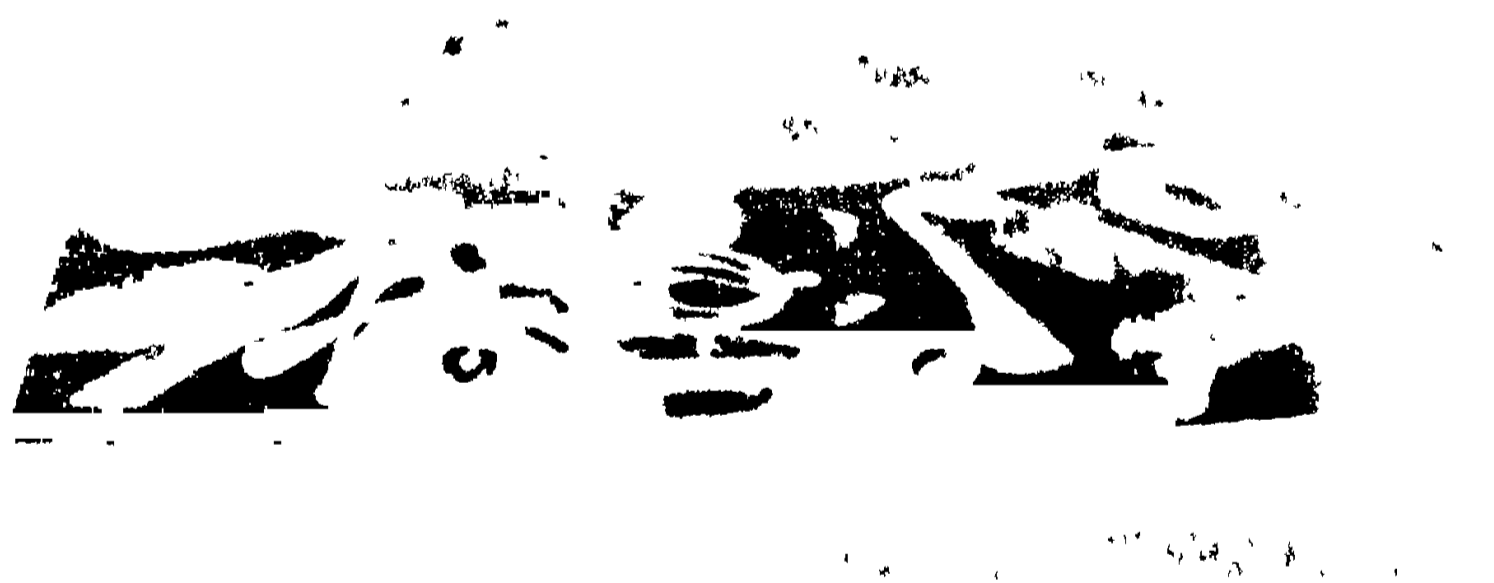


Photo No. 6

Similarly, another small pot which was found intact contained only two bone-pieces. Some stray bones were also found on the site.

The two ivory pieces, four glass beads, found in the excavations have nothing special with them. Almost a dozen small conchshells were also found.

II

Conclusion

From the foregoing account we see that the antiquities found in the excavations at Kāsrawad all belong to one period only viz. the 2nd century B.C. At the depth of five feet lies the rock on which the foundations of the stūpas and the houses were laid. As no antiquities assignable to a later period are found in the excavations, it can be said that the place was soon deserted in preference to other sites like the Bāgh caves which are also in the neighbourhood of Maheshvar and contained a monastery called Kalayana Vihāra²⁰ to which a king of Māhiṣmati named Subandhu had made some donations by a copperplate grant in the 5th century A.D. It may be mentioned here that some of the antiquities found at Maheshvar closely resemble those found at Kasrawad. Some potsherds were recently found in the well known mound called Mandal Khoh at Maheshvar which are inscribed with the letter *ma* exactly like that found on Kasrawad potsherds. A terracotta bull which was also picked up on another mound at Maheshvar closely resembles such terracottas found in other Mauryan sites. All this shows that the antiquities found at Kasrawad and Maheshvar belong to the historical period. But this does not mean that no prehistoric antiquities can be found there if the ancient mounds at Maheshvar are thoroughly examined and excavated by a competent archaeologist.

In this connection, I have to place one more point before the scholars for their careful consideration. Some of the antiquities found at Kasrawad which are of a peculiar nature are very much like some of the antiquities found at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, e. g. triangular pottery tablets. The Indus Valley tablets are of different sizes varying from 1'.5" to 3'.7" and so are the Kasrawad tablets. The use of these

²⁰ *Arch. Surv. Rep., Gwalior, 1928-29, p. 28.*

objects is still a puzzle. Sir John Marshall thinks that the Mohenjodaro tablets may be votive offerings or intended for burial use since they resemble the triangular loaves portrayed on tomb walls in Egypt.

Similarly, perforated pottery is found at Kasrawad and also at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. One perforated pot found at Kasrawad, which is in a good condition resembles a modern Deccan style *lotā*, while the perforated pots found in the Indus Valley are like big flat bowls with a number of holes below the neck. These Indus Valley perforated pots are supposed to be heaters. But it may not be impossible that all these perforated pots might have served the purpose of jars through the thousand holes of which water was sprinkled on bone relics according to the Vedic rites as shown by the late R. B. Ramaprasad Chanda.

A third kind of object found at Kasrawad and in the Indus Valley are the pottery cones the purpose of which is also not known. Similarly, spindles with more than one hole, circular pebbles with a hole, glazed pottery etc. which are found at Kasrawad closely resemble such objects found in the Indus Valley. The Kasrawad finds which are Buddhist and some of them bear inscriptions in Brāhmī characters can definitely be assigned to 2nd century B. C. and in no case to an earlier period. Some antiquities of the kind like the perforated pottery, the conical pottery, glazed pottery are also found in the excavations, at some other Mauryan sites in India like Ujjain, Rairh, etc. It may, therefore, be rightly questioned how antiquities from the Indus Valley and from the Mauryan sites like that of Kasrawad so closely resembling can be so much separated in time? Can we not bring down the Indus Valley antiquities to a later period?

D. B. DISKALKAR

Bhiksukarmavākya

In the following pages is presented an edition of the Sanskrit Karmavākya on the basis of the manuscript discovered at Gilgit in Kashmir. It is a short treatise describing the procedure of ordination of a monk. The procedure as laid down in Pāli, lying scattered here and there in the *Mahāvagga*, Chapter I, and that also very concisely, has not been systematically arranged in any work.* In the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts* Mm. H. P. Shastri quotes a passage from the *Kriyasamgrahapañjikā* or the *Kuladattapañjikā* which gives an account of the procedure to be followed during the ordination of a monk but the details are scanty and widely different from those laid down in this treatise—points of agreement being few. The *Bodhisattvapratimokṣa Sūtra*, a Mahāvāmic treatise, edited by Dr. N. Dutt gives us an account of the ceremony of ordination but it also differs greatly from those as laid down in the present text. The Tibetan version of this treatise appears in the Sde-dge edition of the Kanjur vol. Ka. folios 47b⁷-63b⁷. It may be mentioned that the Tibetan containing, as it does, a faithful translation of our present treatise is more elaborate in its account of the procedure of the ceremony.

The Bhiksukarmavākya, as far as we know, has not yet been published, although the fragments of the Bhiksuniikarmavākya, discovered in Central Asia, have been published by Miss C. M. Ridding and Prof. L. de la Vallée Poussin.†

कर्मवाक्यम्

नमः सर्वज्ञाय

शृणोतु भदन्तः संघः अहमेवंनामा संघात्प्रव्रज्योपसंपदं भिक्षुभावं याचे यदुपसंपादयतु
मां भदन्तः संघोऽनुकम्पकोऽनुकम्पामुपादाय । [एवं तिरपि वक्तव्यम् । याचिते पश्चादेकेन

* Śrī Bimalānanda Bhikṣu has, however, edited the *Pāli Kammavācā*—
Published from Kartala Vihara, Chittagong.

† *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, vol. I
(1917-20), pp. 123-143.

1 MS. संघप्र०, Tib. དགོ་འདུན་ལས་རབ་ཏུ་བྱང་བ་དང་བསྐྱེན་པར་
རྒྱུགས་པ།

भिक्षुणा एवं करणीयं निपद्य प्रज्ञापितव्यम् ।]² शृणोतु भदन्तः संघः संघात्प्रव्रज्योपसंपदं भिक्षुभावं याचते । सचत्संघस्य प्रामकालं क्षमते अनुजानीयात्संघो यत्संघ एवनामानं प्रव्राजयते उपसंपादयेदेपा ज्ञप्तिः³ । [एवं हि कार्यम् ।]⁴ शृणोतु भदन्तः संघः अयमेवंनामा संघात् प्रव्रज्योपसंपदं [भिक्षुभावं]⁵ याचते तत्संघः एवनामानं प्रव्राजयति उपसंपादयति । येषामायुष्मतां क्षमते एवनामानं प्रव्राजयन्तं उपसंपादयितुं ते तूष्णीम् । येषां न क्षमते ते भाषन्ताम् । [इयं प्रथमा कर्मवाचना । एवं द्विरपि त्रिरपि ।]⁶ प्रव्राजितं उपसंपादितं मेवंनामा संघेन क्षान्तमनुज्ञातं यस्मात्तूष्णीमेवमेतद्वारयामि । [एष हि पूर्वविधिः ।]⁷ समन्वाहर⁸ अहमेवंनामा बुद्धं शरणं गच्छामि द्विपदानामग्यम् । धर्मं शरणं गच्छामि विरागाणामग्यम् । संघं शरणं गच्छामि गणानामग्यम् । उपामकं मां भदन्तो धारयतु यावज्जीवम्⁹ । समन्वाहर आचार्य यथा ते आर्याः अर्हन्तो यावज्जीवं प्राणानिपातं प्रहाय प्राणानिपातात्प्रतिविरता एवमहमेवंनामा यावज्जीवं प्राणानिपातात्प्रतिविरमामि । अनेनाहं प्रथमेनाङ्गेन तेषामार्याणामर्हतां शिक्षायामनुशिक्षे अनुविधीये अनुकरोमि । यथा ते आर्याः यावज्जीवमदत्तादानं¹⁰ काममिथ्याचारं¹¹ मृषावादं सुरामैरेयमद्यप्रमादस्थानं प्रहाय सुरामैरेय-प्रमादस्थानात्प्रतिविरताः एवमेवाहमेवंनामा यावज्जीवमदत्तादानं काममिथ्याचारं मृषावादं सुरामैरेयमद्यप्रमादस्थानं प्रहाय सुरामैरेयमद्यप्रमादस्थानात्प्रतिविरमामि । अनेन पञ्चमेनाङ्गेन तेषामार्याणामर्हतां¹² शिक्षायामनुशिक्षे अनुविधीये अनुकरोमि¹³ । भदन्ताः समन्वाहियन्ताम् अयमेवंनामा एवनाम्रः [उपाध्यायात्]¹⁴ गृहीतावदातवमनः¹⁵ अनवतारितकेशश्मश्रुराकाञ्चते

2 Tib. དེ་བཞིན་དུ་ལན་གཞིས་ལན་གསུམ་དུ་བརྒྱས། ། དེ་ལོ་འོག་དུ་དགོ་
སྤྲོད་གཞིག་གིས་གསེལ་བ་བྱས་ཏེ་ ལས་བུལ། ། འདི་ལྟར་བྱས་ཏེ། འདུག་
ལ་འདི་སྐད་བརྗོད་པར་བྱ་སྟེ། ། Cf. Pali व्यत्तेन भिक्षुणा पटिबलेन संघो जापेतब्बो ।

3 This is called nattikamma in Pāli and when the announcement is followed by declarations made thrice, it is then called ñatticatutthukamma (vide Mahāvagga, p. 56).

4 Tib. ལས་ཏེ་འདི་ལྟར་བྱ་སྟེ། ། 5 Tib. དགོ་སྤྲོད་གི་དངོས་པོ། །

6 Tib. འདི་ཏེ་ལས་ བརྗོད་པ་དང་པོ་སྟེ། ། དེ་བཞིན་དུ་ལན་གཞིས་ལན་

གསུམ་དུ་བརྒྱས། །

7 Tib. ར་ན་སྐྱེན་གྱི་ཚ་གཤ། །

8 Tib. is elaborate.

9 Tib. is elaborate.

10 MS. འཕྲུག་པོ།, Tib. རི་སྤྲོད་འཚོའི་བར་དུ་ས་བྱིན་པར་ལེན་པ། །

11 MS. བའོ།, Tib. འདོད་པས་ལོག་པར་གསེལ་བ། །

12 MS. འཇོག་པོ།, Tib. དགྲ་བཅོམ་པ། །

13 Tib. is elaborate.

14 Tib. སྐལ་ན་པོ་སྤྲོད་འདི་ཞེས་བགྱི་བ་ལས། །

15 MS. འཕྲུག་པོ་འཇོག་པོ།, Tib. རིས་པ་གོས་དཀར་པོ་ཅན། །

स्वाख्याते धर्मविनये प्रव्रजितुम् । सोयमेवंनामा एवंनाम्नोपाध्यायेन स्वाख्याते धर्मविनये
 केशश्मश्रुवतार्य कापायाणि वस्त्राग्याच्छाद्य सम्यगं व श्रद्धया अगारादनागारिकां प्रव्रजिस्यति¹⁶ ।
 किं प्रव्रजतु । समन्वाहर आचार्य अहमेवंनामा आचार्यमुपाध्यायं याचे । आचार्यो
 मे उपाध्यायो भवतु । आचार्येण उपाध्यायेन प्रव्रजिष्यामि¹⁷ । समन्वाहर उपाध्याय
 अहमेवंनामा [अद्याप्रे यावज्जीव]¹⁸ बुद्धं शरणं गच्छामि द्विपदानामग्यम् । धर्मं शरणं
 गच्छामि विरागाणामग्यम् । संघं शरणं गच्छामि गणानामग्यम् । तं भगवन्तं
 शाक्यमुनिं शाक्यमिहं शाक्याधिराजं तथागतं अर्हन्तं सम्यक्संबुद्धं प्रव्रजितमनुप्रव्रजामि ।
 गृहलिङ्गं समुत्सृजामि । प्रव्रज्यालिङ्गं समाददे । एवं द्विरपि त्रिरपि¹⁹ । समन्वाहर भदन्त
 अहमेवंनामा [अद्याप्रे यावज्जीव]²⁰ बुद्धं शरणं गच्छामि द्विपदानामग्यम् । धर्मं शरणं
 गच्छामि विराणानामग्यम् । संघं शरणं गच्छामि गणानामग्यम् । श्रामणेः मां
 भदन्तो धारयतु [यावज्जीवम् । एवं द्विरपि त्रिरपि ।]²¹ समन्वाहर आचार्य यथा ते आर्या
 अर्हन्तो यावज्जीवं प्राणातिपातं प्रहाय प्राणातिपातात्प्रतिविरता एवमेवाहं एवंनामा
 यावज्जीवं प्राणातिपातं प्रहाय प्राणातिपातात्प्रतिविरमामि । अनेनाहं प्रथमेनाङ्गेन तेषा-
 मार्याणामर्हतां शिक्षायामनुशिक्षे अनुविधीये अनुकरोमि । यथा ते आर्याः अर्हन्तो
 यावज्जीवमदत्तादानं अब्रह्मचर्यं मृषावादं सुरामैरेयमद्यप्रमादस्थानं नृत्यगातवादिव²² माला-
 गन्धलिपेनवर्णकधारणं उच्चशयनमहाशयनं जातरूपरजतप्रतिग्रहं²³ प्रहाय जातरूपरजत-
 प्रतिग्रहात्प्रतिविरतः एवमेवाहं एवंनामा यावज्जीवमदत्तादानमब्रह्मचर्यं मृषावादं सुरामै-
 रेयमद्यप्रमादस्थानं नृत्यगातवादिवमालागन्धलिपेनवर्णकधारणं उच्चशयनमहाशयनम-
 कालभोजनं जातरूपरजतप्रतिग्रहं प्रहाय जातरूपरजतप्रतिग्रहात्प्रतिविरमामि । अनेनाहं
 दशमेनाङ्गेन तेषामार्याणामर्हतां शिक्षायामनुशिक्षे अनुविधीये अनुकरोमि²⁴ । समन्वाहर
 भदन्त अहमेवंनामा भदन्तं उपाध्यायं याचे । भदन्तो मे उपाध्यायो भवतु ।
 भदन्तेन उपाध्यायेन उपसंपत्स्ये²⁵ । समन्वाहर उपाध्याय अहमेवंनामा इदं चीवरं
 गंधाटीं अधितिष्ठामि कृतनिश्चितं चीवरं पारिभोगिकम्²⁶ । समन्वाहर उपाध्याय अहमेव-
 नामा इदं चीवरं उत्तरामंगं अधितिष्ठामि कृतनिश्चितं चीवरं पारिभोगिकम्²⁷ । समन्वाहर

16 Tib. is elaborate.

17 Tib. is elaborate.

18 Tib. ལུས་འདི་ནས་བཟུང་སྡེ་ཇི་སྡེད་འཛོལ་བར་དུ།

19 Tib. is elaborate.

20 Tib. ལུས་འདི་ནས་བཟུང་སྡེ་ཇི་སྡེད་འཛོལ་བར་དུ།

21 Tib. ཇི་སྡེད་འཛོལ་བར་དུ་.....དེ་བཞིན་དུ་ལས་གཉེས་ལན་གསུམ་དུ་

བཟུངས།

22 MS. °वादित°, Tib ལྷུ་དང་། གར་དང་། རྩོལ་སྡེའི་སྐྱེ་དང་།

23 MS. °प्रतिग्रह°, Tib. གསེར་དངུལ་ལེན་པ་སྤྲངས་ཏེ།

24 Tib. is elaborate.

25 Tib. is elaborate.

26 Tib. is elaborate.

27 Tib. is elaborate.

उपाध्याय अहमेवंनामा इदं चीवरं अन्तर्वासं अधितिष्ठामि कृतनिश्चितं चीवरं पारिभोगिकम्²⁸ । समन्वाहर उपाध्याय इदं चीवरं मंघाटीं अधितिष्ठामि । आकांक्षमाणः नवं करिष्यामि । अर्धनृतीयमण्डलकं अनन्तरायेण धाविष्ये²⁹ वितरिष्यामि छेत्स्ये संभंतस्यामि³⁰ संग्रन्थिष्ये सेविष्यामि रंद्ये । आसेवकान् वा अत्र आरोपयिष्यामि चीवरं पारिभोगिकम्³¹ । समन्वाहर उपाध्याय अहमेवंनामा इदं चीवरं उत्तरामंगं अधितिष्ठामि । आकांक्षमाणः सप्तकं करिष्यामि । अर्धनृतीयमण्डलकं अनन्तरायेण धाविष्ये वितरिष्यामि छेत्स्ये संभंतस्यामि³² संग्रन्थिष्ये सेविष्यामि रंद्ये । आसेवकान् अत्र आरोपयिष्यामि चीवरं पारिभोगिकम्³³ । समन्वाहर उपाध्याय अहमेवंनामा इदं चीवरं अन्तर्वासं अधितिष्ठामि । आकांक्षमाणः³⁴ पत्रकं करिष्यामि । अर्धनृतीयमण्डलकं अनन्तरायेण धाविष्ये³⁵ वितरिष्यामि छेत्स्ये संभंतस्यामि संग्रन्थिष्ये सेविष्यामि रंद्ये । आसेवकान्वा अत्र आरोपयिष्यामि चीवरं पारिभोगिकम्³⁶ । समन्वाहर उपाध्याय अहमेवंनामा इदं पात्रं ऋषिभाजनं भिक्षाभाजनं पारिभोगिकम्³⁷ । एवंनाम्नैवंनाम्ना रहोनुशासकोधाष्टः अहमेवंनामा उत्सहसे त्वमेवंनामा नैवंनामानं रहमि अनुशामितुं एवंनाम्नोपाध्यायेन उत्सहे³⁸ । शृणोतु भदन्तः संघः अयमेवंनामा भिक्षुरुत्सहते एवंनामानं रहस्यनुशासितुं एवंनाम्नोपाध्यायेन । सचेत्संघस्य प्राप्तकालं क्षमेतानुजानीयात् संघः इदमेवंनामा भिक्षुरेवंनामानं रहस्यनुशामिष्यति एवंनाम्नोपाध्यायेन । एषा ज्ञप्तिः³⁹ । शृणुत्वमायुष्मन् अयं ते भूतकालः । अयं गत्यकालः । यच्चाहं किञ्चित्पृच्छामि तत्त्वया लज्जितेन⁴⁰ [मा]⁴¹ भूत्वा भूतं च भूततो वक्तव्यम् अभूतं च अभूततोऽनिर्वैठयितव्यम्⁴² । पुरुषोऽमि । पुरुषः पुरुषेन्द्रियेण समन्वागतः⁴³ । परिपूर्णविंशतिवर्षः । परिपूर्णं ते विचोवरं पात्रं च । जीवतस्ते मातापितरौ । अनुज्जातोसि मातापितृभ्याम् । मामि दासः । मा आहतकः । मा प्राप्तकः । मा वक्तव्यकः । मा विकीतकः । मा राजभट्टः । मा राजकिल्बिषी । मा राजतत्थ्यकारी । मा ते राजापथ्यं कर्म कृतं वा कारितं वा । मासिचोरो धजबन्धकः । मा शगठकः । मा पण्डकः ।

28 Tib. is elaborate.

29 MS. धारयिष्ये, Tib. བཀུ་ལོ་ ।30 MS. संभंत्यामि, Tib. གཞུངས་གདབ་པོ་ ।

31 Tib. is elaborate.

32 MS. संभंत्यामि, Tib. གཞུངས་གདབ་པོ་ ।

33 Tib. is elaborate.

34 MS. आकांक्ष, Tib. འཇོལ་ན་ ।35 MS. धारयिष्यामि, Tib. བཀུ་ལོ་

36 Tib. is elaborate.

37 Tib. is elaborate.

38 Tib. is elaborate.

39 Tib. is elaborate.

40 MS. विशारदेन, Tib. འཇོལ་བར་བུས་ལ་ ।41 Tib. མ་ ।

42 MS. निर्वीढयितव्यम् Cf. Pali nibbeṭheti.

43 Tib. is elaborate.

मा भिक्षुणीदूषकः । मा स्तेनसंवासिकः⁴⁴ । मा नानामंवासिकः । मा मानृघातकः । मा
पितृघातकः । मा अर्हद्घातकः । मा संघभेदकः । मा तथागतस्यान्तिके दुष्टचित्तहृदिरो-
त्पादकः । मा नागः⁴⁵ । [मा पशुः]⁴⁶ मा ते कस्यचित्किञ्चिद्देयमल्पं वा प्रभूतं वा
शक्नोषि⁴⁷ वा उपसम्पदं⁴⁸ दातुम् । मासि पूर्वं प्रव्रजितः । चतुर्णां पाराजिकानामन्यत-
मोऽन्यतमामापत्तिमापन्नः । कश्चिदसि एतर्हि प्रव्रजितः । सम्यक् ते ब्रह्मचर्यं चीर्णं । किं-
नामा त्वम् । किंनामा ते उपाध्यायः । शृणु त्वमायुष्मन् । भवन्ति खलु पुरुषाणामिमे⁴⁹
एवंरूपाः⁵⁰ काये कायिकाः⁵¹ आबाधाः । तद्यथा कुष्ठं । गंडः । किटिभः । कित्तामं । दद्रुः
कंदुः । कच्छू । रजतम् । विषृचिका । विचर्चिका । हिक्का । ज्वरः । क्षयः । कागः । श्वासः
शोषः । अपस्मारो । लोहलिङ्गम् । आटकरः । पाण्डुरोगः । अङ्गवेदः । गुल्मं । रुधिरं ।
भगन्दरः । अर्शांसि । च्छर्दिः । मूत्ररोगः । श्लापदं । क्लमः । अङ्गदाहः । पार्श्वदाहः ।
अस्थिभेदः । एकाहिकः । द्वैतीयकः । त्रैतीयकः । चातुर्थिकः । नित्यज्वरः । विषमज्वरः । मन्नि-
पातः । मा ते एवंरूपाः काये कायिका आबाधाः संविद्यन्ते । अन्ये वा एवंरूपाः । यदागि
एतर्हि मया पृष्टः । एतदेव स ब्रह्मचारिणः⁵² [विज्ञाः]⁵³ मंघमध्ये प्रक्षयन्ति । तत्रापि त्वया
लज्जितेन⁵⁴ [मा]⁵⁵ भूत्वा भूतं भूततो वक्तव्यम् । अभूतं च अभूततो निर्वेठयितव्यम् ।
तिष्ठ । मा अशब्दितः आगमिष्यसि । शृणोतु भदन्तः संघः समनुशिष्टो मया एवंनामा रट्मि
आन्तरायिकान् धर्मान् एवंनाम्नोपाध्यायेन । किमागच्छतु⁵⁶ । शृणोतु भदन्तः संघः
अहमेवंनामा अर्थहेतोः नाम गृह्णामि एवंनाम्नोपाध्यायेन उपसंपत्प्रेक्षः⁵⁷ साहमेवंनामा संघा-
दुपसंपदं याचे एवंनाम्नोपाध्यायेन । उपसंपादयतु मां भदन्तः संघः । अनुकर्तुं मां
भदन्तः संघः अनुकम्पकोऽनुकम्पामुपादाय ।

44 MS. स्तेय०

45 MS. निन्दितो, Tib. ལྷོ་ལ་བ་ས་ཡིན་ནས། ।

46 Tib. ལྷོ་ལ་བ་ས་ཡིན་ནས། ।

47 MS. शिक्तमि, Tib. ལྷོ་ལ་ས་ས། ।

48 MS. प्रव्रज्य, Tib. བསྐྱེན་པར་རྫོགས། ।

49 MS. इयं, Tib. འདི་དག། ।

50 MS. एवंरूपः

51 MS. शिल

52 MS. ते, Tib. ཚངས་པ་སུངས་པར་སྐྱོད་པ། ।

53 Tib. ལམས་པ་རྣམས། ।

54 MS. विशारदेन, Tib. འཇིགས་པ། ।

55 Tib. ས། ।

56 Tib. is elaborate.

57 MS. उपसंक, Tib. བསྐྱེན་པར་རྫོགས་པར་གསེལ་ན། ।

शृणोतु भदन्तः संघः अयमेवंनामा एवंनामः उपसंपत्प्रेक्षः सोऽयमेवंनामा संघादुप-
संपदं याचते एवं नाम्नोपाध्यायेन । सचेत्संघस्य प्राप्तकालं क्षमेतानुजानीयात् संघः
यद्द्वयं एवंनामानं संघमध्ये आन्तरायिकान् धर्मान् पृच्छेम एवंनामोपाध्यायेन । एषा
ज्ञप्तिः । शृणु त्वमायुष्मन् अयं ते पूर्ववत् सर्वम्⁵⁸ । शृणोतु भदन्तः संघः अयमेवंनामा
एवंनामः उपसंपत्प्रेक्षः परिपूर्णविशतिवर्षः । परिपूर्णमस्य त्रिचीवरं पावं । परिशुद्धं
आन्तरायिकैर्धर्मैरात्मानं वदति । सायमेवंनामा एवंनामोपाध्यायेन संघादुपसंपदं याचते ।
सचेत्संघस्य प्राप्तकालं क्षमेतानुजानीयात्संघो यत्संघः एवंनामानं उपसंपादयेत् एवंनामोपा-
ध्यायेन । एषा ज्ञप्तिः ।

शृणोतु भदन्तः संघः अयमेवंनामा एवंनामः उपसंपत्प्रेक्षः पुरुषः परिपूर्णविंशतिवर्षः ।
परिपूर्णमस्य त्रिचीवरं पावं च । परिशुद्धमान्तरायिकैर्धर्मैः आत्मानं वदति । साऽहमेव
नामना उपाध्यायेन संघादुपसंपदं याचते तत्संघः एवंनामानं उपसंपादयति एवंनामना
उपाध्यायेन । येषामायुष्मतां क्षमते एवंनामानं उपसंपादयितुं एवंनामना उपाध्यायेन ते तूष्णीं ।
येषां न क्षमते ते भाषन्ताम् । इयं प्रथमा कर्मवाचना । एवं द्विरपि त्रिरपि । उपसंपद्यते
संघेन एवंनामा एवंनामोपाध्यायेन क्षान्तमनुज्ञातं यस्मात्तूष्णीं एवं एतद्धारयामि⁵⁹ ।
शृणु त्वमायुष्मन् चत्वार इमे तेन भगवता जानता पश्यता तथागतेन अर्हता सम्यक् संबुद्धेन
एवं प्रव्रजितोपसंपन्नस्य भिक्षोर्निःश्रया⁶⁰ आख्याता यं निःश्रित्य भिक्षोः स्वाह्वाते धर्मविनये
प्रव्रज्योपसंपन्नस्य भिक्षोर्निःश्रयाः । उत्महसे त्वमेवंनामा यावज्जीवं पांसुकुलेन चीवरेण यापयितुम् ।
उत्महे । अतिरेकलाभः पट्टिर्वा⁶¹ प्रावरो वा कोशेयो वा आमिलका वा कृमिवर्गा वा
समवर्गा वा दुर्वर्गा वा ऊर्गा वा ऊर्गाकं वा शाणकं वा क्षोमकं वा कार्पासिकं वा दुकुलं⁶² वा
क्षोत्मपकं⁶³ वा परान्तकं वा इति यद्वा पुनरन्यदपि कल्पिकं चीवरं संघाद्वा उत्पद्यते पुद्गलतो
वा तवापि⁶⁴ ते प्रतिग्रहे मात्रा⁶⁵ करणीया । कश्चिदेवंरूपं स्थानमभिसंभोत्स्यसे । अभि-
संभोत्स्ये । शृणु त्वमेवंनामन् पिण्डपातं च भोजनानां कल्पिकं सुलभं निःश्रित्य भिक्षोः
स्वाह्वाते धर्मविनये प्रव्रज्योपसंपन्नस्य भिक्षोर्निःश्रयाः । उत्महसे त्वमेवंनामा यावज्जीवं पिण्डपातेन
भोजनेन यापयितुम् । उत्महे । अतिरेकलाभः भक्तानि वा तर्पणानि वा यवागूः पानानि
वा पात्रमिकं वा आप्रमिकं वा चातुर्दशिकं वा पात्रदशिकं वा नैत्यिकं⁶⁶ वा निमन्वणकं वा

58 Tib. repeats *verbatim*.

59 Tib. has more.

60 Cf. *Mahāvāgga* p. 58 for four nissayas.

61 MS. °दु

62 MS. °गू, Tib. ཏུ་ཀུལ་འི་ར་ས

63 MS. कोहम्भक, Tib. ཀོ་མུ་མུ་ལ་འི་ར་ས ।

64 MS. °लतोऽवतन्त्रापि, Tib. ལ་ཏ་ཟ་ག་ལ་ས་.....འི་ལ་ཏ་ ।

65 MS. °पात्रा, Tib. རྩོད་ཟེར་པ་ར་གྱིས་ཤིག ।

66 MS °ति, Tib. ཏུ་ག་འི་ས་འཁོར་ར་ས ।

तेन भगवता जानता पश्यता तथागतेनार्हता सम्यक् संबुद्धेन । यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्भिक्षुभिः सार्धं शिक्षासामीचीं समापन्नः शिक्षामप्रत्याख्याय शिक्षादौर्बल्यमनाविष्कृत्याब्रह्मचर्यं⁷³ मैथुनं धर्मं प्रतिसेवते अन्ततस्तिर्यग्योनिगतयापि⁷⁴ मार्ध एवरूपं स्थानमध्यापय सहाध्यापत्या अभि-
क्षुर्भवत्यश्रमणः अशाक्यपुत्रीयः ध्वस्यते भिक्षुभावात् हतश्रामण्यं ध्वस्तं मथितं पतितं पराजितमप्रत्युद्धार्यमस्य भवति श्रामण्यम् । तद्यथा तालो मस्तकाच्छिन्नः अभव्यो विरूढिं वृद्धिं विपुलतामापत्तुम्⁷⁵ । अत्र ते अद्याग्रेण अवद्याचारेण अध्यापत्या-
वद्याचारवैरमण्या तीव्रचेतसा आरक्षस्मृत्या प्रमादे योगः करणीयः । कश्चिदेवरूप-
स्थानं नाध्यापत्स्यसे । नाध्यापत्स्ये । शृणु त्वमायुस्मन् अनेकपर्यायेण भगवता अदत्तादानं प्रतिषिद्धं विगर्हितं अदत्तादानविरतिं स्तुता स्तोमिता वर्णिता प्रशस्ता । अद्याग्रेण ते आयुष्मन् स्तेयचित्तेन तिलतुषमपि परक्यमदत्तमादातव्यं कः पुनर्वादः पञ्चमाषिकं वा उत्तरपञ्चमाषिकं वा । उक्तमेतदायुष्मंस्तेन भगवता जानता पश्यता तथागतेनार्हता सम्यक् संबुद्धेन । यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्भ्रामगतमरण्यगतं वा परेषां अदत्तं स्तेयसंख्यातमाददीत यद्रूपेणादत्तादानेन राजा वैनं गृहीत्वा राजमात्रो वा हन्याद्वा संबन्धीयाद्वा प्रवासयेद्वा एवं चैनं वदेत्—त्वं भोः पुरुष चौरोऽसि बालोऽसि मुढोऽसि स्तेनो⁷⁶ऽसीत्येवरूपं स्थान-
मध्यापय सहाध्यापत्या अभिक्षुर्भवति [अश्रमणः अशाक्यपुत्रीयः ध्वस्यते भिक्षुभावात् हत-
श्रामण्यं ध्वस्तं मथितं पतितं पराजितमप्रत्युद्धार्यमस्य भवति श्रामण्यं ।⁷⁷] तद्यथा—तालो मस्तकाच्छिन्नः [अभव्यो हरितत्वाय अभव्यो विरूढिं वृद्धिं विपुलतामापत्तुम् । अत्र ते अद्याग्रेण अवद्याचारेण अध्यापत्यावद्याचारवैरमण्या तीव्रचेतसा आरक्षस्मृत्या प्रमादे योगः करणीयः । कश्चिदेवरूपं स्थानं नाध्यापत्स्यसे ।]⁷⁸ नाध्यापत्स्ये । शृणु त्वमेवंनामन् अनेकपर्यायेण भगवता प्राणातिपातो विगर्हितः प्राणातिपातविरतिः स्तुता स्तोमिता वन्दिता प्रशस्ता । अद्याग्रेण ते आयुष्मन् [संचि⁷⁹]न्त्य कुन्तपिपिलकोऽपि⁸⁰ प्राणेषु जीवितात् न व्यपरोपयितव्यः कः पुनर्वादो मनुष्यं वा मनुष्यविग्रहं वा । उक्तं चैतदायुष्मंस्तेन भगवता जानता पश्यता तथागतेनार्हता सम्यक् संबुद्धेन । यः पुनर्भिक्षुमनुष्यं वा मनुष्यविग्रहं वा स्वहस्तेन संचिन्त्य जीविताद् व्यपरोपयेत् शस्त्रं वैनामाधारयेत् शस्त्रधारकं वास्य पर्यपेत

73 MS, °विष्कृत्वा

71 MS °गतायापि

75 Cf. Parajikā dhammā 1

76 MS. स्तेयो°

77 Tib. དགེ་སྤྱོད་ཏུ་སྡི་རུང་། ལྷན་སྲིད་ཀྱི་སྡི་རུང་། དགེ་སྤྱོད་
གཏི་དངོས་ལོ་ལས་མཁས་པར་འགྲུར་དེ། དེའི་དགེ་སྤྱོད་གཏི་རྒྱལ་ཞིག་པར་
འགྲུར་ཞིང་། མཁས་པ་བཞེས་པ་ རུང་བ་ལས་པར་འགྲུར་བ་ལྟེ། དེའི་
དགེ་སྤྱོད་གཏི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བསྐྱོང་ཏུ་སྡིད་པར་འགྲུར་ལོ། Cf. Parajikā dhammā 2

78 For Tib. see *supra*.

79 Tib. བསམ་བློན་དུ།

80 MS. ལྟེ།

मरणाय वैनं समादापयेत् मरणवर्णं वास्यानुसंवर्णयेत् । एवं चैनं वदेत्—हंभोः पुरुष
 किं त्वया पापकेनाशुचिना दुर्जावितेन मृतं ते भोः पुरुष जीविताद्वरमितिचिन्तानुमतै-
 श्चित्तमंकल्पैरनकेपर्यायेण मरणाय वैनं समादापयेत् मरणवर्णं वास्य अनुसंवर्णयेत् स च तेन
 कालं कुर्यादित्येवंरूपो भिक्षुः स्थानमध्यापद्य सहाध्यापत्या अभिक्षुर्भवति अश्रमणः अशाक्य-
 पुत्रीयः [ध्वस्यते भिक्षुमावात् हतश्रामण्यं ध्वस्तं मथितं पतितं पराजितमप्रत्युद्धार्यमस्य
 भवति श्रामण्यम् ।⁸¹ तद्यथा—तालो मस्तकाच्छिन्नः अभव्यो हरितत्वाय अभव्यो विहृष्टिं
 वृद्धिं विपुलतामापत्तुम् । अद्य ते अद्याग्रेण अवद्याचारेण अध्यापत्यावद्याचारवैरमण्यां
 तीव्रचेतसा आरक्षस्मृत्या प्रमादे योगः करणीयः । किञ्चिदेवरूपं स्थानं नाध्यापत्स्यसे ।
 नाध्यापत्स्ये ।]⁸² शृणु त्वमायुष्मन् अनेकपर्यायेण भगवता मृषावादा विगर्हितः मृषावाद-
 विरतिः स्तुता स्तोमिता वन्दिता प्रशस्ता । अद्याग्रेण ते आयुष्मन् हास्यप्रेक्षणोऽपि संप्रजान-
 मृषावाक् न भाषितव्या कः पुनर्वादोऽसन्तमसंविद्यमानमुत्तरसनुष्यधर्मं प्रलपितुम् । उक्तं
 चैतत् आयुष्मन् तेन भगवता जानता पश्यता तथागतेनार्हता सम्यक् संबुद्धेन । यः
 पुनर्भिक्षु[रनभिजानन्नपरिजानन्न]⁸³ सन्तमसंविद्यमानमुत्तरमनुष्यधर्ममलमार्यविशेषाधिगमं ज्ञानं
 वा दर्शनं वा स्पर्शविहारतां वा प्रतिजानीयादिदं जानामीदं पश्यामीति स परेण
 समयेन समनुयुज्यमानो वा असमनुयुज्यमानो वा आपन्नो विशुद्धिं प्रेक्ष्यैवं वदेदजानन्ने-
 वाहमायुष्मन्तोऽवोचं जानामीति पश्यामीति[रिक्तं तुच्छं मृषाव्यपलपनमन्यताभिमानात्
 अयमपि भिक्षुः पाराजिको भवत्यमंवास्यः ।]⁸⁴ किं जानासि ।⁸⁵ दुःखं जानामि ।
 समुदयं निरोधं मार्गं जानामि । किं पश्यसि । देवान् पश्यामि । नागान् यक्षान् गन्ध-
 र्वान् किन्नरान् महोरगान् प्रेतान् पिशाचान् कुम्भाण्डान् कटपुतनान् [पश्यामि ।⁸⁶ देवाः
 अपि मां पश्यन्ति । नागाः यक्षाः गन्धर्वाः किन्नराः महोरगाः प्रेताः पिशाचाः कुम्भाण्डाः
 कटपूतनाः अपि मां पश्यन्ति । देवानां शब्दं शृणोमि । नागानां यावत्कटपूतानां शब्दं
 शृणोमि । देवाः अपि मम⁸⁷ शब्दं शृण्वन्ति । नागाः यावत्कटपूतनाः अपि मम शब्दं
 शृण्वन्ति । देवानां दर्शनाय उपसंक्रामामि । नागानां यावत्कटपूतानां दर्शनाय उप-
 संक्रामामि । देवाः अपि मां दर्शनाय उपसंक्रामन्ति । नागाः यावत्कटपूतनाः अपि मां
 दर्शनाय उपसंक्रामन्ति । देवैः सार्धमालपामि संलपामि प्रतिसंमोदे सातत्यं समापद्ये ।
 नागैः यावत्कटपूतनैः सार्धमालपामि संलपामि प्रतिसंमोदे सातत्यं समापद्ये । देवाः अपि

81 Cf. Pārājikā dhammā 3

82 For Tib. see *supra*.

83 Tib. མངོན་པར་སྐྱེས་ལྷིང་ཡོངས་སུ་སྐྱེས་ལ།

84 Tib. གསེབ་གསེག་བརྗོད་དུ་སྐྱེས་སྐྱེས་ཟེར་ན་མངོན་པར་ང་ཀྱལ་ས་
 གོའི་གས་དེ། དག་སྐྱོང་དེ་ཡང་པས་པར་གུར་བ་ཡིན་གྱིས་གསས་པར་སྐྱེ་བའི་
 ཞེས་བུ་བའདེ་བཀའ་སྐྱེལ་དེ། Cf. Pārājikā dhammā 4

85 MS. འུ་མེས།

86 Tib. མཚོང་།

87 MS. मां, Tib. བདག་སྐྱེ།

मया गार्धमालपन्ति गंलपन्ति प्रतिमंमोदन्ते सातत्यं समापद्यन्ते । नागाः यावत्कटपूतनाः
 अपि मया गार्धमालपन्ति गंलपन्ति प्रतिमंमोदन्ते सातत्यं समापद्यन्ते । अलभ्ये⁸⁸ वसन्
 अनित्यसंज्ञया लभ्योऽहमस्मि⁸⁹ इत्यात्मानं प्रतिजानीते । अनित्ये दुःखसंज्ञया दुःखे अनात्म-
 संज्ञया आहारे प्रतिकूलसंज्ञया सर्वलोके अनभिरतिमंज्ञया आलोकसंज्ञया प्रहरणसंज्ञया विराग-
 संज्ञया निरोधसंज्ञया मरणसंज्ञया । अलभ्ये⁹⁰ वसन् अशुभसंज्ञया न शुभसंज्ञया अलम्भो-
 हमस्मि⁹¹ इत्यात्मानं प्रतिजानीते । विनालकसंज्ञया⁹² विप्रयुक्तसंज्ञया⁹³ व्यात्मात्मककमंज्ञया⁹⁴
 विपद्मकमंज्ञया⁹⁵ विस्तारितसंज्ञया विलोहितकसंज्ञया विक्षिप्तकमंज्ञया अस्थिरसंज्ञया⁹⁶
 शून्यताप्रत्यवीक्षणसंज्ञया लभ्योऽहमस्मि इति प्रतिजानीते । अलभ्ये वसन् प्रथमस्य
 ध्यानस्य द्वितीयस्य तृतीयस्य चतुर्थस्य ध्यानस्य मैत्र्याः करुणायाः मुदितायाः उपेक्षायाः
 आकाशानन्त्यायतनस्य विज्ञानानन्त्यायतनस्य अकिञ्चिन्यायतनस्य नैवसंज्ञानामंज्ञायतनस्य⁹⁷
 स्रोतापत्तिफलस्य⁹⁸ सकृदागामिफलस्य⁹⁹ अनागामिफलस्य¹⁰⁰ [अर्हत्त्वफलस्य]¹⁰¹
 ऋद्धिविषयस्य¹⁰² दिवस्य श्रोतस्य चेतःपर्यायस्य पूर्वनिवासस्य¹⁰³ च्युत्युपहानस्य
 अनर्हन्नेव समानोऽहमस्मि अप्रतिमोक्षार्थी इत्यात्मानं प्रतिजानीते । अन्यत्र प्रतिमानात्
 इत्येवंरूपं भिक्षुः स्थानमवपद्य महाध्यापत्या अभिक्षुर्भवति । अश्रमणः अशाक्यपुत्रीयः

88 MS. ०ला०

89 MS. लाभ्यमस्मि

90 MS. ०लो०

91 MS. ०लोभ्यहमस्मि

92 MS. ०न०, Tib. རྣམ་པར་རྗེས་པའི་འདུ་གཤམ་དང་།

93 Ms. विप्रलोक, Tib རྣམ་པར་རྣམས་པའི་འདུ་གཤམ་།

94 MS. व्याघातक०, རྣམ་པར་བས་པའི་འདུ་གཤམ་།

95 MS. विपद्मक०, རྣམ་པར་འབྲུག་གཞི་གས་པའི་འདུ་གཤམ་།

96 These are ten asubhabhāvanās. In Pali there are ten asubhasaññas while in *Mahavyutpatti* (ed. Sakkaki, pp. 87-88) they are only nine. These saññas (notions) are necessary for the full meditation on སྲི་རྒྱལ་པ།

97 These four pieces of *kammalthānas* are called *Trippa*.98 A *solāpanna* is one who has entered the first stage of sanctification.99 A *sakudāgāmin* is one who has one birth more in this world.100 An *anāgāmin* is one who will not be born in this earth but in a *Brahmaloka*.

101 Tib. རྣམ་པའི་སྲི་རྒྱལ་པ་ཞིང་འདུ་གཤམ་སྲི་རྒྱལ་པ། —an *arhat* is one who is no more subject to rebirth.

102 MS. रि०, Tib. རྣམ་པར་རྗེས་པའི་འདུ་གཤམ་།

103 MS. अपू०, Tib. སྲི་རྒྱལ་པ་གས།

ध्वस्यते भिक्षुभावात् हतमस्य भवति श्रामण्यं ध्वस्तं मथितं पतितं पराजितं अप्रत्युद्धार्यमस्य भवति श्रामण्यम् । तद्यथा—तालो मस्तकाच्छिन्नः अभव्यो हरितत्वाय अभव्यो विरुद्धं वृद्धिं विपुलतां आपत्तुम् । अत्र ते अद्याग्रेण अनध्याचारे अनध्यापत्या अनध्याचारवैरमग्या तावचंतमा आरक्षस्मृत्या प्रमादे योगः करणीयः । किञ्चिदेवं स्थानमध्यापत्स्ये । नाध्यापत्स्ये । [इमे खलु पतनीया धर्मा आख्याताः । अतः श्रमणकारकाः धर्मा आख्यातव्याः ।]¹⁰¹ शृणु त्वमायुस्मन् चत्वारः इमे तेन भगवता जानता पश्यता तथागतेनार्हता गम्यक् भवद्वेन श्रमणकारकाः धर्माः आख्याताः । कतमे चत्वारः । अद्याग्रेण ते आयुस्मता ।

आकुष्ठेन न प्रत्याकोष्टव्यम् रोषितेन न प्रतिरोषितव्यम् ।

ताडितेन न प्रतिताडितव्यम् भगिडतेन¹⁰⁵ न प्रतिभगिडतव्यम्¹⁰⁶ ॥

किञ्चिदेवंरूपं स्थानं अध्यापत्स्यसे । न अध्यापत्स्ये । शृणु त्वमायुस्मन् यस्ते अभूत् पूर्वमाशामकः कश्चिदहं लभेयं स्वाख्याते धर्मविनये प्रव्रज्यामुपसंपदं भिक्षुभावं च । मन्वमेतर्हि प्रव्रजितं उपसंपन्नम् प्रतिरूपेण उपाध्यायेण प्रतिरूपाभ्यामाचार्याभ्यां समग्रेण संघेन [ज्ञ]मिचतुर्थेन¹⁰⁷ कर्मणा अकोप्येन अनास्थापनार्हेण यत्र वर्षशतोपसंपन्नेन भिक्षुणा शिक्षायां शिक्षितव्यं तत्र तदहोपसंपन्नेन इति यत्र समानशीलता समानशिक्षता समान-प्रातिमोक्षसूत्रोद्देशता सा अद्याग्रेण आरागयितव्या न विरागयितव्या¹⁰⁸ । अद्याग्रेण ते उपाध्यायस्यान्तिके पितृसंज्ञा स्थापयितव्या उपाध्यायेनापि तवान्निके पुत्रसंज्ञा उपस्थापयितव्या अद्याग्रेण ते उपाध्यायो यावज्जीवं उपस्थापयितव्यः । उपाध्यायेनापि त्वं ग्लानः उपस्थापयितव्यः आमरणाय वा व्युत्थानाय¹⁰⁹ वा । अद्याग्रेण ते सर्गारवेण विहर्तव्यम् सप्रतीशेण¹¹⁰ गभयवशवर्तिना¹¹¹ सब्रह्मचारिषु स्वविरेषु मध्येषु नवकेषु । अद्याग्रेण ते उद्देष्टव्यम् पठितव्यं

101 Tib. དེ་ནི་ ལྷུང་བར་ འགུར་བའི་ཚེས་རྣམས་ བརྗོད་པའོ། དེའི་འོག་

ཏུ་ རྣམ་གྱིས་དུ་བྱེད་ཚེས་རྣམས་བརྗོད་པར་བྱ་ཞེ།

105 MS. म०, Tib. མཚན་བྱས་ཀྱང་སྤྱོད།

106 ०मण्ड०, Tib. མཚན་མི་བྱ་བར་བྱའོ།; these are called श्रमणधर्माः ।

Cl. Finot's *Prātimokṣasūtra*, p. 83.

107 Tib. གསེལ་བ་དང་བཞིའི་ལས།

108 Tib. has more.

109 MS. अवरणाय वा न्युत्थनाय वा, Tib. འཇུག་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་བར་དུ། Cl. *Mahā-
nagga*, pp. 46-53.

110 MS. ०वेण, Tib. ཞེ་ས་དང་བཅས་དང་། Cl. Pali sappatisā.

111 MS. समय०, Tib. འཇིགས་པ་དང་བཅས་པའི།

स्वाध्यायितव्यं स्कन्धकौशल्यं धानुकौशल्यं करणीयं आयतनकौशल्यं प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादकौशलं
 स्थानास्थानकौशलं धृः¹¹² च तेन निक्षेप्तव्या अप्राप्तस्य प्राप्तये अनधिगतस्याधिगमाय¹¹³
 अमात्तान्कृतस्य साक्षात्क्रियायै इमानि च ते मया आंदारिकौदारिकानि शिक्षापदानि आख्या-
 तानि अन्यानि वा तानि अन्वर्धमामं प्रातिमोक्षसूत्रोद्देशे उद्दिश्यमाने श्रोष्यसि अन्यानि च ते
 आचार्योपाध्यायाभ्यां ग्राहयिष्यन्ति । समानोपाध्यायाः समानाचार्याः आसकाः संलसकाः
 मंसुतका सप्रेमकाः । एष त्वमुपसंपन्नो वरप्रज्ञस्य शामने । यथेमां न विरागयसि दुर्लभं
 क्षण[गंपदम् ।]¹¹⁴ प्रमादिकः प्रव्रज्यापरिशुद्धस्योपसंपदः । आख्याताः मत्यनाम्ना वै संबुद्धेन
 प्रजानता । एष त्व[मुपसंपन्नो]¹¹⁵ प्रमादे संपादय ॥

समाप्तं कर्मवाक्यम् ।

ANUKUL CHANDRA BANERJEE

112 MS. ध्वरा, Tib. བཞེན་པ།

113 MS. गतस्यधि०

114 Tib. དམ་དང་འབྲུན།

115 Tib. བསྐྱེན་པར་ཇོགས་ཟེན།

The Praśasti Sections of the Candrāvati Grants of Vs. 1150 and 1156*

A. *Historical Notes*

These two copperplate inscriptions of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty, were found at Candrāvati, in the district of Vārāṇasī, on the left bank of the river Gaṅgā; the first one consists of five plates while the second one is written on a single plate. These have already been edited by D. R. Sahani.¹ The praśasti portions which are in verse in both the grants were omitted in that edition.

These praśasti sections are however important, not only because there are some unique verses, which are not found in any other inscriptions, issued by the Gāhaḍavāla kings, but because they throw some new light on the history of king Candradeva, who issued these grants.

Candradeva (c. 1085-1100 A.D.) was the founder of the Gāhaḍavāla monarchy. So far four inscriptions of his reign have been found, namely the Candrāvati inscriptions of V.S. 1148 (1090-91 A.D.),² V.S. 1150 (1093 A.D.), V.S. 1156 (1100 A.D.) respectively and the B.A.S. inscription of V.S. 1154 (1098 AD.?)³

The first of the two inscriptions under discussion was issued on the 23 October 1093 A.D. from the bathing ghāṭ of Svargadvāra in Ayodhyā and the second on the 14th April 1100 A.D. from the bathing ghāṭ of Ādi-Keśava on the Gaṅgā. The inscriptions consist respectively of ninety lines and twenty-four lines, while the respective praśasti sections contain thirteen and eight verses.

The first inscription, like most of the Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions, begins with a symbolic 'om,' svasti-vacana and an invocatory verse to the goddess Lakṣmī. The second inscription on the other hand is introduced somewhat characteristically, with the information in prose, that, the grant was made after a munificent gift of gold and other valuables equal to the king's weight and a thousand cows before the image of Ādi Keśava; then follows the usual 'om,' svasti and the invocatory verse.

* I am grateful to Dr B. C. Sen, Lecturer, University of Calcutta, for his kind revision of this paper.

1 *Epigraphia Indica*, XIV. pp. 193-209.

2 *Ibid.*, IX. pp. 302-05, ed. Konow.

3 *Indian Antiquary*, XVIII. pp. 9-14, ed. Kielhorn

The next five verses are common to both the inscriptions. The second *śloka* eloquently praises king Devapāla, who, it is said, exercised suzerainty over numerous kings. Presumably this Devapāla is to be identified with Devapāla of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, who ruled at the imperial city of Kānyakubja from c. 947 A.D. to c. 953 A.D. It is however curious, that, though there were many great emperors in the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, this particular ruler has been selected for prāśasti purposes.

The third verse describes the glory of the 'royal dynasty' which occupied Kānyakubja, after the destruction of the descendants of Devapāla. Strangely enough, neither in this verse, nor in any one of the following, there is any specification of this royal dynasty, except that it belonged to the Kṣātra lineage. In fact in the wide range of the seventy-six inscriptions of this new dynasty, so far discovered, the specific name *Gāhaḍavāla* or *Gāhaḍavāla*, has been mentioned only on four occasions,—thrice in the grants of the Mahārājaputra Govindacandra⁴ and once in Sarnāth pillar inscription of Kumāradevī.⁵ Attempts have been made to show that the Gāhaḍavālas were really a sect of the Solar dynasty, Rāṣṭrakūṭa.⁶ In this connection it may be pointed out that the opening one of the common series of prāśasti verses of this dynasty, which begins with 'Āsīd = āsīta-dyuti-vaiśā-jāta-kṣmāpāla-mālāsū divaṁ gatāsū' (i.e. the kings of the Solar dynasty having gone to heaven, there was), has been written in some of the inscriptions with a *visarga* between *jāta* and *kṣmāpāla*; this insertion where it occurs, changes the meaning of the verse and represents Yaśovigraha, the grandfather of Candra, as a scion of the Solar dynasty. In the earliest record of the dynasty, the Candrāvātī inscription of 1148 V.S., there is no trace of this *visarga* and 'āsīta-dyuti-vaiśā-jāta-kṣmāpāla-mālāsū' is a single compound word. Most of the Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions follow this reading, though some twenty have been written with a *visarga* in the said place. It is evident that the majority of the inscriptions do not support the Solar origin of

4 Basahi Insc. *Ind Ant.*, XIV. pp. 101-02, ed. Fleet; Kamauli insc. *E.I.*, II. pp. 358-61, ed. Venis, Rahan Insc. *Ind Ant.*, XVIII. pp. 14-19, ed. Kielhorn.

5 *E.I.*, IX. pp. 319-28, ed. Konow.

6 Vaidya, *Hist. of Med. Ind.*, II, pp. 216 ff.; Ramakatan---*A M Silver Jubilee vol. Orientalia*, III pt. 2 pp. 250 ff., *Recu-JRAS.* Jan. 1930, pp. 111-12.,

[The text on this page is extremely faded and illegible. It appears to be a Sanskrit inscription in a specific script, likely Devanagari. The characters are dark but the background is light and noisy, making the text impossible to read accurately. The script is likely a form of Sanskrit used in the Chandāvatī inscription.]

the Gāhaḍavālas. The statement in the Rahan grant of Mahārājaputra Govindacandra (1166 V.S.), that, after the destruction of the Kṣātra dynasties of the Sun and the Moon, there was born in 'the dynasty' king Candradeva, indicates that the dynasty of Candia was different from the well-known Solar and Lunar dynasties.

The fourth verse refers to Yaśovigraha, the first important personage of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty. No royal epithets have been mentioned in connection with his and his son's names. But the statement that Yaśovigraha made earth *daṇḍa-praṇayinī*, shows that, most probably he was a military or judicial officer under some contemporary king.

The next two verses have been repeated again and again in most of the Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions. One praises Yaśovigraha's son Mahicandra and the other introduces his son king Candradeva, the founder of the greatness of the dynasty, who overcame a host of enemies and conquered the sovereignty of Kānyakubja.

The seventh verse, which describes the religious inclinations of Candradeva, is also a common one; it appears that the pious king constantly visited and protected the sacred places of Kāśī, Kuśika (Kanyakubja), Uttara-Kośala (Ayodhyā), Indrasthānīyaka (vicinity of Delhi) and gave away gold equal to his own weight. The Candrāvātī inscription of 1156 V.S. does not contain this verse, but the king's munificent gifts have been referred to at the very beginning of this grant.

The next three verses of the Candrāvātī inscription of V.S. 1150, namely, the eighth, the ninth, and the tenth, are not found repeated in any of the Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions. The eighth verse continues to describe the pious attitude of the king Candra, who adorned the image of Viṣṇu-Hari⁷ by gold ornaments set with jewels and also set up and adorned with gold and jewels the image of Ādi-Keśava. It is interesting to note that the jewels of the gold ornaments were set by the '*Anāryas*.' The next verse states that the king's army routed those who were not devoted to *Śaṅkara* (probably the god Mahādeva). The tenth verse which says that the sea does not long for the *jadātman* moon, indicates that it was more interested in the living moon,—king Candra; probably the king at that time cherished the ambition of conquering the territory upto the sea.

7 According to the modern lexicographers, Vaidya and Panse and Apte, *Hari* is a name of *Śiva*.

Verse 11 of the inscription of 1150 V.S., which is also the verse 7 of the inscription of 1156 V.S., is not found in any other inscriptions. This is however an important verse and described Candradeva's expedition to the 'east.' This expedition is not again mentioned or even hinted at it in any other Gāhaḍavāla records. Most probably the ambition of the first Gāhaḍavāla king in that direction was not realized. Candra's dominion did not seem to have extended far beyond Vārāṇasī, across the river Gaṅgā. The eastern neighbour of the Gāhaḍavālas were the Pālas, and Rāmapāla's accession to the throne, according to some scholars⁸ roughly synchronized with the foundation of the Gāhaḍavāla monarchy. Even before the accession of Rāmapāla, North Bengal was troubled by the Kaivarta rebellion and Gauḍa itself was occupied by the Kaivarta king Divya and his successors. According to *Rāmacaritam*, Rāmapāla spent the early years of his reign in consolidating his power and contacting all his loyal *Sāmantas*. Then with the help of his *Samantā-cakra*, he crushed the rebellion and re-occupied his royal heritage." The list of these *Sāmantas* of Rāmapāla is headed by Bhīmayaśas the ruler of Magadha-Piṭhī, who is described in the *Ramacarita* commentary as '*Kānyakubja-bājī-niḡaṇṭhaṇa-bhujāṅga*',⁹ this epithet indicates that that the Kānyakubja-king was defeated by him. Dr. H. C. Ray has already suggested that the king must be one of the first three Gāhaḍavāla kings,¹⁰ and Dr. B. C. Sen has supported this view.¹¹ Of the first three Gāhaḍavāla kings, another besides Candra, came into conflict with Rāmapāla; the Rahan grant of Mahārājaputra Govindacandra, dated 1166 V.S./1109 A.D., describes Govinda as terrific in cleaving the frontal globes of the Gauḍa elephants. Presumably Govinda sometime between 1105 A.D. (date of Basahi grant which makes no reference to Govinda's eastern venture) and 1109 A.D. fought against the Gauḍa army. As this date falls within the second half of Rāmapāla's reign, it is probable that by that time he has already re-occupied Gauḍa with the help of his faithful feudatories. The *Rāmacaritam* however does not make any reference to Rāmapāla's martial engagement with the king of Vārāṇasī. In view of the abovementioned

8 H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p. 385, c. 1084-1126 A.D. B. C. Sen, *HALB*, p. xlix, c. 1065-1109 A.D. R. C. Mazumdar, *Hist. of Beng.*, I, p. 177: c. 1077-1120 A.D. (Rāmapāla's reign-period).

9 *Rāmacarita* (commentary), 1/42-45.

10 *Ibid.*, 2/5

11 *Dynastic Hist. of Nor. Ind.*, I, p. 340 fn. 8

12 *Hist. Aspects of Insc. of Bengal*, p. 434 fn. 1.

facts the political relation of the Gāhaḍavāla kings with their eastern neighbours during Rāmapāla's reign might be reconstructed as follows. After vanquishing his enemies and conquering the city of Kanyakubja, the first Gāhaḍavāla king undertook an expedition in the east sometime before 1150 V.S./1093 A.D., but probably after 1091 A.D. Rāmapāla was the virtual ruler of the Pala dominion at that time but actually as the result of the Kaivarta rebellion his authority was confined to a much smaller area. The principality of Pīṭhī-Magadha, which was contiguous to the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom, was under the Pala feudatory Bhimavaśas, who was either Devarakṣita himself (who was defeated by the kings' maternal uncle Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mahana or Mathana) or his successor; it was he who repulsed the Gāhaḍavāla onslaught on the Pala dominion and the initiative might well have been his rather than the Pāla king's. After the reoccupation of Gauḍa, and consolidation of his position, Rāmapāla probably remembered the Gāhaḍavāla outrage and as an effective retaliation sent out an army in course of his *digvijaya*;¹³ evidently he chose his moment well,—the Gāhaḍavālas at that time were considerably embarrassed by the repeated attacks of the enterprising Yamini Sultan Masud (III)-bin-Ibrahim (1099-1115 A.D.)¹⁴ Fortunately for the infant kingdom, Mahārājaputra Govindacandra, the son of the second king Madanapāla (c. 1100-1114 A.D.), rose upto the situation and not only saved the kingdom from the attacks of the Yamini Sultan but also repulsed the Pāla invasion. The discreet silence of Sandhyakaranandī about the futile Pāla expedition is quite in keeping with the eulogistic character of the *Rāmacarita*, which may have avoided references to unpleasant and inglorious incidents of the hero's reign. Another conjecture might be hazarded in this connection. On this occasion the Pala army was probably led by Mathanadeva; after an effective defence by Govindacandra, the truce which concluded that indecisive battle was sealed by a marriage alliance between the valient Gāhaḍavāla Mahārājaputra and Kumāradevī the grand-daughter of Mathanadeva and niece of Rāmapāla.¹⁵

The twelfth verse in the inscription of 1150 V.S., is not included in the later inscription; it praises in highly eloquent style Candradeva's

¹³ *Rāmacaritam*, 3/45-47.

¹⁴ *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*, ed. Raverty, I, p. 107, Elliot, *History of India*, IV, pp. 526-27.

¹⁵ *LI*. IX. pp 319-28, ed Konow.

lane which has travelled across the mountains and oceans to the abode of Indra.

Verse 13 is the last verse of the praśasti sections in both the inscriptions. It compares the religious-minded overlord Candia with the kings of the Solar and the Lunar dynasties of the past.

B. *Transcription of the Text.**

For the sake of convenience I am giving here the transcription of the better preserved (A) of these two grants, which is also the earlier; the other inscription will be referred to here as inscription B. Except for the five verses (i.e. vv. 7-10, and v. 12) which are omitted in the inscription B, the praśasti sections of both the inscriptions are substantially the same.

1¹. ओम्² स्वस्ति ॥ अकुगटोत्कगठवैकुगठकगठपीठलुठत्करः । मंरम्मः सुरतारम्भे ग श्रिय [श्रय]³ से|S]स्तु वः⁴ ॥ आसीदसे(शे)नरनाथकिरीटकोट्टिसंघट्टघट्टितलसन्मणिपादपीठः । श्रीदे

2. वपालनृपतिस्तृ(स्त्रि)जगत्प्रगांतकुं दे दुधामहिमकैरवकान्तकीर्त्तिः⁵ ॥ कालेन नास(श)मथ तस्य गते|S]न्ववाये दांर्दण्डविक्रमहठाज्जितकन्यकुब्जः । क्षालो|S]यमल बहुपत्र(चक्र)⁶ रथानुगम्यमा

3. नोन्नतिर्विजयते भूवि नृपवंशः⁷ ॥ तस्मिन्वंसे (शे)समुत्पन्नो यशोविप्रहसंज्ञकः । विगृह्य मेदिनी येन दण्डप्रणयिनी कृता⁸ ॥ तत्सूतो[S]भृन्महीचन्द्रश्चन्द्रधामनिभं निजं (जम्) [| येनापारमकूपारपारे ।⁹

4. व्यापारितं यशः¹⁰ ॥ तस्याभूत्तनया नयैकरसिकः क्रान्तद्विषन्मण्डलो विब्ध(द्ध) म्तो(स्तो)द्धतवीरयाधतिमिरः श्रीचन्द्रदेवनृपः । येनोदारतरप्रतापस(श)मितासे(शे)पप्रजापद्रवं श्रीमद्रा ।¹¹

* I am indebted to Sri K. C. Sastri, Lecturer, Victoria Institution, Calcutta, for useful corrections and interpretations of some portions of my reading of the text.

1 Insc. B. has ओम् देवश्रीमदादिकेशवदक्षिणमूर्त्ता तुलापुरुषगोसहश्र(स्र)महादानसमनन्तरम् ।¹² as the first line

2 Expressed by Symbol.

3 The hole for the ring which was made after inscribing the plate, has cut away these two letters.

4 Metre. *Anuṣṭubh*

5 Metre. *Vasantatilaka*.

6 The reading here is *Patra* or *Yatra* in both A and B; but as it does not suit here, I have suggested *akra* instead, which is more appropriate.

7 Metre. *Vasantatilaka*.

8 Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

9 This punctuation is unnecessary.

10 Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

11 This punctuation is unnecessary.

5. धिपुराधिराज्यमसमं दोर्व्विक्रमेणाजितम्¹² । तीर्थानि काशिकुशिकोत्तरकोसलेन्द्र-
स्थानीयकानि परिपालयताभिगम्य [1] हेमात्मतुल्यमनिसं(शं)ददता द्विजेभ्यो येनांकिता वसुम

6. ती म(श)तशम्तु(स्तु)लाभिः¹³ ॥ हैमानि येन मणिभिः खचितान्यनाग्यैर्दत्तानि
विष्णुहरये च विभूषणानि । काश्यां व्यभूषयदनेकसुवर्णरत्नैर्यश्चादिकेशवविभोः प्रतिमां
निवेश्य¹⁴ ॥ केशा

7. नाकर्ष हर्षादपहर कुचयोरवरं भिद्धि सन्धीनुद्धा(द्वा)दान्कंचुकस्य प्रणम चरणयो
नूर्पुरासकहस्तः । नीवीमुन्मुंच कांचीमपनय न चिरादित्थमुद्वेलरागश्वके वें मं(शं)कवो(रां)
नांस्व(श्च)पतिरि

8. व रतेय(र्य)स्य लुट्न्भटोघः¹⁵ ॥ दिक्चकचुं विभुविरप्रसरत्करो यः ।¹⁶ पद्मा-
करानसुहृदो मुकुलां करोति । अस्मिं कलंकमलिनाय जडात्मने च वक्राय न स्पृहयते रजना-
कराय¹⁷ ॥

9. प्राचोमनुप्रचलितानि वलानि यस्य धूलीभिरंबुधनपंकमकार्षुर्ब्धेः । किं चोर्व्व-
रोचिरचिरोष्मभिरन्तराश(स)न् यादांसि पंकपुटपाक पचेलिमानि¹⁸ ॥ क्षीणातलं विपुल-
मद्रिपतीनुद

10. ग्रानंभोनिर्धानतिपृथून्ककुभां महेभान् । उल्लंघ्य स(श)कपुरसीमि यसो(शां) [S]
स्ति वृद्धं यस्य श्रमक्कमभरादिव संमुमूर्षु¹⁹ ॥ रविशशिकुले गुणाढ्या भारवयो राजसे(श)
खरा रेजुः । जगति

11. पुनरेकपव(द)²⁰ स्वामी योगीश्वर श्वंद्रः²¹ ॥ ॥ ॥

ROMA NIYOGI

12 Metre. *Sardulavikrīḍita*

13 Metre. *Vasantatilaka*. This *Śloka* and the following three are not included in the msc. B.

14 Metre: *Vasantatilaka*.

15 Metre: *Sragdharā*, cf *Śiśupālavadhān*, I 41 “पुरोमवस्कन्द लुनाहि नन्दन”, etc.

16 This punctuation is unnecessary.

17 Metre: *Vasantatilaka*.

18 Metre: *Vasantatilaka*

19 Metre: *Vasantatilaka*, this verse is not included in msc. B.

20 The reading in both the inscriptions is *pava* which does not make any sense.

21 Metre: *Āryā*.

Smṛti-nibandha Literature and Bengal's Contribution

The term 'nibandha' is derived from the root 'bandh' (to bind) preceded by 'ni'. In the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* the word has been used in the sense of "a grant of property, an assignment of cattle or money"¹. In certain places it is also used to denote any literary composition². The term 'nibandha', as applied to the Smṛti literature, usually denotes hand-books and compendiums, or, to be more precise, digests designed to simplify the study of the unwieldy *Dharmaśāstra* literature. The treatises on *Dharmaśāstra* cover an extensive field of law both religious and secular. In them all the diverse matters are mixed up in such a manner as to render it difficult, if not utterly impossible, to separate the purely religious laws from the secular ones. Even the various aspects of religious and social life are so blended together that one is bewildered in one's attempt to pick out the relevant matters from this medley. It is presumably to enable the general readers to master easily a particular topic that the digest-makers, the *nibandha-kāras* as they are called, composed distinct treatises on different subject-matters which can be broadly divided into 'ācāra' (rules of conduct), 'vyavahāra' (legal matters) and 'prāyaścitta' (rules of expiation). Though the avowed object of the commentary literature or *ṭīkā* on the well-known smṛti works, such as *Manu-saṃhitā*, *Yājñavalkya-saṃhitā*, etc. is to explain the texts yet, as Kane rightly observes, "there is no hard and fast line of demarcation between a *ṭīkā* and a *nibandha*."³ "For example, the scholium of Medhātithi on the *Manu-saṃhitā* or that of Vijñāneśvara on the *Yājñavalkya-saṃhitā* is much more than a mere commentary. It is true that they have commented upon the treatises respectively chosen by them. But in course of commenting they have incorporated a huge mass of allied matter culled from various smṛti treatises. Consequently their writings have become a collection, as it were, of the views of different smṛti-writers on a particular topic. Thus we

1 II. 11.

2 For various meanings of the word 'nibandha' see *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* of Monier Williams..

3 Kane, *Hist. of Dharmasāstra*, Poona, vol. I, p. 247.

may divide the *Nibandha* literature into two well-defined classes, viz.

(1) *Commentary nibandhas*

e.g. those of Medhātithi, Govindarāja, and Kullūka on the *Manu-saṃhitā* and those of Viṣṇāneśvara, Viśvarūpa and Aparārka on the *Yājñavalkya-saṃhitā*.

(2) *Non-commentary nibandhas*

e.g. the works of Jīmūtavāhana, Śūlapāṇi and Raghunandana in Bengal and those of Vācaspati Miśra and Rudradhara in Mithilā.

In order to understand properly the importance of the *nibandha* literature in the social life of India it is necessary to trace briefly the evolution of the *smṛti* literature in general.

The word 'smṛti' is found in many senses in Sanskrit literature. 'Smṛti' in the singular number generally denotes tradition, e. g., तथा च स्मृतिः, and in the plural number it means works on Dharmaśāstra. This term, in its wider sense, is applied to all orthodox non-vedic works, such as Pāṇini's grammar, *Śrauta-sūtra*, *Grhya-sūtra* and *Dharmasūtra*, etc. The word 'smṛti' is derived from the root 'smṛ'—to remember. The class of literature included in this category is contrasted from what is classed under 'śruti' (from root 'śru'—to hear), the point of contrast lying in the fact that while the former was the outcome of human efforts the latter was believed to have been revealed by superhuman beings to certain chosen people commonly known as 'ṛṣi' (from root 'ṛś'—to see).

As is well-known the *Smṛti* literature, which is also called *Dharmaśāstra*, is rooted in the Vedas, the source of all that is religious and sacred in India. It is, therefore, necessary for us to trace the gradual development of this literature out of its parent literature, the Vedic.

Towards the latter part of the Vedic age we find the growth of elaborate ritualism as evidenced by the literature known as 'Brāhmaṇa'. In course of time the rituals grew into an unwieldy extent and the number of the *Brāhmaṇas* became legion. The huge number of the *Brāhmaṇas*, which are characterised by Max Müller as "theological twaddles" naturally necessitated the compilation of short-cuts or manuals of manageable sizes, the more so because the civilisation of the Vedic people gradually advanced with the attendant

complexities of life. The life of the Hindu, beginning from his birth right up to his death, nay even his daily life, was a round of religious observances. These embraced rites of various kinds. With the object presumably of making the rules of different observances, scattered in voluminous treatises, easily accessible compendiums or short guide books were composed and these were called '*Kalpasūtras*', i. e., sūtras dealing with '*Kalpa*' (ceremonial or sacrificial acts). As is indicated by the very name this class of literature was composed in the terse and mnemonic sūtra style. The '*kalpa*' which has the merit of conciseness combined with lucidity is properly counted among the *Vedāṅga* (lit. the *aṅga*-accessory of the Veda). Now these *Kalpasūtras* contained heterogeneous matters, viz. purely formal rites and domestic rites and rules of conduct. In an attempt at further simplification the *Kalpasūtras* were divided into three distinct classes corresponding to the three types of matter mentioned above. These were known as *Śrauta-sūtra*, *Gr̥hya-sūtra* and *Dharma-sūtra* respectively.

The *Dharmasūtra* or, rather the contents thereof, are also known as *Sāmayācārīka-dharma*⁴. The word *sāmayācārīka* is adjective from *Samayācāra* which is a compound of '*samaya*' direction and '*ācāra*' (rules of conduct). Therefore '*samayācāra*' means rules of conduct based on directions of authoritative persons, these directions being threefold⁵, viz.,

- (1) *Vidhi*-injunction
- (2) *Niyama*-restriction
- (3) *Pratiśedha*-prohibition.

The *Dharmasāstra* literature comprises a vast mass of matter besides the *Dharmasūtras*. The bulk of this literature is found in versified form and is generally known as metrical smṛtis. A controversy has long been raging as to the precedence of the *Dharmasūtras* over metrical smṛtis and vice versa. Max Müller is definite that "there can be no doubt, however, that all the genuine

4 Cp. अध्यातः सामयाचारिकान् धर्मान् व्याख्यास्यामः—

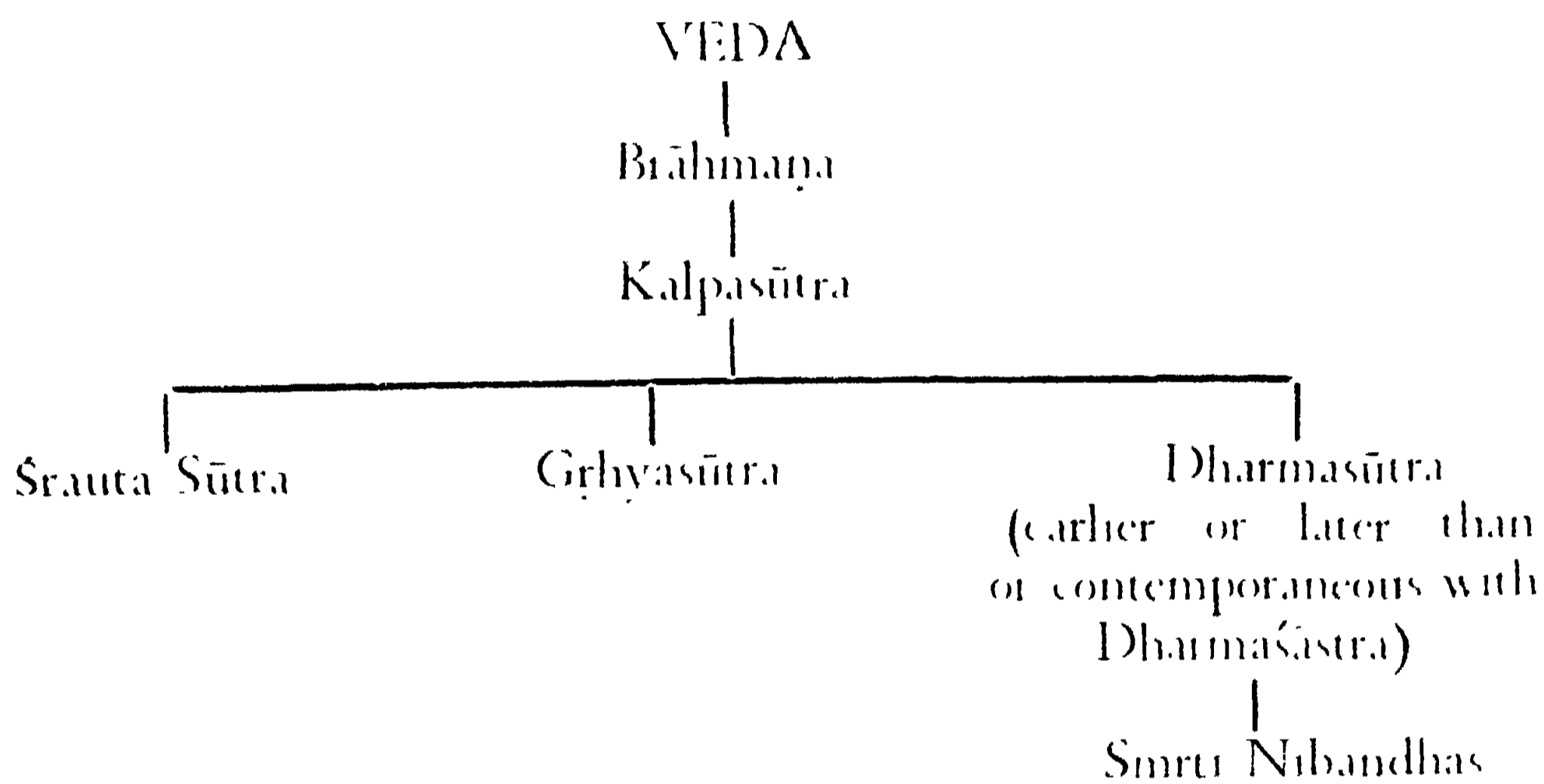
--*Apastambīya Dharma-sūtra* Ed. Bühler, Bombay, 1932, I. i. 1.

5 Cp. पौरुषेयी व्यवस्था समयः । स च द्विविधः । विधिनियमः प्रतिषेध इति... समयमूला आचारा इति समयाचारास्तेषु भवा सामयाचारिकाः ।

Haradatta's *Com. on Ibid.*

metrical *Dharmaśāstras* which we possess now are, without any exception, nothing but more modern texts of earlier sūtra works". Although this view appears to be more acceptable yet there is no conclusive evidence in its support. Therefore Kane, the veteran scholar in this field, to whom much more material was certainly accessible than to Max Müller leaves the question open instead of dogmatising upon it though he is obviously inclined to the opposite view.⁷

The sub-joined chart will clearly show the relationship of the Smṛti literature to the Vedas.



With the passage of time the metrical smṛtis grew into a huge bulk. Besides the traditional twenty authors of *Dharmaśāstra* we find works ascribed to a host of other writers some of whom are known merely from quotations in later treatises on Smṛti. The growing complexities of a progressive society necessitated the compilation of shorter and easier treatises for the guidance of the people in general. This social need was responsible for the growth of the numerous smṛti digests that we find to-day. The old smṛti works were differently interpreted by different scholars sometimes to make the rules suitable for the changed or changing condition of society, but often in an endeavour to display the dialectic feats of the digest makers concerned. This fact explains the coming into being of different schools of new Smṛti (navya smṛti), viz. that of Bengal, Mithilā, etc.

6 Max Muller, *HASL*, 1926, p. 70

7 Kane, *Hist of Dharmaśāstra*, *op cit*, p. 10.

From the foregoing pages the usefulness of the smṛti nibandhas is evident. That the smṛti literature, dealing as it does with matters religious and social, throws a flood of light on the conditions of the society in its successive stages of growth is too well-known to need any repetition. But as has been pointed out already so much matter of diverse nature is jumbled up in the original smṛti treatises that one is apt to be perplexed in one's attempt to study any particular aspect of life, either social or religious. The study of the smṛti nibandhas, especially of the non-commentary type mentioned above is necessary, may be indispensable, for more reasons than one. In the first place the *nibandhas* facilitate socio-religious study by compiling from the original smṛti works a huge mass of materials arranged topically, e.g. *vivāha*, *śraddha*, *upanayana*, *vrata* and so on. Secondly these works are much more than mere compilations inasmuch as each of the writers, while dealing with the rites and customs laid down in the authoritative treatises, sometimes record the changes noticed by them in the society in which they lived and moved and also set forth, by way of gloss on older texts, their independent views on certain matters. This serves the purpose of throwing side-lights on the changes that had naturally crept into the society.

The contributions of Bengal and Mithilā to the smṛti-nibandha literature are by far the most noteworthy. Unfortunately, however, these have not received as much attention of scholars as they deserve. For example, the name of Raghunandana is familiar to many in Bengal. But there are very few who ever care to understand the value of his contribution. Moreover the relationship of the *nibandha* literature to the *smṛti* literature in general is often not precisely known. We propose to give below an outline of this literature in Bengal. The historical aspect of the question has been ably dealt with by Manomohan Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1915, pp. 311-371, and his conclusions substantially hold good even to-day. We therefore propose in this paper to give a rapid but connected résumé of the facts known up-to-date about the smṛti-nibandhas of Bengal and their writers.

The writers of the Bengal school deal with all the three classes of subjects, viz., *ācāra*, *vyavahāra* and *prāyaścitta* into which the contents of the *Dharmaśāstra* literature in general can be broadly

divided. Besides these subjects they have also dwelt upon a variety of other topics, viz., *Jyotiṣa*, *kāla*, consecration of temples and tanks, etc. These subjects being of a highly technical nature are of purely academic interest only.

According to Kane the period of the *nibandha* literature roughly covers “a thousand years from about the 7th century to 1800 A.D.” To this the *Smṛti nibandhas* of Bengal are no exception. The prominent *nibandhakāras* of Bengal may be mentioned chronologically in the following order :-

1. Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa
2. Jīmatavahana
3. Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa
4. Ballālasena
5. Halayudha Bhaṭṭa
6. Śūlapaṇi
7. Śūmathācārya-cuḍāma.
8. Raghunandana
9. Govindananda

It should not be thought, however, that there were no *Smṛti* writers in the period following Raghunandana and Govindananda. But the fact is that the writers of this period engaged themselves chiefly in epitomising the works of the *Smṛta Bhaṭṭācārya* as Raghunandan is called. The fame of Raghunandana spread far and wide and exercised such a profound influence over the society that none of the later writers dared say anything against him. As a matter of fact the post-colophon statement in a Ms. of the *Sambandha-nirṇaya* of Gopāla Nyaya-pañcāna, a fairly well-known post-Raghunandana nibandhakāra of Bengal, runs thus. —

मम्बन्धोऽयं गोपालेन कृतः स्मार्तस्य वर्त्मना

What is true of Gopāla is applicable to other post-Raghunandana writers also who merely followed the beaten track—the path carved out by the *Smṛta*. (स्मार्तस्य वर्त्म) ”

8 Kane, *Hist. of Dharmasāstra*, op cit, p 246.

9 Some of the *Smṛti* writers of Bengal are credited with the authorship of certain books not on *Smṛti* but on other subjects. These non-*Smṛti* works are omitted from the account of the *Smṛti* literature.

*Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa**His works*

Apart from his works on Astrology and Astronomy, mentioned in the stone inscription of the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva of Bhuvaneśvara, and the *Vyavahara-tilaka*, a work on judicial procedure referred to by Raghunandana, which have not yet come to light, we definitely know of the following works of Bhavadeva:

- (i) *Karmanuṣṭhāna-paddhati*¹⁰—variously called as *Daśakarma-paddhti*, *Saṃskāra-paddhati* and *Chāndoga-paddhati*.

This is the best known of his works. It deals with the *saṃskāras* or purificatory rites to be gone through by the followers of the *Samaveda*.

- (ii) *Prayaścitta-nirūpana*, or *-prakaraṇa*¹¹ as the name implies it treats of various sins and the expiatory rites for getting rid of them.

- (iii) *Sambandha-viveka*¹² describes the qualifications of suitable brides, prohibited degrees of relationship in marriage and other things connected with marriage.

His time and personal history

Bhavadeva's date has been the subject of great controversy. R. L. Mitra is inclined to place him in the 11th century A. D. identifying, on no better evidence perhaps than mere likeness of names, Vācaspati of Bhavadeva's inscription, referred to above, with Vācaspati Miśra, the accredited author of many an original treatise on Logic.

On palaeographical evidences Kielhorn assigns Bhavadeva's inscription to the beginning of the 13th century. But in the present state of our imperfect knowledge of palaeography it is hazardous to accept as certain any date based merely on palaeographical evidence.

Turning to other internal evidences we find Bhavadeva mentioned in the *Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati* of Aniruddha. This fixes the lower limit of Bhavadeva's date at about the 12th century A. D. the date of Ballālasena, the royal disciple of Aniruddha.

10 Printed several times

11 Ed. Giusti Vedantavitha, Varindra Research Society, Rajshahi, 1927.

12 Exists in Mss. A fragment, preserved in Dacca University—ed. and tr. into Eng. by S. C. Banerji in *NLI*, vol. VI. Nos. 10-11.

Coming to the internal evidence we find, among the various writers at least two to whom a date can be assigned with some degree of certainty. They are Śrīkara, who is to be distinguished from Śukara, the father of Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, and Viśvarūpa, the author of the *Bāla-kṛīḍā*, a commentary on the *Yajñavalkya-smṛti*. Śukara's date falls between 800 and 1050 A. D. Viśvarūpa's date is believed to fall between 750 and 1000 A. D. Hence the upper limit of Bhavadeva's date may be fixed at 750 A. D.

If the reference to the *Tantatīta-mata-tilaka*, a Mimamsa work of Bhavadeva, contained in the *Prabandhacandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇamiśra, composed in the latter half of the 11th century and to Bhavadeva in the *Bhakti-bhāgavata-mahā-kāvya* of Jivadecārya composed in the first quarter of the 16th century be taken to refer to our Bhavadeva nothing militates against the conclusions regarding the date given above.

From the aforesaid date with the exception of the inconclusive argument of Kielhorn based on palaeographical evidence we may conclude that Bhavadeva flourished sometime between 750 and 1100 A. D.

Much light on the personal history of Bhavadeva is thrown by the inscription found in the temple of Ananta Vasudeva at Bhuvanēśvara the identity of that Bhavadeva with this writer being established beyond doubt by the epithet *Balavalabhi-bhujāṅga* found both in the inscription as well as in the works ascribed to him. An inhabitant of *Siddhalegrama* in *Rāḍbhā* he belonged to a family of the *śaevana* gotra and was minister of king Harivarmadeva.

Jīmūtavāhana his works

The following are up till now known to be the works of Jīmūtavāhana:—

- (i) *Kāla-uvēka*¹³—the object of the work is to ascertain the proper times for the performance of various religious observances.
- (ii) *Vyavahāra-matīkā*¹⁴—it deals with judicial procedure, title of law, etc.

¹³ *Hist of Dharmasāstra, op cit.*, p. 268.

¹⁴ Ed. *Bib. Indica*, Calcutta, 1905.

¹⁵ Published in memoirs of *ASB*, vol. III.

(iii) *Dāyabhāga*¹⁶—this is by far the most well-known work of Jīmūtavāhana. Dealing as it does with the inheritance of and the order of succession to, property this work is still regarded as the greatest authority in Bengal in these matters. In this province this work enjoys the same position as that of the *mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara in the other provinces.

From the colophons to the works they appear to have originally formed parts of a general treatise entitled *Dharmaratna*¹⁷.

His time and personal history

The precise date of Jīmūtavāhana has not yet been settled. All that we can do is to attempt to determine the lower and upper limits of his time. The lower limit of his time is fixed by the mention of himself and of his *Kalaviveka* in the *Durgotsavaviveka* of Śūlapāṇi who is supposed to have flourished in the 14th cent. A.D.

Jīmūtavāhana mentions Dhareśvara Bhojadeva whose date approximately falls in the 11th century A.D. which, therefore, fixes the upper limit of Jīmūtavāhana's date. Jīmūtavāhana is styled *Paribhadriya* (belonging to the Paribhadra family of the Rādhiya Brāhmaṇas of Bengal) and *Mahamahopadbyāya* (great teacher) in his works.

Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa. his works

- (i) *Hāralatā*¹⁸—it deals with impurity consequent on birth and death of relatives, the acts permitted or prohibited during the period of impurity, etc.
- (ii) *Pitṛdayitā*¹⁹—it is intended for the guidance of the followers of the *sāmaveda* in their daily duties, the performance of *Śraddhas*, etc.

His time and personal history

From the concluding verse of the *Hāralatā* and its colophon we gather that Aniruddha was an inhabitant of *Vībarapaṭṭaka* (or, *pāṭaka*)

16 Printed several times.

17 Cp धर्मरत्ने कालविवेकः समाप्तः - Colophon to *Kalaviveka*

18 *Ld. Bib. Indica*, No. 1108, Calcutta, 1909.

19 *Ed. Skt. Sahitya Parisat Series*, No. 6, Calcutta.

on the bank of the Ganges and was a *Dharmādhyakṣa*²⁰ and that he was a *Cāmpāhaṭṭiya*²¹ and a *Mahāmahopadhyāya* (a great teacher). Aniruddha is mentioned in the *Dānasāgara* (śls. 6, 7) of Ballālasena who refers to him as his guru or spiritual guide. Govindarāja is among the latest authors mentioned by Aniruddha. This would fix the upper limit of his date at the 12th century A.D. The lower limit is fixed by the mention of his works by Raghunandana and Govindānanda whose date approximately falls between the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th.

Owing to lack of conclusive evidence it is doubtful whether this Aniruddha is identical with the Aniruddha to whom the *Caturmāsya paddhati*²² and the *Bhagavatattva-māñjarī*²³ are attributed.

Ballālasena

- (i) *Dānasāgara*²⁴—it deals exhaustively with various kinds of gifts and the merits accruing from them.
- (ii) *Adbhutasāgara*²⁵—it treats of various kinds of portents, viz., celestial, terrestrial, etc. and the means of averting them. The two works entitled *Ācarasāgara* and *Pratīsthasāgara* appearing from verses 55 and 56 of the *Danasagara* to have been composed by Ballālasena have not yet been recovered. The *Danasāgara* is believed to have been left unfinished by Ballālasena and completed by his son Lakṣmaṇasena.

Ballālasena's date is fairly certain. He flourished in the 12th century A.D.

Halāyudha Bhaṭṭa: his works

*Brāhmaṇasarvasva*²⁶ (also known as *Karmopadeśinī*)—As the very name implies the book deals with all the duties (sarvasva) of the Brāhmaṇas following the Yajurveda.

20 This is perhaps the same as *Dharmādhyakṣana* (judge)

21 As the name of his residence is given above as *Vihānapottaka* this probably means the *Gam* to which he belonged. This *Gam* exists even to-day in Bengal.

22 Proceedings of the *ASB*, 1869, p. 137

23 Mitra's *Notices*, vol. No. 2700

24 It still exists in Mss. See Kane, *Hist. of Dharmasāstra op. cit.* p. 349, fn. 792.

25 Ed. M. Jha, Benares, 1905

26 Printed several times.

In śl. 19 of this work Halāyudha informs us that besides the above he also wrote the *Mīmāṃsā-sarvasva*, *Vaiṣṇava-sarvasva*, *Śaiva-sarvasva* and *Paṇḍita-sarvasva* but none of these works seems to have survived.

His time and personal history

From the introductory verses of the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* we come to learn that son of one Dhanañjaya of vatsa gotra, who was a *Dharmā-dhyakṣa*, (judge) Halāyudha had two elder brothers named Īśāna and Paśupati. Halāyudha began his career as a *Rāja-paṇḍita* then became *Mahāmātya* and afterwards he was raised to the position of *Dharmādhikārin* or judge. The term *Āvasthika* (or, *āvasatbika*?) as an epithet of Halāyudha found in the colophons, is rather obscure.

The nature of the reference to Lakṣmaṇasena contained in the *Brāhmaṇasarvasva* makes him a contemporary of that king (between 12th and 13th centuries A.D.)

Śūlapāṇi²⁷

Of the many works attributed to Śūlapāṇi the following appear to be the genuine works of Śūlapāṇi the *nibandha* writer of Bengal:—

- (i) *Dola-yātra-viveka*
- (ii) *Vrata-kala-viveka*
- (iii) *Sambandha-viveka*
- (iv) *Dattaka-viveka*
- (v) *Ekādaśī-viveka*
- (vi) *Samkrānti-viveka*
- (vii) *Durgotsava-viveka*.

The very names of the above works speak clearly for their contents.

Śūlapāṇi's age ranges between the 11th and 15th centuries A.D. Very little is known about his personal history. In the colophons to his works he is styled *Mahāmahopādhyāya* (or, simply *upādhyāya*) and *Sāhūḍiyān* which word is considered, not on very plausible grounds to refer to a degraded section of the *Rādhibīya* Brāhmaṇas of Bengal.

²⁷ For detailed accounts of Śūlapāṇi and his works see S. C. Banerji in *NIA*, vol. V, Nos. 7 and 8, pp. 145-156, 169-176.

Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi

He has the distinction of being the teacher of Raghunandana the great figure in the *navya-smṛti* of Bengal. His name has sunk into unmerited oblivion. He wrote a number of works which comprised original treatises and commentaries.

M. Chakravarti has conveniently divided his works into the following groups²⁸ : —

1. The commentaries
 - (i) *Sāra-mañjarī* (or, *Chāndoga-pariśiṣṭa-prakāśa*)
 - (ii) *Tātparya-dīpikā* (on *Tithi-viveka* of Sūlapaṇi)
 - (iii) *Śrāddha-viveka-vyākhyā* (on Sūlapaṇi's *Śrāddha-viveka*)
 - (iv) *Dāya-bhāga-ṭippaṇī* (on Jīmūtvāhana's *Daya-bhaga*).
2. The *Arṇava* group
 - (i) *Vivekārṇava*
 - (ii) *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*
 - (iii) *Śuddhi-tattvārṇava*.
3. The *Candrikā* group
 - (i) *Ācāra-candrikā*
 - (ii) *Śrāddha-candrika*
 - (iii) *Dāna-candrikā*.
4. The *Dīpikā* group
 - (i) *Gūḍha-dīpikā*
 - (ii) *Śrāddha-dīpikā*.
5. The *Viveka* group
 - (i) *Durgotsava-viveka*
 - (ii) *Prāyaścitta-viveka*
 - (iii) *Śuddhi-viveka*.

Raghunandana refers to Śrīnātha as *ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi* in the *Yajurvedi-ṛṣotsarga-tattva*²⁹. Since Raghunandana's date falls about the middle of the 16th century A.D. Śrīnātha may be supposed to have flourished between the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th.

²⁸ For an account of Śrīnāthā's works see *JASB*, 1915, pp. 346-349

²⁹ *Smṛti-tattva*, Ed. Jivananda Vidyasagar, II p. 640.

Raghunandana

He is one of the brightest stars in the firmament of medieval Bengal. The brief epithet *Smārtāh*, used by the Bengalis in order to refer to him, is itself a proof of the great popularity enjoyed by Raghunandana in Bengal. His eminence eclipsed the fame of the writers of *Smṛti-nibandhas* of Bengal preceding and succeeding him.

*His works*³⁰

The *tattvas*—twenty-eight in number

Besides these *tattvas* Raghunandana is credited with the authorship of the following comparatively less known works:—

- (i) *Dāya-bhāga-vyākhyā*
- (ii) *Tīrtha-yātrā-tattva*, also called *Tīrtha-tattva*,
- (iii) *Dvādaśa-yātrā* (or, *-pramāṇa*)-*tattva*
- (iv) *Gayā-śrāddha-paddhati*
- (v) *Rāsa-yātrā-paddhati*
- (vi) *Tripuṣkara-śānti-tattva*.

His time and personal history

Many are the opinions expressed on the date of Raghunandana. Of all the arguments the most convincing one appears to be that the upper limit of his date is fixed at 1500 A.D by his mentioning, *inter alia*, Śūlapāṇi, Rāyamukuta, etc. The lower limit is fixed at 1600 A.D. by the fact that his works are quoted and criticised by *Vīramitrodaya* and *Nīlakaṇṭha*.

*Govindānanda**His works*³¹

- (i) *Dāna-kaumudī*
- (ii) *Śuddhi-kaumudī*
- (iii) *Śrāddha-kaumudī*
- (iv) *Varṣa-kriyā-kaumudī*.

³⁰ For the names of the *tattvas* see *JASB.*, 1915, p. 352 ff.

³¹ The first four of the following books have been published in the *Bib. Indica Series*.

(v) *Tattvārtha-kaumudī* (com. on Śūlapāṇi's *Prayaścitta-viveka*³²)

(vi) *Artha-kaumudī* (on Śrīnivāsa's *Śuddhi-dīpikā*)³³

The names of the above works speak for their contents.

His time and personal history

Govindānanda, styled *Kavikaṅkanācārya*, is placed, not on very conclusive evidence, by M. Chakravarti about the middle of the 16th century. The mention of the word "varṣa-kṛtya" by Raghunandana has led some scholars to think that Govindānanda was anterior to Raghunandana, but this word is taken by some to mean "rites to be performed in the year" rather than the *Varṣa-kṛtyā-kaumudī* of Govindānanda.

S. C. BANERJI

32 Ed. J. Vidyāsāgata with text of *Prayaścitta-viveka*. Calcutta, 1893

33 Printed in Bengali characters—See Kane, *Hist. of Dharmasāstra*.

MISCELLANY

The date of the Prākṛta Paṅgala

It is possible to fix approximately the date of the "Prākṛta Paṅgala". Mr. C. M. Ghosh¹ the editor of the Asiatic Society edition (abbr. AS) has assigned the work to the fourteenth century. The same has been supported by some eminent scholars, others again slightly differ and think the work only one century younger than this date. Let us consider the opinions of Professors Jacobi², Schubring³, L. P. Tessitori,⁴ S. K. Chatterjee,⁵ Gune,⁶ B. C. Mazumder,⁷

1 *Vide Introduction* p. VII, Mr. Ghosh observes "There is a great interval of time between the appearance of the aphorisms of Piṅgala (-chanda sūtram), and of the present work. The latter could not have appeared before the fourteenth century of the Christian era, at least in the form we see it whereas the former is generally believed to have its birth at the same time."

2 Also auch hier erkannt man das Piṅgala zu der Metriker Schule der Māgadhā gehörte. Sie bestand schon lange vor ihm, denn Hemacandra ist wenigstens drei Jahrhunderte älter als Piṅgala. *Sanat Kumāra caritam*, p. XXVI, (Trans: It should be observed here that Piṅgala, belonged to the Māgadhā school of metrical. It existed long before him. For, Hemacandra is at least three centuries earlier than Piṅgala) Prof. Keith makes it clear in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*. "The text ascribed to Piṅgala on Prākṛit metres is much later." In the footnote he observes "Fd KM 41 1894. It is dated not before the fourteenth century by Jacobi, *Bhabisatta Kāvā*, p. 5." p. 416.

3 "Der Chandahkośa stammt aus der ersten Hälfte der 15. Jahrhunderts. Er ist mithin gegen hundert Jahre jünger als das Pāiva Piṅgala, das den gleichen Stoff in so gut wie derselben Sprache behandelt. ZDMG. Band 75. 1921. S. 97 (Trans: The *Chandahkośa* appears in the first half of the 15th century. It is, therefore, one hundred years late than the Pāiva Piṅgala, which treats the same subject nay in the same language).

4 "To confine myself to mentioning only one, but most important feature of this later Apabhṛta stage, I may quote the case of the present passive which commonly ending in *je* (<ijjai) is a sign that the process of simplification of double consonants and lengthening of the preceding vowel which is the chief phonetic characteristics of the modern vernaculars comparable with the Apabhṛta had already begun long before the fourteenth century, during or after which time the final redaction of the 'Prākṛta Paṅgala' seems to have taken place."

5 "The book in its present form dates from the latter half of the 14th century. ODBL, vol I. Sec. 64, p. 113.

"The Prākṛta-paṅgala compiled at the end of the 15th century is an important example of the carrying on of the Apabhṛta (and to some extent) of

D. C. Ganguli⁸ and H. P. Śāstrī⁹ and proceed in our individual investigation. By a close analysis of their views we observe that most of these scholars have accepted the work to be of the fourteenth century. Only Prof. Gune has varied from them and assigned the younger date to the work. Professor S. K. Chatterjee has, however, given two different dates in his two different works, but since his "*Indo-Aryan and Hindi*" where the modified view occurs, appears later, we believe, the date of the work which he has fixed there, is possibly more correct according to his judgment. In his later work he has shared the same view with Prof. Gune and accepted the work to be of the 15th century.

In arriving at a conclusion we shall have to take some facts into consideration which will help us to determine the date more approximately.

(1) As the Prākṛta Paṅgala is a compilation, it contains stanzas from various sources. It possesses six stanzas¹⁰ from the *Karpūramañjarī* which is a work of the tenth century¹¹. It contains a stanza¹² from

the Prākṛta tradition right down to the broad day light of New-Indo-Aryan" *Indo Aryan and Hindi*, p. 98.

6 "Now, the Prākṛta-paṅgala quotes as examples verses about the Chauhan king Hamnita who flourished in the early fourteenth century. The Prākṛta paṅgala, therefore, may be placed in the 15th and Markandeya much later than that, as Paṅgala to him is already Paṅgalapāda' *Bhabisatta Kaha*, p. 69

7 "The learned editor has very rightly held that this work did not come into its present form earlier than the latter-half of the 14th century A.D., and that it cannot be later than the early decades of the 16th century" *History of the Bengali Language*, p. 225

8 "Prākṛta Paṅgalam is a work on Prākṛta metrical science. It is a compilation from several treatises and it seems to have been completed in the early years of the fourteenth century." *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XI, p. 565.

9 "In Sanskrit the first writer on prosody is Paṅgalanāga. From him the art of prosody is often called Paṅgala. There is a Prākṛit work on prosody written evidently long after Paṅgala which goes by the name of Prākṛit Paṅgala. There are reasons to believe that this work was written in Rājputānā, and in the fourteenth century." *Preliminary Report on the operation in search of Mss. of Bardic Chronicles* (Asiatic Society of Bengal), p. 18

10 Varṇa Vṛtta stanza 107. V.S. 115, V.S. 151; V.S. 187, V.S. 189, V.S. 201.

11 Prof. Manomohan Ghosh has fixed the date of Rājasekhara the author of the work between 880-920 A.C. vide *Karpūramañjarī* Sec 28 pp. LXV.

12 Mātrā Stanza, 55.

the *Gāthā-saptaśati* of Hāla, but that does not help us any way in fixing the date of the work. But more important is the fact that it bears unmistakable influence of the *Gīta-Govinda* of Jayadeva, who flourished in the 12th century and was a court-poet of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. Varṇa stanza 207, is a reproduction of the famous Daśāvātāra stotra of Jayadeva which occurs in the beginning of the *Gīta-Govinda*. Besides, in Varṇa stanza 215 occurs an expression “munī-jana-mānasahaṃsa” which is found in the *Gīta-Govinda*.¹³ So, we can unhesitatingly admit that the Prākṛta Paiṅgala is post-Jayadeva and was composed sometime after the 12th century.

(2) In the Prākṛta Paiṅgala there are references to some mediæval princes of considerable fame and supremacy. Of these Ḍāhala Karṇa¹⁴ of the Kalacuri dynasty, who for some time was the paramount lord of Central India is the foremost. But what is vitally connected with the problem is a reference to king Hammīra, whose identity and date throw much light on the date of the work. Though there were many Hammīras¹⁵ in the annals of Indian history and though the word literally signified a king the Persian ‘Āmir’, for some good reasons we would identify him as the king of Ranthambhor (Ranastambhapura), who bravely fought with Alauddin Khilji and died in the field. As Nayacandra describes, Hammīra was killed in 1301 A. D. i.e. in the 18th year of the latter’s reign. As this date of Hammīra’s execution is supported by a Muslim historian Amir Khusru the author of *Tarikh-i Ālai*, we have no reason to doubt it. From this date of Hammīra’s execution we can safely conclude that the Prākṛta Paiṅgala’ was composed after 1301 A. D. If Hammīra be identified with the Hammīra¹⁶ of Mewār, disregarding the validity of our arguments,

13 Prof. S. K. Chatterjee has admitted in his chapter in the *History of Bengal*, vol. I, (Dacca University publication) that Varṇa stanzas 207, 211, and 215 bear the marks of the influence of the *Gīta-Govinda* of Jayadeva.

14 Karṇa’s reign covers the period between 1040-70 A.D. according to Prof. Smith—*Early History of India*, p. 406. 1040-80 A.D. according to Prof. C. V. Vaidya—*History of Medieval Hindu India*, p. 188, c. 1042-70 A.D. according to Prof. H. Ray—*Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. II, p. 897.

15 In the introduction of the edition of the Prākṛta Paiṅgala, which is undertaken by me and almost completed, I have discussed it elaborately.

16 Mr. C. M. Ghosh identifies him to be the king of Mewār, but on the face of arguments, sufficiently convincing, we cannot lend support to such a view. Vide Introduction, p. VII.

the work should be considered still later, as the great Rāṇā of Mewar flourished during 1301-64 A.D. So in this case, the work is to be taken as later than 1364 A.D.

(3) In the Prākṛta Paiṅgala there are some perso-Arabic vocables¹⁷—such as:—Sulatāna, Śāhi, Khurāsāna, Ollā, Turuka etc. This indicates that the Muslim culture was gaining ground day by day and was sufficiently spread to find its way into literature.

(4) Another fact which deserves consideration is that the seat of the Muslim government was no longer called by its ancient name 'Indraprastha; but the modern name 'Delhi' was introduced in its place. This fact has been duly noticed by Mr. C. M. Ghosh the former editor of the book.¹⁸ He has rightly considered too, that the Marhatta power which flourished during the reign of Aurangzeb and still later, was not so powerful¹⁹ at the time of the composition of the present work.

From the above discussions, the upper limit of the date becomes sometime after 1301 A. D., if Hammīra stands for Hammīra of Ranthambhor and after 1364 A. D., if the same stands for the Rāṇā of Mewār. But it may be a fact that the glories or the heroic achievements of a king could hardly find access to literature after some time had passed for the spread of the same from mouth to mouth. In some cases the court-poets described the incidents forthwith and could hardly brook any loss of time in magnifying and distorting historical facts. But disregarding such particular instances we must take into consideration the fact that since the Prākṛta Paiṅgala is a compilation and it presupposes the existence of some work from which the heroic descriptions of Hammīra have been quoted, a considerable period must have elapsed between the heroic career of Hammīra and the appearance of this metrical treatise. If we take the period to be of at least fifty years, the upper limit of the date of the work becomes sometime after 1351 A. D., if Hammīra be the king of Ranthambhor and after 1414 A. D. if the same represents the king of Mewār.

17 Mr. C. M. Ghosh observes "The following words often met with in the description of battles between Hindus and Mahomedans, also indicate the time to be subsequent to the advent of the latter in India"

18 *Ibid.*, p. VII. Vide Mātra stanza, 147.

19 *Ibid.*, p. VII.

(5) Now let us determine the lower limit of the date. The 'Prākṛta Piṅgala' has been referred to in the *Prākṛta-sarvasva* of Mārkaṇḍeya. Four stanzas and a fragment of one of the same have been quoted in this work²⁰. To Mārkaṇḍeya Piṅgala is not an ordinary person but a much respected metrician whom he respectfully cites as an authority.²¹ Such a fact leads us to the assumption that Piṅgala flourished long before Mārkaṇḍeya, who existed according to Prof. Gune quite late in the 17th century.²² So we can be sure that the Prākṛta Piṅgala was composed certainly long before Mārkaṇḍeya the author of the *Prākṛta Sarvasva*. But we think further investigation is still necessary to arrive at a more accurate date.

(6) *Piṅgalārthapradīpa* of Laksmīnātha Bhaṭṭa which is a commentary on the 'Prākṛta Piṅgala' and at the same time maintains the glory of a separate original work was composed in 1601. A. D. ²³ So it is quite evident that the 'Prākṛta Piṅgala' can never be later than 1601 A. D. as a very commentary to the work was composed in that date. But another consideration should be taken into account. The date of the original work can never coalesce with the date of the commentary. So we can rightly assume that the original Prākṛta-Piṅgala was composed sometime earlier than the present commentary *Piṅgalārthapradīpa*. Such an assertion can never be contradicted on

²⁰ *Prākṛta Sarvasva*

V.	160	.....	Matra stanza	8.
XVII.	8	.....	"	9.
XVII	56	.....	Varṇa stanza	136.
XVII	56.	.....	Matra stanza	6.
XVII	57	.....	Varṇa stanza	68.

²¹ 'Iu Śu Piṅgalapādaīrdiṅghasya laghutvātidēśāt.' *Prākṛta Sarvasva*, V. 106.

²² Vide. Introduction "Bhabisattakahā" Ed. Prof. Gune.

²³ Vide *Report on Search for Sanskrit Mss. 1884-87 Collected works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, vol. II. Poona, p. 334. "The work appears from a statement in Dr. Kielhorn's Report for 1880-81 (p. 71) to have been composed in Samvat 1657 or 1601 A.D. Burnell's Ms. of the work was written in Śaka 1554 i.e. 1632 A.D. (*Tanjore Cat.* pp. 53 and 175) and Kielhorn's in Samvat 1716 or 1660 A.D." In 'Evolution of Māgadhi' Prof. A. Banerjee Śāstri observes: "Piṅgalārthapradīpa, a work on prosody in 1601 A.D. records verses in various languages from various older works, some referring to contemporary princes of known dates, one of those written in Apabhraṃsa praises Karṇa of Cedi, c. first half of the eleventh century A.D., others are in Tertiary Prākṛit, in honour of Hammira c. thirteenth century A.D." p. 22.

account of the fact that in those days of inconvenient communications and indifference in literary activities of the people any text required sufficient length of time to obtain circulation among scholars which might induce them to write commentary upon it. So if we accept the period to be fifty years the lower limit of the date of the work becomes 1551 A. D. So we can safely reach the conclusion that the work was certainly composed sometime between 1351 A. D. (but 1414 A. D. if the other alternative be accepted and Hammīra stands for the great Rāṇā of Mewār) and 1551 A. D. But to be more precise we must say that the work was compiled by (so-called) Piṅgala sometime between 1400 A. D. and 1500. So, we think the work belongs to the 15th century as has been suggested by Professors Gune and S. K. Chatterjee.²⁴

S. N. GHOSHAI

24 The date of *Chandaḥkośa* has been calculated by Schubring basing on the assumed date of the Prākṛta Paiṅgala. If by facts from any other source, the same date of *Chandaḥkośa* be confirmed, then we may get a more accurate date of the Prākṛta Paiṅgala. In the absence of any such fact, we have no other alternative but to fall back on a hypothesis as we have done here.

The Bihu-geet (Assamese pastoral songs)

I

“The food-supply is all-important to the community and thus among an agricultural people, for instance, seed and harvest time have social significance, and are therefore times of dancing.”¹ The seed time in Assam is commemorated with the Bohag Bihu which ushers in the New Year; the harvest season has its festival in the Magh Bihu, a period of rest and feasts. There are two other less important Bihu festivals. The term *Bihu* is certainly derived from the Sanskrit *Visuvat*, in Chittagong it is *Biya* and in South India *Vishu*.² In classical Assamese literature the term probably meant festivity, though the Bihu *par excellence* has always been the festivity of the New Year.³

The Bohag Bihu ushers in the Spring—the showers, sprouting grass, green leaves, and the stimulating breeze. The month of Bohag, especially the first week, is a period of songs, dance, social visits and fairs. The dance which accompanies the merriment is known as the Bihu dance. Sculptures depicting the dance and attributed to the ninth century have been found. They have been preserved at Tezpur. The dance has ordinarily a fixed pattern and was probably magical in origin, being associated with the fertility rites of primitive people. The bending of the waist and movement of the pelvic region seem to be the striking features of the Bihu dance; the contraction and relaxation of the abdominal blood-veins have an invigorating effect upon the dancer.⁴

The hills and plains tribals celebrate the Bihu and its allied forms. The Khasis, for example, have their Nongkrem he'd at Smit, near Shillong. The Nongkrem is a part of the Pom Blang or goat-killing ceremony performed for the well-being of the people and the prosperity of the crop. A similar dance is the Shad Suk Mynsiem, the dance for the repose of the soul. In the case of the Kacharis, who form the ethnic basis of the Assamese people, the dance does not have any fixed

1 Camilla Wedgwood, *Dance*, in *Ency. Brit.*, 14th edition.

2 Chaitra Vishu, a chapter heading in P. V. Jagadisa Ayyar's *South Indian Festivities*, Madras, 1921, p. 65.

3 MS. of prose Rāmāvaṇa, 17th century.

4 The section: Native Sex Dances, in *Encyclopaedia Sexualis*, edited by Victor Robinson, may be of interest in this connexion.

pattern. The dance in its purest form is to be seen only among the Miris in north-east Assam and it is probable its radiating centre was not any part of Assam but south-west China where Spring festivals of a similar nature were once popular. There are certain common features in the Assamese Bihu and descriptions of ancient Chinese festivals. In the Bihu young men and women dressed in their best repair to the village green or sometimes to more secluded spots and there start dancing. The dance is invariably accompanied by antiphonal songs all alternately rhymed quatrains, the competition being between a girl and a boy, the others accompanying them. Before they go to the dance the girls decorate their hair with the Kapou-phul or orchis. The flower is often mentioned in songs. Marriage frequently takes place as a result of these dances and musical bouts.

Marcel Granet, on the evidence of the *Shih ching* attributed to Confucius, tries to determine the character of the seasonal festivals of ancient China, and as regards the Spring festivals of Cheng (Honan) he has it that "in the state of Cheng the youths and girls gathered in large numbers at the junction of the Chen and Wei rivers. They came there in companies to gather the orchis, they challenged one another in antiphonal songs. When the couples were united the new lovers presented each other at parting with a flower as a love-token and symbol of betrothal." These festivals were "held in the springtime, the period of universal fecundity." Singing and dancing contests, flower gathering and sexual rites—these were some of the features which characterised these festivals. The songs were mostly improvised and consisted of "a series of slightly modified couplets; each couplet consists in the juxtaposition of two strictly correspondent phrases." These songs like the Bihu songs, are based on pure sentiment, they are not so much descriptive or based on incidents as in ballads.

Marcel Granet's conclusions tempt one to find relationship between the Bihu and ancient Chinese festivals. It should of course be remembered that the Bihu that we see now-a-days has been shorn of much of its older exuberance: it is at present quite a tame affair, barring certain exceptions. But before drawing hasty conclusions it would be better to wait for more comprehensive evidences. To raise a corroborative point

5 Marcel Granet, *Festivals and Songs of Ancient China*, London, 1932, p. 147

6 Marcel Granet, p. 209.

from ethnology, it may be added that a strong strain among the inhabitants of Assam has been Indo-Chinese (Nesiot) and thereby hangs a tale. Love songs based on pure sentiment are also found among the Shans, an Indo-Chinese people.

II

It has been said that nothing will survive in any human society unless it has a functional value. With the Hinduisation and sophistication of the people the Bihu has outgrown its functional value and is surviving rather as part of a "national" festival. It cannot be doubted that the dance, to some persons at least, gives "an opportunity for pleasurable exercise." If the dance is not as widespread as it ought to have been, the songs which had a kindred birth, are very much alive. An unpublished collection stores some two thousand specimens. The *Ban-ghosas* are allied to the Bihu-geets, or rather, the latter are an extension of the former. Ban (Sanskrit Vanam) means open fields and pastures, implying that these songs are pastoral compositions. In Chattishgarh such compositions are known as Ban-bhajans.

The tunes to which the songs are sung are no less significant than their poetic beauty. They are chiefly two, one found among the Kacharis and the other among the Miris of north east Assam.⁷ The tunes start on a low scale but as the songster nears the end of each quatrain he syncopates the notes to be immediately followed by brisk drumming and piping. The note of longing and plaintiveness in Assamese pastoral songs may be a legacy left by the Tibeto-Chinese speaking peoples to the music of Assam. It has made itself felt on nursery, wedding, Vaisnavite and modern songs. It may be even possible to compare old Chinese songs with Assamese folk songs in respect of their motifs. The statement should not be taken as suggesting borrowing from this side or that but only as indicative of a mental atmosphere once felt very much in common among the Indo-Chinese peoples of Assam, Upper Burma and south-west China.

III

When the New Year begins, at the commencement of Bohag, the male persons of the village form into a band and visit each household and

7 Here my authority is Sj. Bishnuprasad Rabha, who has studied the music and dance forms of Assam. Only five notes are needed to sing the tunes.

8 The etymology of *husari* remains undetermined; the word must be of

sing benedictory verses known as *Husari-geets*.⁵ These are followed by the Bihu songs proper. The Bihu party is considered as the symbol of the *raij* or public, and therefore duly honoured with the offer of cloths and coins. Dance accompanies the singing. This is rather a restrained expression of the Bihu spirit. The true expression is to be seen in those bouts that are held by the young people in open fields, under the supervision of nature. The dance in its original form can be seen among the Miri and certain other sections of the populace in the district of North Lakhimpur. It has totally disappeared from Lower Assam. A Ramsa Kachari, dwelling some twenty-five miles to the east of Gauhati told the writer that his people had long given up the Bihu dance because their god Bāthou (Rudra Śiva) did not countenance it.

The songs used in the Bihu bouts may also be used at other places and other times, as by a girl bending over her loom or by a lad rowing his boat. It needs no emphasis that these are primarily love songs.

Folk songs depict a love which if not quite direct, is not the same thing as the spiritual exaltation or sublimation which the experience suggests in higher forms of culture. Village people in agricultural and pastoral communities have never lived at the level of the intellect. They have been more susceptible to the seasonal changes than people dwelling in urban surroundings. Hence their songs have a spontaneity and forthrightness rare in sophisticated literature.

Love songs appeal most when they couch the sentiments of separation and yearning. Both separation and yearning have been dominant themes of folk poetry. These are found in their raw forms in the songs of culturally backward and forest-dwelling tribes. The Gonds and Bhariyas and such tribes dwelling in the Central Provinces give themselves up wholly to the passion-arousing influences of the Spring, and their songs are of the nature of mating calls.⁹ Direct expression of physical passion is sometimes to be met with in Bihu songs, as in the following quatrain —

The turtle lays eggs and counts
On the shining sand of the Luit,

non-Aryan extraction. The *Husari-geets* indicate how the original non-Aryan festivity of the Spring is getting Aryanised.

9 Durga N. Bhagwat, Folk-songs from the Satpura Valleys, in *J. of the U. of Bombay*, January, 1930.

My body burns and restless I am
For on the ghat I saw my sweet.¹⁰

Young people make much of the exciting Spring. They personify the Bihu (also the song itself, like the *dadariya* and the *birba* of the Gonds and Ahirs), which acquires the colour of a ceremonial. The Kacharis, in fact, worship the season. The young people justify themselves thus—

Roi-no-roi we would sport
We sport so long we live
Do we at death?¹¹

Some of the sweetest Bihu songs are those which reveal the sentiment of yearning, as in—

My waist bending and bending
I pick B bari leaves
And old arum roots,
But him whom I wish to see I do not find
Alack my eyes caught by fire!

The Miris have a class of songs known as *At Nitam* or Sad Songs. These are pastoral, often echoing Bihu-geet motifs, but primarily melancholy. The lover's yearning often feeds the melancholy of these songs.

In certain Bihu songs the feeling of yearning is intense and the lover desires to be transmuted into something which will place him in close proximity of the person loved. The following is a case in point—

I shall be a bird and wing to your lake,
As a pigeon shall I flutter on your roof,
As perspiration shall I be on your body,
As a flea shall I fly to your cheek.

10 The Assamese originals in serial order have been given in an appendix to the essay. The translations here given are mainly literal.

11 Compare a Phag song of the Bhariyas of Chhindwara—

Lala te nyese khele phago,
Mare se dulami ho.
Play the Phag while you live
Enjoy it, young man,
When death comes
You become stiff.

The lover becomes so unhappy at separation that he would fain be a bird and make use of wings. The desire to be a bird is a recurring motif—

As I was washing cloth *sirip sirip*
Up flew the Tun, I,
I felt like winging with the bird
For you were not by me.

The impatient lover's figure is one of the most interesting in literature.

The Assamese maiden keeps her eyes and ears open while she sits at her loom; she goes to the river bank to see if her lover's boat has come; she clasps a piece of betel and waits for the cover of darkness to meet her man. The Assamese swain plays notes on his pipe and stands on a mound in the paddy field and looks for his girl. One comes across such parallels in the folk-songs of various countries.

The lover's impatience sometimes distils itself into a desire to fuse into or blend with the object of desire. The lover longs, as has been shown above, to be a drop of perspiration on the body of his sweetheart; he even goes so far as to cry out—

There's the goat bleating, the crow cawing,
Oh, to whom shall I my heart unfold,
I feel, O my sweet, as if
You within my body I would hold!

If this is one extreme of passion, naïve and sometimes crude, there are also songs which make of love almost a spiritual feeling. The refined expression of the restiveness of a heart swayed by passion in the song below seems to be beyond the range of sophisticated poesy—

My mind settles neither at home, dear,
Nor does it settle abroad,
As the teased cotton floats in the air
So to float do I long.

Equally refined is the Miri song given below—

Kuruange kabdung itolani ibogla
Ngke acin adubang rangkilana rangkila.¹²

¹² Sakbhal Kagyung, Ai Nitam, in *Bardaisila*, part 10, p. 18.

One is to imagine a solitary reaper at one corner of the paddy field, alone in the midday sun, wailing to herself—

Perching on a branch the kurua looks about and
cries out wildly; my tiny heart too becomes
restless at some unaccountable sentiment.

IV

The social background peeps out through these pastoral compositions, even the caste system comes in—

Chait is out, Bohag is in,
The Babari flower is in bloom,
I care not if I die with you
If my caste I lose.

In the following song the girl belongs to the Sudra sub-caste of Kalita and her lover belongs to a lower caste and there is a hurdle on their way to union. But with the cool sense of a woman urged on by the instincts she would flout at all conventions—

While looking for you and crossing the fencing
I planted my foot on a thorn,
If you so desire if I so desire
What will the Kalita caste do?

Another more interesting aspect of social life which the songs record is the relation subsisting between the maiden and the spinning and weaving institution. Every Assamese maiden is supposed to know weaving. Even the excellence of a princess was judged by her capacity as spinner and weaver. There are instances in old chronicles to show that the government itself took interest in this home industry. In 1740 a queen taught spinning and music to girls of all castes at her royal palace. In fact, the hand-loom has been so closely related to the life and thought of Assamese women that the latter have inevitably drawn upon the institution for imagery to express their sentiments. Songs characterised by such imagery are usually difficult to translate. The following are a few instances which throw light on spinning and weaving in general :—

When I was a child I tended the cattle,
Being young I sat at the loom,
Right and left I plied the shuttle.
When came my love and gave the call.

My darling is away in the Mishmi land
Cotton he will bring,
You would weave a skirt and a breast-cover
For me you would weave a jacket.
With one throw I break my spinning-wheel
I smash also my shuttle,
For if our dancer is carried off
With whom shall we stay?

The last quatrain suggests that in a dance bout the chief female dancer has been carried off by some ardent fellow whom she has been able to attract, hence this indignation on the part of her friend. These Gretna Green marriages have to be formalised later on. This shows that the Bihu dance is in a way also an occasion for the choice of life partners. It may be noted that sometimes even married women take part in the dance.

APPENDIX

The texts here given are mostly from S. J. Nakul Bhuvan's collection *Bobāgi*, 3rd edition, Sibsagar.

‘Luitar bali bagī dhakedhaki
Kasat kamī pāre lekhi,
Gāte jui jwale sariah bagare
Dhanak pāni ghātāt dekhi.
Roi-no-roi dhemāli karim,
Jiyāi thāko mane dhemāli karim oi,
Marile kāhāni karim.
Kakāl bhāngī bhāngī tolo babari sak
Āru ārubelir kacu,
Jāke cāba khojo tāke oi nedekho
Kino jui lagā caku!
Carāi hai parim gai tomāre bilat oi
Pāra hai parim sālāt,
Ghām hai parim gai tomāre sarirat
Mākhi hai parim gai gālat.
Cirip cirip kari kāpor dhui āsilo
Oparat urile tuni,
Tunir lagate urim jen lagil
Osarat nahalā tumi.

Sāge balbalāi kowāi kalkalāi
 Kāk petar kathā kam,
 Anc mane lāge tomāk oi mainā
 Sarirat sumuwāi lam.
 Gharato nabahe mane samaniyā
 Parato nabahe man,
 Kamowā tulābor jenekai urise
 Tenekai uribar man.
 Cate cate gai bohāge pālehi
 Phulile bābari phul,
 Tomāre lagate maro jadi marim oi
 Eri jām nijari kul.
 Tolai cāote japanā deote
 Bindhile aghaiyā hule,
 Toro mane gale moro mane gale
 Ki kariba kalitā kule.
 Saru hai āsilo garu rakhisilo
 Dāngar hai lagālo tāt,
 Olotāi obhotāi māko mārīsilo
 Mor dhane lagāle māt.
 Dhanegai āsegai misimir desat
 Āniba kapāhar jolā,
 Tumī bai lobā rihākai mekhelā
 Āmāk bai dībā solā.
 Thekeci bhāngi jāo ruphahi jatartu
 Bhukuwāi bhāngi jāo māko,
 Āmāre nācanik jadi dhari niye
 Āmi kār lagat thāko.”

PRAPHULLADATTA GOSWAMI

Extracts from the Ratnāvalī

The *Ratnāvalī* is an important treatise on *Tantric* rituals, according to the *Āgamas* of the *Vaiṣṇavites*, and, like other *Tantric* texts, this also has a section dealing with temple architecture. It is a compendium in prose, the matter being collected from various *Āgamic* texts, the more important ones being mentioned in the opening section.¹ It forms thus a pocket manual for ready reference, prepared for the use of a particular family of *Tantric* priests.

There is no mention of the author either in the opening section or in the colophon. A *Ratnāvalī* is found mentioned in the *Manusyālayacandrikā*² and its authorship is assigned to Murāri and Parāśara. The former is a *Śaivite* and figures as the author of the *Śaivāgamantbandhana* or *Nibandhana*,³ as it is popularly termed. Hence the *Vaiṣṇavite* text under reference may presumably be assigned to Parāśara.

The extracts given refer to some features of temple architecture and, even to the extent they go, they throw some new light on the subject with reference to *Vaiṣṇavite* shrines. Compare, for instance the reference to the *Taruṇālaya*, the deities to be wrought on the major sides, the names of the *Vaiṣṇavite* shrines (based on the number of) storeys etc. They are therefore of more than passing interest to students of temple architecture. A detailed study of the whole text, as and when it is possible, must, therefore, be of great value to students of Indian architecture.

Extracts

* * * * *

पूर्वश्रवानुश्रवभेदभिन्नमारोपयन्तं पुरुषं प्रपद्ये ॥

सनत्कुमारोत्तरगार्गीयपारमपाराशर्यपद्मोद्भवलकृवरपुष्करसौमदन्तवहामयानन्दाख्यद्वैरगय-
गर्भीयनारदीयपारमपुरुषकापालिकादीनि तन्त्राणि निरीक्ष्य मधुकरसौम्वीवत यथामति
सारमुद्धृत्य भूपरीक्षादीनां क्रियाणां रत्नावली नाम प्रयोगपद्धतिः क्रियते ।

* * * * *

1 See the opening section given below.

2 Vide *Manusyālayacandrikā*, chapter I, verse 8.

पराशरमुरारिप्रोक्तरत्नावली इति

3 Compare the colophon:

इति श्रीमुरारिभट्ट (दत्त)कृतशैवागमनिबन्धने इति

ग्रामे नगरे वा पत्तनेऽपि वान्यत्र वा महाविमानात्पूर्वं तरुणालयं कल्पयेत्⁴ । पश्चात् कृतमृद्धिकरं भवति महत्स्थानम् । तस्मादंश्वर्यकामैः प्रथमं तरुणालयं कर्तव्यम् । देवं तत्रैव संस्थाप्य ग्रामादमारभेत् । तत्र तरुणालयं कूटाकारं कर्तव्यम् । तद्गृहं पञ्चहस्तं सप्तहस्तं चतुरश्रमण्डपं सुरन्तितं कुर्यात् । तत्र गर्भन्यासं रत्नन्यासं च नेष्यते । तस्य मध्ये पीठं सुधया काष्ठेन वा कुर्यात् । एवं वाह्यस्थानं कल्पयित्वा तत्र देवं प्रतिष्ठाप्य तं प्रार्थयित्वा मूलविमानमारभेत् । गम्यकृते विमाने प्रतिमायां कल्पितायां प्रतिष्ठाङ्गानि विधिवत् कृत्वा तरुणालयगतं देवं संपूज्य कुम्भे चावाह्य विमानगतायां मूलाचिकायां नियोजयेत् ॥

* * * * *

ग्रामादं यस्मात् कुरुते तवस्थो भगवान् तस्मात् ग्रामादः" । अङ्गुलतालहस्तैः प्रमाणं ज्ञात्वा ग्रामादं कुर्यात्" । अङ्गुलप्रमाणं त्रिविधं मानाङ्गुलं मात्वाङ्गुलं देहलव्याङ्गुलमिति १० ० ० इति मानाङ्गुलं स्मृतम् । यजमानस्याचार्यस्य वा मध्यमाङ्गुलि मध्यमपर्वायामं मात्वाङ्गुलं स्मृतम्⁷ । प्रतिमायामं तं दशधा विभज्यैकं भागं द्वादशधा कृत्वा तत्रैकं भागं देहलव्याङ्गुलमिति⁸ त्रिधाङ्गुलमुच्यते" ।

ग्रामादविष्कम्भं पञ्चधा विभज्य द्विभागं, सप्तभागत्रिभागं वा नवभागचतुर्भागं वा द्वारविस्तारम् । अथवा गर्भगृहस्य विस्तारं त्रिधा विभज्यैकभागं चतुर्भागिकभागं पञ्चभागिकभागं वा द्वारविस्तारम् । एवं द्वारमानमुत्तममध्यमाघमभेदेन कल्पयेत्¹⁰ ।

4 Here is described the *Taruṇālaya* which we find existing in some of the well-known temples in Kerala, known under the name *Śrīmūlasthāna*. The writer has published a note on this subject in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Arts*, IX, pp. 149 f.

5 This gives the derivative meaning of the term *prāsāda*. It means "the place, residing in which God dispense, His grace all round."

6 The first of these is the familiar measure commonly mentioned in architectural treatises of *Vāstucūdyā*, ch. I, vv. 4 f.

7 The term *yaṅamāna* means the man for whom or at whose instance the temple is built. *Acārya* is the high priest who functions as the *Sthapati* or architect-in-charge. *Parca* means *knuckle*. The breadth of the middle knuckle is the *Angula* of the *mātra* type.

8 One-tenth or one-twelfth of the length (or height) of the idol is the measure of the *āṅgula* under the *Dehalavyāṅgula* type.

9 These two units of measure are not found mentioned in popular texts on the subject. Both of them are, by their nature, variable and can, therefore, have no fixity. And that is the reason why the unit of measure used is sometimes found incised in a prominent place on the basement of the shrine in some temples, as for instance in the temple at Irinjalakuda. For, as convention requires it, the same measure is to be used, when the temple is rebuilt or renovated.

10 Here is given the measurement of the doorway and this is to be in definite proportion to the breadth of the *Prāsāda*. It is to be 2/5th, 3/7th or 4/9th of the *Prāsāda* breadth or 1/3rd, 1/4th or 1/5th of the breadth of the

प्रासादोत्सेधमष्टधा विभज्यैकभागमधिष्ठानं, द्विभागं पादमानं, भागं प्रस्तरं, भागं करणं, द्विभागं शिखरं भागं स्तूपिरिति क्रमेण भागं कल्पयेत्¹¹ । जगती कुमुदवेदीपट्टिका पादुकपोतवेदीपरिपट्टिकाकरणालीकर्णशिरशिखाघट इत्यनुकायम्¹² ।

Garbhagrha, the three alternatives in each standing for the *Utama*, *Madhyama* and *Adhama* types. Since the *Garbhagrha* is smaller than the *Prāsāda*, the first set of alternatives may have reference to *Garbhagrha* and the second to *Prāsāda* width. This interpretation will make the two sets nearer each other. It deserves to be mentioned that the proportions here mentioned are not sanctioned in other texts, cf. for instance the *Tantrasamuccaya*. The height of the doorway is twice the breadth.

11 Here is set forth the proportional heights of the parts of the *Prāsāda*. Dividing the total height of the *Prāsāda* into eight equal parts, one part thereof will be the height of the basement, two parts, that of the cella, one part that of the *Prastara* or entablature; one part, that of the *Gala* or neck, two parts, that of the *Śikhara* and one part, that of the *Stūpa*. On this subject all authorities agree.

12 Here are given the ornamental mouldings and certain structural parts. These we may briefly notice.

Jagati, a moulding introduced in the pedestal, is rectangular in form and stands out beyond the *Mānasūtra* as much as it is high. Cf. *jagati nama unnatacaturaśrākārā*. It is mentioned by the authors of the works, *Mayamata*, *Nibandhana*, *Mañjarī*, *Paddhati*, *Śilparatna*, etc., but not by the author of the *Mānasāra*.

Kumuda is a variety of circular moulding of the basement, a semi circle projecting from a vertical diameter. This corresponds to the *Torus*, familiar in the architecture of the west. In shape it may be octagonal also, this being the shape approved for the *Pādabandha* type of basement. In the *Pratibandha* type, the *Kumuda* must invariably be circular, according to the *Kāśyapa-śilpa* cf. *Paṭala* vi, verse 26:

सर्वेषां प्रतिबन्धानां कुमुदं वृत्तमिष्यते ।

पादबन्धतलानां तु वस्वश्रं कुमुदं भवेत् ॥

The circular type of *Kumuda* is described as *kubhavat vittam* while the *Śilparatna* compares it in shape to the full-blown breasts of a woman in full pregnancy. Whatever the shape, it projects out as much as the *Jagati*. This is the most important moulding on the basement, though this moulding is absent in the type of basement called *Mañjaka*.

Kanṭha, i.e., *Gala*, figures between mouldings as the separating link or the connecting link, and as such it never projects out, but always stands within the *Mānasūtra*. Ram Raz rightly calls it the neutral member.

Paṭṭa or *Paṭṭikā* is the band, and it occurs in association with other mouldings, such for instance as *Kumuda*. It presents a flat face and affords space for base ornamentation. Sometimes it appears as the uppermost moulding of the *Adhiṣṭhāna*, when it becomes the *Vājana*, and its projection will be equal to its height.

उपरिष्ठाच्चतुर्दिक्षु¹³ दिङ्मूर्तीः कारयेत्¹⁴ । तासां पद्मासन¹⁵ पूर्वस्यां वराहं सुम्वासीनं

Pāduka is the lowest moulding of the basement. It is held to be a necessary one, though the *Kāśyapaśilpa* says it may be absent in the *Pādabandha* type.

These five constitute the essentially important mouldings of the basement and the reference is more or less complete, since *Antarī* and *Kampa* become merged in the *Gala* and *Prati* and *Vājana* in *Paṭṭa* or *Paṭṭikā*.

Potika is the capital of the pillar and as such it discharges an important function, of structural and ornamental value. *Ghaṭa* is the pot-like moulding above *Oma*, the base portion of the pillar.

Vedi or *Vedikā* is the portion of the wall at its foot and forms the uppermost moulding of the basement. It is composed of many mouldings. *Vediparipaṭṭikā* is presumably the topmost moulding of the *Vedi*.

Of the remaining three *Karṇa* may be the *Karṇakūṭa* or simply *Kūṭa*. If so, it is an ornamental moulding of the form of the *Prāsāda* itself, a replica thereof, found wrought on the *Śikhara*. *Śnas* is *Śikhara* and *Śikhā* is *Stūpi* cf. *Śikhāsabdēna stūpirucyate*. These, therefore, are not ornamental mouldings but structural parts. *Kanṭhanālī* may be *Gala* itself, if so, it also is a structural part and not an ornament.

Thus in this part of the text there is a mixing up of structural parts and ornamental elements. This is certainly curious, when we remember that architectural portions in other *Tantric* texts are very definite.

13 The term must be taken as referring to the upper part, the *Śikhara* or the storeys.

14 In this passage are set forth the deities to be wrought on the major sides. There is, however, considerable difference of opinion on the subject amongst authorities which we may here tabulate:

Dīmūrtis according to different authorities

Texts	East	South	West	North
<i>Ekatalaprāsāda</i>				
<i>Kāśyapaśilpa</i>	Skanda	Dakṣiṇāmūrti	Śiva or Viṣṇu	Brahmā or Durgā
<i>Mayamata Paddhati</i>	Nandi or Kāla do	do do	Śiva or Acyuta do	Brahmā do
<i>Dvitalādiprāsāda</i>				
<i>Nibandhana</i>	Śiva or Brahma	Dakṣiṇāmūrti	Narasimha	Kṛṣṇa
<i>Mayamata</i>	Indra or Skanda	Virabhadra	do	Brahma
<i>Paddhati</i>	do	Virabhadra or Dakṣiṇāmūrti	do	Kubera
<i>Kāśyapaśilpa</i>	Indra	do	do	Brahmā
<i>Ratnāvalī</i>	Varāha †Devī	Narasimha	Śrīdhara †Devī	Hayagrīva

This statement would show that in *Ekatala* Prāsāda we may have on the east *Dvārapālas* or *Skanda*; on the south, Viṣṇu or Śiva, Dakṣiṇāmūrti or Virabhadra; on the west, Viṣṇu or Śiva, and on the north Brahmā or Durgā, and in *Dvitalādiprāsāda* on the east, Brahmā, Indra or Skanda, on the south

श्यामलं देवीसंयुक्तं कल्पयेत्¹⁶ । दक्षिणस्यां नारसिंहं पर्यङ्कबन्धसंयुक्तं स्थितं कल्पयेत्¹⁷ । पश्चिमतः श्रीधरः श्रीसहायः केवलो वा सुखार्मानः पीतवर्णो भवेत्¹⁸ । उत्तरतो हयग्रीवं योगासनस्थं¹⁹ दक्षिणामूरुमुन्नमद्य वामपादमासने न्यसेत् । तमरुणवर्णं कल्पयेत् ।

कोष्ठे²⁰ गरुडं सुवर्णाभं नीलाश्वनासिकासंयुक्तं सिंहं वा कल्पयेत् ।

अधः स्यात् चतुर्दिक्षु²¹ दिङ्मूर्तिः²² चतस्रः इन्द्रादिसामपर्यन्तं कल्पयेत् । सर्वे

Dakṣiṇāmūrti or Virabhadra, on the west Narasimha and on the north, Kṛṣṇa, Brhamā or Kubera. As against these, which have special reference to Śaivite shrines, we have in Vaiṣṇavite temples only vaiṣṇavite deities. The attitude of intolerance which some Vaiṣṇavites cultivate even today has thus a tradition behind it. This looks strange.

15 The deities may be represented as *Stbānakas* (standing), *Āsana* (seated) or *Śayāna* (reclining). In the case of seated *murtis*, a further classification is made from the point of view of the nature of the *Āsanas*: it may be *Padmāsana* or *Virāsana* or *Vajrāsana* etc.

16 The deity with the consort will be in a seated posture, and it must be dark in colour.

17 Narasimha in the south must be in *Paryanka* posture, the posture adopted by ascetics during their *Dhyāna*, which, according to some, is identical with *Virāsana*. The figure of Narasimha in *Dhyāna* pose is a parallel to *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*.

18 On the west is to be represented Śrīdhara with or without Śrīdevī in yellowish colour in the *Sukhāsana* pose. To secure balanced representation on the east and west, the deities must in both cases be either alone or with their consorts. If this aesthetic consideration may be accepted, then we may have to add *kevalam vā* after *devisamyuktam* in the first sentence.

19 *Hayavaktra* or *Hayagrīva* is represented in the *Yogāsana* pose—the pose suited for abstract meditation. The sentence following describes its nature. The figure is to be ruddy in colour.

20 Koṣṭha, according to the *Nibandhana*, is Śāla. Thus there is to be a *Śāla* represented on all the four faces. In the Koṣṭha is to be installed Garuḍa in golden colour, the beak alone being blue in colour. Is it to be understood that there is only one Koṣṭha or one on each side; if the latter, is it to be filled with the same figure on all the four sides? The idea is not clear. This statement for one thing, shows that the *Diṅmūrtis* are not to be within the *Śālas*, at least not necessarily to be so.

21 This term must be taken as the opposite of *uparisthāt*, see note 13 *ante*. The term presumably refers to the sanctum.

22 The *Diṅmūrtis* here are to be understood in the sense of the guardians of quarters, *Indra*, *Yama*, *Varuṇa* and *Soma*.

भित्तिभागस्थाः प्रासादानाममुखाः²³। चण्डप्रचण्डौ द्वास्थौ कल्पयेत्²⁴। दक्षिणांतरे²⁵ च कार्यौ शङ्खचक्रगदाधरौ नारसिंहसुतौ। प्रासादस्याग्नेयकोणे²⁶ विघ्नेशं दक्षिणामुखं स्थापयेत्। ईशानकोणे²⁷ तु दुर्गां सायुधाष्टाभुजामुत्तरामिमुखां कारयेत्²⁸।

प्रासादार्धं²⁹ मण्डपस्याच्छ्रयः विस्तारं गर्भभागार्धं समं वा दीर्घचतुरस्रं शालाकारं भवेत्³⁰।

तस्याग्रतो गोपुरं प्रासादसमोत्सेधं पादहीनं वा कारयेत्। त्रिपादविस्तारं विस्ताराध्यर्धं, द्विगुणं वा दक्षिणोत्तरं कर्तव्यम्³¹। तस्मादर्धोत्सेधं मर्यादाभित्तिकं प्रासादस्य परितः कार्यम्³²।

23 These *Dinmurtis* are to be on the walls and they must face away from the shrine, i.e. face the quarters. If represented as facing the shrine, they might be mistaken for worshippers whose images also are found wrought on the walls.

24 These are *Doṭrapalas* - guardians of the door, associated with *Viṣṇu*, corresponding to *Nandi* and *Kala*, figuring in *Śaivite* shrines.

25 This means the wall space on the south. Here are to be set up the figures of the two sons of *Narasimha*, *Pradyumna* and *Anuruddha*. They are to be represented as being fully armed,—with the weapons of *Viṣṇu*.

26 In the *Agneya* corner is to be set up *Vignēśa*, facing south.

27 In the *Īśana* or north-east corner is to be *Durgā* with eighteen hands, carrying weapons.

28 In this section are set forth the figures adorning the cella. Presumably there is some confusion. There is only one *Koṣṭha* mentioned and ornamental figures are mentioned only for the south-east and north-east corners. The two corners on the west as well as the northern and eastern faces have no ornamentation mentioned for them. Is it that the eastern face is not mentioned, because it is the back and the northern, because there runs the water-chute? Or is it that on these, sides also there will be the usual wall decoration, such as *Kumbhalata*, *Makarāsya* etc. If the latter view is correct, then the figures mentioned are something more than ornamental ones: they are *Anga-devas* who form the necessary complement of the *Vaiṣṇavite* shrine.

In so far as *Vignēśa* and *Durgā* are concerned, they are found set up either in a niche in the wall or on a small platform built into the wall or attached to the wall. In many instances these deities are offered daily offerings.

30 The height of the *Mandapa* is half that of the *Prāsāda* and its breadth, half that of the *Garbhagrha* or equal to it. In shape it will be rectangular, square or elongated.

31 The *Gopura* stands in front of the *Mandapa*, and it is as high as the sanctum or three-fourths thereof. Its breadth is three-fourths and its length north and south twice, or one-half of the breadth of the *Prāsāda*. This indicates that the shrine faces east.

32 The enclosing wall must be half as high as the *Gopura*.

वृत्तं चतुरश्रमायतवृत्तमायतचतुरश्रमिति प्रासादः चतुर्विधः । आयतवृत्ते आयतचतुरश्रे च शयनमूर्तिं कुर्वीत³³ ।

विष्णोरेकभूमिकं वेश्म वायव्यं, द्विभूमिकमाश्रेयं, त्रिभूमिकं माहेन्द्रं, चतुर्भूमिकं वारुणं, पञ्चभूमिकं सौरं, षड्भूमिकं सौम्यं, सप्तभूमिकं³⁴ च वैष्णवम्³⁵ ।

* * * * *

K. R. PISHAROTI

33 Here we have the shapes approved for *Vaiṣṇavite* shrine. They may be *Samacaturāśra* (square), or *Āyatacaturāśra* (rectangular) or *Vṛtta* (circular) or *Āyatavṛtta* (ellipsoidal). The rectangular and the ellipsoidal types are used for installing *Sayāna* (reclining) *Mūrtis*.

34 Here are given the names of the *Vaiṣṇavite* shrines based upon the number of storeys they possess. Thus the *Ekatalaprāsāda* is called *Vayavya*, *Dvitalaprāsāda*, *Āgneya*, *Tritalaprāsāda*, *Mahendra*, *Catustalaprāsāda*, *Vārūna*, *Pañcatalaprāsāda*, *Saura*; *Saḍbhūmiprāsāda*, *Saumya* and *Saptatalaprāsāda*, *Vaiṣṇava*. These names do not figure in the well-known works on the subject, for instance in the *Mañjarī*, and no wonder for the majority of them deal with *Saivite* shrines.

35 This takes us to the end of the present study. The extract presented is too small; all the same it gives us some new information, which is, indeed, of more than passing interest to students of Indian architecture. The importance of this text cannot, therefore, be over-emphasised for a proper understanding of the peculiarities of *Vaiṣṇavite* structures. Let us hope that it will soon see the light of day in its full form.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Calcutta Review, February, 1949

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*In the Field of Historical Research* The fact that traces of 'contributions of the different racial elements' are noticed 'in the Indian population' has been given a special emphasis in this Address delivered by the author as Sectional President of the Indian History Congress held in December, 1949. The Śiva-Śakti worship now widely prevalent among the Indians is cited as an instance in point. 'The conception of the Indian Mother goddess in the medieval period was a composite one in the sense that the Mother-goddess, worshipped under different forms and names by various tribes and clans, was evidently regarded as one single deity who was identified with the wife of Śiva.'

NAINAKSHA DUTT—*Sāriputta and Moggallāna* The particular spheres of activity of Sāriputta and Moggallāna, the two outstanding disciples of Buddha are pointed out in this note. Sāriputta was associated more with *Abhidhamma* or the Buddhist philosophy, while Moggallāna concerned himself more with meditational practices.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society,

vol. XVI, parts 1-4

P. S. SASTRI. *The Early Andhras before the Śātaavahas*

A. S. THIYAGARAJA. *A Study of Telugu place-names*

VIPA RAMISAM. *The Mushnikundi Grant of the Eastern Cālukya king Viṣṇuwardhana.*

C. NARAYANA RAO.—*Dardic and Dravidian.* The dialects like the Kashmiri, Khaskura, Sindhi and Lahandi belong to the Dardic group of languages and are related to the ancient Paisācī Prakrit. The process of expansion of the Paisācī languages in India from the Hindukush to Cape Comorin has been traced and the affinities of Dravidian with Dardic has been indicated in the paper. Both these groups of languages have the characteristics of the Paisācī.

LAKSHMINARAYANA HARICHANDAN JAGADEB.—*The Puri Sanad of Janoji Bhonsle.*

G. RAMDAS.—*The Inscription of Devendravarma at Gara.*

R. SUBBARAO.—*A New Copper-plate Inscription of Eastern Chalukya Dynasty mentioning Bhīma III (926 A.D.).*

- M. UPENDRA SARMA.—*Some Telugu Prose Inscriptions of Vengi Chalukyas.*
- K. SATYANARAYANA VARMA.—*Āryakṣatriyas History of the Community.*
- T. BHUJANGA RAO—“*Paaladas*” of the *Asokan Edicts*—The tribal names found in the Girnar, Kalsi and Shahabzargarhi Edicts of Asoka as *Paarimdas*, *Paaladas*, and *Palidas* have references to the ‘early Parthian settlers’ in India.

The Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society,
vol. II, No. 2

- G. RAMDAS.—*The Matsya Family of Vaddādi*—Vaddādi, now a small village on the M.S.M. Railway was once a prosperous principality ruled over by a line of chiefs who had fish as their family crest. Names and details of a number of Vaddādi chiefs flourishing between 1269 and 1531 A.C. are supplied here from inscriptions found in the temples of Drākṣārāma and Simhācalam.
- DINIS CHANDRA SIRCAR—*A Note on the Bhatta Kants of Orissa*
- S. N. RAJGURU—*The Kalabandi Copper plate Grant of Maharāja Tuṣṭikāra*—Three copper plates bearing a royal seal and a legend *Śri Tuṣṭikāra*, and recording the grant of a village by Maharaja Tustikata have been discovered in an Orissan village situated between the provinces of Kalinga and Dakṣiṇakośala. On paleographical grounds, this document of a hitherto unknown king is assigned to a period between the 3rd and the 5th century A.C.
- P. K. GODÉ.—*Some Karhāde Brahmin Families at Benares between A.D. 1550 and 1660*
- LAKSHMINARAYAN HARICHANDAN JAGDIB—*The Origin of Vijaynagar in Kalinga*—The territory extending from Nagavali to Godavari was given by the Kalinga king Prataparudra Gajapati to his daughter as a wedding gift when she was married to Kṛṣṇadeva Rāva of Vijayanagara. Kṛṣṇadeva’s queen gave this territory the new name of Vijayanagara after the name of her husband’s kingdom.
- I. P. PĀNDEYA.—*The Text of Lodhia Copper Inscription of Mahāśiva Gupta Bālārjuna.*
- P. C. RAIH.—*Saintala (Ruins of a town on river Sungod, a tributary of Tel).*
- NUSIL CHANDRA DE.—*The Cult of Jagannath*—In the cult of Jagannātha can be detected a “synthetic epitome of the different Indian cults that

had gained currency among the people in the different periods of history." The car-festival of Puri should not be regarded as "of Buddhist origin." It is rather connected with the Śaiva, Śākta and the Śaiva cult of Orissa.

P. K. GODI.—*Studies in the History of Indian Plants. The Reference to Candana Forests on the Malaya Mountain in the Rāmāyaṇa and its bearing on the History of White Sandal (Santalum Album) in India.*

I. P. PANDYA.—*Mahākāntāra and its Location.* The views expressed about the location of the ancient Māhākāntāra are declared here as unacceptable.

SIVA PRASAD DAS—*Bhavabhūti's Birth-place.* The modern town of Padmapura on the Mahānadī in the district of Sambalpur in Orissa is suggested as the birth-place of the poet Bhavabhūti.

**Journal of the University of Bombay, vol XVII,
part 4 (January, 1949)**

R. S. PANCIAMUKHI - *History of Karnāṭaka—A Brief Survey.* An analysis of the various events of the well marked periods of Karnāṭaka history from pre-historic times shows that Karnāṭaka had become a powerful political and cultural centre in India and exercised much influence till the decline of Vijayanagara in the 16th century.

K. B. VYAS.—*The Kṛta Era.* The writer of the paper takes Kṛta to be a Sanskritised name of the Kaṭha or K'it'a people who are known to have lived before Christ in South-eastern Rajputana touching the northern border of Malwa. It is inferred that the Kṛtas in alliance with the Mālavas inflicted a crushing defeat on the Śakas in the 1st century B.C., and to commemorate the event instituted an era naming it after the victorious parties, viz. Kṛta as well as Mālava. It is believed that Vikrama was the leading figure who won the war. The new era therefore bears his name too. Thus the eras known differently as Kṛta, Mālava and Vikrama are in reality one and the same.

B. L. MANKAD.—*A Sociological Study of Mianas of Kathiawad.*

**Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, vol. XXXVIII,
No. 1 (April, 1948)**

K. KRISHNAMOORTHY - *Abhinavagupta's Contribution to the Theory of Dhvani.* Flourishing at a time not very much separated from Ānandavardhana, the propagator of the Dhvani theory, and inhabiting

the region of Kashmir where Ānandavardhana had lived the commentator Abhinavagupta has been able to interpret the theory in an authoritative manner. His commentary on the *Dhvanyāloka* not only elucidates the texts but also amplifies and supplements them. His discussions meet the opponents of the theory and help the settling of texts.

G. V. SITAPATI.—*The Interpretation of the Aryan and Aboriginal Cultures in India with special Reference to the Soras (Savaras).*

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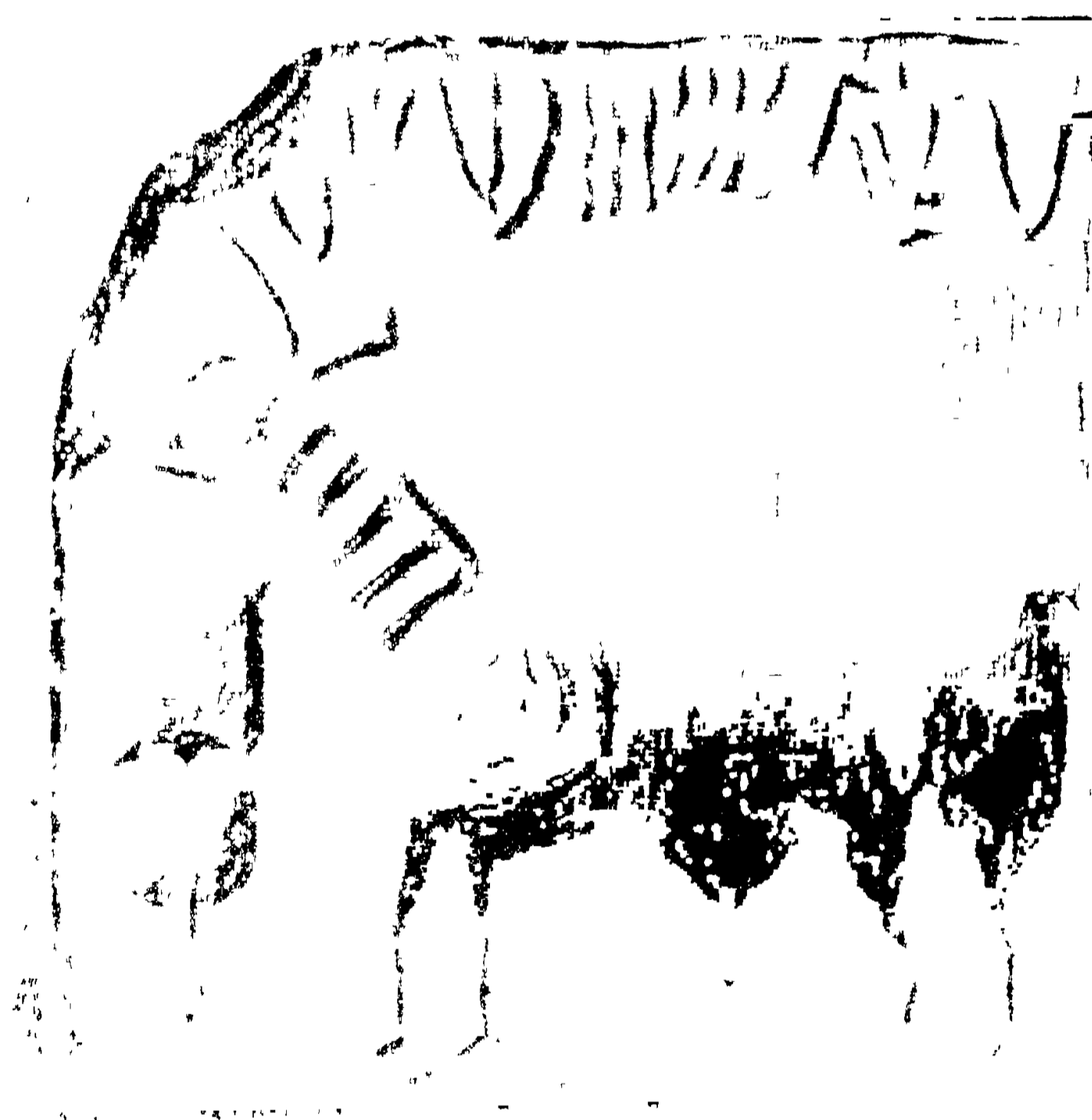
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New Light on the Epoch of the Kalacuri Era

From an examination of twelve later dates of the Kalacuri era which contained details for verification, Dr. Kielhorn showed that the era commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 in A.D. 248 and that the months of the Kalacuri year were *pūrṇimānta*¹. So the epoch of the era according to Kielhorn was A.D. 247-48. Two early dates of the era, viz. those of the Navasari plates of Jayabhata III and the Kavi plate of Jayabhata IV however presented difficulties, for the epoch applicable to them appeared to be A.D. 248-49. Kielhorn acknowledged these difficulties in the foot notes to his *List of Northern Inscriptions* (p. 57, n. 6 and 7), but did not suggest any solution.

Some more dates of the era, both early and late, have since been discovered. I examined all available dates afresh and showed that they fell into two categories, (1) the earlier ones which come from Gujarat and Maharashtra appear regular only according to the epoch of A.D. 248-49 and (2) the later ones which belong to North India and Chhattisgarh appear regular according to the epoch of A.D. 247-48. I showed further that the Kalacuri year began on Karttika śu. di. 1 and that its months were generally *amānta* in Maharashtra and Gujarat and *pūrṇimānta* in other parts of the country. I tried to account for the difference of one year between the two epochs of the same era on the hypothesis that when the Kalacuris introduced the era into North India, its current years were erroneously taken to be expired². I have recently come across a date which suggests a third epoch for this era. I give particulars of it below to elicit discussion by scholars.

A set of three copper-plates was recently discovered at the village Nagardhan near Ramtek in the Nagpur District. It records two gifts which a

¹ *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 53f

² *A.B.O.R.I.*, vol. XXVII, pp. 1f.

prince named Nannatāja made during the reign of his brother, the illustrious Svāmitāja of an unspecified lineage. The first of these was of 12 *nivartanas* of land which was made to certain Brāhmaṇas at the request of a Corporation (*gaṇa*) called *Mahāmātragaṇa*³ and the second was of a village named Aṅkollikā which Nannarāja (or perhaps his brother Svāmīrāja) made to the same Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of an eclipse (of the sun) on the new-moon day of Caitra in the cyclic year Āsāḍha. The record is dated in the last line as *sainvatsaraśata-traye dvāvīṅśe Kārttika śu di 5* 'on the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the year 322' of an unspecified era.

The year Āsāḍha mentioned in these plates is evidently of the twelve year cycle of Jupiter. Years of this cycle are cited in very early records. In North India five such dates with the word *mahā* prefixed to the name of the year were discovered in grants of Parivrājaka *Mahānājas* Hastin and Saikṣobha from which Fleet and Sh. B. Dikshit calculated the epoch of the Gupta era.⁴ In south India some dates of this kind, generally without *mahā* prefixed to the name of the year, have been discovered in the records of the Early Rāṣṭrakūtas, Kadambas and Kings of Kaliṅga, but none of them admits of verification in the absence of the necessary details. Besides, they are cited in connection with regnal years which have no bearing on the epoch of any era. The date of the Nagardhan plates is therefore unique, because it names a *Bārhaspitya sainvatsara* coupled with the date of an era and mentions a solar eclipse in a particular lunar month. These details should enable us to identify the unspecified era.

The system of citing the years of Jupiter's cycle went out of vogue in the sixth century A.D. Again, from the portions of the facsimiles of the plates which accompany this article it will be seen that the grant is inscribed in box-headed characters resembling those of the Vākātaka grants. The present record therefore cannot be later than the sixth or at most the seventh century A.D. The year 322 must consequently be referred either to the Gupta or to the Kalacuri era. Let us see for which of these eras the particulars of the date, *viz.*, a solar eclipse on *Caitra amāvāsya* in the year 322, being the *Bārhaspitya sainvatsara* Āsāḍha, appear regular.

3 This *gaṇa* is also mentioned in the Benares plates of Harirāja edited by Prof. A. B. Bhattacharya *Proceedings of the Twelfth All India Oriental Conference*, pp. 590f.

4 *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, pp. 101f. and 161f.

Prima facie the date may be referred to the Gupta era, for it would then be equivalent to A.D. 641-42. Nannarāja who made the grant would in that case be identical⁵ with the homonymous prince who issued the Tivarkhed plates in S. 553 i.e. A.D. 631. A close examination of the grant and its date shows however this view is incorrect for the following reasons:—

- (i) There was no solar eclipse on the *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* Caitra in A.D. 641-42. The nearest year in which the eclipse occurred in *pūrṇimānta* Caitra was A.D. 648 and in *amānta* Caitra was A.D. 638.
- (ii) The *Bārhaspatya saṁvatsara* in A.D. 641-2 was Phalguna, not Āṣāḍha as required.
- (iii) This Nannarāja who was a *brother* of Svamitāja could not have been identical with Nannarāja-Yuddhāsura who issued the Tivarkhed plates for the latter was a *son* of *Svamitāja*. Even if the identification is accepted, Nannarāja-Yuddhasura did not flourish in the seventh century A.D., for as shown elsewhere⁶ the Tivarkhed plates are spurious.
- (iv) No other date of the Gupta era has been found in Vidarbha. The Vākātakas who ruled over Vidarbha dated all their records in regnal years. The Rastakūtas who held it at least from the 8th century onwards used the Śaka era. There is no reason for the spread of the Gupta era to Vidarbha in the seventh century A.D.

For all these reasons the date 322 of the Nagardhan plates cannot be referred to the Gupta era.

The only other era to which it could be referred is the Kalacuri era which, as I have shown elsewhere⁷ was current in the adjoining districts of Nasik and Khandesh. Let us see if the details work out satisfactorily for this era.

As stated before, the epoch which suits early dates of the era is A.D. 248-49. If the year 322 is referred to this era it should be equivalent to A.D. 570-71 or 571-72 according as it was current or expired. But in neither of these years was there a solar eclipse in the *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta* Caitra. There was however one in the immediately follow-

⁵ See below, pp. 138-143.

ing year A.D. 573, on 19th of March which was *amāvāsya* of the *amānta* Caitra. The *Bāhaspatya saivatsara* was also Āṣāḍha according to the mean-sign system. The agreement of these three details, viz., the solar eclipse, the lunar month and the cyclic year, shows that the 19th March A.D. 573 is undoubtedly the correct date of the grant. The epoch of the era applicable in the present case should be A.D. 250-51. The grant is dated at the end as *Kārttika śu di 5* of the year 322. As the Kalacuri year was Kārttikādi, the month Caitra in which the solar eclipse occurred must be of the Kalacuri year 321. The *amāvāsya* of the *amānta* Caitra in the expired Kalacuri year 321, according to the proposed epoch of A.D. 250-51, fell on the 19th March A.D. 573 when, as stated before, there occurred a solar eclipse and the *Bāhaspatya saivatsara* was Āṣāḍha as stated in the grant.

The question naturally arises whether this is to be regarded as a case of irregular date or as evidence of a third epoch of the Kalacuri era viz. A.D. 250-51. In the latter case one would expect some other instances in which it would be applicable. I may state in this connection that I have so far come across one other date in which this epoch of A.D. 250-51 holds good. I refer to the date of the Ellorā plates of Dantidurga.⁶ This date has been read as *Monday, the thirteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Āṣvina* in the year 663 of an unspecified era. This year has been referred to the Śaka era. The details of the date do not, however, work out satisfactorily either for Ś. 663 current or for Ś. 664 expired. It is therefore doubtful if the date really refers to the Śaka era at all. A close examination of the wording of the date strengthens this suspicion. The date is given as follows — *Saiv 600 60 3 Āṣvayuja śuddha trayodaśyām Somvaram*. This is not the usual mode of citing dates of the Śaka era. In all early Śaka dates, whether occurring in the inscriptions of the Calukyas or Raṣtrakūṭas, there is a clear reference to the Śakas or Śaka kings.⁷ Since the date of the Ellorā plates contains no such reference to the Śakas or Śaka kings it is plainly not in the Śaka era. A close examination of the numerical symbols reveals that the reading of the year is incorrect. The first symbol which consists of a sign for 100

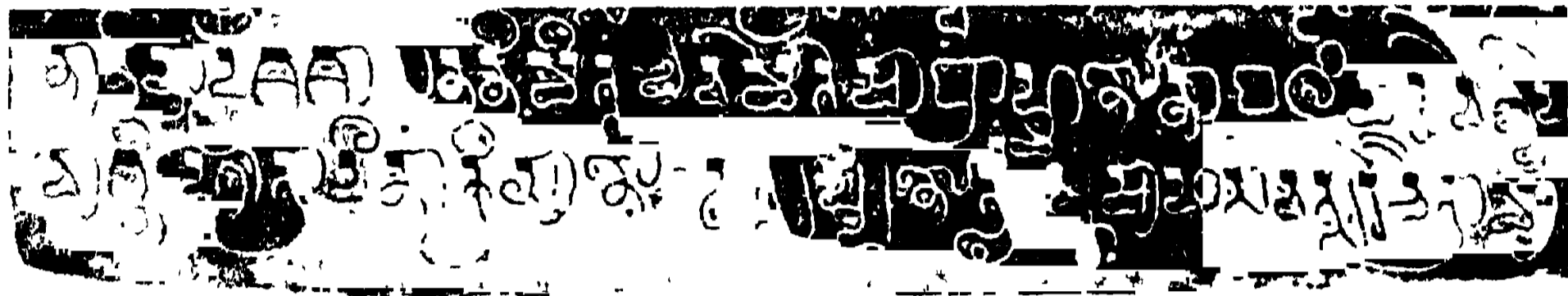
6 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXV, pp. 31 f.

7 See Kielhorn's observation on this subject in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 148f.

FACSIMILES OF PORTIONS OF THE NAGARJHIAN

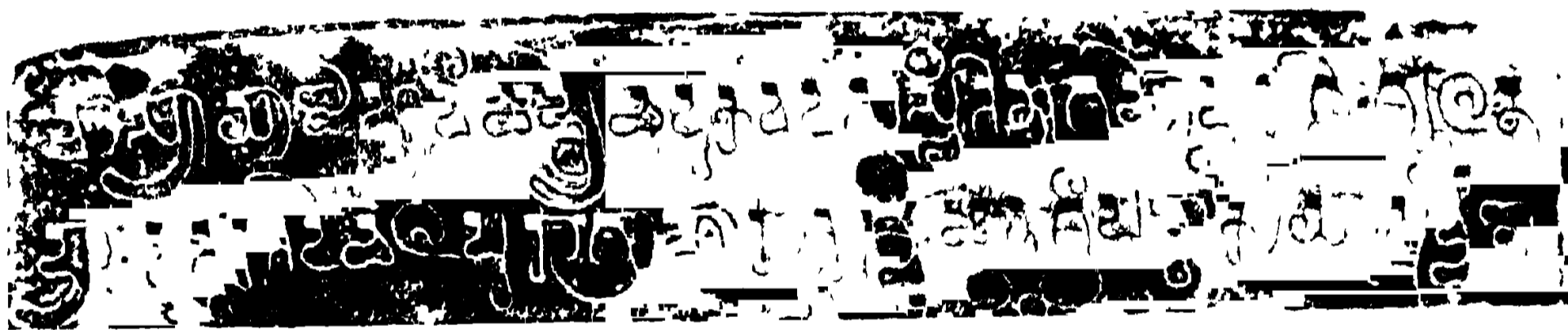
PLATES OF NANNARĀJA

Second Plate, First Side



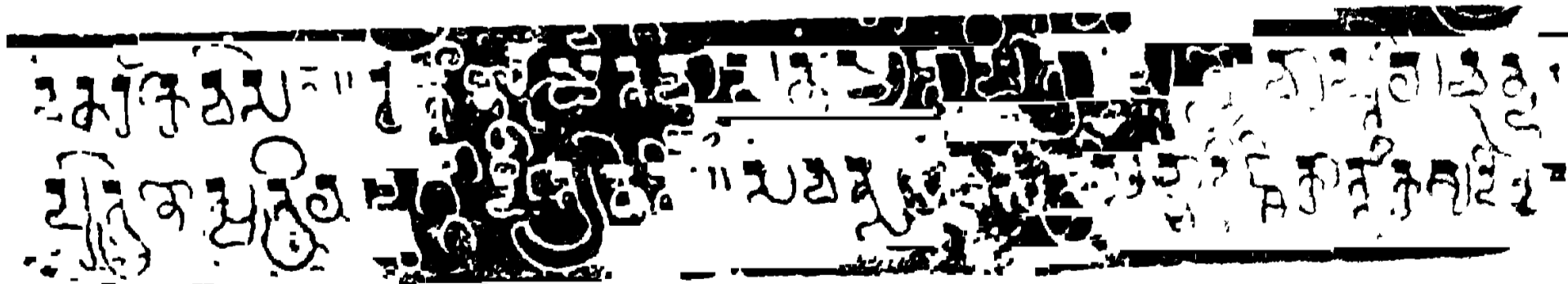
- Line 13 नानि द्वादश शासनानामित्त एवमेतेषा ब्रह्मणाना चाननमवयवे
.. 14 वासिहावादानां क्रियाणां । उन्मपणात्थं । यापाटमंवरं नत्रामा-

Second Plate, Second Side



- Line 15 वाम्याया जाद्वीमद्वे चदृकवटर्मात्थनेन ग्रहोपरामे । शूनन-
.. 16 द्याः उत्तरतटेचलपुराग्राहारात्पाथमेन । थापीगणकायाः पुवेग

Third Plate



- Line 27 व नरके वसेत् ॥ उक्तागर्गमेतच्छामन मानापिवाः पुगयावामये चन्द-
.. 28 पुवेग जत्रियदुर्गादित्येनेति ॥ संवत्सशतवये द्वाविडजे कानिक गुद ॥ ॥

followed by another denoting 4,⁸ evidently stands for 400, not for 600. The date is thus 463 which must be referred to the Kalacuri era. The usual epoch of A.D. 248-49 which is seen to hold good in the case of early dates of the Kalacuri era does not apply in this case, for according to it the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the current year K. 463 fell on a Saturday (the 17th September A.D. 712) and in the expired year K. 463 on a Friday (the 6th October A.D. 713). In either case it will have to be regarded as irregular. But if we apply the epoch of A.D. 250-51 suggested by the date of the Nagardhan plates the date becomes regular; for according to that epoch the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the expired Kalacuri year 463 ended 1 hr. 45 m. after mean sunrise on the 16th September A.D. 715 which was a Monday as required.

The two records—the Nagardhan plates of Nannaraja and the Ellora plates of Dantidurga—show that the epoch of the Kalacuri era at least in some parts of Maharashtra and Vidarbha, was A.D. 250-51.

The identification of the era used in dating the Nagardhan plates has a bearing on the dates of some other grants also. The era to which the dates of the grants of the *Mahārājas* of Khandesh—viz. Svāmīdāsa, Bhulūṅga and Rudradāsa refer has, for some time, been a matter of controversy. There is no doubt that all these grants originally came from Khandesh. We now know that the Kalacuri era was current in the adjoining districts of Nasik, Aurangabad and Berar. It would be very surprising indeed if Khandesh alone was excluded from the province of that era. Besides, a slightly later date of that era has recently been found in Khandesh,⁹ while no dates of the Gupta era have yet been found in any of the districts of Maharashtra and Vidarbha.

In its formal portion the Nagardhan grant resembles the grants of the *Mahārājas* of Khandesh. It begins thus—*Nandivāuddhanit Bhattaral'apād-ānuddhyātaḥ parama-mahēśvaraḥ Svāmīnaraḥ kuśali*. The lord paramount to whom Svāmīrāja owed allegiance must have been the Kalacuri Emperor Kṛṣṇarāja who ruled from circa A.D. 550 to A.D. 575. The

8 This symbol has a cross in the lower portion which is an unmistakable characteristic of the symbol for 4. See the symbol for 400 in the Nasik plates of Dhaṅśraya-Jayasīnha.

9 See the Kasāte plates of the Senidhaka Allaśakti dated K. 404. *Bhūta Itihāsa Samśodhak Mandal Quarterly*, vol. XX.

date of the Nagardhan plates (A.D. 573) falls in his reign. That the Kalacuri emperor had extended his suzerainty to Vidarbha is shown by the discovery of his coins at Dhamon in the Amraoti District and Paṭṭan in the Betul District. The Kalacuri era seems to have spread to Vidarbha in the wake of Kalacuri imperial power. It ceased to be current in that part of the country after the downfall of the Kalacuris in the beginning of the seventh century A.D., for the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Nannarāja-Yuddhāsura who was evidently a feudatory of the Cālukyas of Badāmī used, like his suzerain, the Śaka, not the Kalacuri, era in his grants.

V. V. MIRASHI

The Vinaya Texts in Chinese

The study of the Chinese Vinaya derives its importance from the fact that the texts in various recensions belonging to such important Hīnayāna schools as the Mo-ho-sêng-ch'i (Mahasaṅghika), So p'o-to-pu (Sarvāstivāda), T'an-wu-tê (Dharmagupta), Mi-sha-sé (Mahāsaka) and Kên-pên-shuo-i-tsieh-yu (Mūlasarvāstivāda) as also a few of the Mahāyāna school are preserved in it. As regards the Theravāda school it contains a translation of the Vinaya commentary called the Samantapāsādikā. The Mahāsaka version of the Vinayapitaka taken to China by Fa-hien was procured from the Abhayagiri vihāra of Ceylon. The Mahāsaṅghika version procured from a monastery at Pāṭaliputra was carried to China by the same pilgrim Fa-hien and the Mūlasarvāstivāda by I-tsing¹.

The *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and the *Sūtrasamuccaya* of Śāntideva quote a few sūtras which were treated as codes of Mahayanic disciplinary rules. Ācārya Śāntideva, who is described as a Mahayanic monk in the Gunaighar copper plate grant of Vainyagupta (588 A. D.), is said to have founded a puritanic Mahayana church (*Vaivartika Saṅgha*) in Eastern India. Whether or not this Śāntideva is the same person as the author of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and the *Bodhicaryāvatara* is difficult to say, although both these Mahayanic works maintain throughout a puritanic tone and refined religious sentiment. In the main Mahāyāna Vinaya we get the earlier monastic discipline according to the *Pratimokṣa* code with such modifications as were necessary to realize the higher ideals for which Mahāyana stood. So far as Buddhism in China is concerned its first and foremost Vinaya text is known as the *Fan-wang-ching* (*Brahmajālisūtra*).

1 Some of the Āgama texts as well as the Abhidharmapitakas evidently belonging to the Sarvāstivāda school, were also obtained by Fa-hien from the same Abhayagiri vihāra at Anurādhapura and carried to China. These Abhidharma texts would have been completely lost to us but for their preservation in Chinese translations. Many of the earlier Mahāyāna texts, including those of the Dhāraṇī class and those belonging to the Guhyasamāja (secret cult), are mostly known from the Chinese translations.

2 There is a French translation of this text by De Groot called the *Le code du Mahayana en chine*. There is also a brief translation of it by Mr. Gogerly

the historical interest of which lies in its effecting a happy synthesis of the rigid discipline of Hīnayāna with the loftier ideal of Mahāyāna. It was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva (406 A. D.)³—the original is lost. It is the 10th chapter of a work called the *Bodhisattvahrdayasūtra*⁴—a work containing 61 chapters. Although it was translated as early as the 5th century A. D; there is no evidence to show that before the 8th century A. D. the text was regarded as the most authoritative code for the guidance of the Mahāyāna monks—I-tsing and others interested in the Vinaya took no notice of it.⁵ There is also no reference to it in Śāntideva's works. Further, from De Groot we learn that "it was not thought much of before 730 A. D."⁶ There is no reasonable room for doubt that the book received its authenticity a few centuries later after its translation and to-day it is regarded as the most important and authoritative code of monastic rules in China. While speaking of this text, Sir Charles Eliot remarks: "So far my observation goes, it is known and respected in all monasteries".⁷ It breathes a spirit of Mahāyāna ideals and is a prototype of Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatara* in ethical matters. Here Hīnayāna has several times been put to trenchant criticism—denouncing it as heretical. The *Fan-uang-ching*, however, presents us with a late and degraded form of Buddhism containing, as it does, rituals, burning of the limbs and the like. It also deals with 20 cittaśayas, 10 vajras making a bodhisattva steady in his path and 58 commandments—10 primary and 48 secondary—found either in the *Prātimokṣasūtra* or the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. It contains, besides all these, the life and ideal of a bodhisattva, ordained or lay, rules for leading daily monastic life, developing bodhicitta, practising pāramitās, forming prañidhanas and the like. In short, it deals with all that is necessary for the monastic life in China.

published in the *Ceylon Friend*. This text should not be confused with the Pāli *Brahmajālasutta* which is a part of the *Dīgha Nikāya*

3 Nanpo's *Catalogue*, No. 1087

4 The rest of the work was never translated into Chinese, nor has the original work been discovered

5 Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. III, pp. 322-323

6 De Groot, *Le code du Mahayana en chine*, p. 12.

7 Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. III p. 324.

In short, the *Fan-wang-ching* (*Brahmajālasūtra*) is now the accredited code of monastic discipline in China. Besides, there are a few other texts which throw light on this aspect of Buddhism in China. The following are the main works:

1. *Pai-wên-ts'ing kuei*⁸—is a manual of monastic discipline recognised also as authoritative in almost all the monasteries of China like the *Fan-wang-ching*. The author of this work is a monk of Kiang-si. He was an adherent of *ch'an-tsung* (dhvāna school)—the founder of which was Bodhidharma. It contains a detailed account of organization, rituals and general practices. It throws light on the relation between the order and the state. It was revised and altered later on. Prof. Nanjio tells us that “most of these rules however refer to wordly matters; so that they are not only far from the Vinaya, but also from the original rules of Pāi-kāi.”⁹

2. *P'u-sa-chieb-pên* (*Bodhisattvapratimokṣa*)¹⁰—is a treatise containing rules of ordination of a bodhisattva. It was thought that it was preserved in Chinese translation only—the Sanskrit original was lost. Fortunately however the text is available in Sanskrit.¹¹ Before the discovery of the Sanskrit text, the Chinese translation was the only source of our knowledge of it. We are now in a position to make a better approach to the subject-matter by a comparison of the two versions. It is a collection of excerpts from various texts—mostly from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, the *Upāliparipṛcchā* and the like. It gives us an account of the procedure to be followed during the ordination of a bodhisattva, lay or ordained. It agrees fairly with that of the Theravāda school as laid down in the Pāli *Kammavācā*. Besides, there are rules concerning the duties and obligations of the teacher, of the novice and of the gr̥hi-bodhisattvas. Further, it deals with āpattis (offences), anāpattis (non-offences), pāpadeśanā (confession), śaraṇagamana (taking

8 Nanjio's *Catalogue*, No. 1642, Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol III, pp. 324-325, also fn 3 (p 324).

9 Nanjio's *Catalogue*, col. 360.

10 No. 1500 of the *Taisho* edition of the *Chinese Tripitaka*, vol XXIV

11 Dr. N. Dutt has published a critical edition of the *Bodhisattvapratimokṣa-sūtra* on the basis of the MS. procured from the Library of the Cambridge University with a very illuminating introduction.

refuge), *adhyeṣaṇā* (solicitation), *pariṇāmanā* (offering one's merits), *bodhicittotpāda* (developing bodhicitta) and so forth. Dr. N. Dutt observes: "It is in this manuscript that we for the first time come across the formal requests and announcements necessary for the initiation of a disciple, and I think, this is the earliest book of its kind so far discovered."¹² Thus this manual containing, as it does, the rules of monastic discipline, gives us a fair idea of an ideal life of a bodhisattva and is recognised as one of the principal treatises on Vinaya rules in China.

3. *Bodhisattvacaryānirdeśa*¹³—it was twice rendered into Chinese—an earlier one by Dharmakṣema, 414-421 A.D., and the later one by Guṇavarman, 431 A.D. It is a section of the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* which is the fifteenth part of the *Yogācārabhūmi*,¹⁴ a principal work of the Yogācāra system of philosophy founded by Asaṅga. It deals with the four most essential caryās (practices), viz, *pāramitācaryā*, *bodhipakṣacaryā*, *abhijñācaryā* and *sattvapariṣkācaryā*¹⁵ to be followed by a bodhisattva in connection with his spiritual progress. It is not a Vinaya text in the strict sense of the term, but it has been regarded so as it contains various essential caryās (practices) of a bodhisattva. It is also widely followed in many monasteries of China.

4. *Ssū-fên-lü-ts'ang* (*Caturvargavinayapitaka*)¹⁶—is the principal Vinaya text of the Dharmaguptika school—one of the schools which sprang up from the Theravāda school in the second century after the parinirvāṇa of Buddha. It was rendered into Chinese by

¹² *Bodhisattvapiṭakamokṣasūtra*, p. 3.

¹³ In Nanjio's *Catalogue* we come under this title two treatises (Nos. 1085 and 1086): *P'u-sa-shan-chieh-ching* (*Bodhisattvabhadrāsīlasūtra*) and *P'u-sa-ti-ch'i-ching* (*Bodhisattvabhūmudharasūtra*). Dr. N. Dutt suggests (*Aspects of Mahāyāna*, p. 290, fn. 3) *kuśala* for *shan* and *nimi* for *ti* instead of *bhadra* and *bhūmi* respectively as suggested by Nanjio. *Kuśala* is more appropriate than *bhadra*. We do not find *Bhūmudhara* as the name of any bodhisattva but *Nemumdhara* as the name of a bodhisattva is to be found in many Sanskrit Buddhist texts.

¹⁴ In Chinese the work is called *Yü-chia-shih-ti-lun* which means *Yogācāryabhūmisāstra* (Nanjio, No. 1170), *ācārya* is apparently a mistake for *ācāra*.

¹⁵ *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, ed. U. Wogihara, p. 371.

¹⁶ Nanjio's *Catalogue*, No. 1117. J. Pripp-Moller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*, p. 312.

Buddhayaśa, along with Ku Fo-nien, 405 A.D. It was also the most authoritative work of the Vinaya school founded by Tao-hsuan. It contains *inter alia* the 250 *Prātimokṣa* rules of monastic discipline. These rules are read out to the novices to which each of them is to give his categorical approval. This is done in the concluding part of the *Sha-mi-chieh* (*Upāsakasaṃvara*)—one of the three ceremonies through which a novice is to pass before he becomes a fully ordained monk at present in China. The rules were later on extracted from this work and constituted a separate text with the title: *Ssū-fên-chieh-pên* (*Caturvargaprātimokṣa*). It should be noted that this *Chieh-pên* (*Prātimokṣa*) differs in some sections from that of either the Sarvāstivāda or the Mūlasarvāstivāda school.

5. *Shih-sung-lü-pi-ch'iu-chieh-pên* (*Daśādhyāyavimayabhikṣu-prātimokṣa*)¹⁷—was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva, an Indian monk, in 404 A.D. It is a code of monastic laws for the guidance of monks and is studied and followed in the monasteries of China. The Sanskrit original of this text has now been discovered in Central Asia by Pelliot. It has been edited by L. Finot on the basis of this manuscript.¹⁸ It contains 263 rules as against 258 in the Mūlasarvāstivāda version preserved in Tibetan and 227 in the Pāli. Besides the 250 *Prātimokṣa* rules of the Dharmaguptika school as already mentioned, these rules are also read and acted upon in many monasteries of China.

6. *Ssū-fên-pi-ch'iu-ni-chieh-mo-fa* (*Caturvargabhikṣunīkarmacācā*)¹⁹—is a manual dealing with the ceremonies connected with the ordination of a nun. It is an excerpt from the *Ssū-fên-lü-ts'ang* (*Caturvargavinayapitāka*) as mentioned above. It was rendered into Chinese by Guṇavarman, 431 A.D.

7. *Yu-p'o-sai-wu-chieh-lioh-lun*²⁰—was translated into Chinese by Guṇavarman. It is a treatise containing the ceremonies to be gone through by a novice before his ordination. It is to be compared

17 Nanjio's *Catalogue*, No. 1160

18 *IA Ser 11, t. II, 1913, pp. 465-558*. It is to be noted that it is an incomplete work as the text has been published with the missing portions of the manuscript unrestored.

19 Nanjio's *Catalogue*, No. 1129, J. Prip-Moller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*, p. 341.

20 J. Prip-Moller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*, p. 341

with the *Fo-shuo-yu-p'o-wu-chieh-siang-ching* (*Buddhabhāṣitaupāsaka-pañcaśīlarūpasūtra*)²¹, another treatise translated by Guṇavarman.

8. *Yu-p'o-sai-êrb-shih-êrb-chieh*²²—was also translated into Chinese by Guṇavarman. It contains rules on the ordination of the novices as above.

9. *P'u-sa-shou-chai-ching* (*Bodhisattvagrabaṇasūtra?*)²³—it was translated by an upāsaka (Buddhist devotee) of the name of Nieh-tao-chên of the Si-tsin or Western Tsin dynasty (265-316 B.C.). It describes how an upāsaka (devotee) becomes a bodhisattva (P'u-sa) in the Poṣadha ceremony (shou). This ceremony is held four times a year:—

- (i) It begins on the 14th day of the first month of the year and ends on the 17th day.
- (ii) It commences on the 8th day of the 4th month of the year and closes on the 15th day.
- (iii) It begins on the 1st day of the 7th month and closes on the 16th day, and lastly,
- (iv) It opens on the 14th day of the 9th month of the year and closes on the 16th day.

If an upāsaka (devotee) in China wishes to become a bodhisattva, he shall confess his previous sins first and then take refuge in the holy triad—Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. This is followed by his taking the ten commandments and the ten pāramitā vows. Certain other formalities which he must go through are described thereafter.

10. *San-t'an-chêng-fan*²⁴—was composed by Chien-yüeh. It contains rules of the ordination ceremony prevalent in China. It was translated into Russian by Gurius.

11. *P'u-sa-ts'ang-ching* (*Bodhisattvapitakasūtra*)²⁵—was translated by Saṅghapāla or Saṅghavarman (506-520 A. D.) of the Liân dynasty. It is a collection of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna works—the latter, however, play a dominating rôle. In it we find a list of works dealing with samādhis (meditations) and paripṛcchās (questions). He who—it is said—studies this text comes to know

21 Nanjio's *Catalogue*, No. 1114.

22 J. Prip-Moller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*, p. 341.

23 Nanjio's *Catalogue*, No. 1105.

24 J. Prip-Moller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*, p. 285.

25 Nanjio's *Catalogue*, No. 1103.

the true doctrine of Buddha and gives up all that is vain and ultimately attains nirvāṇa, the desired goal which a monk yearns for.

12. *Ssû-shih-êrb-chang-ching* (*Sūtra of forty two sections*)²⁶—is the first Buddhist sūtra rendered into Chinese, 57 A. D., and is ascribed to Kāśyapamātaṅga. It is a collection of excerpts from a larger text. It portrays monastic life and duties of those ordained in China. It also refers to the 250 *Prātimokṣa* rules, but does not mention the procedure proper to be followed for the ordination ceremony. It is a sūtra text in the true sense of the term, but it is still popular and is read in many monasteries by ordained monks as a part of their Vinaya scriptures.

13. *P'i-ni-jih-yung*²⁷—is a treatise containing rules of Vinaya for the daily observance of the monks of the order.

14. *Lü-tsung-chieb-pên* (*Prātimokṣa of the Vinaya school*)²⁸—is a treatise containing rules of monastic discipline like other *Pratimokṣas* still extant in Chinese. It is based on the Dharmagupta *Pratimokṣa* commonly known as the *Ssû-fên-chieb-pên* (*Caturvargapratimokṣa*), but with slight modifications here and there by Tao-hsüan, the founder of this school.

We have dealt with almost all the important treatises, preserved in Chinese, dealing with monastic life. The list of texts given above is not exhaustive. To it should be added the works written by Tao-hsüan. He wrote a few texts pertaining to the ordination and the daily life of the order of which: "On eating but once a day," "How to use the travelling staff," "On the cloth used by the monks for the three robes"²⁹ and a commentary called the *Chieh-mo-chieb-su* on the (Chieh-mo) rules are followed and highly esteemed in many monasteries in China.³⁰ Further, a study of the texts mentioned above reveals that it is a hybrid collection. It contains texts belonging to both the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna school—the works of the former of course outnumber those of the latter. The question may arise—to which school—Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna—the Chinese monks belong? The

26 Nanjio's *Catalogue*, No. 678.

27 J. Prip-Moller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries* p. 220.

28 *Ibid.*, pp. 341, 342, Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. III, p. 316.

29 Saṃghāṭi, uttarāsaṅgha and antarvāsa.

30 J. Prip-Moller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*, p. 342.

answer is not far to seek. Chinese Buddhism, as pointed out above, is based on the works of both the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna schools. Why should we not then call Chinese Buddhism “Mahāyāna Sthaviravāda Buddhism” instead of “Mahāyāna Buddhism” as is usually done? The term *Mahāyānasthāvira*, Pāli *Mahāyānathera*, is found in the records of Hiuen-tsang³¹. The main consideration that prompts us to make such an assertion is that the disciplinary code which regulates monastic life, an aspect of capital importance in Buddhism in China even to-day, is a faithful reproduction of the Hīnayānic code with but few rules incorporated therein with Mahāyāna colouring—there are others besides. Dr. N. Dutt’s suggestion that “by Mahāyānist Sthaviras Hiuen-tsang probably meant those monks who followed Vinaya rules of the Sthaviravādins, but held views of the Mahāyānists like Suññatāvāda of the Vetulyakas”³² also supports our contention.

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31 Watters, *On Yuan chwang*, vol. II, pp. 109, 138, 234, 248.

32 *Early Monastic Buddhism*, vol. II, p. 200.

Three more Imitations of the *Gītagovinda*

Very few Sanskrit literary works enjoy the fame similar to that of the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva. It is, perhaps, the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa that may vie with it in that respect to some extent but the comparison is unfair. The *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva is appreciated by people for reasons other than literary and for literary reasons as well. This work has more than forty commentaries from different parts of India; it has evoked inspiration in poets for its imitation; and a number of such imitations which are more than two dozens, is recorded; it is profusely quoted in later works and the Anthologies do not forget to mention Jayadeva. Such celebrity is enjoyed by the author of *Gītagovinda* for the novel form which he chose for his poem and set a new ideal before others to follow. In spite of the hesitation shown by some scholars,¹ we are required to accept that Jayadeva “practically created a new genre.” When once the new form was invented and the workmanship of *Gītagovinda* was appreciated everywhere, others came readily to follow its lead. Being a great religious work, a great poem on “Devotion to Viṣṇu”, it represented a devotional tendency of the Mediaeval India. The particular form and tune of the Padāvalīs caught the imagination of people and became a convenient vehicle of expressing the surging devotion. It is for these reasons that the *Gītagovinda* had never the dearth of imitations.

It is true that the literary imitations of the *Gītagovinda*—“the literary counterfeits” never became the current coins of poetry;² that their late and borrowed imagination attained but a limited popularity; that as poetry they could never stand equal to the famous *Gītagovinda*; still as followers of the devotional tendency idealized by Jayadeva, as sparks of the light enkindled by the author of the *Gītagovinda*, we should note with satisfaction as many imitations as may come across our way.

¹ Keith, *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 123.

² Dr. S. K. De, *A History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, vol. I, p. 306.

Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*, as the fountain-source of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism—the Caitanya School of Bhakti, takes up the theme of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. The imitations on the other hand adhere to the form but change the theme according to the particular inclination of the mind of the poet. Thus, there are some which have Rāma and Sītā or Hara and Pārvatī as their themes, while there are certain others that retain the old ideal one. *Gītarāghava* (by Prabhākara, by Rāmakavi, by Hariśaṅkara) and *Saṅgītarāghava* (by Cinnabommabhūpāla) or *Saṅgītaraghunandana* (by Viśvanātha) have apparently Rāma as the centre of devotion; *Gītagaṅgādhara* (by Kalyāṇa, by Rājaśekhara, by Candraśekhara Sarasvatī, by Nanjarāja); *Gītagiriśa* (by Ramabhadra), *Gītagaurīśa* or *Gītagaurīpati* (by Bhānudatta) or the works like *Gītamahānata*, *Gītagaṅgādhara* (by Vaiśamaṇi); *Gītaśaṅkara* (by Bhīṣmamiśra, by Anantanārāyaṇa, by Hīra) appear to have been devoted to Hara. *Gītagopīpati* (Kṛṣṇa-dutta), *Gītamādhava* (Revārāma), (also by Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī), *Gītagopala* (Caturbhujā), *Saṅgītadāmodara*, *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa*, *Saṅgītamakaranda*, *Gītasundara* etc. have it seems, Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu as their central theme. *Gītagaṅgāpati* looks like a solitary exception to the above three popular themes. All these are found mentioned in different MSS. catalogues.

There are three more: two of them—*Saṅgītacintāmaṇi* and *Gītamukunda* are simply mentioned by R. B. Hiralal as belonging to the collection of the Bhonsle Rājā Family of Nagpur,³ and the third—the *Saṅgītarāghava* by Gaṅgādhara does not seem to have been recorded at all. Aufrecht also mentions *Saṅgītacintāmaṇi* by Kamalalocana⁴ and the *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* by Kṛṣṇammachariar also refers to a *Saṅgītacintāmaṇi* but it is included in the works on music.

But the *Saṅgītacintāmaṇi* by Kamalalocana from Bhonsle

3 In the Introduction to the Edition of the *Saṅgītagaṅgādhara* by Nanjarāja, Belgaum 1936, the editor writes:—

“The present work, now brought to light, is the only lyric written in imitation of *Gītagovinda*, of which therefore, it bids to be a rival.” How curious?

4 Bombay Edition, 1891.

5 *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS in C.P. Nos. 6150-51—Saṅgītacintāmaṇi* and No. 1353—*Gītamukunda*.

6 *Cat.*, Pt. I. p. 685.

Rājā's collection,⁷ the same mentioned by R.B. Hiralal and Krisnamma-chariar, is a work not on Saṅgīta but is an imitation of the *Gītāgovinda*. This will be clear from the closing verses of the work :—

यद्यद्वृन्दावनभुवि नवं भक्तभावानुसारान्
राधाकृष्णाविह विहरतः स्पष्टमेवाष्टकाली (?)
तत्तत्सर्वं हृदि रमविदामेव वर्तति नित्यं
प्रेमश्रेणीचरणशरणस्सोऽस्तु मन्देहकृद्यः ॥३॥

सङ्गीतचिन्तामणिनाम्नि काव्ये
प्रीणाति हीनप्रभवेऽपि भव्यः ।

सिद्धे बुधानां मधुमत्तिकाभि-

र्माध्वीरमे बुद्धिरुदेति साध्वी ॥४॥

२ः कृष्णखड्गरायोऽभूद्भोविन्दकविभूपणात् ।

तन्नन्दनः प्रबन्धस्य कर्ता कमललोचनः ॥५॥ (f.8^a)

It is observed that the author takes up the sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in the Vṛndāvana as his theme and classifies these sports specified by the hours of the day—as निशान्तलीला (f.2^b), प्रातर्लीला (f.3^a) पूर्वाह्नलीला (f.3^b), अपराह्नलीला (f.5^a), सायाह्नलीला (f.6^a), प्रदोषलीला (f.7^a) and नक्तलीला (f.8^a). All these līlās or sports are described in the form of songs or Padāvalis in the same tunes as गुर्जरीरागेण (f.1^a), रामकलीरागेण (f.2^b)...रागेण (f.4^a) कामोदीरागेण (f.6^a) धनाश्रीरागेण (f.6^b) etc., the language too is modelled on the lines of the original. Also as in the *Gītāgovinda* the beginning is set up with a background, after every song some verses explanatory of the situation are added. But the work obviously lacks the melody, the diction, the rhythm and the emotional expression of the original.

The poet Kamalalocana who himself admits his *Saṅgīta-cintāmaṇi* as a low-born' work (ह्यानप्रभव) was avowedly a follower of the Caitanya School of devotion. He pays his homage to Caitanya in the second verse of his *Cintāmaṇi* and makes

7 *Saṅgītacintāmaṇi* size 11" x 6", folio 8, complete without date. This and other works of the Rājā's collection are now likely to be brought over to the Nagpur University MSS. Department

8 The work begins with--

निशान्ते श्रीवृन्दावनभुवि लमद्वल्लिशयने
शयानं गन्धर्व्याविरतया (?) नन्दतनयम् ।
तया वृन्दादेशादविधुरपदं गोकुलविधुं
विधुन्वानश्चञ्चुं शुकपतिरुपाश्लोक्यदिदम् ॥३॥ (f.1^a)

mystic reference to some 'Gāndharvī'. But his adherence to the Caitanya Sampradāya is more explicit in his *Gītamukunda* wherein he offers salutations to Gauracandra, and Caitanyacandra. The last verse of the 'Cintāmaṇi' tells us that Kamalalocana was the son of Kṛṣṇa Khadgarāya and the grandson of Govinda Kavibhūṣaṇa. This same verse also appears in the *Gītamukunda* (f.47"). The poet Kamalalocana was, with a greater probability, a Bengali Brahman brought over to Nagpur by Bhonsle Rājā from Bengal in one of his campaigns in that province. This conjecture may justify the presence of the works of Kamalalocana in Nagpur only and not elsewhere in India. This solitary lamp of Caitanya Bhakti burning in such a far off place from Bengal leads us to such a conjecture. Hence we may tentatively place our poet in the middle of the 18th century, or earlier.

"*Gītamukunda*"⁹ also called as *Gītāmṛta*¹⁰ by Kamalalocana is another work written in exact imitation of the *Gītagovinda*. This work is more ambitious than the *Saṅgītacintāmaṇi*. Though the poet keeps up his modesty in this work also—

क्वचिद्गुणः साहसमित्यवेत्य
 सत्यं प्रवर्ते हरिकीर्तिकान्ये ।
 आलोच्य शोच्यस्य ममोद्यमं यद्
 हास्यं सतां स्यात्परमः स लाभः ॥६ (f. 2")

he calls his *Gītamukunda* a Mahākāvya. In the introductory verses of the Kāvya, the poet unmistakably shows his devotion to Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa of the Caitanya School by offering salutations to Gauracandra (vs. 1), Caitanyacandra (vs. 2), Vakreśvara Guru (vs. 3), Rādhā (vs. 4), and the musical notes of the Divine Flute (vs. 5).

This Kāvya contains 14 cantos or sargas:

- (1) 'सङ्गतमङ्गलः' (f.3"), (2) 'वृन्दावनानन्दः' (f.6"), (3) 'दर्शनहर्षः' (f.11"),
- (4) 'संजातकुञ्जोत्सवः' (f.13"), (5) 'सानन्दकिशोरद्वन्द्वः' (f.16"), (6) 'चन्द्रोदयानन्दः' (f. 19"),
- (7) 'सोज्जागरनागरः' (f. 21"), (8) 'विप्रलब्धराधः' (f. 25"),
- (9) 'सातङ्गपङ्कजाक्षः' (f.28"), (10) 'बाधितमाधवः' (f.31"), (11) 'निर्माणभावः' (f.33"),
- (12) 'किशोरविहारमनोहरः' (f. 36"), (13) 'ललितमीलनलीलः' (f.39"),
- (14) 'मङ्गलानङ्गखेलनः' (f.42")

9 Size 12" x 6"; folio 47; date not given, no commentary. Script—Nāgaṭī, handwriting bold and legible

10 इति श्रीकमललोचनकविविचन्द्रविरचितं गोतामृतं संपूर्णम् (f. 47")

After the fourteenth canto, the poet again takes up his favourite theme of describing the love sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa specified by the hours of the day such as निशान्तकालकेलि (l. 43^a) प्रातःकालकेनि (l. 43^b) etc.... Throughout the poem either in the cantos or in the Līlās, the number of Padāvalīs varies but every time it is above three. In each canto and in every Padāvalī, imitation of *Gītāgovindā* is obvious, and as we read through the work we become almost familiar with some such regularly occurring phrase as.—

- कविभूषणसुतमंभवभणितम्.....
 or कविभूषणसुतनन्दनभणितम्.....
 or कमलविलोचनविरचित.....
 or कमलनयनधरणीसुतभणितम्.....

As in the original, the melody and tune i. e. the Rāga and the Tala of every song are mentioned in the beginning of every Padāvalī. — Gurjara, Vasanta, Asāvārī, Rāmakarī, Gadakarī, Dhanāśrī, Mālava, Deśī, Varādī etc. are some of the names of the Rāgas employed by Kamalalocana in his *Gītāmukunda*. A specimen of the poetry of this poet may not be out of place here : —

गुर्जरीरागेण गीयते ।
 मस्तकविलसदखण्डशिखण्डकमण्डलमण्डितकेशम् ।
 मदनशतार्बुदगर्वदलनकरविरचितनटवरवेशम् ॥१॥
 राधे ! भज ब्रजराजकुमारम् । वरमुरलीकरमुरुतरहारम् ॥ ध्रु०
 गञ्जितकञ्जविलोचनमञ्जुलगतितजितखञ्जनपुञ्जम् ।
 मितकरसुन्दरहसितमधुररसदधदधिगतकुञ्जम् ॥२॥
 कलधौतामललेललितमलकावलिकवलितभावम् ।
 गण्डलमितमणिकुण्डलमण्डलमिद्धितरङ्गविशालम् ॥३॥
 (l. 6^a)

Such songs are placed in the mouths of three interlocutors—Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā and Viśākhā, the last serving as a female companion of the heroine. Thus here also the actors are same, the settings and situations are similar, the process—estrangement, sorrow, longing, jealousy, intercession, propitiation and union—is also the same. Perhaps, the *Gītāmukunda* of Kamalalocana, like the *Gītāgovindā* of Jayadeva was composed to illustrate the rules of the refined theology of the Rasaśāstra of Rūpagosvāmin.

We now proceed to the third imitation of the *Gītāgovinda* from Nagpur. Though the *Saṅgītarāghava*¹¹ by Gaṅgādhara is not from the collection of Bhonsle Rājās of Nagpur yet it was written for a Bhonsle Rājā. This *Saṅgītarāghava* was composed in Śaka 1736—

षडष्टसप्तैकामिते शालिवाहशकेऽमले ।

गङ्गाधरः कविश्चक्रे ग्रन्थं सङ्गतिराघवम् ॥

(Post-colophon)

It is one among the eighteen works of the versatile but unknown Gaṅgādhara Kavi of Nagpur. His works have recently been traced for the Nagpur University Manuscripts Department.

In the title of the work we have a covert reference to the Raghūjī III of Nagpur and the work was composed when Jānojī Bhonsle came to the throne, in A.D. 1853 after Raghūjī III. As a matter of fact *Saṅgītarāghava* was composed at the expressed desire of the young King Jānojī:—

श्रीभोसलकुलमणिना ज्ञाननृपेणार्थितः प्रभुप्रोत्यै ।

सङ्गतिराघवं कविगङ्गाधर उच्चकार सम्मुदितः ॥१४॥ (f. 24")

and to him it is dedicated for we have at the end of each canto—“श्रीभोसलकुलाभिनवोत्तममणिश्रीज्ञानाख्यनृपोद्योचित.....and lastly the poet expresses a benediction for long life of the king and his patron—

भोसलकुलजलनिधितः समुदित इह कीर्तिकिरणवृन्दमिदं ।

विस्तारयन्समन्तात् ज्ञाननृपेन्दुः शरच्छतं जीयात् ॥३॥ (f. 2")

This means that the poet Gaṅgādhara who was a contemporary of Raghūjī III, was a person advanced in years at the accession of Jānojī and wrote this work to entertain the new young king (अभिनवोत्तममणि). From other works of the poet we know that Gaṅgādhara was the son of Viṭṭhala and Rukmiṇī, the author of 18 works,¹² who flourished in Nagpur from about A. D. 1800 to 1865.

11 Nagpur University MSS. Acc No. 1956 Size 8" x 4"; folio 24; paper blue.

12 Eighteen works of Gaṅgādhara. —

1. अपराधक्षमापनस्तोत्र, 2. आनन्दलहरी टीका, 3. ऋषीरनीटका नाटिका, 4. कालनिर्णय, 5. गणेशलीलाकाव्य, 6. गङ्गाष्टपदी, 7. गुरुतत्त्वविचार, 8. चित्रमञ्जूषा, 9. जैमिनी अश्वमेध, 10. प्रसन्नमाधवकाव्य, 11. भामिनीविलासटिप्पणी, 12. रतिकुतूहल, 13. रसकल्लोल, 14. रामप्रमोदकाव्य, 15. विलासगुच्छकाव्य, 16. वृत्तचन्द्रिका, 17. सङ्गीतराघव, 18. हरिलीलामृतकाव्यः ।

The *Saṅgītarāghava* aspires to abridge the story of *Ramayana* within the limits of six cantos.¹³ Having praised Rāma in verses 1 and 2 the King Jñāna, the poet at once begins the theme. At the conclusion of every canto we have : —

श्रीभोसलकुलाभिनवोत्तममणिश्रंज्ञानाख्यनृपोद्योचित-श्रीरुक्मिणीपतिमृरसनुगङ्गाधरकीव-
कृतौ श्रीसङ्गीतराघवाख्ये ग्रन्थे प्रमुदितराघवो नाम प्रथमः सर्गः । बालकागडीयकथानकर्मदम् ।
The poet calls his Padāvalīs as Aṣṭapadis which are formally introduced by a verse or two and are in usual Mālava and other Rāgas. Here is a typical copy of Jayadeva's style from the *Saṅgītarāghava*.

राघव ! धृतमनुजशरीर ! जय जय राम हरे ॥ ध्रु ॥

तनयसुवंशकृते धृतवानवतारं ।

विहितपवित्चरित्रमुदारम् ॥१॥

रविकुलतोयनिधौ धृतवानमि देहं ।

दशरथभूपजनि त्वमदाहम् ॥२॥

कुवलयदुःखहतां श्रुतिसंख्यशरीरं ।

कलयमि कोमलमद्गुणधारम् ॥३॥

रमयसि विश्वमिदं स्वगुणैर्गुणमिन्धो ।

पतितजनाद्भूतसुन्दरवन्धो ॥४॥

दशमुखभुङ्क्ष्यमहो स्वशरैर्हृतवांस्त्वं ।

दनुजकुलं प्रथयन्निजतत्त्वम् ॥५॥

V. W. KARAMBELKAR

13 Cantos are

- (1) प्रमुदितराघव (f.7") बालकागडः, (2) प्रवामिराघव (f.10') अयाःयाकागडः,
(3) विरहिराघव (f.13") अरगयकागडः, (4) उद्युक्तराघव (f.17") किष्किन्धकागडः,
(5) उद्युक्तराघव (f.20") सुन्दरकागडः, (6) सानन्दराघव (f.24) युद्धकागडः ।

Surgery and Medicine in the days of Gautama

While looking at the development of Surgery and Medicine in the days of Gautama, one is astonished at the height to which the people of those days had reached in medical science. Although our sources are just scriptures of a certain religion and not the treatise on the subject, yet we gather a fair knowledge of their achievement in this sphere.

In general the constituents of the body were believed to be the hair of the head (*kesa*), hair of the body (*loma*), nail (*nakha*), skin (*taco*), teeth (*danta*), flesh (*mamsa*), nerves (*nahārū*), bones (*aṭṭhi*), marrow (*aṭṭhimiñja*), kidneys (*vakka*), heart (*hadaya*), liver (*yakana*), pleura (*kilomaka*), spleen (*pibaka*), lungs (*papphāsa*), intestines (*anta*), bowels (*antagūṇa*), stomach (*udariya*), faeces (*karīsa*), bile (*pitta*), phlegm (*semha*), pus (*pubbo*), blood (*lobita*), sweat (*sedo*), fat (*medo*), tears (*assu*), serum (*vasā*), spittle (*khelo*), mucus, nose-mucus (*singhanika*), synovial fluid (*lasikā*) and urine (*muttam*)¹.

It was believed that the first four stages in the formation of the foetus were the birth of the *kalala*, from which grew *abbuda*, then *pesi*, and then *ghana*. In *ghana* the hair appeared, the body and the nails and from whatever food the mother took, the child in the womb was nourished and grew.²

While dissecting the body, they cut the skin (*cbavi*), under skin (*camma*), flesh (*mamsa*), tendons (*nahāru*) and then bones (*aṭṭhi*) and marrow (*aṭṭhimiñjam*)³.

It appears that the various bones of the body had been labelled, throughout one such name, that of the collar bone (*akkaka*) has occurred in the canon⁴.

As regards the surgical knowledge so much praised of in the *Āyurveda*, we have the mention of a few achievements of a certain physician Jīvaka Komārabhacca who was the court physician of King Bimbisāra and attended on Gautama as well. Jīvaka learned the science of surgery and medicine at the famous University of Takṣaśilā. He went all the way from Rājagṛha to the place and spent

1 *Digha Nikāya*, ii. 293. *Samyutta* I, iv. 111. *Aṅguttara*, v. 109.

2 *S.*, i. 206.

3 *S.*, ii. 238.

4 *Vimaya*, iv. 213.

seven long years at the feet of his master," who is believed to be Ātreya⁵.

Even at the end of these seven years he was constrained to say, 'Master, this science is unlimited. Let me go ahead', and he was allowed to go and start his practice. Once he performed an operation of the intestines—an operation which in the modern surgical terminology would be called the *intussusception*. Even today it is believed that the disease is caused by children's turning a summersault, which causes an entanglement of the intestines. Jivaka was called upon to operate the son of an important *Setthi* of King Bimbisāra, who because of turning summersaults got this disease termed as (*antaganthābādha*). Jivaka cut open the belly and after disentangling the intestines stitched the skin and applied a salve on the wound for its quick healing⁷.

On another occasion another interesting case was brought to him. A person was said to be suffering from some disease in his head and he had been declared to be incurable, by other competent doctors. He examined the patient and asked him if he was prepared to keep lying in bed for seven weeks. The patient was so much troubled that he was prepared to keep lying in bed for seven months. Moreover he tied the patient to the bed in order to keep the head in position. And then he cut through the skin of his head, drew apart the flesh and pulled out two worms from there which he explained would have caused his death very soon. He then closed the wounds, stitched them and applied a salve. He made the patient lie in his bed for twenty-one days at the end of which he became all right⁸.

The story of Jivaka's surgery and practice of medicine is a very fine commentary on the civil service rules and private practice of the medical men in the service of the state. Jivaka Komārabhacca after his appointment as a royal physician to King Bimbisāra, was in all cases approached through Bimbisāra. The king was prevailed upon by the offices of the patient or his personal considerations and he asked Jivaka to treat them. Even another independent sovereign king Pradyota of Ujjani sent for him through Bimbisara.

5 *Vinaya Pitaka*, i. 270.

6 Rockhill, *Life of Gautama*, ed (1907), p 65.

7 *Vin.*, i. 275-76.

8 *Vin.*, i. 27

Of course he extracted his fees for his treatment and sometimes his fees were very large—e.g. in the intestinal operation he exacted sixteen thousand *kahāpanas* but certainly the people were rich enough to pay it. In another case he asked the patient to pay a hundred thousand *kahāpanas* to him and another hundred thousand to the King whose employee he was". Of course he not only served Gautama honorarily but also gave him various gifts.

Extracting foreign matter especially arrow-heads etc. from the body was also done by the surgeons. In fact, in those days of arrow-fighting, the surgeon (*sallakatta*)¹⁰ had got his very name from the arrow (*salla*). After cutting through the external wound and after probing for the barb, they extracted the barb and then dressed the external wound with medicated embers¹¹.

Boils and other skin eruptions were incised and cut with the help of a lancet (*lona-akkharika*)¹², which probably took its name from the use of a sharp edged piece of salt, which might have been used once for this very purpose. Salves were applied to wounds, compresses (*kahalika*) and fine bandages were used to tie them up.¹³

There were the measures to prevent illness. It was believed that taking measured food was a very important factor in keeping away old age and remaining fit. King Prasenajit of Kosala was so much pleased with this tip to health that he asked his son Prince Suddassana to remember it and recite it to him daily at dinner and arranged to give him a hundred *kahāpanas* daily for doing it. The effect of this tip was soon noticed by the king¹⁴.

Digestion was believed to be related to internal heat. If it was neither too hot, nor too cold, one could have good digestion¹⁵. Even clyster was used sometimes¹⁶.

Ordinary fever was curable by edible stalks of the lotuses¹⁷.

Some sort of cold season sickness (*sāradikena abādhena*)¹⁸ resulted

9 *Vm.* i. 275.

10 *Majjhima Nikāya*, ii. 216; i. 429.

11 *Sutta Nipāta*, 562; *M.* ii. 216.

12 *Vm.* i. 206.

13 *Ibid.*, 205.

14 *S.* i. 81.

15 *D.* ii. 177.

16 *Vm.* i. 216.

17 *Vm.* i. 214.

18 *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 41 translates it 'hot season sickness' on the basis of Buddhaghosa who says *Pittabādhena*.

in vomiting the eaten stuff only, and the people became lean and thin¹⁹.

The wind in intestines was a source of constant trouble. But it seems that it had no single cure. Molasses with hot water combined with a hot water fomentation or bath was once found to be a good remedy²⁰. Even salt with sour gruel was found to be good²¹.

On another occasion simple oil or decoction of oil and strong drink were found to be useful²². *Takatulāyavāgu* or a gruel containing the three pungents (*kaṭu*) which are explained to be ginger and two kinds of peppers, was found to be very useful²³. Garlic (*lasuna*)²⁴ cured Sariputta once²⁵.

For dysentery (*lobitapakkhando*) a mixture of curds, honey, ghee and molasses (*phāṇita*) was a sure remedy²⁶.

Fistula was cured by using a lancet²⁷. On another occasion Jivaka cured it by using a salve²⁸.

Sweating was a remedy suggested for rheumatism. This sweating could be brought on by use of herb which had that effect. A great steam-bath, in which a pit was filled with burning charcoal, covered with a coating of earth and sand and after spreading certain leaves on it, the patient with his limbs rubbed with oil was asked to lie on it and turn over it until the whole body was steamed,—was also recommended. The use of hemp-water and hot baths in water in which medicinal herbs had been steeped was also used for the same effect²⁹.

Letting of blood, even with a horn,³⁰ for a disease named *pabbavāta*³¹ was believed to have a good effect³².

Rotted cow's urine compounded with various medicaments, though having a bitter taste, was good for jaundice (*pāṇduroga*).³³ Jivaka,

19 *Vim*, i. 199.

21 *Vim*, i. 210.

23 *Vim*, i. 210 and *Vimaya Texts*, ii 68nn.

24 Rhys Davids, 'opinions.'

25 *Vim*, ii. 140.

27 *Vim*, i. 215.

29 *Vim*, i. 205.

31 Rhys Davids translates it as 'intermittent ague' while Rāhula Sankṛtyāyana renders it as 'rheumatism' *Vimaya* (Hindi) 221. A prominent Aśvayāyana told me that the latter rendering was correct.

32 *Vim*, i. 205.

20 *S*, i. 175

22 *Vim*, i. 205

26 *M*, i. 316-17

28 *Vim*, i. 275

30 It is done even today

33 *Vim*, i. 206, 276.

Komārabhacca, however, administered ghee boiled with various drugs for the same purpose³⁴.

For eye trouble black collyrium, *rasa* ointment,³⁵ *sota* ointment, *geruka* and *kapalla* were used. These ointments could be perfumed with sandal wood, *tagara* (*tabernaemontana coronaria*) black *anusāri kālīya* and *bhadda muttaka*, and could be applied with ointment sticks³⁷. Medicinal oils³⁶ and ointments (*paccañjanam*)³⁸ too were used for the eyes.

Ear troubles too were soothed by oil,³⁹ (*Kaṇṇatela*).

Headaches were curable by a massage on the head, or by taking up medicine through the nose, or by sniffing up the aroma from a wick on which the drugs were spread.⁴¹ Jīvaka cured a disease of the head by administering drugs with ghee through the nose.⁴²

Superfluity of humours (*abhisannakāya*) in the body was cured by a purgative⁴³.

Snake bite was cured by medicines. Medicines restrained the poison of the snake from spreading in the body⁴⁴. Filths—dung, urine, ashes and clays—too were given to the patient⁴⁵, may be for emetic purposes. We also hear of a disease known as ‘*ahivātakaroga*’ snake blast or snake wind sickness⁴⁶, which Spence Hardy explains as a disease caused by a pestilential blast, mixed with the breath of poisonous serpents, that come upon a dwelling when the flies first die, then the lizards and other reptiles, afterwards cats, dogs, goats and cattle, and last of all human beings. There is no escape from it but by bursting through the wall; to depart through the door would be certain death.⁴⁷

About skin disease we have itch, boils, a discharge, scabs, body-smelling etc. which were cured by a *cunnam* (powder), dry dung, clay and colouring matter which could be powdered and sifted through

34 *Vin.* i. 276-77.

35 Bohtlingk and Roth: say it is made with vitriol.

36 Gum Benjamin is a thick juice flowing from cuts in the bark of a tree. *Gradual Sayings*, v. 17.

37 *Vin.*, i. 203.

38 *D.*, i. 12.

39 *M.*, i. 511

40 *D.*, i. 12.

41 *Vin.*, i. 204; cf. *D.*, i. 12.

42 *Vin.*, i. 271.

43 *Vin.*, i. 206.

44 *Sutta Nipāta*, i.

45 *Vin.*, i. 206.

46 *Vin.*, i. 78.

47 *Eastern Monachism*, 85n.

a sieve⁴⁸. Boils could be incised, and then applied with decoctions of astringent herbs, sesamum salve, or sprinkled with mustard powder (*sāsapakuṭṭena*)⁴⁹. For *chauri-dosābādho* perfume was used⁵⁰.

In poisoning cases a decoction of dung, was used as an emetic⁵¹.

Though we do not know what medicaments were used as purgatives, but we hear of purgatives being administered⁵². Jivaka administered a purgative to Gautama in three handful of lotuses which when just smelt only were to cause him ten motions each⁵³. Meat broth was considered good for one who had taken purgatives⁵⁴.

In addition to all this we have the mention of a number of diseases. We hear of *kāsa* (cough), *sāsa* (asthma), *pinasa* (catarrh or cold in the head), *dāha* (fever), *jaṭa* (decrepitude), *knucchiroga* (belly-ache), *mucchā* (swooning), *pakkhandika* (dysentery), the disease from which Gautama died⁵⁵, *sūla* (gripping), *visūcika* (cholera), *kuṭṭham* (leprosy), *gaṇḍa*⁵⁶ (imposthume or boils), *kilasa*⁵⁷ (a cutaneous disease, perhaps leprosy or eczema), *sosa*⁵⁸ (drying up or consumption), *apamāra*⁵⁹ (epilepsy), *daddu* (skin disease), *kandu* (itch), *kacchu*⁶⁰ (scab), *rakhasā* (tetter), *vitacchikā* (scabies), *lobitapittam* (bile in the blood), *madhumicha* (diabetes), *aṃsā* (piles), *pilaka* (ulcers), *bhagaṇḍala* (fistula)⁶¹.

At one occasion leprosy, dry leprosy, consumption and fits were prevailing among the people of Magadha⁶², although their treatments are not mentioned at all.

In addition to these diseases we come across a number of medicinal roots, salts, gums, fruits and leaves. The most commonly used of the roots were turmeric, ginger, orris root, white orris root, *ativisa*, black bellebore, *usira* root, *bhadda nuttaka*. These were added to food to impart appetising flavour⁶³.

48 *Vm.*, i. 202

49 *Ibid.*, 206.

50 *D.*, i. ET, *A.*, v. 218, *Vm.*, i. 206.

51 *Vm.*, i. 279.

52 *D.*, ii. 128.

53 *A.*, iii. 310; iv. 289, v. 110; *Vm.*, ii. 271.

54 *Vm.*, i. 71.

55 *Vm.*, i. 202, 206, *S.* iv. 64, ii. 168.

56 *Vm.*, 216, 272; *A.*, v. 110.

57 *Vm.*, i. 71.

49 *Ibid.* 205.

51 *Ibid.*, 206

54 *Ibid.*, 217.

55 *A.*, iv. 386

59 *Ibid.*, 93

63 *Ibid.*, 201.

Sea-salt, black salt, rock-salt, kitchen salt and red salts were used for medicinal purposes⁶⁴. Rock-salt was probably obtainable in Sindh, as it was named Saindhava salt.

Of gums we hear of *huṅgu*, *biṅgu* lac, *śipātikā*, *taka*, *taka patti*, *taka panni*, and *sajjulasa* as being used⁶⁵.

Medicinal fruits mentioned are, *vilaṅga*, *pippala*, *marica* (peppers), the *haritaka* (yellow myrobalan), *vibhitaka* (beleric myrobalan) and *āmalaka* (embelic myrobalan) and the *goṭha*⁶⁶. Of these the yellow, beleric and embelic myrobalans must have constituted the *triphala* so much talked of in the Ayurvedic system of medicine⁶⁷.

The leaves of *nimba* (mango), *kuṭaja*, *patola*, *tulasi* and *kappāsika* (cotton) were regarded as useful⁶⁸.

Decoctions of astringent things such as *nimba*, *kuṭaja*, *pukkava*, *nattamala* etc. were used⁶⁹. The fats of bears, fish, alligators, swine and asses, partaken with oil were considered to be good⁷⁰. Clarified butter (*acchakañjikan*), natural juices (*akatayūsam*) and artificial juices (*kaṭākatan*) were needed sometimes⁷¹.

Besides these there were some supernatural diseases. *Gharadinnaka* was a disease arising from a philter, which when given brings another into one's power. This suffering from the results of sorcery was cured by drinking a decoction of the soil turned by the plough (*sītālolim*). *Duṭṭhagahanika*—possession of person by spirits—translated by Prof. Rhys Davids as 'constipation'⁷² was cured by a decoction of the ashes of burnt rice (*āmīsakhāram*)⁷³.

Charms were used to bring about diseases and cure them⁷⁴. A charm was used for avoiding the snakes⁷⁵.

64 *Vin.*, i. 202.

65 *Ibid.*, 201-02.

66 *A.*, ii 87; v. 110, *S.N.*, 230.

67 *Vin.*, i. 91, 322.

68 *Ibid.*, 201.

69 *Caraka*, *Suśruta*, *Bhāvaprakāśa*, *Niṅgaṅṭhu* etc.

70 *Vin.*, i. 201.

71 *Ibid.*

72 *Ibid.*, 200.

73 *Ibid.*, 206.

74 *Vimaya Texts*, ii. 60.

75 *Vin.*, i. 206.

76 *D.*, i. 11.

77 *Vin.*, ii. 109-110.

We hear of doctors specialised in the children's diseases,⁷⁸ and it is suggested that Jivaka Komārabhacca was really 'Jivaka expert in *kumārabhritya* science' of the treatment of the children.⁷⁹

In addition, we hear of some female diseases and deformities although they are unexplained. Thus some of them were *animitta*, *nimittamattā*, *alobitā*, *dhruvalohitā*, *dhruvacolā*, *paggharanti*, *sikharanti*, *itthipiṇḍika*, *vepurisika*, *sambhinna*, *ubhatovyañjānā* as well. Most of them had reference to the womb in its nearabouts⁸⁰.

A special star humor as *osadhitāraka* probably Venus was known to have a healing effect on the patients.

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78 *D.*, i. 12.

79 *Vin. Texts*, ii 174nn and *Dial of Bud.*, i. 65nn

80 *Vin.*, ii. 271.

81 *A.*, v. 62.

Aryāvarta

Ethnically Āryāvarta meant the land of the Aryans and so the geographical boundaries of Āryāvarta changed with the expansion of Aryan settlements and with the accession of new countries, but the term Āryāvarta had a cultural significance as well, specially when used to denote the sphere of Aryan influence.

Thus it will be noticed that in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta a distinction is made between the princes of Āryāvarta who were violently up-rooted and the princes of the border states (pratyanta-nṛpati) who submitted to the emperor 'by giving all kinds of taxes, obeying his orders' etc. The distinction indicated in the political position of Āryāvarta and Pratyanta seems to have been a reflection of the more fundamental differences existing between the Aryan world and the rest. The presumption is strengthened by the consideration that Candravarman, 'a vaiṣṇava by persuasion' was one of the princes of Āryāvarta who was exterminated by Samudragupta. It has been plausibly suggested that the prince in question was the founder of the Candravarman-koṭa of Koṭālipāḍā in the Faridpur district, and it is also not difficult to regard as certain the proposed identification of Candravarman with Mahārājā Candravarman, Lord of Puṣkaraṇa (Bankura dt.) of the Susunia (12 miles north-west of Bankura) inscription which is written in the character of the 4th cent. A.D.² This suggests the inference that West Bengal as far as the Faridpur district over which Candravarman ruled was Brahmanised perhaps long before 350 A.D.³, and consequently we can assume further, as seems very likely, that in the 4th century A.D. the eastern limit of Āryāvarta was formed by the main stream of the old Brahmaputra beyond which lay the Pratyanta rājyas of Samatāṭa and Davāka, as indeed they were, being the same as nearly the whole of East Bengal and Dabokā in Nowgong of Assam respectively. That Pratyanta comprehended

1 *CI.*, vol. III, p. 12. For other epigraphic references to Āryāvarta see *El.*, vol. I, p. 93; XIII, pp. 17-27; XVIII, p. 51, vs. 28-35.

2 *Dacca University History of Bengal*, (vol. I) ed. by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, p. 45, 48.

3 Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in *ABORI*, XII, p. 112.

the whole of Assam and the easternmost districts of Bengal is hinted in a passage of the *Divyāvadāna*⁴, which runs thus: *Puṇḍavardhanam nāma nagaram tasya pūrveṇa Puṇḍakakṣo nāmo parvataḥ tataḥ pareṇa Pratyantaḥ*. Puṇḍakakṣo hills are the same as the hills of Pāṇḍu station near Kāmākhyā in Assam⁵. That being so, Pratyanta seems to have been the well-known name of north-eastern India and as such in a geographical sense there might have existed at least in the 4th century A.D. a sharp line of distinction between Āryāvarta and Pratyanta.

The geographical position apart, Pratyanta is treated altogether on a different footing from Āryāvarta in socio-cultural matters in a class of texts belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era. Thus Pratyanta is described as a Mleccha country (Pratyanta-Mleccha deśaḥ) in *Amarakoṣa*⁶ which was a work of the fifth century A.D. The view is endorsed by Kṣīrasvāmin who adds: *S (Bh?) utādideśaḥ(?) pratyantaḥ*⁷, and is also repeated by Hemacandra in the 12th century in the following line: *Pratigatyōntam Bhoṭādideśaḥ Pratyantaḥ*⁸. As Pratyanta was the general designation of Mleccha deśaḥ and Bhoṭādideśaḥ, it will be interesting to note that these countries have been described as a land of irreligious people who did not follow Vedic injunctions. The position is clarified in the following definition which runs thus:—

*Caturvarṇyavyavasthānaṁ yasmin deśe na vidyate
sa mleccha-deśo viṇeya Āryāvartastataḥ paraḥ*⁹

Now who were these Mlecchas who lived in the Pratyanta country? Kṣīrasvāmin, the commentator of *Amarakoṣa*, explains that the people of Kāmarūpa lived in the Pratyanta country who according to the *Kālikā Purāṇa* were no other than the powerful cruel and ignorant Kirātas.¹⁰ In the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, the Kirātas are represented as living in the eastern extremity of Bhāratavarṣa.¹¹ This makes it highly

4 Cowell's edn., p. 21-22; *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 83 ff.

5 The merit of the place is described in the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (Ch. 62-74 ff.).

6 Oka's edn., *Bhūmivarga*, 7.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

8 *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*, Bhavnagar edn., p. 380.

9 Quoted in *Smṛti-candrikā*, Saṃskāra Kānda, p. 18 (Government Oriental Library Series, *Bibliotheca Sanskritā*, No. 43, Mysore, 1914, edn. by L. Srinivasacarya). For other views quoted from authoritative texts, see p. 19 ff.

10 Ch. 38, 123.

11 45, 72 ff. cf. also *Matsya*, 114, 5 ff.

probable that the Kirātas in ancient times lived in the country round Tippera,¹² that is to say Samatāta, one of the eastern Pratyanta rājyas, as well as in the wider region including portions of Assam which were in a geographical position the same as the Kirrhadia of Ptolemy. The people of the eastern frontier of India in general and that of Kāmarūpa in particular, being represented as Kirātas, they are necessarily dubbed as Mlecchas: a statement in Sarbānanda's Commentary (*Tikāsarvasya*) which corroborates this view reads as follows:—*Bhāratavarasasya antadeśa śiṣṭācārarahitaḥ Kāmarūpādi Mlecchadeśaḥ.*¹³ This is supported by another equally categorical statement made in the late Buddhist chronicle the *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa: Pratyanta-vāsinyo Mleccha taskara jīvinah.*¹⁴ Other literary evidences bearing upon the non-Aryan character of the people as in the *Mahābhārata* which refers to Bhagadatta, king of Prāgjyotisa, as a leader of the barbarian hordes¹⁵ are likewise confirmed by epigraphic records. Bhāskaravarman (7th century), king of Kāmarūpa, a contemporary of Harṣavardhana is stated to have been descended from Narakāsura¹⁶ and another king Śālastambha is described as the Lord of the Mlecchas.¹⁷

The Pratyanta country being what it is, the Ādipurāṇa naturally enough gives the injunction that the dvijas must not over-step the limits of Āryāvarta which in the east extended up to the Karatoyā.¹⁸ This is perfectly in agreement with other traditions which are almost unanimous in representing Āryāvarta as a socio-religious entity where 'Varṇāśrama vyavasthā' was obtaining and Pratyanta as 'Śiṣṭācārarahitaḥ'. All these raise a strong presumption that the two were altogether two different units in a geographical and cultural sense alike and if, as has been shown, the political limits of Āryāvarta in Samudragupta's time extended in the east up to the Brahmaputra river it only coincided with the sphere of Aryan influence in that direction and reflected the cultural and sacerdotal sense governing the attitude of Āryāvarta towards Pratyanta.

12 B. C. Sen, *Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 35.

13 *Amarakoṣa*, Ganapati Sastri edn., 1915, pt. II, p. 9.

14 Ed. by Ganapati Sastri (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series), p. 274, vs. 11 b.

15 Vs. 19, 15.

16 *El.*, XII, 73 ff.

17 *JASB.*, vol. IX, pt. I, p. 767; vol. LXVII, pt. I, pp. 123 & 289; vol. LXVII, pt. II, p. 100.

18 *Smṛti-candrikā*, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

The sacerdotal conception of Āryāvarta cannot be lost sight of as it is constantly emphasized in the Dharma literature. Yājñavalkya's view regarding the extent of the country suitable for religious life is also endorsed by Vaśiṣṭha who says: *yāvat kṛṣṇa mṛgo vicinati*.¹⁹ Manu after setting forth the geographical limits of Āryāvarta adds that 'the land where the black antelope finds its natural habitat' is called *yājñīya deśa*.²⁰ These statements are based on an ancient piece of tradition contained in the *Brāhmaṇa* of the Bhāllavins and is also quoted by Vaśiṣṭha²¹ and Baudhayana²² in their Dharma-sūtras which runs thus: "In the west the boundary river (the Sindhu), in the east the region where the Sun rises—as far as the black antelopes wonder..." The significance of the black buck is also explained in a passage of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*. *Brāhmaṇa etad rūpam yat kṛṣṇājīnam*.²³ In similar other texts Āryāvarta is called Dharmadeśa where life is regulated by the traditional rules of caste and āśrama.²⁴

But these features of Āryāvarta are essentially of a nature so vague that no definite conclusion can be made regarding the limits of the sacred land from these isolated references. Mr. H. C. Chakladar, however, sets much store on these notices and thinks that the land of the Āryas was co-extensive with the range of the 'highly valued black antelope',²⁵ and inasmuch as the grazing land of the black buck extended as far as Assam farthest east; the Aryans consequently dwelt there at the time of the *Brāhmaṇa* work of the Bhāllavins. It is difficult to take this conclusion seriously as these vague and somewhat obscure references are not sufficiently convincing. The eastern frontier lacked fixation, the passage suggests that the Aryans had proceeded as far as the Kṛṣṇasāra roamed even up to the region where the Sun rises. The point where the Sun rises was practically a matter of guess and varied according to the geographical outlook of the writer which was conditioned essentially by the area of the country explored not obviously done to a very remarkable extent at

19 *Ibid*, p. 19.

20 II, 23. *Kṛṣṇasāraṣṭu carati mṛgo yatra svabhāvataḥ
sa jñeyo yajñīya deśo mleccha deśastataḥ parah*

(SBI XXV, p. 33.)

21 I, 13-15 (SBE, XIV, p. 147).

22 I, 2, 12 (SBI, XIV, p. 147)

23 V, 4, 4.

24 *Smṛti-candrikā*, op cit, pp. 18-19.

25 *IHQ*, IV, 86 ff.

that early period, and just as Dakṣiṇāpadā of the *Ṛgveda* was not the same as the Dakṣiṇāpatha of a later age; the eastern boundary of Aryandom in the age of the Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāllavins formed by the region of the rising Sun only referred to the easternmost country of the known world which in the time represented by the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* was presumably Videha as the story of Māthava's infiltration into the dark east with the aid of the Fire-God indicates,²⁶ or possibly Aṅga farther east, which might have been Aryanised in the time of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*,²⁷ but in all probability not the region lying to the east and south of Aṅga; as the Vaiṅgas, Vagadhas (Magadhas?) and Cerapādas who lived there were detested as transgressors to the Vedic faith.²⁸ These considerations militate against the geographical interpretation given to the tradition of the Bhāllavins.

Indeed, Āryāvarta was synonymous with Aryan culture and civilisation, it being the land of the Śiṣṭas, i.e., men of pure birth and gentle bearing. The two ancient law-givers Vaśiṣṭha and Baudhāyana who are the chief exponents of this school give emphasis on the meaning of the word Ārya in their *Dharma-sūtras*, in order to bring out the cultural significance of the term Āryāvarta. Thus Baudhāyana says that Śiṣṭas are those who are free from envy and pride and are devoted to the study of the *Vedas*.²⁹ He further asserts the supreme need of following the rules of life of a Śiṣṭa,³⁰ and then proceeds to give in clear outline, as if to emphasise the distinctiveness, the boundary of Āryāvarta, where the Śiṣṭas lived or were ordained to live in the following words:—*Prāgadarśanāt pratyak Kālakavanād dakṣiṇena Himavantam udak pāriyatram etad Āryavartam*.³¹ Next he quotes an alternative definition of Āryāvarta evidently current in still more ancient times

26 *Sat Brā*, I. 4. 1. 10. 14-17 *SBL*, XII, Intro. p. xli ff., p. 104 ff. Oldenburg, *Buddha*, pp. 398-99, Pargiter, *IASB*, 1897, p. 87. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII. 8. 1. 5, *SBL*, XLIV, pp. 923-24) also refers to the Prācyas as Asūtas. The *Mahābhārata* has a similar statement: Prācyādāsā (VIII. 45. 28). The authors of the *Vedic Index* write that it is very probable that the East was less Aryan than the West (*Vedic Index*, I, p. 154, II, pp. 117-18). For the non-Aryan character of the origin of the people of Bengal see *History of Bengal*, *op cit.*, pp. 36 ff., B. C. Sen, *op cit.*, pp. 79 ff.

27 VIII, 22.

29 I. 1. 5-6 (*SBL*, XIV, pp. 143-44).

31 I. 1. 25.

28 *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II. 1.

30 I. 2. 9-10 (*Ibid.*, p. 147).

which limited it to the country between the (rivers) Jamuna and Ganges (to be Āryāvarta).³² Finally he refers to the Bhallavi gāthā already noticed. Much in the same way Vasiṣṭha after adverting to the need of taking recourse to the practice of the Śiṣṭas (*Śiṣṭācārah pramāṇam*) in all matters about Dharma sets forth the boundaries of Āryāvarta as given in the *Baudhayana Sutra*.³³ The two other alternative definitions of Āryāvarta are also given in the same order.³⁴ Similarly Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* explains the meaning of Śiṣṭa in order to draw attention to the cultural basis of Āryāvarta³⁵ and after stating that correct conduct is found in Āryāvarta only puts its boundaries as follows. '*Pragadarsat pratyak kalakacandanadaksīnena Himavantānuttarena pariyatram*'.³⁶

So according to all these authors the term Āryāvarta was employed to denote the sphere of Aryan influence; the geographical boundaries of the country only indicated the limits of the country Aryanised which consequently extended according as the Aryan world expanded. But this idea that Āryāvarta was essentially a land of the Śiṣṭas led to the growth of a Puritanic outlook which instead of widening the horizon of the Aryan world reduced it still farther to a narrow but favourite zone of the Gangetic basin, i.e., the country of Kuru-Pāñcāla and Matsya only—the holy conclave ideally suited for the practice of Dharma.³⁷ The same conservative attitude also resulted in a sharp demarcation of the Aryan world from the people of mixed origin (Sāṅkīrṇa-yoni) a visit to which countries even called for some purifying rites. The law-giver Baudhayana who

32 I. 1. 2. 6.

33 I. 4-7 (*SBL.*, XIV, p. 1)

34 I. 8 (*SBL.*, XIV, p. 2)

35 I. 9-16 (*Ibid.*, pp. 2-4) But in addition to these three definitions, Vasiṣṭha adds a fourth one which makes Āryāvarta continuous with the whole of north India extending from sea to sea as given in *Manusmṛiti* (II. 22) and by other later writers. This conception was far too in advance of the time which the Sūtras represent and was not consistent enough with the ritualistic meaning of Āryāvarta which was sought to be conveyed in the preamble by the writer.

36 *Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini VI. 3. 109*

37 *Ibid.*, II. 4. 10 (Kielhorn edn., vol. III, p. 174)

38 Cf. *Amatsyebhyah Kurupāñcala deśya
Ānāmisaccedayo ye viśistāh.*

Dharmam purānamupaśivanti santo (MBh. VIII. 45. 16).

Further *Āpāñcālabhyah kurabo nāmisāsca matsyāscate' pyatha*

jānanti dharmam (Mbh., VIII. 45. 37).

gives this injunction specifies the countries of the prohibited area for enforcing this rule of conduct. They were Saurāṣṭra, Ānartta, Sindhu and Sauvīra on the west; Dakṣiṇāpatha on the south; Āraṭṭa on the north; and Aṅga, Magadha, Puṇḍra, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga on the east and southeast.³⁹ The people of these countries living evidently beyond the pale of Vedic civilization thus encircled the land of the Śiṣṭas. It is clear, therefore, that the boundaries of Āryāvarta as given in Dharma literature, are to be determined in the light of this set-up.

Adarśana in the west is generally equated with Vinaśana and interpreted 'east of the invisibility or of the disappearance of the Sarasvatī.' But as Bühler points out the original reading was 'Pragādarśat,' i.e. east of Ādarśa, but when its identity was forgotten it was changed into Adarśana to make it synonymous with Vinaśana, the traditional western boundary of Madhyadeśa as given in the *Manu-Saṁhitā*.⁴⁰ Patañjali's reading Ādarśa strengthens the above inference and as the boundary line on the other sides was formed by a range of hills, it favours the supposition that Ādarśa stood for Ādarśāvalī or the Aravalli chains⁴¹ which by its geographical position stood like a barricade intersecting Rajputana almost from end to end by a line running nearly north-east and aiming at the Himalayas in that direction. In that position, the Himavat mountain lying to the north of Āryāvarta will mean that part of the Himalayan range in particular which will approximate roughly with the north-easternmost point of the Aravalli spurs. The two ranges taken together

39 Other such condemned countries according to Ādi Putāṇa which are not found in Baudhāyana's work are the following. (1) Andhra, (2) Kāñchi, (3) Kośala, (4) Devarāṣṭra, (5) Kaccha, (6) Koṅkaṇa, (7) Vindhya, (8) Mālava, (9) Cedi, (10) Kerala, (11) Avanti. *Smṛticandrikā, op. cit.*, pp. 22-23. Dr. B. C. Sen draws our attention to a passage in the commentary on Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita's *Siddhānta Kaumudī* which states that anybody visiting Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Magadha and Surāstra except on pilgrimage is required to undergo initiation. B. C. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 21, fn. 3.

40 II. 21

41 Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar thinks that Ādarśa was not the name of a mountain range, but the name of a people who settled somewhere between the Rāvi and the Beas (*ABORI*, XII. pp. 108-9), but it is unlikely that the boundary line would be formed by a tribal settlement. Besides having regard to the orthodox view towards the Punjab as reflected in many passages it appears extremely improbable that any part of the Punjab was included in Āryāvarta.

thus formed a natural barrier against the whole of western Punjab portion of Rajputana and western India where lived the Āraṭṭas, Sauvīras, Sindhus, Ānarttas and Saurāṣṭras—all people of mixed origin as Baudhāyana writes. The northern region sanctified by the memory of the early Aryans and celebrated in the Vedic hymns was thus excluded from Āryāvarta and was looked upon as the home of impure tribes. This tradition culminating with necessary modifications became reflected in the great epic where the Punjab tribes have been roundly condemned. The Āraṭṭas, Kaṭāskatas, Prasthalas, Gandhāras, Vasātis and also the Sindhus and Sauvīras were mostly wicked.⁴² The Vāhikas and the people of Pancanada were equally bad,⁴³ but the Madras were the worst of all.⁴⁴

The reason why the people of the 'North' were so much detested is not far to seek. Baudhāyana informs us that Ūṇa-vikṛaya, Sīdhupāna, Ubhayato-dadblur-vyavahāra, Āyudhnyaka and Samudriyānam were the professions of the northern people.⁴⁵ Naturally enough these were regarded as disreputable activities and so very much abhorrent to the sentiments of well-bred Śiṣṭas, in other words the people of the Punjab were considered as fallen,⁴⁶ that is to say, they became 'Śiṣṭācaranahita', much in the same way as the people of the eastern Pratyantas were dubbed as Mlecchas and, therefore, not initiated in Śiṣṭācāra as already noted. It is indeed a curious coincidence that countries lying in the western and eastern extremity of India which were branded as 'condemned' in the centuries immediately before and after the Christian era were on different considerations treated as 'diseased limbs' in the present century—the birth of the new state in that sense was the consummation of a very ancient

42 *Mbh.*, VIII, 44-46

43 R. P. Chanda *The Indo-Aryan Races*, pt. I, pp. 42-43.

44 *Mbh.*, VIII, 45-37 *Prthivyam sarvadeśanam Madhako madamucyate*

45 *Baudh. D. S.* (Hultzsch edn) I, 2-4 (*SBI.*, XIV, p. 146). See also *Smiti-candrikā*, p. 24. From *Sukraniti* we learn that in the north women drank wine (Ch. IV, sec. V, line 97).

46 Weber says that the later orthodox feeling of the more eastern Aryas obliterated the recollection of their own earlier freedom and caused them to detest the kindred tribes to the westward as renegades. (Quoted by Mun, *Sanskrit Texts*, II, p. 354). But it is an equally plausible assumption that the influx of foreign intruders like the Greeks and Persians in about the time of Baudhāyana in the Punjab and the consequent disintegration that followed was responsible for this orthodox reaction.

but strong historical force which was working all throughout the ages, insidiously though in the body politic. History repeats itself, but never was its course so pragmatic.

Pariyātra in the south refers to the western Vindhya which is consistent enough with the statement that Dakṣiṇāpatha lay outside Āryāvarta. The mountain (Pariyātra) itself was the home of the Niśādas in the time of the *Mahābhārata*.⁴⁷ The eastern boundary was Kālakavana—a name which is not commonly found in Indian literature.⁴⁸ Mr. H. C. Chakladar observes that like the other boundaries, the eastern limit of Āryāvarta, would also correspond to the eastern point of Manu's Madhyadeśa, viz. Prayāga or Allahabad,⁴⁹ and identifies Kālakavana with Kālakārāma in the outskirts of Sāketa which was not far removed from the meridian of Prayāga.⁵⁰ But this view can hardly be maintained in the light of what has been shown that Ādarśa, the western point of Āryāvarta, was not the same as Vinaśana the limit of Madhyadeśa in that direction. Besides as Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar rightly points out, a mere grove near Sāketa could scarcely have been intended to define the boundary of such a big country as Āryāvarta.⁵¹ The more important point to be considered is that with Sāketa as the eastern frontier of Āryāvarta Videha and even a good portion of Kośala lie excluded from the holy land, which is thus an extremely untenable presumption as the evidences of *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*,⁵² *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*,⁵³ and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*⁵⁴ clearly show that Videha was completely Aryanised by that time. So Sāketa appears to be too far in the west to be the eastern limit of Āryāvarta.

47 XII. 135. 35

48 For the theory of Dr. Hultzsch that it is not Kālakavana but Kanakhala (*Id.*, XXXIV, 1905, p. 179) see H. C. Chakladar in *HIQ*, IV, pp. 99-101. But Dr. B. C. Sen accepts the reading *pratyakkanakhālāt* and observes 'the eastern limit of Atvāvarta lay along the south-east course of the Ganges 'from Hardwar' past Kanauj and as far as Allahabad'. Sen, *op cit*, p. 16.

49 *HIQ*, IV, pp. 93-94.

50 It was held by some scholars that Kālakavana was the name of the extensive forest tract near the modern town Singror (anciently Śringaverapura) about 22 miles north west of Allahabad. *Ramāyana* (Griesio's Edn.) vol. II, Ayodhyā Kh. XLIX.a 3, 7, 13).

51 *ABORI* XII, p. 108.

52 XXV. 10. 17.

53 II 76-77.

54 XL 6. 3; XIV. 6. 1. 9.

N. L. De indentifies Kālakavana with the Rajmahal hills to the east of Bhāgalpur,⁵⁵ but this appears to be too far in the east to be the boundary of Āryāvarta. More plausible is the hypothesis set forth by Professor Buhler that the Black forest is to be located somewhere in Bihar⁵⁶ and in fact it can be supported by many reasonable considerations. The evidence of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* leaves no doubt that the Aryans had crossed the Gaṇḍak and occupied the western part of North Bihar (Videha) which obviously formed an integral part of Āryāvarta, but the projection of Aryan culture farther east in the Aṅga country was not possibly effected during that period. The contention is strengthened by a statement of the same *Brāhmaṇa* which runs to the effect that compared with Kośala and Videha, Aṅga⁵⁷ and Magadha lay still far away from the Aryan fold. It is also to be noticed that like the kings of Videha, the Aṅga kings do not figure prominently in Brahmana texts. The reference to the country in the works of Baudhayana (c. 400 B.C.) and Devala, as already pointed out, shows that the Aṅgas were of mixed origin.⁵⁸ Later on, Buddhism took a firm root in the Aṅga and Magadha countries which meant that the social order of the four Varṇas was not much in favour there. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, it may be mentioned, has taken the view on an interpretation of a gloss in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (the 9th Vārūka on Pan. VI. 1.2) that even in the Suṅga period (2nd century B.C.) Brahmanical culture and worship did not sufficiently spread in the Aṅga country.⁵⁹ These statements and inferences seem to lead to the conclusion that the application of the term Āryāvarta of the Sutra works did not comprehend the Aṅga country and that being so, Kālakavana have to be located somewhere between Videha and Aṅga. The particular spot thus indicated are the hills of Monghyr which being centrally situated between Videha and Aṅga, were likely to form a more suitable boundary line between Āryāvarta and the other mixed regions than the Jhādakhaṇḍa tract lying to the south of Bhagalpur which according to Dr. Bhandarkar was the equivalent

55 *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 84

56 *SBL.*, XIV p. 2 in 8

57 *Sat Brā*, I 4 1. 10, XIII 8 1. 5

58 The *Mahābhārata* (VIII. 45-49) says that the people of Aṅga used to sell their wives.

59 *ABORI.*, XII, pp. 109-10.

of Kalakavana.⁶⁰ The hills of Mungir celebrated as Hiranyaparvata in the itinerary of Hiuen Tsang was of considerable importance from early date as it commanded the land route as well as the water route by the Ganges.⁶¹ The country round it was the resort of 4000 Buddhist priests in the time of Hiuen Tsang, but it was equally sacred to the Brāhmaṇical devotees. The traveller says: "From old time till now Rishis and saints have come here in succession to repose their spirits."⁶²

It thus appears that in later Vedic times when the Vedic Sūtra works were written, Āryāvarta, the land of the Śiṣṭas, extended from the hills of Central Rajputana to the hills of Central Bihar. The two alternative definitions of Āryāvarta given in *Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha Sūtras* are but echoes of a distant past and reflect the early stages of the expansion of the sphere of Aryan influence. The mention of the Indus as the western boundary in the Bhāllavi gāthā,⁶³ already referred to, is a very significant geographical indication, for the famous river with all its natural features of a geographical boundary is not mentioned as such in later texts. This indicates that the gāthā in question embodies a very ancient tradition far more ancient than the tradition of the holy land called Brahmāvarta, and refers to the time when the Aryan immigrants settled in the country adjacent to the Indus on the west. Subsequently when the centre of Aryan culture and civilisation shifted to the Gangetic Doab in the Brāhmaṇa period, Āryāvarta came to be treated as conterminous with the region between the Ganges and Jamunā.⁶⁴

60 *Ibid*, p. 108. Dr. Bhandatkar observes that the hills might have proved an 'insurmountable barrier to the further advance of the Āryas,' but the point is that if the Jhādakhandā tract lying to the west of Bankura and Midnapore districts of West Bengal formed the eastern boundary, then Āryāvarta certainly included Anga and Magadha in the time of Baudhāyana and that indeed constitutes the principal objection to the identification made by him.

61 *Buddhist Records of the Western World* by S. Beal, 1884, II, p. 186, fn. 1.

62 *Ibid*, p. 186-87.

63 The reading of the boundary river (Sindhur Vidhāraṇi) varies, and the famous Sarasvatī may have been meant as well (*SBE.*, XIV, p. 148, fn. 12). The authors of the *Vedic Index* write (II, p. 126, fn. 7): "conceivably the Sindhu (Indus) is meant, for it was a great boundary with the Aryan tribes"

64 *Baudh.* D.S. I. 1. 2. 6.

Thus in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* the latest Vedic literature especial honour is assigned to those who dwell between the Ganges and Jamunā,⁶⁵ and the purity of this country which was also known as Brahmāvarta has been particularly emphasized⁶⁶ in the process of the physical expansion of Āryāvarta into a wider region as in the Sūtra period.

It thus stands that Āryāvarta bore sacerdotal sense and when used in that sense it denoted a particularly limited area where Aryan institutions were the basis of social order. But a more well-known identification of Āryāvarta is that with the whole of north India. The identification is supported by the tradition preserved in the *Mānava Dharma Śāstra* which asserts that the tract between the two mountains extending as far as the eastern and western oceans was called Āryāvarta.⁶⁷ Indeed later writers are wholly in agreement in defining Āryāvarta as lying between the Himalayas and Vindhya and extending as far as the ocean both in the east and west. The following citations will make it clear:

A

*Āsamudrācca vai pūrvādāsamudrācca pāścimāt
Himavadvindhyaḥ madhyamāryācantaḥ vidumbudhab "*

B

Pūrvāparayoh samudrayor himavadvindhyaḥ ścantamāryācantaḥ."

The position of Āryāvarta in the above passages has two remarkable features: in the first place the boundaries have been fixed with a degree of certainty; and in the second, the area indicated is the widest than any hitherto noticed. It is also equally noteworthy that at a time later than the age of Vedic Sūtras, possibly by the second

65 II. 20.

66 In the *Smṛticanḍikā* (op. cit., p. 18) we have an authoritative treatment on the comparative merit of the holy places. Thus it is said that Brahmavarta is the holy land proper, next to it is Ṛṣideśa and then comes Madhyadeśa and last is Āryāvarta.

67 II. 22.

68 *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, p. 397

69 *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (Gackwad Oriental Series) No. I, p. 93. In the *Rājatarāṅgi* (I, pp. 205-6) Āryāvarta is similarly described as lying between the Himalayas and the Vindhya in which was situated the town of Udabhānda, i.e. mod. Und on the Indus.

century A.D., which was the latest limit of the composition of *Manu-smṛiti*, a wider outlook and a more intimate acquaintance with the conditions of India in general led to a re-assessment of the position of Āryāvarta, in that it was regarded as co-extensive with the whole of north India. This statement indicates, as it does, a perfect understanding of the essential oneness of the vast country spreading from Karachi to Chittagong was, therefore, geographically speaking the most correct definition, and though judged by the conventional notions of orthodox writers it was, widely at variance; Āryāvarta as the equivalent of the whole of northern India must have been conceived in the sense of a geographical entity, as it was perhaps equally conceived in a cultural sense in that late mediaeval period, when an extension of Aryan faith in all directions presumably resulted in a cultural integrations of the whole north making Āryāvarta one entity alike in a geographical and cultural sense, and as such specifically attested to by Rajaśekhara (C. 900 A. D.) who equates Āryāvarta with the whole of north-India and yet adds: *tasmīnś-cātur varnyaiṁ catur āśramyaṁśca tanmūlaścasad ācārah.*

S. B. CHAUDHURI

MISCELLANY

On the Interpretation of some Passages of Harṣa-carita

As is well known to Sanskrit scholars, Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣa-carita* contains a good number of passages, regarding the text and interpretation of which there is still great difference of opinion. Some of these passages are considered to be 'very difficult,'¹ and up till now no clear meaning could be made out of them. In a few cases scholars appear to have misunderstood some words used by Bāṇa, the result being that the meanings of the passages containing these words have been affected in some way or other. Although I am fully conscious of my own shortcomings, I venture to give in the following pages my humble suggestions regarding the text and interpretation of a few of such passages. I shall first deal with the passages occurring in Ucchvāsa I and V and then with the rest in the order in which they occur in the *Harṣa-carita* (ed. P. V. Kane, Bombay, 1918) or those who do so through envy.²

Some of the passages occurring in Ucchvāsa I are considered below.

(1) प्रायः कुक्कवयो लोके रागाधिष्ठितदृष्टयः ।

कोकिला इव जायन्ते वाचान्ताः कामकारिणः ॥

Verse 4 (*Harṣa-carita*, p. 1)

This verse presents no difficulty of reading. The word 'कामकारिणः' (in line 2) occurs as 'कामचारिणः' in some manuscripts, but the best manuscript evidence is decidedly in favour of the former reading (कामकारिणः), which also gives better sense.

In this and the following two verses² Bāṇabhaṭṭa decries the poet

1 Sankara calls the *Harṣa-carita* 'दुर्वोध' (very difficult to understand) and says that he wrote his commentary *Saṅketa* at the persuasion of cultured people (शिष्टोपरोधतः).

2

सन्ति श्वान इवामुख्या ज्ञातिभाजो गृहे गृहे ।

उत्पादका न बहवः कवयः शरभा इव ॥

अन्यवर्णपरावृत्त्या बन्धचिह्ननिगूहनैः ।

अनाख्यातः सतां मध्ये कविश्रौरो विभाव्यते ॥

Verses 5-6 (*Harṣa-carita*, p. 1).

asters and praises the powerful ones having creative genius. According to Bāṇa, the poetasters are of different types. Some of them deserve comparison with cuckoos, because they produce Kāvya's possessing sweetness of sound only, have their vision dominated by राग (रागाधिष्ठितदृष्टयः), are loquacious (or verbose— -वाचालाः), and follow their own sweet will in accomplishing their work, without caring for the literary canons and good taste (कामकारिणः); there are numerous others who, like ordinary dogs, are incapable of executing anything extraordinary, and have neither sweetness of sound nor independence (of thought and expression); while there is the third class consisting of shameless plagiarists.

Now, the word राग (as applied to the bad poets —कुक्कुवयः) has been explained in Śaṅkara's commentary (Śaṅketa) as 'रागो द्वेषपूर्वकोऽनर्थाभिनिवेशः'. Jivānanda Vidyasāgara explains it as 'अमद्भिनिवेशः', and makes the remark 'विषयरागान्धतया अज्ञानोपहतदृष्टीनां कुक्कुवीनां यानि हि भूयांसि काव्यानि इह लोके दृश्यन्ते' etc. P. V. Kane takes this word to mean '(evil) passions' and says: "Poetasters are not inspired by noble ideals and thoughts, but their effusions are due to the envy of good poets and such other evil tendencies." According to A. B. Gajendragadkar, 'राग' is 'passion,' which 'may be the passion for money or envy of other poets' achievements.' Gajendragadkar further adds: "Accordingly Bāṇa is either condemning the poetasters who write for money though they have no real inspiration, or those who do so through envy."

It is our considered opinion that the word राग, as used in the above verse, has to be taken not in the sense of 'envy' but in that of 'अनुराग' or 'विषयासक्ति'³, and this sense will be clear when we shall discuss the implication of verses 18-19 (आद्व्यराजकृतोत्साहैः etc.). Moreover, a person wanting real poetic inspiration but writing out of undue partiality for a particular person or for the sake of worldly gain from his patron, cannot produce any work of merit but is sure to play the part of a flatterer lacking in self-restraint as regards thought, expression, and observance of literary canons.

As a matter of fact, in finding fault with the bad poets in verses 4-6, Bāṇabhaṭṭa not only puts forth indirectly his own claim to the position of a good and creative poet, but indicates that he wrote the *Harṣa-carita* neither from an undue attachment to his patron Harṣavardhana nor for the sake of money.

3 Cowell and Thomas render the word 'राग' by 'desire.'

- (2) आढ्यराजकृतोत्साहै हृदयस्थैः स्मृतैरपि ।
जिह्वान्तःकृष्यमाणोव न कवित्वे प्रवर्तते ॥
तथापि नृपतेर्भक्त्या भीतो निर्वहणाकुलः ।
करोम्याख्यायिकाम्भोधौ जिह्वाश्लवनचापलम् ॥

Verses 18-19 (*Harṣacarita* 1-2)

These two verses form one of the most difficult portions of the *Harṣacarita*, and various interpretations have so long been suggested by different scholars. We shall first discuss the variant readings and then try to explain them.

In the first line, the reading 'आढ्यराज' is found replaced by the reading 'आद्यराज' in a few manuscripts but the best manuscript evidence as well as the commentator Śaṅkara, is decidedly in favour of the former reading. Hence the reading 'आद्यराज' can safely be neglected. The reading 'उच्छ्वासैः' (for 'उत्साहैः'), given in one or two editions, has very little manuscript evidence in its support, nor is it mentioned by Śaṅkara. It is clear that as the two words 'आढ्यराज' and 'उत्साह' have served as stumbling blocks to all readers and interpreters of Bāna's work, they were conveniently replaced respectively by the words 'आद्यराज' and 'उच्छ्वास' which not only have great similarity of sound with the original words but also present little difficulty of interpretation. There is no variant reading in the remaining three lines.

Going to comment on the former verse Śaṅkara says

“आढ्यराजः कश्चित् कविः । उत्साहो नृपतेर्नालविशेषः । उदार्यमाणगीत्याधारभृत-
पदोपचारात् काव्यमुत्साह इति केचित् । यत्र पूर्वं श्लोकेनार्थ उपनिष्यते पश्चात् स एव
गद्येन वितन्यते मध्ये वृत्तनिबन्धश्च भवति स परिसमाप्तार्थ उत्साह उच्यते इत्यन्ये ।”

From Śaṅkara's words it is evident that he took 'आढ्यराज' to be the name of a poet and was, with great indecision, forced to mean a particular kind of Kāvya by the word 'उत्साह' which presented to him much greater difficulty than the word 'आढ्यराज'. Cowell and Thomas took 'आढ्यराज' either to be the name of an unknown poet or to refer to Guṇadhva and explained the word 'उत्साह' as follows: 'Utsāha seems to refer to a pantomimic recitation as well as to general energy.' Hall says: "Ādhvatarā appears to have been a poet of more capacity than performance." Pischel and Peterson, on the other hand, were reluctant to take 'आढ्यराज' for a

4 See F. Hall's Preface to his edition of Subandhu's *Vasavadatta*, p. 15, footnote.

proper name. The former suggested that Āḍhyarāja was none but Harṣa-vardhana himself." Peterson preferred the reading 'आद्यराज' (for 'आद्व्यराज') and took 'उत्साह' to mean 'brave deeds.'⁵ It is Śaṅkara's explanation of these two words which is helplessly followed by almost all modern scholars such as Kane, Gajendragadkar, Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, and others. But against this explanation of Śaṅkara and his followers the following objections may be raised.

(i) In the introductory verses of the *Harṣa-carita* Bāṇabhaṭṭa names a number of famous poets and works⁷ including Kālidāsa and the *Bṛhatkathā* and praises them by mentioning their distinctive qualities, but with respect to none of them does he express any fear or nervousness. Even about Kālidāsa's works he says that these created 'प्रीति' in the minds of the people. So, it seems strange and unnatural that Bāṇa should feel so greatly nervous even at the recollection of the work of an unknown and ignored author like Āḍhyarāja.

(ii) There is no second mention of 'आद्व्यराज' as a poet, nor do we know of any work ascribed to him. It is only the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharāṇa* (Benares ed., I, p. 136) which names an 'आद्व्यराज' in the verse:

केऽभवन्नाद्व्यराजस्य काले प्राकृतभाषिणः ।

काले श्रीसाहमाङ्गस्य के न संस्कृतभाषिणः ॥

But even here there is not the slightest indication that Āḍhyarāja himself was a writer. On the other hand, it seems to show that, like Śahasāṅka (whom Rajaśekhara names as a patron of poets and who is nowhere mentioned as an author himself), Āḍhyarāja was merely a royal patron of Prakrit writers. If we are to believe Ratneśvara, the commentator on the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharāṇa*, then 'Āḍhyarāja' is another name for 'Śālivāhana,' who encouraged the study of Prakrit. But Bāṇa has already mentioned Satavāhana (who is the same as Śālivāhana) as an author of a *Kośa kāvyā* in verse 13 (अविनाशिनमग्राम्यमकरोत् सातवाहनः । etc.), and he is not found to devote more than one verse to any particular author or work, however great this author or work may have been. So, a repeated mention of Śātavāhana is quite unlikely.

5 *IRAS.*, 1903, p. 830. Prof. Pischel's article was published in *Nachrichten d. k. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1901, Heft 4. See Dasgupta and De, *Hist. of Sans. Lit.* (Classical Period), p. 17, footnote.

6 P. Peterson, Introduction to *Kāḍambā*, p. 96.

7 *Viz.*, Vyāsa, Vasucudattā, Bhaṭṭara-Haricandra, Śātavāhana, the *Setu* of Pravatasena, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, and *Bṛhatkathā*.

(iii) The use of the word 'उत्साह' to mean 'नृत्ते तालविशेषः' (a particular kind of beating time in dancing), is found in works on music such as the *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*,⁸ but nowhere is it found to be used in the sense of 'kāvyā' (or of any variety of it). All the lexicons are silent about this second meaning; nor do the works of the Sanskrit literature help us in any way in this direction. A perusal of Śaṅkara's commentary will show that neither Śaṅkara himself nor his predecessors and contemporaries had any definite idea about the meaning of the word 'उत्साह'. They only made frantic efforts and unscrupulous guesses.

Under the above circumstances we are inclined to take the word 'आढ्यराज' in its literal sense to mean the 'wealthy king' Harṣavardhana whom Bāṇabhaṭṭa calls a 'श्रीपर्वत' (lit. a mountain of riches)⁹ capable of fulfilling the desires of all suppliants,¹⁰ and to whose wealth and prosperity Bāṇa has referred in many places of his *Harṣa-carita*.¹¹ The word 'उत्साह', in our opinion, means 'strength' or 'energy.'

The idea conveyed by 'हृदयस्थैः स्मृतेरपि' is as follows —The उत्साहः (manifold mental strength or energy), created (कृत=जनित) by the rich king (आढ्यराज, from whom pecuniary gain was not unexpected), were in Bāṇa's heart (हृदयस्थ). (So, they inspired him to write a Kāvya) But although they were remembered (स्मृत) at the time of actually writing the work, they seemed to draw his tongue inwards and did not allow it to proceed to poetry. The heart (हृदय) is situated at the base of the tongue. So, it is quite possible for a thing (viz., उत्साह) residing in the heart to draw the tongue inwards. But the seat of memory, which is outside the

8 उत्साहः स्यात् रसे हास्ये ताले केन्दुकमञ्जके ।

वंशवृद्धिकरः पादेस्त्रयोदशमिताक्षरः ॥

9 That the word 'श्रीपर्वत' may have been used here by Bāṇa in its literal sense also, is shown by the expression 'खनिपर्वतमिव पराक्रमस्य...हर्षमद्राक्षीत्', in which Harṣavardhana has been compared to a 'mountain of mines'

10 Verse 2) जयति.....। सकलप्रणयिमनोरथसिद्धिश्रीपर्वतो हर्षः ॥

(*Harṣa-carita*, p. 2)

11 Note the expressions 'महाभारतशतैरप्यकथनीयममृद्धिमम्भारम्...राजद्वारमगमत्' and 'अदृष्टपूर्वं लक्ष्म्या महत्त्वे स्थितम्,.....द्वितीयामृतमथनदिवममिव लक्ष्मीममुत्थानस्य... हर्षमद्राक्षीत्' (*Harṣa-carita*, Ucchvāsa II).

heart,¹² i. e. most probably the brain, because remembrance is a function of the brain and Āyurvedic works prescribe the treatment of brain in case of loss or weakness of memory. So, when the उत्साहs are remembered, their seat is transferred outside the heart, most probably to the brain, and consequently it becomes impossible for the उत्साहs to draw the tongue inwards. Herein lies the beauty of the expression 'स्मृतैरपि', in which अपि indicates विरोध, and not समुच्चय as suggested by Śaṅkara. The Alaṅkāra of this verse is a mixture of Asaṅgati and Utprekṣā.

In this verse Bāṇabhaṭṭa means to say that although many mighty and gifted writers like Kālidāsa and others had already enriched the Sanskrit and Prakrit Kāvya literatures by their matchless contributions, he was encouraged on many occasions¹³ by his great patron Harṣa to write a Kāvya (most probably an Ākhyāyikā about Harṣa himself), and that in such an enterprise he had also ample prospects of pecuniary gain from the rich king (cf. the word 'आन्न'). These manifold encouragements given by such a great emperor as Harṣa stirred up self-confidence in his heart, but when he actually proceeded to the work, he became conscious of his own shortcomings,¹⁴ and all his enthusiasm seemed to evaporate, even though he remembered his patron's words of encouragement. (It is often seen that the greater the man who gives encouragement and the more enthusiastic the expressions used for the purpose, the greater the diffidence in the man encouraged).

The next verse (No. 19), in which Bāṇa explains why, in spite of his diffidence, he proceeded to write the *Harṣa-carita*, presents no difficulty of reading. It has to be construed thus:—

तथापि भीतः (अतएव) निर्वहणाकुलः (अहं) नृपतेर्भक्त्या आख्यायिकाम्भोधौ जिह्वाप्लवनचापलं करोमि (the main sentence being 'तथापि नृपतेर्भक्त्या चापलं करोमि').

Śaṅkara reads अभीतः for भीतः, and he is followed by Cowell, Kane, Gajendragadkar and others. But in our opinion the words अभीत and

12 Cf. *Prabodha-candodaya*—

स्मर्यते स हि वामोरु यो भवेद्दृदयाद्वहिः ।
मच्चित्तमित्तौ भवती शालभञ्जीव राजते ॥

13 Note the plural number in '०उत्साहैः'.

14 Cf. *Harṣa-carita*, Uchhvāsa III (p. 41)क परमाणुपरिमाणं वटुहृदयं क समस्तब्रह्मस्तम्भव्यापि देवस्य चरितम्.....। सर्वज्ञस्याप्ययमविषयः, वाचस्पतेरप्यगोचरः, सरस्वत्या अप्यतिभारः, किमुतास्मद्विधस्य । etc.

आकुल are contradictory, for one, who is अभीत, cannot be expected to be आकुल. Hence we have preferred to read this word as भीतः ।

The expression 'नृपतेर्भक्त्या' has been taken by all the authorities mentioned above to mean 'owing to (my) devotion to the king,' but in that sense the sixth case-ending in 'नृपति' cannot be satisfactorily accounted for. Yet, the present context does not allow us to take this expression in its literal sense which is 'owing to the king's devotion (to me).' That Bāṇa had a very high regard for Harṣavardhana, is shown amply by his description of the qualities of the latter in Ucchvāsa II and III.

Cowell and Thomas translate the line 'करोम्याख्यायिकाम्भोधौ जिह्वाप्लवन चापलम्' as 'I venture audaciously to plunge *with* my tongue in the ocean of narrative'; Kane renders it as 'I... ..make bold to plunge *with* my tongue in the ocean of Ākhyāyikā'; and Gajendragadkar puts it as 'I do the rashness of plunging *with* my tongue in the ocean of (this) Ākhyāyikā (viz., *Harṣa-carita*).' Śaṅkara appears to take the word 'जिह्वाप्लवनचापलम्' in the sense of 'rashness of swimming with the tongue' when he says 'जिह्वाप्लवनलक्षणं चापलं करोमि ।.....जिह्वा च । अन्धकारकालवातस्तत्र वहन्त्यां कश्चिद् यथा प्लवनरूपं चापलं करोति.' Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara also explains it as 'जिह्वया रमनया प्लवनं सन्तरणमेव चापलं.....करोमि....' But as none of the above meanings seems to us very satisfactory,¹⁵ we think, this line should be explained as follows. —

आख्यायिका एव अम्बुधिः महामुद्रः । म मामग्रेयेन श्रीहर्षवर्धनजीवनवृत्तान्तवर्गनरूपः । तस्मिन् जिह्वाया प्लवनं निमज्जनमेव चापलं करोमि ।¹⁶

"I do the rashness of *dipping* my tongue in the ocean of the Ākhyāyikā (based on the complete life of Harṣavardhana)" (i.e. I venture to taste or speak out only an infinitesimally small part of the great Ākhyāyikā on Harṣavardhana which is as vast and endless as an ocean).

Bāṇabhaṭṭa means to say that in spite of his diffidence and the consequent fear, he was going to narrate a very small part of the immeasurably great life of Harṣa neither from undue partiality for the latter nor for the sake of pecuniary gain but from a sense of sincere devotion to him, and that even in such an attempt he considered himself guilty of rashness and became very eager (even before beginning it) to bring it to a success-

15 Because, how can one swim with the tongue or plunge with it?

16 Cf. the words underlined in the extract quoted in the next paragraph.

Cf. also 'कस्य न द्वितीयमहाभारते भवेदस्य चरिते कुतूहलम्' in Ucchvāsa III (p. 41).

ful close. As a matter of fact, Bāṇa entertained a very high idea of Harṣa's greatness which, he believed, no intellect, however powerful, could conceive and no speech, however developed, could describe. Being requested by one of his cousins to speak about Harṣa, he says in Uchhvāsa III:

‘आर्य, न युक्त्यनुरूपमभिहितम् ।...शक्याशक्यपरिसंख्यानशून्याः प्रायेण स्वार्थतृषः ।... पश्यत्वार्यः क्व परमाणुपरिमाणं वदुहृदयम्, क्व समस्तब्रह्मस्तन्भव्यापि देवस्य चरितम् ; क्व परिमितवर्णवृत्तयः कतिपये शब्दाः, क्व संख्यानिगास्तद्गुणाः । सर्वज्ञस्याप्ययमविषयः, वाचस्पतेरप्यगोचरः, मरस्वत्या अप्यतिभारः, किमुतास्मद्विधस्य । कः खलु पुरुषायुषशतेनापि शक्नुयादविकलमस्य चरितं वर्णयितुम् । एकदेशे तु यदि कुतूहलं वः, सज्जा वयम् । इयमधिगतकतिपयाक्षरलवलघीयमी जिह्वा क्रोपयोगं गमिष्यति ?’

Here Bāṇa clearly admits his own incapacity for duly conceiving or describing the complete (अविकल) life of Harṣavardhana which was immeasurably great.

The *Harṣa-carita* tells us that Bāṇabhatta had a number of adverse and unfair critics and mean enemies, some of whom even poisoned the ear of Harṣavardhana against him through jealousy.¹⁷ The activities of these people influenced Bāṇa's mind so much that in the introductory verses of his *Kādambarī* Bāṇa censures the wicked and the fault-finding people just after saluting the gods and his Guru (?) Bharvu, and in verse 20 he calls himself a द्विज (twice born),¹⁸ although, being born in the illustrious

17 This will be evident from the message which Harṣa's cousin Kṛṣṇa sent to Bāṇa through Mckhalaka. See *Harṣa-carita* II (p. 24). Note especially the lines:—

भवन्तमन्तरेणान्यथा चान्यथा चायं चक्रवर्ती दुर्जनैर्ग्राहित आसीत् ।...न सन्त्येव ते येषां सतामपि सतां न विद्यन्ते मितोदासीनशत्रवः ।...बहुमुखश्रवणनिश्रलीकृतनिश्चयः किं करोतु पृथिवीपतिः ।

18 द्विजेन तेनाक्षतकण्ठकौण्डिन्या ।

... .. धिया निबद्धेयमतिद्वयी कथा ॥

That even his ‘द्विजत्व’, in the true sense of the term, was challenged by some, is shown by his answer which he gave to Harṣa, when, during the first meeting, the latter said ‘महानयं भुजङ्गः’ with respect to Bāṇa. The answer is as follows:—

‘.. ब्राह्मणोऽस्मि जातः सोमपायिनां वंशे वात्स्यायनानाम् । यथाकालमुपनयनादयः कृताः संस्काराः । सम्यक् पठितः साङ्गो वेदः । श्रुतानि यथाशक्ति शास्त्राणि । दारपरि-ग्रहादभ्यागारिकोऽस्मि ।...इदानीं तु...मनाविव कर्तरि वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थानां...देवे शासति... महीं क इव...अबिनयस्य मनसाप्यभिनयं कल्पयिष्यति ।...’ *Harṣa-carita* II (p. 36).

Brahmin family of Vatsa, he had no necessity of doing so. Bāṇa himself says that shortly after his first meeting with Harṣa the latter not only 'raised him to the highest pitch of honour, affection, confidence and influence,' but bestowed upon him vast amount of wealth which was much beyond his expectation.¹⁹ Mammāṭa, at the beginning of his *Kāvya-prakāśa*,²⁰ informs us that Bāṇa received money from Harṣa vardhana by writing Kāvya. So, it is highly probable that a rumour was spread by those of Bāṇa's contemporaries who became jealous of his position in the court of Harṣavardhana, that Bāṇa was going to write the *Harṣa-carita* for the sake of money and that in doing so he simply played the part of a flatterer. However, to silence the mischief-mongers and to free himself from a charge like this (which Bāṇa either heard or suspected) Bāṇa says in verses 4, 18 and 19 of Uchhvāsa I of his *Harṣa-carita* that although pecuniary gain could be expected from Harṣa, he did not write the *Harṣa-carita* for earning money, nor was he inspired in this enterprise by any feeling of undue partiality for the king, but it was his sincere devotion for his patron which encouraged him to write a biography of the latter. So, in executing such a work Bāṇa did not certainly play the part of a flatterer but recorded in his work only those details about Harṣa which he himself believed to be true.

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19 *Harṣa-carita* II (p. 37) स्वल्पैरेव चाहोभिः प्रसादजन्मनो मानस्य प्रेम्णो विस्त्रम्भस्य द्रविणस्य नर्मणः प्रभावस्य च परां काटिमानोयत नरेन्द्रेण... ।

In his *Udayasudarikathā* Soddhala says that Harṣa 'honoured Bāṇa by a hundred crores of gold coins' (येन राज्ञा संपूजितः कनककोटिशतेन बाणः).

20 The reading *Śrīharṣāder Bāṇādmām iva dhanam* is found in all Kashmir manuscripts of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*.

Date of Abhinanda, author of the Rāmacarita

In a paper published in *IHQ.*, vol. XXIV, pp. 201-212, Prof. S. P. Bhattacharya discusses the date of Abhinanda. Prof. Bhattacharya believes that Abhinanda was the author of the *Rāmacarita*, *Yogavāsīṣṭha-Rāmāyaṇa*, *Yogavāsīṣṭhasāra* and *Kādambarīkathāsāra* and that Abhinanda was the son of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, author of the *Nyāyamañjarī* (cf. *op. cit.* pp. 210-11). He further points out that Abhinanda's *Yogavāsīṣṭha-Rāmāyaṇa* (Stuti, XXXII, 11-19) contains a laudatory reference to King Yaśaskara of Kashmir, who, we know, ruled in the period A.D. 939-48, and that Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's *Nyāyamañjarī* similarly refers to the Kashmirian king Śaṅkaravarman who ruled in A.D. 883-902. Normally therefore it would appear that Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's active career has to be assigned to about the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century and that of his son Abhinanda to the first half of the tenth century. Prof. Bhattacharya explains away the epithet *Śātānandi*, 'son of Śātānanda', applied to Abhinanda in the *Rāmacarita* in his eagerness to identify the author of the *Rāmacarita* with Abhinanda son of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa. He also tries rather unsuccessfully to explain away the importance of the references to Śaṅkaravarman and Yaśaskara and suggests that "Abhinanda flourished in and about 975 A.C. and might have come back to his ancestral home about 1000 A.C. where even during the declining days of Pāla rule there was a patron king in the person of Yuvarājadeva panegyricised as Hāravarṣa Mahīpāla I." Thus he seems to identify Abhinanda's patron mentioned in the *Rāmacarita* with the Pāla king Mahīpāla I who ruled in circa 992-1042 A.D. But there is some evidence to show that the Pāla patron of Abhinanda, author of the *Rāmacarita*, flourished in the ninth century.

The *Rāmacarita* refers to the poet's patron as *Hāravarṣa*, *Hāravarṣa-yuvarāja*, *Ṛṭhvīpāla*, *Yuvarāja-nareśvara*, *Vikramaśīlanandana*, *Hāravarṣa-naralokapati*, *Palakula-candramā*, *Ṛṭhvīpāla*, *Pālakulā-pradīpa*, *Bhīmaparakrama*, *Mahākavi-śrī-yuvarājadeva*, *Palatīlaka Samrāt*, *Pālānām Kulendu Yuvarāja*, *Paracakrabhīma*, *Yuvarāja Pālvaśāpradīpa*, *Śrī-Dharmapāla-kula-kinava-kānan-endu*, *Yuvarājadeva*, *Ṛṭhvīpati Vikramaśīla-janmā*, etc. Now from the above references it appears that the name of the *Rāmacarita* author's patron was Hāravarṣa. Yuvarāja seems also to be a secondary name of this ruler. This is suggested by expressions like *yuvarāja-nareśvara* as well as by the reference to a Pāla ruler named Yuva-

rāja as Abhinanda's patron in Soḍḍhala's *Udayasundarīkathā* composed in the eleventh century. Even if *Yuvarāja* may be taken in such expressions in the *Rāmacarita* to mean merely a crown prince and heir-apparent, this meaning is no doubt irreconcilable with the description of the Rāmacarita kāra's patron as *Pāla-tilaka Samrāt* in one case. It is doubtful if the poet would be so hopeless a *prāśastikāra* to represent a *Yuvarāja* as a *Samrāt*. But the difficulty is that we have no knowledge of a Pāla king of Bengal enjoying names like Hāravarṣa and Yuvarāja. The name ending *arāja* was popular among the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the name *Yuvarāja* among the Kalacuris. The Pālas of Bengal of course often contracted matrimonial relations with these families. If the expression *Prthivīpāla* or *Prthivīpala* is regarded as another personal name of Abhinanda's patron, we may no doubt point to names like Tribhuvanapala and Mahīpāla (I and II) in the family of the Pālas of Bengal. It should however be admitted that it is not easy to identify the Rāmacaritakāra's patron satisfactorily from these considerations only. It is also not possible to suggest his date. The only point that is clear about him is that he was a descendant of Dharmapāla (circa 769-815 A.D.) as suggested by the expression *Dharmapāla-kulakāraiva kānan-endu*. But Soḍḍhala, who mentions both Abhinanda and his patron, flourished about circa 1026-60 A.D. as he was a contemporary of the kings Cittarāja and Mummunitrāja of Konkan. It is also interesting to note that "Soḍḍhala in his chronology of famous poets of ancient India beginning from Valmiki down to his own time places Abhinanda before Rājaśekhara (who flourished in the first half of the tenth century)." Cf. *Udayasundarīkathā*, G.O.S., p. xx f. It seems therefore that Abhinanda was earlier than Soḍḍhala (eleventh century) and probably also than Rājaśekhara (tenth century). Thus he may be tentatively assigned to the ninth century. This Abhinanda may have been quoted in the *Kāvīndravācīnī-samuccaya* which "cannot be assigned to a period later than the tenth century." There is moreover some additional information deducible from one of the epithets of the ruler in the *Rāmacarita*.

The most important clue in regard to the identity of the Rāmacarita kāra's patron seems to be his epithets *Vikramaśīla-janma* and *Vikramaśīla-nandana*, which show that he was the son of one Vikramaśīla. This is of course not incompatible with the other epithet *Dharmapāla-kulakāraiva kānan-endu*; cf. *Naiṣadhbīya*, V, 124; *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 258. Now the only Vikramaśīla in the Pāla family known to historians is Dharmapāla himself or his son Devapāla. According to Tibetan traditions, either Dharmapāla

or Devapāla founded the Vikramaśīla monastery apparently named after himself on a hill situated on the bank of the Ganges (*Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, Calcutta, 1893, Vol. I, part 1, pp. 11, 17; Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, p. 217; Cordier, *Catalogue*, III, p. 321f.). The same monastery is mentioned as *Vikramaśīladevavihāra* in a manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* of the fifteenth regnal year of Gopāla II (*circa* 935-92 A.D.) discussed in *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, pp. 150-51. Now we know only of two sons of Dharmapāla of the Pāla family of Bengal. They are Yuvarāja Tribhuvanapāla, who is mentioned in the Khalimpur inscription and possibly pre-deceased his father, and Mahārājādhitāja Devapāla who ruled in *circa* 815-54 A.D. We also know that Devapāla's son Rājyapāla was *Yuvaraja* during his rule. In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to say whether the Rāmacaritakāra's patron has to be identified with any of these sons of Dharmapāla or Devapāla or with an as yet unknown son and successor of either of those kings. Whatever may however be the exact identity of Vikramaśīla's son who was the patron of the Rāmacaritakāra, he must have flourished about the first half of the ninth century. Abhinanda, author of the *Rāmacarita*, therefore, can hardly be assigned to *circa* 975-1000 A.D.

It thus seems that, while the author of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha-Rāmāyaṇa* may have been a contemporary of the Kashmirian king Yaśaskara and lived in the tenth century, the Rāmacaritakāra Abhinanda, a son of Śatānanda, lived at the court of a son of Dharmapāla or Devapāla of Bengal in the ninth century. Abhinanda, son of Javanta Bhaṭṭa, was the author of the *Kadambarīkathāsana* according to which his fifth ancestor Śaktisvāmin was a contemporary of the Kashmirian king Muktāpīḍa (Lalitāditya) who flourished in *circa* 730-66 A.D. It is difficult to assign this Abhinanda to the days of Yaśaskara of Kashmir.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

A Note on *Turuṣka-daṇḍa*.

Turuṣka-daṇḍa is one of the most puzzling taxes of the late mediaeval Hindu India. This term occurs frequently in the inscriptions of the *Gāhāḍavāla* dynasty (c.1085-1200 A.D.) only, whose empire once extended from *Indrasthānīyaka* (to be identified with Delhi) to *Mudgagiri* (Monghyr) and from the foot of the *Himālayas* to the South bank of the *Yamunā*.

The scholars have expressed different opinions about the interpretation of this strange and unusual tax, thus it has been explained variously as a tax on the aromatic reed¹, a tribute paid to Ghazni by the rulers of *Kānyakubja*², a tax imposed on the *Turuṣkas*³ and a tax levied on the subjects of the *Gāhāḍavālas* to ward off the *Turuṣkas*⁴.

The word '*Turuṣka*' here of course refers to the contemporary Muslim invaders, who were mostly of the Turkish origin, and the word '*daṇḍa*' may mean 'a formation of army'. Thus lexicographically it is clear that the tax *Turuṣka-daṇḍa* was somehow related with the *Turuṣkas* and probably with their army. It is however difficult to understand how this term may mean a tax on the aromatic reed and Führer has offered no explanation for his translation.

The study of the *Gāhāḍavāla* landgrants helps us to determine the plausibility of the different interpretations mentioned above. This tax is mentioned in the very first inscription of the *Gāhāḍavāla* dynasty, issued by Candradeva in 1148 V.S./1090 A.D.⁵ From that date till 1225 V.S./1169 A.D.,⁷ the last inscriptional date of Vijayacandra, the fourth king of the dynasty, it has been frequently referred to in about 30 inscriptions. The geographical references in these landgrants show that collection of this tax was not confined to any particular region; but was collected from all parts of the *Gāhāḍavāla* dominion, from the vicinity of *Kānyakubja* to modern Patna region. Curiously enough this tax seems to have been totally discontinued from the

1 Führer, *JASB*, LVI (1887), pt. 1, pp. 113.

2 Vaidya, *Hist of Med Hindu Ind*, III p. 211

3 Sten Konow, *Ep. Ind*, IX, p. 321.

4 Smith, *Early Hist of Ind*. (4th ed), p. 400 fn. 1.

5 Cf. '*Amarakosa*': "*Vyūhastu valavinyāso bhedadandādayo yudhi*" *Śāśvatakoṣa*: "*Daṇḍo lagudamanthānadamasainyesu drśyate*"

6 Candīāvati Inscription, *Ep Ind*, IX, p. 302.

7 R. A. S. Frant of Vijayacandra & Jayaccandra, *Ind Antiq*, XV, pp. 7-13.

reign of Jayaccandra, the penultimate king of the dynasty. Of the 17 inscriptions (so far discovered), issued during this king's reign, 15 were landgrants⁸ made by the king himself; not one of these inscriptions contains any reference to *Turuṣka-daṇḍa*, which was more or less a common tax during the previous reigns and also occurs in two landgrants of Jayaccandra himself, made during his father's reign. The single grant of Hariścandra also omits this tax⁹.

Why was it discontinued so abruptly? If we accept Vaidya's interpretation of *Turuṣka-daṇḍa*, we must presume that the tax, which originated in the financial necessity to meet the tribute paid to the Sultanate of Ghazni, continued to be levied even after the *Gāhadavāla* dynasty had attained absolute sovereignty and used the full imperial titles in the inscription issued in 1148 V.S./1090 A.D.; thereafter *Turuṣka-daṇḍa* continued to be levied frequently for a period of about 80 years, even though there was no longer the need to meet the Ghazni-bound tribute. Suddenly from the 81st year onwards the tax was discontinued. On the other hand, introduction of many new taxes in some of the late grants of Govindacandra and those of Vijayacandra and Jayaccandra, shows that the *Gāhadavāla* dynasty at that time was passing through financial difficulties. Under such circumstances it is unnatural to discontinue a tax, which was being tolerated by the people for so many years even though its purpose may not have existed.

The interpretation of Sten Konow also presents another difficulty; supposing it was a tax levied on the *Turuṣka* settlers in the *Gāhadavāla* domain, its sudden discontinuance cannot be satisfactorily explained. Ibn Athir in *Kamil-ut-Tawarikh* clearly testifies that even by the end of Jayaccandra's reign, there were many 'Mussulmans' in and around *Vārāṇasī*¹⁰. Why then the tax upon them would be

8 Vide *Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 120-29, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 129-43; and XV, pp. 10-13, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 291-95.

9 *Ep. Ind.*, X, pp. 93-100.

10 "There were Mussulmans in that country since the days of Mahmud bin Sabuktigin, who continued faithful to the laws of Islam and constant in prayer and good work." (*op. cit.*, Elliot II, p. 251) Dr. B. C. Sen suggests that 'it may have meant a tax which was introduced for the purpose of meeting the additional expense of enlisting *Turuṣka* settlers as soldiers in the *Gāhadavāla* army, though no evidence of the employment of *Turuṣka* settlers as soldiers by the *Gāhadavālas*

abolished in spite of financial difficulty, while some new ones would be created ?

The theory of Smith has been accepted by Ghoshal¹¹ as the most likely one and this interpretation tallies to a great extent with the evidence of the *Gāhāḍavāla* inscriptions. According to these two scholars *Turuṣka-danḍa* was a tax levied on the *Gāhāḍavāla* subject to meet the expense of resisting the *Turuṣka* inroads (maintaining additional troops—*danḍa*—to fight the *Turuṣkas*). It cannot be denied that from the very beginning of the rise of the *Gāhāḍavālas*, there was the need of a permanent defence system against the *Turuṣkas*, who once under the direction of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni played havoc in northern India. Candra's inscriptions indicate that the *Gāhāḍavāla* dominion at that time almost touched the borderland of the 'Hindustan' occupied by the Ghaznvide Sultans. It is quite probable that there was no actual engagement between the *Turuṣkas* and the first *Gāhāḍavāla* king. Nevertheless the man who laid the foundation of an empire, had the foresight to realize the necessity of a permanent defence system against these foreigners and consequently the *Turuṣka-danḍa* was levied to meet the extra military expense. Introduction of such a tax was fully justified during the reigns of Madanapala, Govindacandra and Vijayacandra, when the Ghazni Sultans and their generals almost made a habit of leading expeditions to the interior of India and raiding the wealthy cities and fortresses. Two of these kings were credited with successful defence but Madanapāla, most probably, had to face a different fate.

Vijayacandra's reign however brought a change in the *Gāhāḍavāla* frontier on the west, the *Cāhamāna* inscriptions prove that some time before 1164 A.D. Delhi and the surrounding regions were occupied by the *Cāhamāna* king V'graharaja IV.¹² So roughly from that date the *Gāhāḍavāla* dominion no longer lay contiguous to the Ghazni-occupied India; henceforth between the *Gāhāḍavālas* and the *Turuṣka* menace lay the strong arms of the *Cāhamānas* and naturally the

is available a (*Turuṣka-danda*--a division of the army composed only of the *Turuṣkas*);

11 Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 263.

12 Delhi Siwalik Pillar Inscriptions of V'graharaja IV, V S 1220-1164 AD *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 215-19; Bijolia Inscription of Somēśvara, *JASB*, 1886, pt. I pp 31 & 42

Gāhaḍavāla vigilance for defence against the *Turuṣkas* must have been relaxed; probably in view of the increasing weakness of the later Yamini Sultans, they like many of the contemporary dynasties made the mistake of thinking that the *Turuṣka* menace itself was over. In spite of this, however, the *Turuṣka-daṇḍa* continued to be levied for another five years, covering the reign period of Vijayacandra¹³, which probably saw the loss of Delhi; perhaps for the time being they hoped to recover lost possessions. The abolition of a tax, whose purpose had ceased to exist only recently, may have been a popular measure of Jayaccandra on his coming to the throne; all the available inscriptions show that *Turuṣka-daṇḍa*, the tax to meet the extra expense of repulsing the *Turuṣkas*, was no longer levied in the reign of Jayaccandra and it was not resumed during the short reign of Hariścandra, the last king of the dynasty.

ROMA NIYOGI

A Note on the Tivarkhed Plates of Nannarāja

These plates have been edited by R. B. Hiralal in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XI, pp. 276 f. As interpreted by R. B. Hiralal, they record the grant of land in the two villages Tivarakheṭa and Ghukheṭa, which the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Nannarāja made to a Brāhmaṇa named Muṇḍibhaṭṭa on two occasions *viz.*, (1) *Mahakārttikī* or the full-moon day of Kartika, and (2) a solar eclipse. The charter was afterwards issued from Achalapura and is dated in the Śaka year 553 increased by eight months, *i.e.*, in the month of Kārttika.

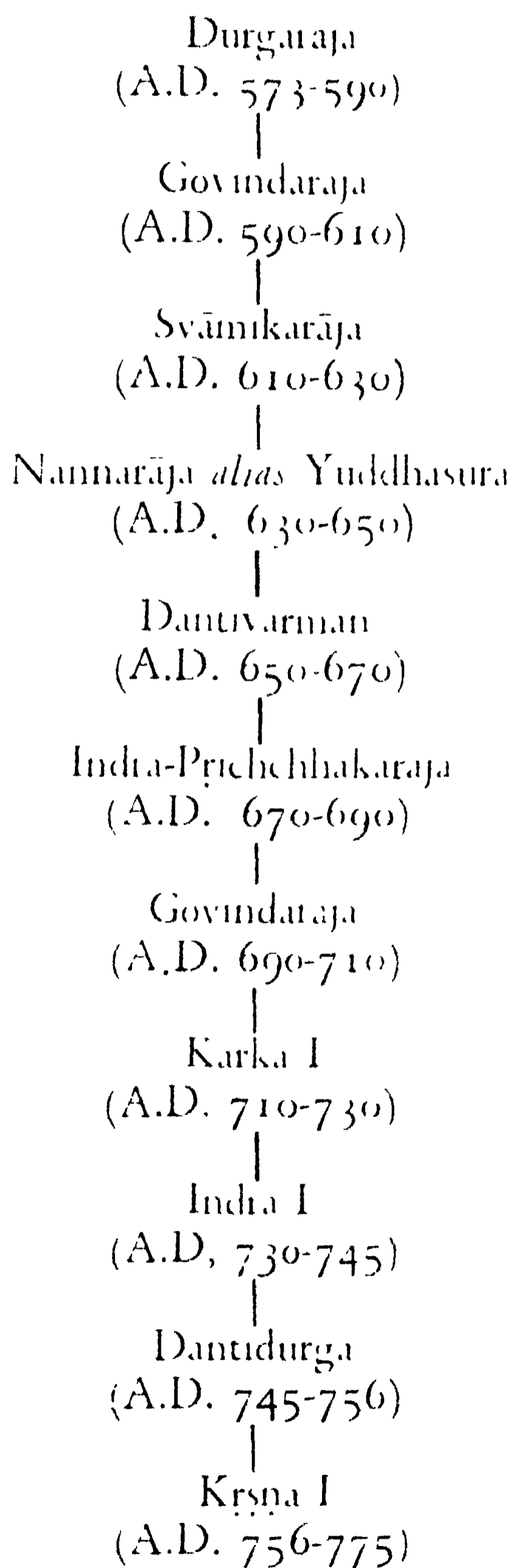
This grant has been regarded as very important, because it definitely located the home province of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas; for this was until lately the earliest dated record of that illustrious royal family. The villages mentioned in the Multai plates discovered earlier of the same prince Nannarāja could not be definitely located, though Dr. Fleet who edited the record in the *Indian Antiquary* closely examined many sheets of the Indian Atlas.¹ Of the villages mentioned in the Tivarkhed plates, two could be definitely identified, *viz.*

¹³ Vide Kamauhi Grant and R. A. S. Grant of Vijayacandra and Jayaccandra, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 117-20 & *Ind. Ant.*, XV, pp. 7-13.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XI, p. 278.

Tivarakheta and Achalapura, which are undoubtedly identical with Tivarkhed in the Betul District and Illichpur in the Amraoti District. The river Ambevivaka, on the south bank of which Tivarakheta was situated, is plainly the modern Ambhotā which flows by Tivarkhed. These identifications clearly proved that this Rāṣṭrakūṭa family hailed from Vidarbha.

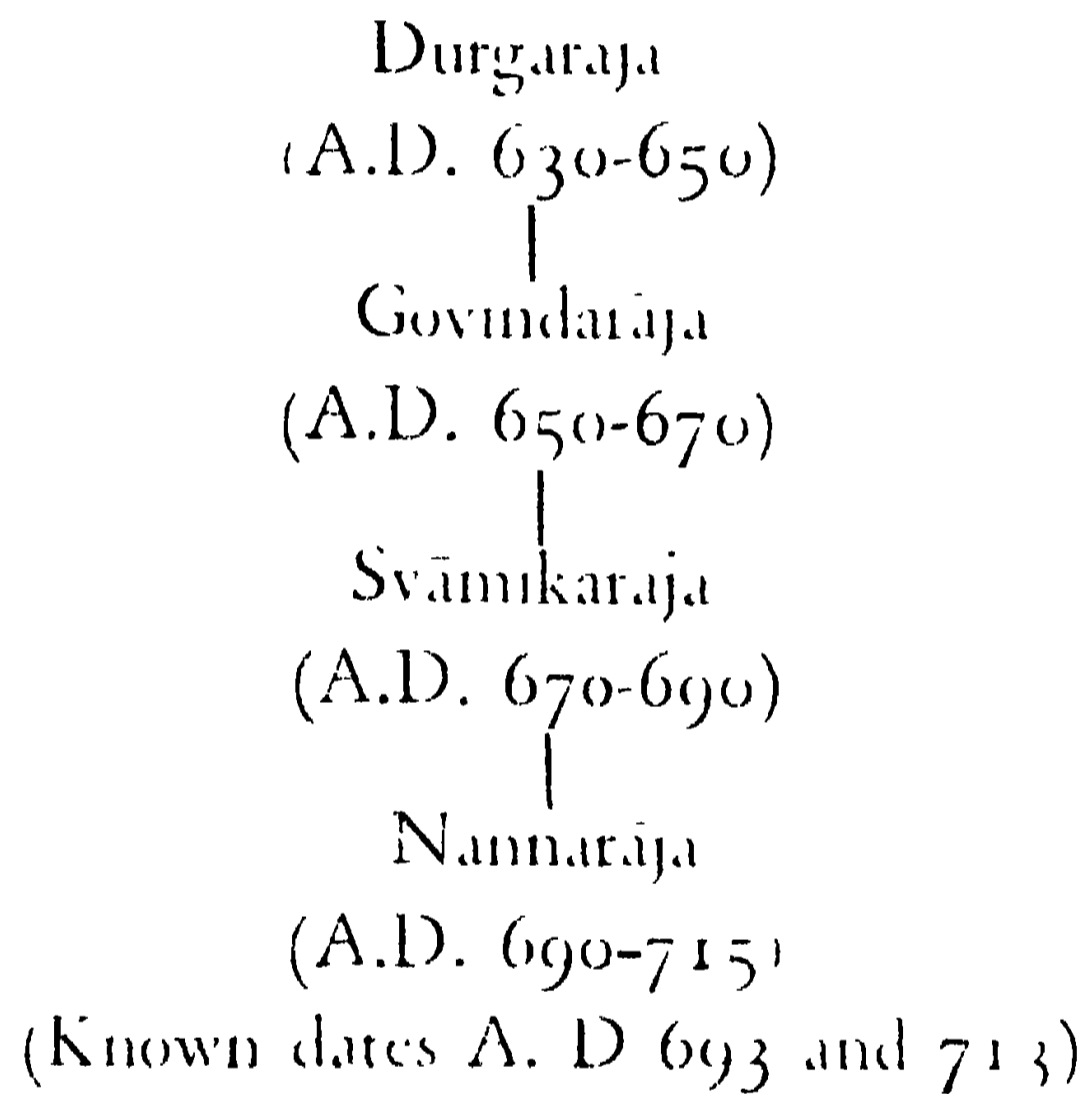
Attempts have since been made to connect the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty founded by Dantivarman with this royal family of Vidarbha. Dr. Altekar in his history of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas has shown how the two families may have been related.²



² Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 10

matter is now placed entirely beyond doubt by the discovery of a new set of plates of the same Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Nannarāja-Yuddhāsura, dated in Śaka 615 (A.D. 693-4) in the Akola District of Berar¹¹. These plates in their text closely agree with the Multai plates. Their date is also not far removed from that of the latter, while there is a difference of as many as 62 years between their date and the date of the Tivarkhed plates. There does not, therefore, appear any doubt that the Tivarkhed plates are spurious.

The dates Ś. 615 and Ś. 631 of the Akola and Multai grants respectively show that Nannarāja-Yuddhāsura flourished in the period A.D. 690-715. The dates of his ancestors mentioned in both these plates may be conjecturally fixed as follows—



Nannaraja could not, therefore, have been an ancestor of Dantidurga. Two dated records of the reign of Dantidurga have been discovered so far, *viz.*, the Ellora plates supposed to be dated in Ś. 663 and the Sāmangaḍ plates purporting to be dated in Ś. 675 (A.D. 753). Both these dates are unreliable. I have shown elsewhere¹² that the date of the Ellora plates is not Śaka 663, but Kalacūṭi 463. The Sāmangaḍ plates have rightly been regarded as suspicious. There is, however, no doubt that Dantidurga flourished in the first half of the eighth century A.D. (*circa* A.D. 710-750).

¹¹ These plates have been published in the *Marathi Monthly Paraga* by Dr. Y. K. Deshpande.

¹² See my article on Dantidurga, the Founder of the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa Power; to be published in *New Ind Ant.*

¹³ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIV, p. 121, ln 5

He was preceded by five ancestors, viz. Dantivarman, Indra I, Govinda I, Karka I and Indra II. Calculating on the basis of 20 years for a generation, the first of these may have flourished in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. He could not, therefore, have been a successor of Nannarāja who as we have seen flourished about a century later.

The ancestors of Dantidurga were thus contemporaries, not successors, of the forefathers of Nannarāja-Yuddhāsura. The two branches of the great Rāṣṭrakūṭa family were ruling contemporaneously—one over the Aurangabad District (ancient Mūlaka country) and the other over Berar (ancient Vidarbha). In fact no records of the Imperial family have been found in the Central Provinces and Berar till the time of Kṛṣṇa I, the uncle and successor of Dantidurga¹⁴.

The Imperial family did not therefore originally hail from Vidarbha.

V. V. MIRASHI

¹⁴ The earliest grant of the family discovered in C.P. and Berar is the Bhandak grant dated S. 694 (A.D. 772).

REVIEWS

HIGHWAYS AND BYWAYS OF LITERARY CRITICISM IN SANSKRIT by S. Kuppaswami Sastri, Madras, 1945, D/C octv. 94 pp.

Though discussions on the ancient Indian literary criticism is available in the writings of many scholars, yet it cannot be said that the subject has been treated anywhere with the attention and care it deserves. The present brochure being the work of a veteran Sanskritist like the late Kuppaswami Sastri will certainly draw attention of scholars to the importance of the subject and give inspiration to such of them as will undertake a comprehensive enquiry in this line. In course of the four lectures which he delivered in the Institute founded in his honour the late K. Sastri has very ably shown that the poets as well as critics of the ancient India were not dogmatic in their outlook and some of their views on the art and literature have remarkable similarity to that of the moderns. It is indeed a valuable addition to the study of the literature of our ancient land.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

THE RELIGIOUS BASIS OF THE FORMS OF INDIAN SOCIETY, INDIAN CULTURE AND ENGLISH INFLUENCE, EAST & WEST by A. K. Coomaraswamy, New York, 1946. Royal octv. 51 pp.

The booklet containing one essay and two addresses by the late A. K. Coomaraswamy treats the different problems connected with the contact of the East and the West. Being very able and close student of Arts and allied aspects of the oriental culture Coomaraswamy was highly competent to discuss these subjects. The vast range of literature which he referred to in course of his writings amply shows his mastery over the subject taken up by him for exposition. It may be unhesitatingly said that these essays will greatly contribute towards a mutual understanding of the East and the West which is so very badly needed at this critical period of the world's history.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

KENOPANISAD-BHĀŚYA by Sri Raṅgarāmānuja edited by K. C. Varadachari and D. T. Tatacharya, Tirupati 1945. Royal octv. 22 + 18 pp.

The Upaniṣads are among the richest heritages of India. Being the results of the lifelong spiritual endeavours of the seers (ṛṣi) of old they have given solace to Indians from the beginning of their history. But due to a difference of training and sectarian affiliation the commentators understood the texts of these great works in divergent ways. This gave rise to varying interpretations of the Upaniṣads. Raṅgarāmānuja whose *bhāṣya* on the *Kenā. Up.* is being reviewed here was a Tamil and lived more than six centuries after Śankara. Raṅgarāmānuja's *bhāṣya* is written in a simple language and is free from the excess of scholasticism characteristic of late writers of this class. The present editors have done their work excellently. The text of the Upaniṣad and the *bhāṣya* have been edited here with variants and a literal translation of both has been given for the benefit of general scholars.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

AKBARSĀHI-ŚṚṄGĀRADARPAṆA OF PADMASUNDARA edited by K. Madhava Krishna Sarma, Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, 1943. Demy octv. pp. xxxvii + 47 + 60.

The present work was written by Padmasundara, a Jain scholar in the court of Akbar, the great Mughal emperor of India. Composed in imitation of Rudrata's *Śṛṅgāratilaka* it has as its original feature the illustrative stanzas addressed to the patron Akbar. Though its literary merit is not very high, yet it is not without some historical importance; for it shows very clearly that the enlightened Muslim rulers of India were liberal enough to encourage the cultivation of Sanskrit. The editor of the work has done his duty quite creditably. His well written introduction gives all available information relating to the author Padmasundara.

Śṛṅgārasaṅjīvanī printed as an appendix to this volume is a work with a similar theme. But it is much shorter and is from the pen of one Harideva-miśra, who seems to be a very late author. This will be considered useful by the students of Indian lyrics of love.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

JĀTIBHEDA, by Kshiti Mohan Sen : Published by the Viśva-bhāratī Granthālaya, 2, Bankim Chatterji Street, Calcutta: Introduction + 218 pp. + Index.

In this informative and interesting volume on Indian sociology, Professor Kshiti Mohan Sen deals with the most intricate and delicate problem viz. caste system. Modern life has travelled far beyond the ken of old ideas and mediæval beliefs, and many of us have, therefore, learnt to think and say that caste system, far from being competent to govern the principles of social life, is at the bottom of many of the social evils of the Hindus, and serves as a bar to transactions both cultural and material, between India and the world outside. And Professor Sen proposes in these pages to illustrate with copious references from ancient lore, mediæval texts and modern books, the justification of this view.

The themes round which the drift of the book centres are that the caste system, originally unknown to the Aryans, was adopted by them on entering into India from the primitive un-Aryans, from whom also they derived the cult of *bhakti* and doctrine of *pūjā*; that even then neither the Vedic Aryans had any scruple about practising the *anuloma* form of intermarriage, nor *Brahmanhood* was a monopoly of the caste Brahmins, since it could be attained by non-Brahmins including sons of Śūdras by virtue of knowledge and personality; that when the rigors of caste system became more and more pressing from the age of the *Smṛtis* onwards, a section of liberals amongst the high castes was not lacking to advocate a degree of rights and privileges to the Śūdras of the Aryan fold as also to un-Aryan or non-Aryan peoples; that two distinct currents of culture, Aryan and un-Aryan, are clearly visible in the stream of Indian civilisation; that caste system is alone responsible for that the multitude of Indian population, which is composed of the Śūdra community including the womenfolk who are, as a matter of fact, classed with the Śūdras in so far as the performance of the Vedic rites etc. are concerned, has been precluded from making contribution to the humanity of the world; that notwithstanding all impediments the Śūdras and the women have succeeded to contribute something tangible to the store of religion, culture and thought of India; and that caste system, against which a reaction has already set in, being abolished altogether,

would be calculating to do infinite good to the Indian nationality and world culture. Professor Sen tells all this in his usual narrative style, and one wonders at the volume of evidences explored from diverse sources of information in favour of his contention. It is, however, more through the eyes of the social thinker than the student of history that the author has envisaged his subject, and neither, therefore, chronological sequence nor link between chapters concerned his thought much. But the researcher who would betakē himself to the task of building up a historical edifice on this issue of fact, or against it,—for there is another side of the whole question embracing equally cogent arguments to keep the balance in equipoise,—would find abundant materials in this book to utilise.

N. N. DAS GUPTA

MĪMĀṂSĀ DARŚANA (in Bengali), by Śrī Sukhamay Bhattacharyya: Published by the Viśvabhāratī Granthalaya, 2, Bankim Chatterji Street, Calcutta; 48 pp.

The average Bengalis' knowledge of the Mīmāṃsā philosophy is, in a word, meagre. If, therefore, any dissertation, essays, in Bengali, to give within a narrow compass a clear exposition of the fundamentals of the philosophy as a system, explaining at the same time in a simple manner the technicalities that are involved with it and the terminologies that are peculiar to it, should be in great demand by the educated public of Bengal. And such a treatise is the little monograph under review. It is neither of the nature of a disguised commentary or gloss on the *Adhyayas* or *Adbhāvanas* of the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras*, nor a clever attempt to represent the views of one particular school or person in the domain of Mīmāṃsā. On the contrary, it is a sort of useful aid to the study of the system as a whole by the beginner, who would get from it a fair idea of what it is and is not. The ideological and metaphysical differences of the *Bhaṭṭa-mata* with the *Guru-mata* on essential points, put side by side, will help the reader all the more.

N. N. DAS GUPTA

ŚĀNTIDEVER BODHICARYĀVATĀRA (the Bodhicaryāvatāra of Śāntideva, done into Bengali), by Śrī Sujit Kumar Mukhopadhyaya: Published by the Viśvabhāratī, 2, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta: Introduction + 92 pp.

Both Louis de la Vallée Poussin's edition of Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the Bengali rendering of the same by Swami Hariharananda Aranya under the patronage of the late Gopaldas Chaudhuri, the munificent zemindar of Sherpur, have long been out of market, and long has the want of this work been felt by students of Buddhism in this country. The appearance of this fresh translation in Bengali of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* by Śrī Sujit Kumar Mukhopadhyaya is, therefore, welcome. The present volume contains the translation of the first eight of the ten chapters of the work. Quite conscious of the responsibilities attending his task the translator has sought, with success, faithfulness to the original and yet lucidity of exposition all through. He follows, in clearing up, the commentary of Prajñākaramati, which together with only two others lying in Tibetan translation, those of Atiśa Dīpaṅkara and Vibhūticandra, is known to constitute the total number of commentaries on so highly interesting and excellent a work. The difficult terms and technical expressions are explained in footnotes as well as in a separate glossary at the end. Of this compendium of Mahāyāna teachings, the ninth and tenth chapters relate to philosophy, and the translator reserves the rendering and elucidation of these two chapters for a separate volume, which, let us hope, will soon follow in publication.

N. N. DAS GUPTA

MAHĀBHĀRATER SAMĀJA (Society as in the *Mahābhārata*, in Bengali), by Śrī Sukhamaya Bhattacharyya, Śāstrī, Saptatīrtha: Published by the Viśvabhāratī Book-stall, 2, Bankim Chatterji Street, Calcutta: Introduction + 521 pp. + Index.

This book on society as depicted in the Great Epic of India is, to say the minimum of it, a valuable addition to Bengali literature. Though more of the nature of a classified index than a research work properly so called, it is an outcome of enormous industry and patience,

and to a student, young or advanced, of ancient Indian history and culture—it merits to be ranked in value and utility with many of the best research works we have. Unlike Sørensen's *Index to the Mahābhārata*, which is a laconic analysis of the contents of the Epic chapter by chapter in each *parvan*, the book under review puts together the available data under a heading in a paragraph, several such paragraphs constituting a section of a part or book. To the student, therefore, its appeal is fundamentally superior, not only from this point of view but also for that it reproduces at the same time the relevant Sanskrit verses under each topic in footnotes.

The book is divided into three parts whereof the first one is purely on matters social. A considerable portion of the second part, however, deals with *Rājadharmā* or duties of a king and polity, while the third part concerns itself with *Āyurveda*, *Jyotiṣa* and the various philosophical systems referred to in the *Mahābhārata*. Justification of the term *Samāja*, as in the title of the book, to include within its range of denotation many of the matters of the second and third parts need not seriously be questioned in view of their expediency to the needs of the students, but some of the topics of the second part, e.g. *dharmā*, *devatā*, *āhnikā*, *srāddha* etc. had better go in the third part. Nevertheless, the author's survey of the subject is not merely comprehensive but perhaps complete, too, there being hardly any salient point left for inclusion. If such a book had long been in demand for constant references, here is the book that has supplied it, and that will earn for the author the gratitude of all Indologists.

N. N. DAS GUPTA

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Archiv Orientalni, vol. XVI, no. 3-4 (March, 1949)

PAVIL POUCHA.—*Cārvāka-dehātma-darśanam*. Passages are quoted from literature reflecting the outlook of Cārvāka's atheistic philosophy and its reaction on ancient Indian thought.

—*La Jyotiṣaratnamālā of Śrīpatibhaṭṭa*. The *Jyotiṣa-ratnamālā*, an astrological work of 20 chapters is being edited and translated into French. Six chapters of the text appear in this instalment.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, vol. XIII, par 1 (1949)

A. L. BASHAM.—*Recent Work on the Indus Civilization*. While writing on the Revised Edition of Mackay's *Indus Civilization*, the writer raises three important questions on the subject not yet satisfactorily solved viz., Did the Indus people come into contact with the Vedic Aryans? What language did they speak? And how far has their culture influenced that of post-Vedic Hinduism?

Journal of the Bihar Research Society,
vol. XXXIV, pts. III & IV (Sept-Dec. 1948)

K. K. DATTA.—*Shah Alam II's Agony and Appeal*. Shah Alam II, the powerless Mughal Emperor of the 18th century sent repeated appeals to different quarters, including the English in Calcutta, for help in his distress.

B. P. SINHA.—*Bearing of Numismatics on the History of the Later Imperial Guptas*.

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAM.—*More Gods of Harappa*. The paper concludes that Harappa represents a phase of Vedic culture akin to Classical Hinduism. The gods in seals and images found at Harappa are interpreted here as Vedic gods.

PRANAVANANDA.—*On the Site of the Royal University of Vikramaśilā*. Villages of Oriya and Antichak with their surrounding regions contain extensive brick and stone remains. This site, which is only a few miles from Kahalgaon in Bihar, is conjectured to have been the ancient Vikramaśilā.

Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, vol. V, pt. 1

R. C. HAZRA.—*Gaṇapati Worship and the Upapurāṇas dealing with it.* The worship of Gaṇapati-Vināyaka is traced back to an early period. Originally Vināyakas, four in number, were regarded as malevolent demons putting obstacles to men's work. Gradually the four had fused into one elephant-headed Gaṇapati who became a remover of obstacles also. At a later period Gaṇapati was included among the 'five deities' (pañcāyatana) and the sect of the Gāṇapatyas came into being. No early Purāṇic work deals exclusively with the worship of Gaṇapati.

SURLS CHANDRA BANERJI—*Marriage in Old and Medieval Bengal according to Smṛti Nibandhas.*

K. C. PANDLY.—*Sanskrit Drama in a Comparative Light.* The conception of drama as reflected in the works of Bharata and Abhinavagupta bears a marked similarity with the conception of Greek Drama as presented by Aristotle in his Poetics.

P. NAGARAJA RAO.—*Whitehead and Advaita Vedānta of Śaṅkara.* A comparison.

JNANENDRA LAL MAJUMDAR.—*Gauḍapāda's Kāṅka (Alātaśānti).*

The last chapter (alātaśānti) of Gauḍapada's *Kāṅkas* on the *Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad* has been rendered into English with a running exposition to show its Buddhistic character. Relevant passages from the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* are given.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. XVII, part I

C. BULCKL.—*The Three Recensions of the Vālmīki Rāmayaṇa.* Divergences in the three versions of the *Rāmayaṇa*—the Southern, the Bengali and the North-Western—have been noted in a comparative table and the genesis of the recensions is suggested.

H. N. RANDAL.—*Sanskrit and Greek Metres.*

G. S. GAI.—*Early Kadamba Chronology.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

1949, parts 1 & 2

H. W. BAILEY.—*Candra and Caṇḍa.* In a fragmentary Buddhist Sanskrit text of Khotan the epithet of Kaṇaṣka (= Kaṇiṣka) had

been found in the form *Cadrra* which is regarded to be a Khotanese spelling of Indian *Candra* or *Caṇḍa*. Two other allusions to Kaniṣka in Central Asia are noted here. The form *Kanaṣke* occurs in the language of Agni and Kuci, and in Sogdian there is a reference to Kaniṣka and his stūpa.

Philosophical Quarterly, vol. XXII, no. 1 (April, 1949)

- N. RAMACHANDRAN.—*Concept of Mukti in Indian Philosophy*. Some schools of Indian Philosophy—Buddhism, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, Sāṃkhya-Yoga and Pūrva Mīmāṃsā hold that *mukti* is a state of absence of misery, while others—Jainism and Vedānta regard *mukti* to be a state of perfect happiness.

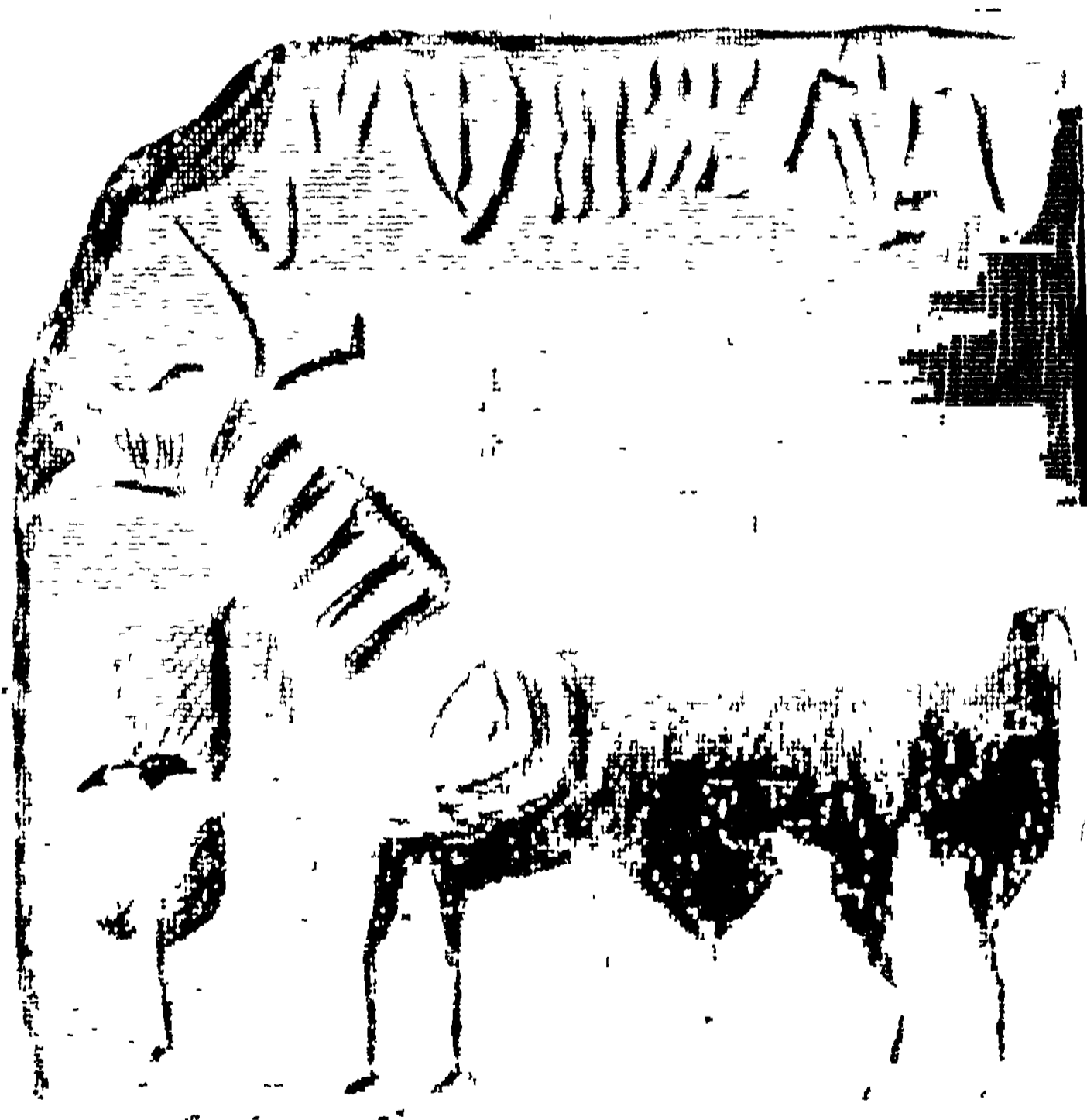
Sino-Indian Journal, vol. 1, part II (December, 1948)

- KAMTA PRASAD JAIN.—*Jainism and China*. Facts and legends have been given in the paper to show that 'the contact of Jainism and the Jainas with China is one of remote antiquity'.
- PRABHAT KUMAR MUKHERJEE.—*Indian Literature in Central Asia*. Prevalence of Buddhism among the Si-Hia (Tangut Empire) and the influence of Sanskrit and Prakrit among the Bru-za and the Ha-za people form the subject-matter of this article.
- S. C. SARKAR.—*A Tibetan Account of Nāgārjuna*. A short life-sketch in Tibetan together with an English Translation and Notes is published.
- N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI.—*Buddhist Secular Literature*. References to Buddhist poets and dramatists as also writers on poetics, erotics and polity are given in this note.
- SUHT KUMAR MUKHOPADHYAYA.—*The Spirit of Mahāyāna Buddhism*.
- V. G. NAIR.—*Buddhist Literature in South India*.

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Achaemenian Rule in India*

The *Cambridge History of India* has devoted an unusually long space¹ to 'Persian Dominions in Northern India'. Dr. A. V. W. Jackson, who wrote this chapter, has elaborately discussed the question whether Cyrus ruled in India, and after citing conflicting Greek authorities comes to the conclusion that "even if there are just grounds for doubting that Cyrus actually invaded Northern India, there can be no question that he did campaign in the territories corresponding to the present Afghānistān and Baluchistān".² In the case of Darius he accepts, without much discussion, on the basis of the inscriptions at Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rustam and the statement of Herodotus, the view first propounded by V. A. Smith that the Persian Dominion comprised "the course of the Indus from Kālabāgh to the sea, including the whole of Sind, and perhaps included a considerable portion of the Panjāb, east of the Indus". He suggests, however, that it probably reached as far as the Beas. Lastly, he maintains that 'this dominion prevailed even to the end of the Achaemenian sway in 330 B.C.'"³

These three propositions, specially the last two, rest on such weak foundations, that it is somewhat strange that students of Indian history, far from challenging, have tacitly accepted them as fairly representing the actual state of things.⁴ I propose to discuss them one by one.

* This paper was communicated to the Oriental Conference held in Bombay, in November, 1949, but could not be read on account of the absence of the author. It is printed here with the permission of the authorities of the Conference.

1 *CHI.*, vol. I, pp. 329-341. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 333. 3 *Ibid.*, p. 341.

4 Cf. e.g. Dr. H. Raychaudhuri in *Pol. Hist. Anc India*, 4th Edition, pp. 193-196

I. *The Conquests of Cyrus*

While Dr. Jackson has taken great pains to collect all relevant materials from Greek writings that are likely to throw any light on the subject, and has not ignored even folk-tales and popular beliefs or superstitions of a much later date, he has completely ignored the Indian evidence that has an undoubted bearing on it, *e.g.* the Buddhist account of the kingdom of Gandhāra, which comprised both Peshāwar valley and the Western Panjāb. Special importance attaches, in this connection, to the information gathered from Indian literature, that Pukkusāti, king of Gandhāra, sent an embassy and a letter to king Bimbisāra of Magadha and also defeated Pradyota, king of Avanti.⁵ As Pradyota was a contemporary of both Bimbisāra and his son Ajātaśatru, he did not probably come to the throne before 540 or 530 B.C., and Pukkusāti also may be regarded as ruling in Gandhāra about that time. He would be thus a contemporary of Cyrus who established his power and authority in 549 B.C. and died twenty years later in 529 B.C. On general grounds, therefore, we can hardly credit Cyrus with the conquest of the trans-Indus borderlands in the region round Peshāwar, until some positive evidence is forthcoming. Such evidence is, however, lacking. Our oldest authority, Herodotus, merely refers to Cyrus's campaigns against the Bactrians and Sacae. His further statement that Cyrus conquered every nation in Upper Asia is too vague and general, and evidently does not refer to India, which he mentions later in connection with Darius. To this may be added the explicit statement of Nearchus that Cyrus planned an expedition against India through Gedrosia (Baluchistān) but lost his entire army, excepting seven men, in that region. Megasthenes also explicitly states that the Persians did not invade India but merely approached it when Cyrus was marching against the Massagetae. As against all this evidence both Indian and Greek, there is only the statement of Xenophon that "Cyrus brought under his rule Bactrians and Indians". Apart from the vague nature of the statement, we shall see later that some tribes in Afghānistān were actually called Indians, and therefore even accepting Xenophon's assertion as true, it does not imply any invasion, far less conquest, of North India. Dr. Jackson also refers

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 125; *Buddhist India*, p. 28; La Cote, *Essay on Guṇādhya* (Eng. Tr. p. 176).

to Xenophon's account of an embassy sent to Cyrus by an Indian king with a sum of money, as "possibly supporting the idea of some sort of suzerainty over Northern India".⁶ But even if we accept the story as true, it is difficult to see how some money paid by an Indian king—on what account we do not know—could be construed as "direct consideration" "from the overlord of Northern India".⁷ As noted above, the Indian king might for anything we know be a local tribal chief in Afghānistān. In any case to construe him as 'overlord of Northern India' can only be regarded as a fantastic idea. Every student of Indian history knows as a matter of fact that no such overlord existed in North India in the days of Cyrus.

But there are good grounds to doubt the truth of the whole story. It is said that Cyrus received this money before his war against Croesus of Lydia. Not more than two years intervened between the conquest of Media, which raised Cyrus into a position of great power and importance from that of a petty local chief, and his attack on Lydia. During this period his hands must have been full in Mesopotamia, and it is difficult to believe that he found time and opportunity to extend his political influence, far less actually lead an expedition, in Northern India. On the whole Xenophon's story of the Indian embassy hardly deserves any credit, and even if true, does not prove anything about his suzerainty in North India.

We may therefore conclude that there is absolutely no ground for holding, even as a hypothesis, that Cyrus ever invaded North India or enjoyed suzerainty over it. To say, as Dr. Jackson does, "that there are just grounds for doubting it" is hardly in consonance with known facts and betrays a preconceived bias in favour of the Persians.

As regards the campaigns of Cyrus in Indian borderland, the older authorities are all silent on this point. Herodotus merely mentions the Bactrian and Saka conquests, and Megasthenes refers to the campaign against the Massagetae, who lived beyond the Oxus. Ctesias states that "Cyrus died in consequence of a wound inflicted in battle by an Indian in an engagement when the Indians were fighting

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 330.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 331.

on the side of the Derbikes and supplied them with elephants.”⁸ But we do not know the exact location of the Derbikes. Xenophon’s sweeping assertion that Cyrus brought into subjection all the nations from Syria to the Erythraean sea is on a par with his statement quoted above that Cyrus brought under his rule Bactrians and Indians.⁹

It is not till we come to a much later age, when more than six hundred years had passed since the time of Cyrus, and the Achaemenian empire had almost become a romantic legend, that we get for the first time details of Cyrus’s conquests in Indian borderland. Thus Arrian writes at the very beginning of his *Indika*: “The regions beyond the river Indus on the west are inhabited, up to the river Kophen, by two Indian tribes, the Astakenoi and the Assakenoi..... They were in old times subject to the Assyrians, then after a period of Median rule submitted to the Persians, and paid to Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, the tribute from their land which Cyrus had imposed.”

Now Arrian’s reference to the successive conquests of Afghānistān by the Assyrians and Medes has not been seriously taken, as it is not supported by any evidence and is never mentioned by any old authority. As regards Persians, while conquest in later times is vouched for by independent and reliable evidence, no such authority exists for the time of Cyrus. The entire statement of Arrian therefore may be regarded as no better than popular legends, and the conquest by Cyrus, in particular, may be merely an anticipation of later events, or confusion between an earlier and a later king (Darius).

A century later, Pliny refers to the destruction of a city called Capisa by Cyrus. This is usually taken to be the well-known Kāpīśā, north of Kābul. But some identify it with Kāpisa-kāni, the name of a stronghold in Arachosia mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius¹⁰. But whatever we might think of this, such an isolated statement by a writer, who flourished about seven hundred years after the event in question, does not carry much weight.

8 Jackson says. “The Derbikes might therefore be supposed to have been located somewhere near the Indian frontier, but the subject is still open to debate” (*Op. cit.*, p. 330). As mercenary soldiers often fought in distant places, it is not necessary nor even reasonable to locate the Derbikes near the Indian frontier simply on this ground.

9 *CHL.*, I, 330.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 332, fn. 4.

This is all the evidence on which Dr. Jackson relies. It hardly supports the view expressed by him, viz. that "there can be no question that he (Cyrus) did campaign in the territories corresponding to the present Afghānistān and Baluchistān" or that "it is certain...that his conquests included the districts of Drangiāna, Sattagydia, and Gandaritis, verging upon the Indian borderland".¹¹ So far as we know there is not even any later tradition crediting him with these conquests. As regards Gandaritis or Gandhāra it was, as noted above, a powerful independent kingdom in his time, according to early Indian literature. Dr. Jackson, who ignores any such evidence, relies implicitly upon vague and general or isolated statements of a much later age, but even these are too slender a basis for his wide conclusions. On the whole the only reasonable inference which one may draw after impartially considering all the evidence may be stated as follows, by slightly changing the wordings of Dr. Jackson quoted above at the beginning: While it is altogether out of the question that Cyrus actually invaded Northern India, there are just grounds for doubting that he led campaigns anywhere in modern Afghānistān and Baluchistān. It may be mentioned in this connection that the conquest of Indian borderland by Cyrus has been supported on a different ground in the following passage in *Cambridge Ancient History* (IV. 183): "Among the countries enumerated by Darius on the Behistun inscription as having come to him with the crown are Gandāra and Sattagydia, from which it may be inferred that Cyrus had already pushed the Persian conquests to the north-western frontier of India and even to the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush".

Now the wordings of the Behistun Ins. are: "These countries that come to me; by the will of Ahuramazda. I was then king".¹² These do not imply that Darius got them as his inheritance. But the sense is made quite clear in the Persepolis inscription where Darius says: "By the will of Ahuramazda these (are) the countries that I have conquered with (the help of) this Persian army."¹³ The wordings of the Naksh-i-Rustam Ins., though somewhat different, bear the same import. These are: "By the will of Ahuramazda these (are) the

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 333, 329-30.

12 Sukumar Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, p. 6.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 93-4.

countries that I seized afar from Persia".¹⁴ As the list that follows includes all the countries mentioned in the Bahistun Ins. it is difficult to hold that they were all conquered by Cyrus.

II. *Extent of Darius's Dominions in India*

Two inscriptions of Darius, one at Persepolis, and another near it at Naksh-i-Rustam, include both Gandhāra and Hi(n)du or Sindhu among the countries subject to that emperor. Another, found at Hamadan,¹⁵ describes his empire as extending from Sindhu to Sparda. These epigraphic references leave no doubt that some time after the issue of the Behistun Inscription, which mentions Gandhāra but not Sindhu, the latter region was conquered by Darius who was already master of Gandhāra.

None of these records helps us to determine even approximately the boundaries of the Indian dominions ruled by Darius, for we have no definite idea as to the connotation of Sindhu. Although used as a general name of India it included Afghānistān, south of the Hindu Kush, and Seistān, in old times.¹⁶ This is also proved by Arrian who in a passage, quoted above, applies the name Indian to the peoples of Afghānistān living to the west of the Indus and north of the Kābul river. It is therefore by no means certain that the country, specifically called Hi(n)du, which was subject to the authority of Darius, comprised any territory to the east of the river Indus. The very fact that the name Hindu occurs in a long list of countries, each of which denotes a small specific geographical region, seems to preclude the idea of its being used in a vague general sense indicating India. It might refer to the lower Indus valley which was specifically known as Sindhu, and is mentioned as such in *Baudhāyana Dharma-Sūtra*, composed at a date not far from the time of Darius. But it may also denote some other region to the east or west of the Indus.

Although Herodotus cannot be regarded as a very reliable authority in the matter, his statements have been accepted by Dr. Jackson as a

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

¹⁶ This point has been fully discussed by Dr. Jackson (*Op. cit.*, pp. 324-328) who quotes with approval the following statement of James Darmesteter: "Hindu civilization prevailed in those parts (Kābul and Seistān) which in fact in the two centuries before and after Christ were known as White India."

supplementary evidence in favour of his view that the Indian dominions of Darius included the whole of Panjāb and Sindh. But the details furnished by the Greek historian seem to indicate only Sindh as the Satrapy of Darius. For he says (III. 98-102) that 'in addition to the Indians subject to Darius, there are other Indians over whom Darius had no authority. Some of these dwelt in the marshes along the river (i.e. Indus) and lived on raw fish'. 'Eastward of these Indians were another tribe who are wanderers and live on raw flesh'. Northward of these were Indians of another tribe 'who live on the border of the city Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyica—the part of India where lies the sandy desert from which they procure the gold dust'. Presumably these were the Indians who acknowledged the suzerainty of Darius and paid him as tribute 360 talents of gold-dust which exceeded that of every other people. For it is by way of explaining how the Indians get plentiful supply of gold that Herodotus tells us the story of the Indians and narrate how those, mentioned last, procured the gold from the desert. At the beginning of the account also Herodotus tells us that beyond the Indus the whole country is desert on account of the sand. Whatever may be the worth of Herodotus's account it is fully in keeping with the view that India meant Sindh, and only that part of it which lies above the Delta and immediately to the west of the desert formed part of the dominions of Darius.

It is also necessary to discuss in this connection the naval expedition under Scylax which is taken as a further proof by Dr. Jackson of the "Persian annexation or control of the valley of the Indus from its upper course to the sea, including therefore the Punjab and Sind..."¹⁷ Our only source of information on this subject is the following passage of Herodotus (IV. 44): "Wishing to know where the Indus emptied itself into the sea he (Darius) sent a number of men on whose truthfulness he could rely, and among them Scylax of Carianda, to sail down the river. They started from the city of Caspatyrus, in the region called Pactyica, and sailed down the stream in an easterly direction to the sea. Here they turned westward, and after a voyage of thirty months reached the place from which the Egyptian king...sent the Phoenicians to sail round Libya. After this voyage was completed, Darius conquered the Indians and made use of the sea in those parts".

17 *Op. cit.*, p. 336.

Dr. Jackson holds that Caspatyrus, from which place the squadron started, was a place in the Gandhāra country situated on the Kābul river near its junction with the Indus. This location is evidently due to the explicit statement that the squadron sailed in the eastern direction. But Dr. Jackson altogether ignores the fact that in a previous passage (III, 102), quoted above, Herodotus has mentioned the city of Caspatyrus in Pactyica, as being quite close to the Lower Indus Valley bordering on the desert. The city of Caspatyrus, from which Scylax started, must have therefore been on the Lower Indus, and may be located near about modern Shehwan where the Indus, which so long runs south, takes a sharp bend towards the east. It is impossible in view of the changes in the course of this river to locate the place more definitely. But there is absolutely no ground to locate it in Gandhāra or upper course of the Indus, and the last sentence in the passage quoted above from Herodotus viz. that after conquering the Indians he “made use of the sea *in those parts*” makes it highly probable that the Indian kingdom conquered by Darius was on the lower course of the river.

The arbitrary assumption that the squadron of Scylax sailed from the Upper Indus led Dr. Jackson to make an equally unwarranted inference “that Darius must previously have won by force of arms a firm hold over the territory traversed from the headwaters of the Indus to the ocean, in order to have been able to carry out such an expedition”,¹⁸ Such an inference is highly illogical, and the expedition of Alexander to which he has drawn our attention hardly offers an analogy. For a scientific exploration by a small party, whatever might be its ulterior motive, would hardly arouse any suspicion, far less opposition, such as would be encountered by an armed force proceeding by land and sea, and led by a notorious and ruthless general with the avowed object of conquering the peoples on his way. Fortunately there is not much scope of speculation in this instance, as Herodotus expressly states, in the passage quoted above, that Darius conquered the Indians *after this voyage was completed*. To reject this part of the statement of Herodotus in order to support an illogical inference based on a wrong interpretation of the other part hardly does any credit to Dr. Jackson or strengthen his theory. On the whole there is nothing in Herodotus

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

to support the view that Darius ruled over the Panjāb, and all that he says quite fits in with the view that Sindhu, which formed a part of the Persian Empire, might refer to the well-known province of Sindh or rather a part of it.¹⁹

The different parts of his statement seem to indicate that Darius advanced through Gedrosia, probably by the Bolan Pass route,²⁰ and obtained a footing on the right bank of the Indus. Then he had the lower course of this river explored by Scylax, and as it offered a through passage to Egypt, he conquered the territories on the other side of the Indus in order, as Herodotus says, to make use of the sea in those parts.

It must be borne in mind, however, that Herodotus cannot be credited with any accurate knowledge, either of the geography of India or of the history of Persian conquests in that country. We cannot, therefore, regard as certain, merely on his authority, that Sindh was conquered by Darius. All that we can say is that it is a probable hypothesis.

If we leave Herodotus out of account, we have merely to depend upon the mention of 'Hindu' in the inscriptions, and there is no reason to think that it included or denoted any part of the Panjāb. For 'Hi(n)du' either corresponded to Sindhu, or might, with less probability designate the Indians in general. Even if we take the latter sense, we need not look for them in the Panjāb. For as we have seen above, the Astakenoi and the Assakenoi, living to the west of the Indus and north of the Kābul river, are expressly said to be Indians by Arrian. For all we know, they might be the 'Hindus' of the epigraphic records who accepted the suzerainty of Darius. There are several circumstances in favour of this view. In the first place the conquest of Gandhāra by Darius might bring him into conflict with these peoples as was the case with Alexander. Secondly, the mention of Bactrians and Indians together, as in a passage of Xenophon quoted above, points

19 It is somewhat curious that while Jackson regards the dominions of Darius as extending up to the embouchment of the Indus, he does not notice the incongruity of this assumption with the further statement of Herodotus, quoted by him (p. 337), that there were Indians still further to the south who were never subject to king Darius. Did these Indians live in the open sea?

20 In other words he successfully repeated the expedition of Cyrus which, according to Nearchus, ended in miserable failure.

towards these peoples as they were quite close to them. Thirdly, and this is very important, Megasthenes²¹ clearly says that the Persians did not lead an army into India, but only approached its borders when Cyrus marched against the Massagetae. As this people occupied the country between the Oxus and the Jaxartes, obviously the writer must have meant by India not the Panjāb but Kafiristan, as the border of the latter, and not of the former, would have been approached by Cyrus on his way to the Massagetae.

There is one important argument in support of the view that the Indian dominions of Darius were not in the Panjāb or Sindh, but lay on the other side of the Indus. It is the express statement made by more than one Greek writer that no foreigner before Alexander had conquered India. Thus Megasthenes says that India had never been 'conquered by a foreign power except by Hercules and Dionysius and lately by the Macedonians'. He even goes further and explicitly states that the Persians did not make an expedition into that country²². Arrian repeats this statement,²³ and Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander, practically expresses the same view, though not in so many words.²⁴ On the other hand Arrian asserts that the Indians to the west of the Indus submitted to the Persians.²⁵ Immediately after this Arrian states that 'the countries which lie to the east of the Indus, I take to be India proper, and the people who inhabit them to be Indians'.²⁶ It would then follow that in the opinion of these Greek writers, India proper, i. e. the country to the east of the Indus, was not conquered by any foreigner before the time of Alexander. It is difficult to believe that such a statement would be made by them if they knew of the conquest of the Panjāb by Darius. Nor is it conceivable that they were all ignorant of such an important fact.

It is gratifying to find that this view has been taken in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, though the joint authors of the chapter have not entered into any discussion of the subject. The relevant passage runs as follows: "The Persian province of India scarcely extended east of the Indus; but it paid in tribute far more than any

21 *Indica*, Tr. McCrindle, p. 109.

22 *Ibid.*, pp. 108-09.

24 Quoted by Jackson, *op cit.* p. 331

25 *Indica*, p. 179.

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 194-5.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 181.

of the other provinces, and is likely therefore to have included a very considerable tract of country between the mountains that separate Afghanistan from India."²⁷

To sum up. It is not possible to locate, with even a tolerable degree of certainty, Hi(n)du or Sindh mentioned as a subject country of Darius in his inscriptions. It might be the well known province Sindhu or the region to the north of the Kābul and the west of the Indus river, for both of which, the use of the name in this period is vouched for by ancient authorities. The view now generally held that it denoted the Panjāb, or even a considerable part of it, is at best a mere hypothesis, unsupported by any positive evidence, and certainly does not stand on a better footing than the other two.

III. *Duration of Persian Dominions in the Panjab*

Dr. Jackson holds the view that "When Alexander reached the river Hyphasis...he had touched the extreme eastern limits of the Persian domain," and further states that "this domination prevailed even to the end of the Achaemenian sway in 330 B.C."²⁸ We must accordingly hold that Greek writers, like Megasthenes and Arrian, were not only ignorant of the history of Darius and Xerxes who loom so large in the history of Greece, but told deliberate falsehood when they maintained that no foreigner had conquered India before Alexander. For Megasthenes must have actually seen some vestiges of Persian rule in the Panjāb if it continued down to 330 B.C. In any case he could not possibly have been unaware of it during his long stay in India as an ambassador, for he must have met many people who were grown up men during the Persian regime. It is also not a little curious that throughout his march from the Hindu Kush to the Beas Alexander never came across any sign of Persian rule which is supposed to have lingered till that time. He fought numerous battles with kings and peoples in the Panjāb, Sindh and Afghānistān, but there is not even so much as a hint in the detailed narrative of his campaigns that these had anything to do with the Persians. Nor have we so far found in India any positive evidence of the Persian

²⁷ *CAH.*, vol. IV, p. 183. Eduard Meyer also held that 'Darius advanced as far as the Indus' (Cf. the passage quoted in *CHI.*, I, 333).

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 341.

rule in the extensive plains of the Panjāb, though it is supposed to have lasted for nearly two centuries.

The only evidence on which Dr. Jackson relies is the presence of an Indian contingent among the troops which accompanied Xerxes in his expedition against Greece, or joined Darius III at Arbela. It should be remembered, however, that there is nothing to show that these Indian troops belonged to the Panjāb. As Dr. Jackson himself points out, according to Arrian, 'some of the Indian forces (who joined Darius III) were grouped with their neighbours the Bactrians ...and there were others called "Mountainous Indians" who followed the Satrap of Arachosia,'—a territory known as White India. "These frontier troops were supplemented by a small force of elephants belonging to the Indians who lived this side of the Indus".²⁹ The majority of the troops therefore belonged to the country to the west of the Indus.

In the second place there is nothing to show that these troops, particularly those from this side of the Indus, were subject peoples. That the Indians served as mercenary soldiers and fought both for and against the Persians, is attested by various authorities. Thus Ctesias records a Persian tradition to the effect that "Cyrus died in consequence of a wound inflicted in battle by 'an Indian' in an engagement when the Indians were fighting on the side of the Derbikes and supplied them with elephants".³⁰ Again Megasthenes says that the Persians got mercenary troops from India.³¹ The mere presence of Indian troops in the Persian army therefore does not imply that they were subjects of Persia, and in the case of Darius III we know that the Śakas joined him as free allies.³² It is also interesting to note that the Indian soldiers in the Persian army, both of Xerxes and of Darius III, were led by the Satraps of other provinces, not of India. Indeed nowhere is there any reference to the Persian Satrap of India.

The South Tomb Inscription at Persepolis includes Indians in a long list of peoples, who are taken to be subjects of the empire. But

29 *Ibid.*

30 *Ibid.*, p. 330.

31 *Indica*, p. 109.

32 *Anab.*, III, 8, 3-6; quoted in *CHI*, vol. 1; p. 341.

there is no express mention of the fact, and though the inscription may belong to the time of Artaxerxes II (404-359 B.C.), the list of peoples is copied *verbatim* from the inscription of Darius. No sure inference can therefore be drawn from this record regarding Persian dominion in India after the time of Darius.

There are thus no legitimate grounds to conclude that the Persian domination over that part of India, which was conquered by Darius continued after his death. Still less is there any ground for supposing that the Panjāb or any part of it was still, if ever, subject to the Persians when Alexander overthrew their empire in 330 B.C.

Any impartial critic must therefore hold that the entire conception of Persian domination in India, as envisaged in *Cambridge History of India* and generally by writers of Indian history, rests on such weak foundations that it cannot be regarded as authentic or even approximately correct.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

The Nirukta—Its Recensions

Professor Laksman Sarup, in the introduction to his edition of the *Nirukta*, has made it sufficiently clear that the *Nirukta* text has undergone much interpolation and that two distinct recensions are discernible amidst the extant texts of the *Nirukta*—the one longer and the other shorter, the latter being the basis of Durga's commentary. These two distinct versions can be traced even to Śaunaka's *Bṛhaddevatā*. As Professor Sköld states: "Two of the passages quoted (viz., of the *Nirukta*) deserve to be specially mentioned, viz., N. 6, 5-BD., 6, 138; N. 7, 10-BD., 2, 4-5. In the former case the *Bṛhaddevatā* follows the longer recension of the *Nirukta*, in the latter case the shorter one."¹ Apart from the question of relation between these two distinct recensions of the *Nirukta* text, there is still another important problem which deserves to be carefully investigated. It is whether the extant *Nirukta* is the genuine *Nirukta* of Yāska. The topic gathers importance in view of the fact that certain views which are attributed to Yāska by Śaunaka in his *Bṛhaddevatā* and in the anonymous *Vārarucaniruktasamuccaya*² cannot be traced in the extant *Nirukta*, and what more in some places they are at variance with the opinions expressed in the extant *Nirukta*. Though Professor Sköld has already discussed the matter at some length, the materials of the *Vārarucaniruktasamuccaya* had been left unutilised by him inasmuch as this work was not published till then. So I think it would be no mere repetition if we deal with the topic afresh with all its bearing on the history of the *Nirukta* text. Elsewhere, we have referred to the criticisms of Śaunaka directed against Yāska for his being not in conformity with the teachings of the author of the *Pada Text*.³ We would not, therefore, revert to that topic and would cite only those passages in the *Bṛhaddevatā* in which Yāska is referred to by name and discuss whether the opinion ascribed to him can really be traced in the extant *Nirukta*.

1 *The Nirukta . Its place in Old Indian Literature*, p. 94.

2 Edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja.

3 *Indian Culture*, vol. XII. No. 3 (*Yāska and Śākalya*).

I. In *Bṛhaddevatā* 1.23ff. Śaunaka discusses the origin of names :—

तत् खल्वाहुः कतिभ्यस्तु कर्मभ्यो नाम जायते ।
सत्त्वानां वैदिकानां वा यद्वाऽन्यदिह किञ्चन ॥
नवभ्य इति नैरुक्ताः पुराणाः कवयश्च ये ।
मधूकः श्वेतकेतुश्च गालवश्चैव मन्यते ॥
निवासात् कर्मणो रूपात् मङ्गलाद् वाच आशिषः ।
यदृच्छ्योपवसनात् तथाऽमुष्यायणाच्च यत् ॥
चतुर्भ्य इति तत्राहु-र्यास्क-गार्ग्य-रथीतराः ।
आशिषोऽथार्थवैरुप्याद् वाचः कर्मण एव च ॥'

Thus Yāska, along with Gārgya and Rathītara (*i.e.*, Śākapūṇi), holds that names originate in four distinct ways as against the *Nanuktas* who recognise nine different ways of the origin of Vedic and secular names.⁴ But in the present *Nirukta* there is no definite statement that can testify to this view of Yāska as referred to in the *Bṛhaddevatā*. We might, however, gather from the *Nirukta* that Yaska was inclined to hold that names usually originate from “action” (*karman*), the last of the four sources of the origin of names attributed in the *Bṛhaddevatā* verse to Yāska, Gārgya and Śākapūṇi. For example, in *Nir.* I.13. we meet with the form *kārmanāmika* derived from *karmanama* meaning “a name arising out of action”. The *Nirukta* passage referred to above reads as follows :—

“अथापि य एषां न्यायवान् कर्मनामिकः संस्कारः, यथा चापि प्रतीतार्थानि स्युः, तथा अन्वाचक्षीरन् । पुरुषं पुरिशय इत्याचक्षीरन्, अष्टे व्यश्वम्, तद्दन्मिति नृणाम् ॥”

Again, in *Nir.* V. 22 we meet with the expression *āsīṇamakāḥ*, which testifies to the view that Yāska also held that *āsīḥ* or “prayer” is one of the factors that give rise to various appellations—a view, which, as we have seen, is attributed in the *Bṛhaddevata* passage

4 “As to that, indeed, they say: ‘from how many actions does a name arise, whether of Vedic beings or any other (name occurring) here?’ ‘From nine,’ say the etymologists, and the ancient sages Madhūka, Śvetaketu, and Gālava think so too: (*viz.*) that which (comes) from abode, action, form, luck, speech, prayer, from accident, as well as addiction and extraction. With regard to that (question), Yāska, Gārgya, and Rathītara say, ‘from four: from prayer, from the diversity of objects, from speech, and from action’” -Macdonell’s *Translation*

5 Is it possible, as appears *prima facie* from the above citations, that Yāska was not a *Nirukta* teacher? Compare Sköld, *op cit.* on this question

already cited to Yāska, Gārgya and Śākapūṇi. Yāska here shows the etymology of the word *kitava* (*gambler*):—

“कितवः किं तवास्तीति शब्दानुकृतिः । कृतवान् वा आशीर्नामकः ॥”

Durga, commenting on this passage, states:—

“अथवा कृतवान् अयं यथा स्यात्—इत्येवम् असौ आशास्यते सुहृद्भिरन्यैः कितवेः सह । तस्मात् एवम् आशामनात् आशीर्निमित्तनामकः कितव एवासौ बभूव ॥”

Thus, we find that of the four different sources of names, which Śaunaka refers to as being Yāska's view, we can with certainty trace only two in the extant *Nirukta*, the other two sources being not at all recorded in it.

II. In *Bṛhaddevatā* II. 136-37, Śaunaka states :

“नदीवद् देवतावच्च तवाचार्यस्तु शानकः ।
नदीवत् निगमाः षट् ते सप्तमो नेत्युवाच ह ॥
अम्ब्येका च दृषद्वत्यां चित्त इच्च सरस्वती ।
इयं शुष्मेभिरित्येतं मेने यास्कन्तु सप्तमम्” ॥

Yāska states in his *Nirukta* that Sarasvatī is invoked in the *R̥gveda* both as a stream and as a deity, but he does not enumerate the hymns in which Sarasvatī appears as a river of that name.⁶ Still it should be noted that the *Nirukta* cites the verse “*iyam̐ śuṣmebbih̐*” (*RV.*, VI. 61. 2) to illustrate that in the *R̥V.* Sarasvatī appears also as a river. From this it is difficult to infer whether Yāska viewed this verse as the seventh of that kind and regarded the other six verses referred to in Śaunaka's work as being addressed to the river and not to the goddess. But from the trend of Śaunaka's assertion it seems plausible that Yāska did enumerate the hymns addressed to Sarasvatī—the river. If this hypothesis is accepted we must be led to the irresistible conclusion that Śaunaka was acquainted with some other version of the *Nirukta* text than what is presented before us, as it does not embody any such explicit enumeration.

III. In *Bṛhaddevatā* III. 100 Śaunaka refers to Yāska's view that *RV.*, 1.28.1-4 have Indra and Ulūkhala as their deities. Kātthakya, too, concurs with Yāska, while Bhāguri, contrary to the view of Yāska and Kātthakya, thinks Indra to be the principal deity of the above four verses. Compare :

6 Compare: नदीवत् देवतावच्च अस्या निगमा भवन्ति ।—*Nirukta*.

“पराश्रतसो यत्रेति इन्द्रोलूखलयोः स्तुतिः ।
मन्येते यास्क-कात्थक्यौ इन्द्रस्येति तु भागुरिः ॥”

But this view of Yāska is not traceable in the extant *Nirukta*, where however *RV.*, I. 28. 5 is cited as a verse where Ulūkhala (‘Mortar’) is invoked as the principal deity.⁷

IV. We now come to *Bṛhaddevatā* IV. 4-5ab where again Yaska is mentioned by name:

“अथाम्नेये अग्निमित्युत्तरे यं पञ्चैन्द्राणि प्र तदैन्द्रव्यगल ।
युवं तमिन्द्रापर्वतौ महस्तुतौ त्विन्द्रं मेन इह यास्कः प्रधानम् ॥
ऋक्षु स्तुतः पर्वतवद्धि वज्रो द्विवत्स्तुतौ ऐन्द्रमाहुः प्रधानम् ॥”

Thus according to Yāska, as cited in the above *Bṛhaddevata* extract, in *RV.*, I. 32. 6: *yuvam tam indraparvatā puroyudhā/yo nah pitanyad apa tamtamiddhatam/vajreṇa tamtamiddhatam/*—though Indra and Parvata are together invoked⁸ in the expression *Indra-Parvatā* in the dual, still Indra is predominant. But strangely neither the above verse is referred to anywhere in the *Nirukta* nor is there any reference as to the deity invoked therein.

V. The next instance where Yāska’s name occurs is to be found in *Bṛhaddevatā*, V. 8:

“वायुः शुनः सूर्य एवात्र भीरः शुनासीरौ वायुसूर्यौ वदन्ति ।
शुनासीरं यास्क इन्द्रं तु मेने सूर्येन्द्रौ तु मन्यते शाकपूणिः ॥”

Here Śaunaka cites the views of different teachers on the meaning of the term *śunāsīrau*—the dual form. Some explain *śuna* as *vāyu* and *sīra* as *āditya*, so that the compound *śunāsīrau* refers to Sun and Wind. But, according to Yāska, if we accept the assertion of Śaunaka, *śunāsīra* (singular) means Indra alone, while Śākapūṇi explains *śuna* as *sūrya* and *sīra* as *Indra*. In the *Nirukta* (IX. 40) the first interpretation is recorded⁹, but there is no trace of the explanation which in

7 See Professor Macdonell’s note on this verse: “The *Sarvānukramanī* follows Bhāguri, as it makes no statement about these four stanzas (which means that Indra is the deity: *asya sūktasya anādeśa indro devatā, Ṣaḍguruśisya*)”—*loc. cit.*

8 We should here note that Parvata is invoked along with Indra. Compare *Nirukta* VII. 10, where he is mentioned along with many other deities who share common offerings with Indra: “अथास्य सांस्तविका देवा अग्निः मोमो वरुणः पूषा वृषस्पति-ब्रह्मणस्पतिः पर्वतः कुत्सो विष्णुर्वायुः ।”

9 *śunāsīrau/suno vāyuh/ śu eti antarikṣe/ sira ādityah saraṇāt—loc. cit.*

the *Bṛhaddevatā* extract is distinctly ascribed to Yāska. Professor Sköld remarks: “Śākapūṇi (not mentioned by the *Nirukta* in this connection) holds the dual to mean *Sūrya* and *Indra*, a view unanimously professed by the Vedic commentators.” The latter part of his statement which has been shown by us in italics is not true, for the view recorded in the first half of the *Bṛhaddevatā* verse cited above, as also in the extant *Nirukta*, is held by other authors as well. The author of the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini’s *Aṣṭādhyāyī* explains *śunāsīrau* as *śunaḥ vāyuh/sīra ādityaḥ*—a view which is identical with that recorded in the *Nirukta*¹⁰. It is interesting to note that the interpretation which is ascribed to Yāska in the *Bṛhaddevatā*, though it is not to be traced in the extant *Nirukta*, finds support in the statement of Āśvalāyana, who is quoted by Haradatta, the author of the *Padamañjarī*, a commentary on the *Kāśikā* of Vāmana-Jayāditya.¹¹

VI. In *Bṛhaddevatā* V. 40 again Yāska is mentioned:—

“...प्र सुष्टुतिरिति त्वृचि (RV., V. 42. 14) ।
शौनकादिभिराचार्यैर्देवता बहुधेरिता ।
इङ्स्पतिं शाकपूणिः पर्जन्याम्नो तु गालवः ॥
यास्कस्तु पूषणं मेने स्तुतमिन्द्रं तु शौनकः ।
वैश्वानरं भागुरिस्तु ॥”

Here the author of the *Bṛhaddevatā* records the divergent views of Vedic teachers regarding the deity invoked in RV., V. 42. 14. According to Yāska the verse is addressed to Pūṣan, but in the extant *Nirukta* the verse referred to is not noticed, so that we are not able to verify the statement of the *Bṛhaddevatā*.

VII. In *Bṛhaddevatā* VI. 87, we again come across Yāska’s name without the view ascribed to him being traceable to the extant *Nirukta*. The verse concerned is:—

“निपातमाह देवानां दाता म इति भागुरिः (RV., VIII, 65. 10) ।
ऋचं यास्कस्तृचं त्वेतं मन्यते वैश्वदेवतम् ॥”

Yāska’s *Nirukta* does not contain the triplet alluded to in the above verse.

10 The dual form *śunāsīrau* occurs in Pāṇini’s *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in the *sūtra*: “*dyāvāprthivi-śunāsīra-marutvad-agniṣoma-vāstoṣpati-grhamedhāccha*”—IV. 2.32.

11 “अन्ये तु एकमेव शुनासीरम् इन्द्रस्य गुणं मन्यन्ते । यथाऽह अश्वलायनः—“इन्द्रो वा शुनासीर” इति । मन्त्रलिङ्गं च भवति—“इन्द्रं वयं शुनासीरमस्मिन् यज्ञे हवामहे” इति”—
Medical Hall Edn. Benares, 1898. vol. II, p. 132.

VIII. Śaunaka in *Bṛhaddevatā* VI. 107 refers to the views of Yāska and Bhāguri according to whom the *ṚV.* hymn VIII. 91 embodies an ancient legend about Apālā, the female seer of the *ṚV.*, while in Śaunaka's opinion that hymn and the following two hymns (viz. *ṚV.*, VIII. 92-93) as well glorify Indra. But it is strange that such a major point should not at all be touched upon in the *Nirukta*. It would be presuming too much if we hold that Śaunaka was misquoting. Most probably an earlier version of the *Nirukta*, to which Śaunaka had access, did contain some reference to the hymn in question. The verse referred to above runs as follows:—

“इतिहासमिदं सूक्तमाहतुर्यास्कभागुः ।
कन्येति शौनकस्त्वैन्द्रं पान्तमित्युत्तरे च ये ॥”

IX. Agam, in *Bṛhaddevatā* VII. 38, Yāska is referred to:—

“सावित्तमेके मन्यन्ते महो अग्नेस्तवं परम ।
आचार्यः शौनको यास्को गालवश्चोत्तरामृचम् ॥”

In this verse Śaunaka states that according to Yāska and others Agni is invoked in *ṚV.*, X. 36. 14. But this *ṚV.* verse is not cited in the *Nirukta*.

X. In *Bṛhaddevatā* VII. 69 Śaunaka quotes the conflicting views of Vedic teachers regarding the meaning of the term *pañca-jañāḥ* which is frequently met with in the *ṚV.* Yāska's view is also quoted, which tallies with the assertion in the *Nirukta*, the only point of discrepancy being that the view of Aupamanyava as recorded in the *Nirukta* is ascribed to Śākaṭyāyana in Śaunaka's work.

XI. In *Bṛhaddevatā* VII. 92-93, Śaunaka cites the opinion of Yāska who thinks that the deity invoked in the last foot of the couplet *ṚV.*, X. 59. 5-6 (i.e. *ṚV.*, X. 59. 6d) is Anumatī, while others opine that in these two verses the deity praised is Asunīti. Yāska does not comment on *ṚV.*, X. 59. 6 though the preceding verse is explained by him in *Nir.* X. 39 as one addressed to Asunīti.¹²

XII. Śaunaka states that Yāska held the *ṚV.* hymn X. 95 beginning with *haye jāye* to be a dialogue between Purūravas and Urvaśī. But though Yāska quotes verses from this hymn in his *Nirukta*, he

12 It is to be noted that Kātyāyana in his *Sarvānukramanī* does not refer to the view ascribed to Yāska in the *Bṛhaddevatā*, though the other view is recorded by him in the statement: “pra tatreti (*ṚV.* X. 59) daśarce catasro nūrtya-panodanārtham jepuś caturthyām somam cāstuvan mṛtyor apagamāya uttarābhyām devim asunītim.....”

nowhere mentions his view as to the character of the hymn. Śaunaka's verses are : —

आह्वानं प्रति चाख्यानमितरेतरयोरिदम् ।
संवादं मन्यते यास्क इतिहासं तु शौनकः ।
हय इति” *Bṛhaddevatā*. VII, 153-54.

Professor Macdonell notes in his comments on these verses: “This view cannot be gathered from *Nirukta* V. 13; X. 46-47; XI. 36.”

XIII. In *Bṛhaddevatā* VIII. 65 Śaunaka asserts that Yāska considers Indra and Agni to be addressed in the hymn X. 161. But in the *Nirukta* the hymn is nowhere cited. Compare: —

ऐन्द्राग्नं मन्यते यास्क एके लिङ्गोक्तदेवताम्”—*BD.*, VIII. 85.

In the foregoing pages we have discussed the views which have been attributed to Yāska by Śaunaka, and have shown that the extant *Nirukta* does not contain any statements that might correspond to these views. As Professor Sköld has summed up: “What is thus taught about Yāska in the *Bṛhaddevatā*? In two cases (*BD.*, I. 125 and V. 8) Yāska is opposed to the *Nirukta* or the *Nairuktāḥ*. In seven cases the doctrines attributed to Yāska are more or less traceable to the *Nirukta*, though three out of these cases are somewhat dubious (*BD.*, II. 111 sqq; II. 132 dubious; II. 74b sqq.; III. 112b B text; IV. 18 B text, dubious; VII. 7; VIII. 11 dubious). In ten cases doctrines attributed to Yāska by the *Bṛhaddevatā* are not found in the *Nirukta* (*BD.*, III. 100; IV. 4b; V. 40; VI. 87a, 107; VII. 38. 68 sqq, 93. 153; VIII. 65a).”¹³

We must now discuss the nature of quotations from the *Nirukta* contained in the *Vārarucaṇiruktasamuccaya*.

(i) The author commenting on *RV*. V. 39. 6: “*mitrasya carsaṇī-dhṛtaḥ*”-iti remarks: *mitro madhyamasthānadevatāsu paṭhitatvāt madhyamasthānatvena niruktaḥ | dyusthāno’pi mitro’su | sa iha nirucyate*”. Dr C. Kunhan Raja, the editor of the work, notes that nowhere in the *Nirukta* Mitra is stated to be a deity belonging to the highest region. But this statement seems to have been due to an oversight on his part. For, though Mitra has been read in the *Nighaṇṭu* (V. 4) as an atmospheric deity and not as a celestial one still in the *Nirukta* we have explicit assertions of Yāska himself that

Mitra might be invoked as a deity of the celestial region. As he states in *Nirukta* II. 13:—

“एवमन्यासामपि देवतानाम् आदित्यप्रवादाः स्तुतयो भवन्ति । तद् यथैतन्मितस्य वरुण-
स्यार्यम्णो दक्षस्य भगस्यां-शस्य इति । अथापि मित्रावरुणयोः ।”

(ii) On the same verse the author states:—

“प्रकरणसामर्थ्यात् इह तेजोमयं मण्डलमुच्यते । तथा च प्रकरणश एव विनियोक्तव्य
इति भाष्यकारवचनम् ।”

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja comments on this statement: “Usually in the literature of Vedic interpretation, *Bhāṣya* means the work of Yaska beginning with *samāmnāyah*. And *Bhāṣyakāra* is Yaska. But this passage is not found in the *Nirukta*.” Dr. Raja has here perpetrated the mistake committed by Dr. L. Sarup, the editor of the *Nirukta* with Skandasvāmin’s commentary. For, the statement underlined above occurs with slight variation in Skanda’s commentary on *Nirukta* VI. 22:—

“आश्वमेधिक इति प्रकरणमनुसारयति (०—स्मारयति ?) । प्रकरणमपि अर्थाभिव्यक्ता
अलमित्यभिप्रायः । तथा च शास्त्रान्तरे वक्ष्यति प्रकरणश एव मन्वा निर्वक्तव्या इति ॥”

Professor Sarup notes in a footnote that the quotation underlined is not met with in the *Nirukta* or elsewhere. As he observes: “*anupalabdham idam.*” The learned Professor was probably misled by the erroneous reading *śāstrāntare*, which should be *śāstrānte*. Had he cared to verify the authenticity of the citation he would have certainly been able to trace it to *Nir.* XIII. 12 where the statement occurs *verbatim*:—

“न तु पृथक्त्वेन मन्वा निर्वक्तव्याः । प्रकरणश एव तु निर्वक्तव्याः ॥”

The citation of the author of the *Vārarucaniruktasamuccaya* has to be slightly emended so as to be in conformity with the actual statement of Yaska, viz. *tathā ca prakaraṇaśa eva nirvaktavyā iti Bhāṣyakāravacanam*.

(iii) On p. 30 of the above work the author states:—

“कृष्णेन इति दशतयीषु पाठः । तथा सति कृष्णं कृषतेर्नाशार्थस्य । तम आदेर्नाशयिता ॥”
This derivation of *kṛṣṇa* is not met with in the *Nirukta*, where it is explained as—“*kṛṣṇam kṛṣyateḥ/ nīkṛṣṭo varṇaḥ.*” Most probably the author is here quoting the view of some other *Niruktakāra*.

(iv) On p. 32 again the author derives the term *ātman*:—“atter dhātor ātma-śabdo niruktaḥ,” “*ātman* has been derived from the root \sqrt{ad} .” But by whom? Not by Yaska. For in *Nir.* III. 15, Yaska notes the possible etymologies of the word in the following

extract: “*ātmā atater vā, āpter vā, api vā āpta iva syāt/ yāvadyāptibhūtaḥ-iti.*” But the derivation recorded by the author of the above work is not to be found there. Here, too, another *Nirukta* text might have been the source of this derivation.¹⁴

(v) A very important case is to be found in another statement of the *Niruktasamuccaya*:—

“सूनरः...पदकारेण एतत् पदं नावगृहीतम् तथापि भाष्यकारवचनात् पदकारमनादित्य एतन्निरुक्तम् ॥”

We fail to trace the word *sūnaraḥ* in the extant *Nirukta*, and yet Bhāṣyakāra in the above extract certainly refers to Yāska as it has been exemplified in other cases. This points to the existence of a different version of Yāska's *Nirukta*.

(vi) On p. 67 the author cites another statement of Yāska which too is not traceable to the extant *Nirukta*:—

“उदकमपि हिरण्यमुच्यते इति भाष्यकारवचनात् ॥”

These evidences bearing upon the text of the *Nirukta* can lead us to any of the following alternative conclusions which have been noted by Dr. Kunhan Raja: “It may be that there was a larger recension of the *Nirukta* of Yāska and these references may be from that recension. Or it may be that the references are to other *Niruktas* which were available to the author and which are now lost to us. It may also be that the references are only to certain Vedic commentaries and not to *Niruktas*. Whatever be the position, the sources of these statements are not traceable now.”¹⁵

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14 It is interesting to note that in Sureśvara's *Bṛhadāraṇyakabhāṣyavārttika*, *ātman* is derived among others from the root *√ad* also. Cp. “yaccāpnoti yādādatte yaccātti viṣayān iha/yaścāsyā santato bhāvas tena cātmeti giyate.”

15 *Op. cit.* Introduction, pp. XXXII - XXXIII.

The Maga Ancestry of Varāhamihira

Varāhamihira is well-known in the history of Indian astronomy, as the author of the *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, the *Bṛhajjātakam*, the *Bṛhatsamhitā* and some other less-known works. The great astronomer flourished during the first half of the sixth century A.D. Probably his works were also written during this period. Dr. Kern writes in the introduction to his edition of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsamhitā*, "...we know, with certainty that the most flourishing period of his life falls in the first half of the sixth century of our era."¹ Varāhamihira's own writings do not give us any specific indication as to the particular religious sect to which he belonged.

A study of Varāhamihira's works shows that he was a devotee of the Sun. The *Bṛhatsamhitā* opens with an invocation to the Sun²—

जयति जगतः प्रसूतिर्विश्वात्मा सहजभूषणं नभसः ।

द्रुत कनकसदृशदशशत मयूखमालाचिंत सविता ॥

The opening verse of the *Bṛhajjātakam*—a treatise on horoscopic astrology—is also a similar and even more elaborate invocation to the solar deity³—

मूर्त्तित्वे परिकल्पितः शशभृतो वर्त्माऽपुनर्जन्मना-

मात्मेत्यात्मविदां क्रतुश्च यजतां भर्तामरज्योतिषां ॥

लोकानां प्रलयोद्भवस्थितिविभुश्चानेकधा यः श्रुतां

वाचं न स ददात्वनेककिरणस्वैलोक्यदीपो रविः ॥

Elsewhere, in the same work, Varāhamihira has given further proof of his devotion to the Sun-god. In the concluding chapter, he gives the following account of his family⁴ :—

आदित्यदासतनयस्तदवाप्तबोधः कापित्थके सवितृलब्धवरप्रसादः ।

आवन्तिको मुनिमतान्यवलोक्य सम्यक् होरां वराहमिहिरो रुचिरां चकार ॥

1 *Bṛhatsamhitā* (edited by H. Kern) Introduction, p. 4.

2 *Ibid.*, I. 1.

3 *Bṛhajjātakam*, I. 1. (*Sacred Books of the Hindus*—edited by B. D. Basu vol. xii, p. 1).

4 *Ibid.*, 28. 9. (*Sacred Books of the Hindus*, vol. xii, p. 399).

“Varāhamihira, a native of Avanti, the son of Ādityadāsa and instructed by him, having obtained the gracious favour of the Sun, at Kapitthaka, composed this elegant work on horoscopy, after making himself duly acquainted with the doctrine of the ancient sages.” Almost the same sentiment is echoed in different language in the introductory verse of the *Pañcasiddhāntikā*⁵—

दिनकरवसिष्ठपूर्वान् विविधमुनीन्द्रान् प्रणम्य भक्त्यादौ ।

जनकं गुरुं च शास्त्रे येनाम्भिन्नः कृतो बोधः ॥

Here again—there is the customary salutation to the Sun and to Vasīṣṭha and various other sages as also to his father, who apparently taught him the science of astronomy. All these passages from the great astronomer's works leave hardly any room for doubt that the Sun was the foremost object of his adoration. A study of his minor works e.g. the *Laghubjātakam*, the *Jātakārṇava*, the *Yogayātrā* and the *Varāhamihira-Saṃhitā*, points unmistakably to the same conclusion. The author salutes the Sun in the beginning of all these works. The last named work however appears to be of doubtful authenticity.⁶ The question now remains, whether he belonged to any particularly known sect of Sun-worshippers or whether his devotion to the Sun-god, was free from any sectarian tinge.

The sixtieth chapter of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* discusses among other things the installation of images and the rites attaching to it. In that connection, Varāhamihira has given us the names of certain gods and goddesses and also those of the particular sects, worshipping them⁷—

विष्णोर्भागवतान् मगांश्च सवितुः शम्भोः सभस्मद्विजान्

मातृणामपि मातृमण्डलविदो विप्रान्विदुर्ब्रह्मणः ।

शाक्यान् सर्व्वहितस्य शान्तमनसो नम्रान् जिनानां बिदु

ये यं देवमुपाश्रिताः स्वविधिना तैस्तस्य कार्यो क्रिया ॥

Here we find a most interesting reference to the cults of Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Śiva, Mātṛgaṇas, Brahmā, Buddha and Jina, as also to the sects who had specialised in the worship of these and to the installation and consecration of their images. The Magas are here

5 *Pañcasiddhāntikā* (edited and translated by Thibaut and Sudhākara Dvivedi), Text, p. 1; Eng. translation, p. 3.

6 Eggeling—*Ind. Off. Lib. Cat. of Sanskrit Mss.* Pt. V. pp. 1094-95; H. P. Sāstī—*Nepal Durbar Lib. Cat.* vol. I, pp. 27, 179; Peterson—*Report of Operations in search of Sanskrit Mss. in the Bombay Circle* Pt. I, p. 100.

7 *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, 60.19 (Kern's edition of the text, pp. 328-29).

distinctly spoken of as the worshippers of Sūrya. The commentary of Bhaṭṭa Utpala makes the position further clear⁸: “विष्णोर्नारायणस्य भागवतान् । सवितुरादित्यस्य मगान् मगब्राह्मणान् । शम्भोर्महादेवस्य । द्विजान् ब्राह्मणान् सभस्मसहितान् पाशुपतानित्यर्थः”—etc. The Magas have been described by the commentator as a class of Brahmanas who were the priests of the Sun.

Scholars have long since come to the conclusion, that the Sun-worshipping Magas, mentioned in ancient Indian literature and inscriptions, were originally the same as the Magi priests of ancient Iran. A section of these foreign priests migrated to India at some early date. The story of this migration is found, in the shape of an elaborate legend, in the *Bhaviṣya Purāna*.⁹ A bare outline of it is given below: “The Maga-Brahmanas were originally the inhabitants of Śākadvīpa. In the Mihira clan—a sage was born—whose name was Ṛijihva. This sage had a daughter—Nikṣuvā by name. She had a son by Sūrya or the Sun-god, and this child was named Jalagambu or Jaraśabda.¹⁰ This child in time grew up to be the progenitor of the Maga sect. Once, Śāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa by Jāmbavatī, had an attack of leprosy. Having heard the praises of the Sun-god from Nārada, he offered worship to the Sun and got cured of this hateful disease. Out of gratefulness he resolved to erect a temple of the Sun-god on the bank of the Candrabhāgā. No local Brāhmaṇa however agreed to serve as a priest in that Sun temple. Hence Śāmba had at last to go to Śākadvīpa and contact the Magas there. He brought eighteen families of Maga-Brāhmaṇa priests from Śākadvīpa to Jambudvīpa (India). The Magas being a Sun-worshipping sect, the Maga-Brāhmaṇas brought back by Śāmba, were able to serve Śāmba’s purpose, by acting as the priests of the Sun.” Scholars, now, are unanimous in their opinion, that the Magas referred to in the above story are to be identified with the Sun-worshipping Magi priests of

⁸ *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, (Text, edited with Utpala’s commentary by Sudhākara Dvivedi) vol. II, p. 797.

⁹ *Bhaviṣya Purāna*—Brāhma Parvan, chapters 127-149 (Venkateśvara Press edition of the text, pp. 113-33).

¹⁰ *Bhaviṣya Purāna* (Venkateśvara Press edition) gives the name of the sage as Sujihvā (I. 139, 33) and that of the son of Sūrya and Nikṣuvā as Jaraśabda (I. 139, 43); Ṛijihva and Jalagambu are different readings—the former one being used in the same chapter of the same edition in different places.

ancient Iran.¹¹ The identification does not rest merely on a superficial similarity of names. The legend tells us that the Magas were brought to India by Śāmba as priests of the Sun. The Magi priests of ancient Iran were also noted as worshippers of the Sun. The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* further informs us—that Śāmba decided to worship the Sun in order to get cured of leprosy and that finally led him to approach the Maga Brāhmaṇas of Śākadvīpa. In this connection, it must be remembered that the ancient Persians, who had the Magi sect as their priests considered the disease of leprosy, a product of the curse of the Sun. According to Herodotus,¹² “Whatsoever one of the citizens has leprosy or the white (leprosy), does not come into the city, nor does he mingle with the other Persians. And they say that they contract these (diseases) because of having committed some sin against the Sun.” One of the motives behind the worship of the Sun in ancient Persia therefore was the desire to remain free from this hateful disease. The apparently intimate connection between Sun-worship and the disease of leprosy, noticed in the case of Śāmba, has its counterpart in the sun-cult of ancient Iran. In the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* legend, the Magas are distinctly referred to as the natives of Śākadvīpa. This is supported by some of the other Purāṇas which also connect the Maga-Brāhmaṇas with Śākadvīpa. In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*,¹³ we read—

मर्यादा व्युत्क्रमो नास्ति तेषु देशेषु सप्तसु
 मृगाश्च मागधाश्चैव मानसा मन्दगास्तथा ॥
 मृगा ब्राह्मणभृयिष्ठा मागधाः क्षत्रियास्तथा ।
 वैश्यास्तु मानसास्तेषां शूद्रास्तेषान्तु मन्दगाः ॥

The lines are a part of the description Śākadvīpa, that the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* contains. Here four inhabitant tribes of Śākadvīpa, have been mentioned viz. the Mṛgas, the Māgadhas, the Mānasas and the Mandagas; and these have further been described as the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras of Śākadvīpa, respectively. A few of the manuscripts of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, no doubt, read the name of the first tribe as “Mṛga”, and that reading has been accepted by Wilson in his English translation of the Purāṇa.¹⁴ But in this

11 D. R. Bhandarkar—*Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population* (Reprinted from the *Ind. Ant*), p. 12.

12 Herodotus, I. 138

13 *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, II. 4. 69-70. (Jibananda Vidyasagar's ed., p. 242).

14 Wilson—*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, vol. II. p. 199.

connection, we should do well to remember the words of Dr. F. Hall, who has edited Wilson's English translation: "Only three manuscripts have "Mṛga" in both lines; two have "Marga" and "Maga" in the first and second places respectively. The rest (and a vast number) have clear Maga in both places." It therefore appears certain that the proper reading in the above passage is "Maga" and not "Mṛga." The reference to the worship of Viṣṇu, "in the form of the Sun" in Śākadvīpa, by these people lends further support to this view.¹⁵—

शाकद्वीपे तु तैर्विष्णुः सूर्यरूपधरो मुने ।

यथोक्तेरिज्यते मग्यकृ कर्मभिर्नियतात्मभिः ॥

The descriptions of Śākadvīpa in the *Mahābhārata* and some of the other Purāṇas leave no room for doubt that the above view of Hall is correct. On all occasions, in these cases the priestly class of Śākadvīpa has been definitely referred to as "Maga." This reading, for example, is found in the *Brahma Purāṇa*, the *Agni Purāṇa*, and the *Kūrma Purāṇa*, not to speak of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, which as we have said, discusses the Magas in detail.¹⁶ The account in the Great Epic is almost similar to those of the Purāṇas, and we find here the following explicit statement¹⁷—

तत्र पुण्या जनपदाश्चत्वारो लोकमंमताः ।

मगाश्च मशकाश्चैव मानसा मन्दगास्तथा ॥

Much controversy had centred round the problem of the identification of Śākadvīpa. Some at least of the seven Purāṇic islands, were undoubtedly situated outside the borders of India proper. According to most scholars—Śākadvīpa has been named after the Śakas or the ancient Scythians and its geographical position was the same as that of ancient Śakasthāna or modern Scistan in Iran¹⁸. The Śakas or the Scythians, after whom Śākadvīpa was named, are well-known in Indian historical tradition and have a distinct place in the early history of this country. After the fall of the Maurya empire, the north-western region of India fell an easy prey to foreign invaders.

15 *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, II, 4. 71.

16 *Brahma Purāṇa*, 20. 71-72 (Bangabasi ed., p. 107), *Agni Purāṇa*, 119. 18-21 (Jibananda Vidyasagar's ed., p. 345), *Kūrma Purāṇa* Pūrvabhāga, 48. 36-38 (Bangabasi ed., pp. 212-13); *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, I. 139. 73. (Ven Press ed., p. 125).

17 *Mahābhārata*, 6. 12. 33 (Poona ed., Bhīṣma Parva I, Fascicule 15, p. 66).

18 H. C. Ravchaudhuri—*Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 68.

These consisted chiefly of the Yavanas (the Greeks), the Śakas (the Scythians) and the Pahlavas (the Parthians). Ancient Indian literature and inscriptions contain numerous references to them. In spite of their foreign origin, these invaders gradually succeeded in settling down in this country as permanent inhabitants and in course of time acquired a place in the contemporary Indian society. Most probably the Śakas or the Scythians brought the distinctive Iranian Sun-cult along with them to India. The coins of the Kushāna kings bear the name and figure of "Miuro" or Mihira—the ancient Iranian Sun-god.¹⁹ The name "Mihira", as is well known, has been derived from "Mithra" the name of one of the Avestan Sun-gods of Iran. It therefore appears that the Iranian Sun-god was a familiar deity in the north-western regions of India from the times of Kanīṣka I, who was the first to display him on his coins. According to most scholars Kanīṣka reigned in the first century of the Christian era. It is therefore permissible to believe that Mihira-worship entered India from Iran, at least some time before this period and along with the new mode of worship, the new priests of the cult—the Sun-worshipping Magi sect of Iran also entered this country. In this connection mention must be made of a particular piece of human sculpture at Barhut, which some scholars would interpret as an image of the Sun.²⁰ According to them, the figure exhibits in the main, the characteristics of the North-Indian image of the Sun, described in detail, by Varāhamihira himself.²¹ Now this particular style, admittedly is marked by strong Persian influence. If therefore the above interpretation of the particular piece of sculpture, is accepted, we have to admit that already in the days, when the Barhut sculptures were being engraved (second century B.C.?)—Iranian sun-cult had, through its Magi votaries, succeeded in influencing its Indian counterpart, so much so, that the influence even spread to the field of the making of Sun-images. It must however be mentioned here that there is a great deal of controversy regarding the interpretation and the identification of the mentioned image. Recently the above theory of Dr. B. M. Barua has been rejected by Dr. J. N. Bannerjea, who gives

19 Whitehead—*Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, vol. I, pp. 188-89, 194-95, 198, etc.

20 B. M. Barua—*Barhut*, vol. III, p. 54; plate lx'i figure 71.

21 *Brhatsamhitā*, 58. 46-49. (Kern's edition, pp. 320-21).

good ground for believing that the figure in question, is that of "some Indo-Greek king of the extreme north and north-west," and the form is, "undoubtedly an idealised one."²²

From the information, we gather from the 19th verse of the 60th chapter of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsamhitā*, quoted above, it appears quite certain, that the Magas were well established in India as the priests of the Sun-god by the sixth century A. D. Varāhamihira himself classes them as worshippers of the Sun.

What little we know about the personal life of the great astronomer, leads us to believe, that he himself probably belonged to this Sun-worshipping sect of Maga-Brahmanas, who originally belonged to Iran but who had subsequently settled down in India and had been accepted as Brahmanas in Indian society. Enough has been said to show that he was a devout worshipper of the Sun. Taken together with his classification of the Maga-dvijas as the special sect of solar priests of his time it naturally points towards the conclusion, that he himself belonged to that sect. Further, Bhaṭṭa Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛhatsamhitā* makes an interesting remark about Varāhamihira, which requires careful consideration in this connection. The commentator distinctly says²³: "सतामयमाचारा यच्छास्त्रप्रारम्भेष्वभिमत देवतानमस्कारं कुर्वन्ति, तदयमप्यावन्तिकाचार्य-मगधद्विज-वराहमिहिरोऽर्कलब्धवरप्रमादो ज्योतिः शास्त्रगङ्ग-ग्रहकृद्गणितस्कन्ध होरास्कन्धौ सञ्ज्ञिसौ कृत्वा गंहितास्कन्धं सञ्ज्ञिप्तं चिकीर्षु रशोपवित्रोपशान्तये भगवन्तं तत्प्रधानं सूर्यमादादेव प्रणनाम ।" It is to be noticed that Utpala here refers to Varāhamihira as "मगध-द्विज". Apparently the expression means "a Brahmana from Magadha." Dr. Kern accepts this meaning and holds the view that the family of Varāhamihira originally belonged to Magadha (south Bihar). We should mark, however, that Varāhamihira in his work "*Bṛhajjātakam*" describes himself as "आवन्तिक" or "belonging to Avanti". Utpala also confirms this view by calling the astronomer "आवन्तिकाचार्य". There is therefore hardly any doubt that Varāhamihira was a native of Avanti (modern Malwa, Nimar etc. in C.P.). The two expressions "मगध-द्विज" and "आवन्तिक" or "आवन्तिकाचार्य" therefore appear self-contradictory

22 See for a brilliant discussion of the whole subject—his paper, "A Bhaṭṭat Railing sculpture" in *The Proceedings of the Tenth Session of the Indian History Congress*, Bombay, pp 65-68, see also his *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 321.

23 *Bṛhatsamhitā* (Sudhākara Dvivedi's edition), vol 1, p 2

in the present context. It is tempting to read “मग-द्विज” in place of “मगध-द्विज”, but this would be a fanciful emendation as no manuscript supports this new reading. Though we cannot accept any new and arbitrary emendation of the text, unsupported by any evidence whatsoever, it is really difficult to reconcile the two conflicting views’ about the astronomer’s nativity, hinted at, by the above expressions. At this point probably the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* comes to our rescue. In it we read²⁴—

नाभोज्यं भुञ्जते यस्मात्तेन ते भोजका मताः ।

मगं ध्यायन्ति ते यस्मात्तेन तेन ते मगधाः स्मृताः ॥

Here the two terms “मग” and “मगध” have been described almost as synonymous. If the expression “मगध-द्विज,” used more than once by Utpala, with reference to Varāhamihira,—is explained in the sense in which मगध has been used in the above verse of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, we can keep the present reading intact and yet take the expression to mean “मग द्विज”. Considering all the aspects of the problem this seems, in the present state of our knowledge, the only way out of the difficulty. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar was the first to draw our attention to the second line of the above passage and to stress the possibility of such an explanation.²⁵ According to a late tradition about the origin of the Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas of this country, they were indigenous brāhmaṇas belonging originally to Magadha and that was why they had formerly been known as Magas. Though incorrect and very late in origin,—the opinion gives us an instance of the synonymous use of मग and मगध.²⁶ We must in this connection remember, that the name of the Sun-god is associated with the names of both Varāhamihira and his father Ādityadāsa. “Mihira,” the second half of the name of the great astronomer, is extremely suggestive. It is, as we have said, derived from “Mithra,” the name of the Iranian Sun-god. The worship of the solar deity, in that name was a characteristic feature of the Maga or the Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas in India. These foreign priests for the first time introduced the cult of Mihira in India. Recognized as Brāhmaṇas in the Indian society, they popularised the cult and in course of time spread it almost all

24 *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, I. 117. 53. (Venk. Press ed., p. 104).

25 *Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population*, p. 13.

26 Risley—*Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol. I, pp. 159-60.

over the northern India. Branches of these Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas exist in India even to day and significantly enough, many of them up till now, use the epithet “मिहिर”.²⁷ The epithet therefore undoubtedly smacks of Śākadvīpī or Maga association. The opening verse of the होराषट्-पञ्चाशिका an astrological work by Pṛthuyāśas, the son of Varāhamihira—also shows that the latter like his father, was a devotee of the Sun. Sun-worship in the case of Varāhamihira, thus was a family creed which is known to have existed probably at least for three generations.²⁸ Finally we must also not lose sight of the fact that Varāhamihira describes himself as having received the gracious favour of the Sun (सवि॒तृ-लब्ध-वर-प्रसादः) and Utpala also refers to him almost in the same language (अ॒र्क-लब्ध वर-प्रसादः).

All these points, when discussed together induce one to believe that Varāhamihira himself belonged to the Sun-worshipping Maga-Brāhmaṇa community. Long ago Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar threw out a brilliant suggestion to the same effect²⁹, but he did not enter into any detailed discussion on the subject. In the absence of any definite reference anywhere, we should not of course, claim any finality for the above view. It must be admitted however that available evidence at present certainly warrants its cautious acceptance.

DILIP KUMAR BISWAS

27 Bhandarkar—*Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population*, p. 12.

28 Eggeling—*Ind. Off. Lib. Cat. of Sanskrit Mss.* Pt V, p. 1058.

29 *Foreign Elements*, p. 13.

The Rule of the Achaemenids in India

I. *Introductory*

India, the central and longest of the three irregular peninsulas of Southern Asia, is a geographical entity, due to its separation from the rest of the continent by the lofty barriers of the Himalayas. This physical barrier has, however, not always proved insurmountable, and while the rich plains of the sacred Bhāratavarṣa have invited the settlements of nomadic hordes from the continent, she, on her part, on the other hand, has often meddled herself in the socio economic life current beyond her frontiers. Thus there arose in this land a culture peculiar to her own in which we can trace indigenous elements combined with greater Asiatic traditions, and many phases of Indian history can only be properly understood in this Indo-Asiatic background.

India's contact with the areas beyond her border had mainly been maintained through the passes of the north-west, and we may presume that the sea also played some part in this direction.¹ A route ran through Kandahar, Herat, Hekatompylos, Ecbatana and Seleucia and joined a path running through the Kabul Valley and the Khyber Pass². It was mainly through this route, and possibly by another through the Mulla Pass, used in the later days by the Scythian invaders of India,³ that the Indian caravan leaders carried their commodities to the distant lands. After the conquest of the Indo-Iranian borderland by Cyrus and Darius the great these routes came into more prominence and after the Macedonian invasion served as the mediums through which poured Greco-Iranian culture on the soil of India.

The pre-historic Indus Valley civilisation shows India's intimate relationship with the land of Sumer, and the Indian conception of mount Sumeru standing in the middle of the Jambudvīpa seems to be of Semetic origin "for the earliest occurrence of the word is in an early Semetic legend

1 *JRAS*, 1898, pp. 241-288.

2 Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilisation*, pp. 193-214; Jouguet, *Macedonian Imperialism*, pp. 93-107, 353; Ray, *Maurya and Sunga Art*, p. 15.

3 Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 320; Louis de la Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas et des Barbares*, p. 235.

in the British Museum."⁴ The *R̥gveda*, the earliest literary monument of the Indo-Aryans, bears allusions to the land of Iran and is linguistically connected with the *Avesta*, the earliest document of the Iranians.⁵ The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, of a later date, refers to the twin tribes of *Uttara-Kuru* and *Uttara-Madra* as living beyond the Himalayas (*paraṇa Himāc intam*).⁶

These Indian evidences show that Bhāratavarṣa maintained close relationship with the Western and Central Asia since the dawn of history. Non-Indian data also point to the same conclusion, as demonstrated by Kennedy in *JR.AS.*, 1898, pp. 241-288. Kennedy's view that there were commercial relationship between India and Assyro-Babylonia, via, the Persian Gulf as early as the seventh century B.C., and even earlier, is accepted by Olmstead, with certain modifications, who thinks that "if there was intercourse with India and the (New) East at this early date it must have been overland and not by the sea."⁷

Arrian affirms that the district to the west of the river Indus as far as the river Kophen (Kabul) was in ancient times subject to the Assyrians, afterwards to the Medes and then to the Persians. Alexander was told by the inhabitants of Gedrosia (Baluchistan) that the Assyrian Queen Semiramis, on her flight from India, passed through the tract escaping with twenty men only. Justin says that no one invaded India except Semiramis and Alexander. Megasthenes states, however, that Semiramis died before carrying out her undertaking.⁸

Very little can be made out of these vague and often contradictory statements of the Classical authors. Expeditions in 808 and 807 B.C. against the Mannai mark the most easterly expansion of the Assyrian arms and afford a slight basis for the fabled conquests of Semiramis in Bactria and India. India's contact with the Assyro-Babylonian empire also lends colour to such stories. Dr. Winckler points out that Shalmanesar IV of Assyria (727 B.C.) received presents from Bactria and India, specially Bactrian camels and Indian elephants, while Rassam found at Bis Nimrud a beam of Indian cedar in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar III of the Neo-

4 King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 14, f.n. 2

5 *CHI.*, vol. I, pp. 322-326.

6 *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII. 14.

7 Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, p. 532.

8 Arrian, *India*, I. 3; *Anabasis*, VI. 24. 2-3; Justin *Historiarum Philippicarum*, I. 2. 29; Megasthenes as quoted by Strabo, *Geogr.* XV. 1. 6.

Babylonian empire (c. 580 B.C), part of which is now exhibited in the British Museum.

After the fall of Assyria c. 612 B.C., Media with its capital at Ecbatana (modern Hāmādān) became a political unit of great significance and of vast extent." But there is absolutely no evidence that this Median empire ever succeeded in dominating the Indian-borderland, as Arrian asserts. Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā* (XIV) mentions a colony of the Medas or Medes in India. Herodotus states that the Magi were one of the six tribes of the Medes. In Indian literature we find references to the Magi or Maga-Brāhmaṇas with their Sun cult, but they are described as the Brāhmaṇas of the Śākadvīpa.¹⁰ Ptolemy speaks of the Brakhmanai Magoi as occupying "the parts under Mount Bettigo."¹¹

The Classical authors, nevertheless, persistently maintain that the region to the west of the Indus did not belong to India. Eratosthenes expressly distinguishes it from India, and Foucher points out that a number of the old local names "are said to be Iranian."¹² Anthropologists believe that the Indus is the ethnographical boundary between the Turko-Iranian and the Indo-Aryan types just as in history it has often been the political boundary between Iran and India.

Aśoka's attempt to bring the Yonas, Kambojas and Gandhāras within the orbit of the sacred law also manifests that this region differed culturally from the rest of India. Buddhaghosa states that the Yaunas, Kambojas and other allied people of the frontier lived within the sphere of Persian influence.^{12a} As Jackson observes: "The geographical connection between India and Persia historically was a matter of fact that must have been known to both countries in antiquity through the contiguity of their territorial situation. The realms which correspond to-day to the buffer states of Afghanistan and Baluchistan found always a point of contact and were concerned in antiquity with Persia's advances into Northern and North-Western India as well as, in a far less degree, with any move of aggrandisement on the part of Hindustān in the direction of Iran."¹³

9 McGovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia*, pp. 61-62.

10 Herodotus, I. 101, *Mbb.* VI. 11; *Matsya Purāna*, ch. cxxii.

11 Ptolemy ed. *McCrimde*, p. 167.

12 *Id.*, 1331, p. 358.

12a Ray, *Maurya and Śunga Art*, p. 47.

13 *CHI.*, vol. I. p. 331.

Thus when the Achaemenids conquered and established their rule on the Indian borderland, they had been dealing with a region already known to them not only through trade and commerce but also by a semi-common tie of culture. The history of this conquest is unfolded by a series of inscriptions left by the Achaemenid monarchs themselves,¹⁴ and by incidental references in the works of the Classical authors. The last named source, however, is defective inasmuch as they are late and mainly based on hearsay evidences. Even the works of Herodotus and Ctesias, who lived in the Achaemenid epoch, are inferior in quality to the evidences furnished by the epigraphs, for Herodotus' knowledge of India was very poor and the work of Ctesias is full of "old wives' tales." The proper method, therefore, to study the Indo-Achaemenid history would be to base the account primarily on the materials supplied by the epigraphs and then to corroborate or supplement them by the notices from the Classical works.

It will probably be not out of place here to mention a few facts bearing on the condition of the Indian borderland on the eve of the Achaemenid conquest. Already a passage of the *Atharvaveda*, well known to the scholars, consigns Takman or fever to the Gandhāris along with other people like the Mujavants, the Aṅgas and the Magadhas. This shows that the land of the seven rivers, sacred to the writers of the Ṛgvedic hymns, has fallen in the estimation of the later Indo-Aryans, and a similar account in the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* enjoins that one should perform purificatory ceremonies if per chance he goes to the land of the Āraṭṭas etc.¹⁵ These statements show that there prevailed in the post-Ṛgvedic age two distinct types of cultures, one in the Uttarāpatha and another in the Madhyadeśa, and it has been inferred from this that there were two invasions of the Indo-Aryans in India,¹⁶ one representing the long-headed Nordic Indo Europeans proper, and another consisting of the short-headed Alpines, Dimaries and Armenoids. The second Aryan

14 The Achaemenid records have been edited and translated by Sen in his *Old Persian Inscriptions*. See also in this connection *MASI*, no. 34; Buck, *Language*, 1927; *JAOS.*, II, p. 330; Tolman, *Old Persian Lexicon and Texts and Cuneform Supplement*; Thompson, *The Inscription of Darius the Great at Behistun*, 1907; Ogden, *A Note on the Chronology of the Behistun Inscription of Darius*, *Pavry Memorial Volume*, pp. 361-365.

15 *Atharva-Veda*, V. 22. 14; *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, I. 2. 14

16 Chanda, *Indo-Aryan Races*

invasion evidently took place in the post-Rgvedic age, and in fact, it appears from the anthropological and linguistic data, that the Aryan speech came in various waves from the west and gradually spread over the length and breadth of India.

Thus it appears that the borderland of India was the one spot where bands of tribes had been constantly migrating from Central and Western Asia, and as such a disturbing condition prevailed in that area. Another Aryan group that possibly migrated a little before the conquest of the Achaemenids is represented by the speakers of the Dardic language, believed by some to be descended from the Aryan dialect of the Alpine short-heads, under which come speeches of the extreme North-West of India, *viz.*, Kashmiri, Shina and a few others like Chitrali, Bashgali and Pashai.

The Achaemenids at once caught hold of the opportunity offered by this disturbing condition and extended their arms to India. In this they may have been helped by the Iranians of this area, for the *Rgveda* refers to the Pakhtas of the North-West, the Pactycc of Herodotus, the modern Pashtus, and scholars are unanimous that Pashtu belongs to the Iranian group of language, like Baluchi, each in two dialects.

In a very interesting article in *J.A.*, 1926, pp. 1 ff., Przyluski has dealt with the tribes that entered India shortly before the Persian rule. These foreign peoples settled mostly in the North Western Frontier Province and the Punjab and the Indian writers classed all these barbarians together as Bāhlikas, a term which in a narrow sense meant the Bhallas, west of the Jhelum.¹⁷ To the east of that river such new immigrants were the Madras, a people between the Chenab and the Ravi, and the Sauvira-Sindhus, who later on moved southwards and founded a new capital at Roruka or Alor. Alexander's historians speak of the hill-ruler Arsaces and of the Sogdion on the Indus. The name Arsaces is Parthian or North-Iranian while Sogdion is evidently derived from Sogdiana in Central Asia. There is, however, no proof that the names are pre Achaemenid, and it is rather possible to find traces in them of India's contact with the region beyond the Himalayas at an age when under the Achaemenids both formed parts of the same empire.

¹⁷ Przyluski, *J.A.*, 1926, p. 11, de la Vallée Poussin., *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas et des Barbares*, pp. 13-14.

II. *On the term Ka(n)buyya—Kamboja*

There are five Columns at Behistun containing the inscriptions of the Achaemenid King Darius the great. The Fifth Column seems to contain the inscriptions executed in the third year of his reign, i.e., 519 B.C., while the first four record his achievement of the first year [cf. *OP.* phrase *bamabyaya(b) tharda (b)*] and may have been possibly executed at the beginning of 519 B.C.

In Column I, Darius gives a list of 25 countries "that came to" him. In this list we find two names that are Indian, viz., Ga(n) dāra or Gandhara and Qatagus or Sattagydia. The location of Sattagydia has not yet been properly determined. Cunningham thinks that it is identical with Opian, which is near the old *janapada* of Kāpiśa, and which was sometimes included in the latter. Herzfeld, on the other hand, thinks that it was the Punjab. "The word (Qatagus) would signify 'having hundred heads of cattle.' But the name is Indian as well as the Persian with the same meaning: Śatagu—and as all the foreign renderings have the S in the beginning, we may consider it as an Iranisation of the originally Indian name."¹⁸ Where then this Indian Śatagu country can be? I propose to identify it with the valley of the river Gomatī (the Gomāl), mentioned since the R̥gvedic age, for Gomatī means "abounding in cows," exactly the same sense conveyed by the term Śatagu.

The location of Gandhāra is well known. In the Achaemenid days it seems to have comprised the Kabul Valley and extended in the north to the hills of Swat and Buner. The *Jatakas* and the *Rāmāyana* inform us that the *janapada* of Gandhāra extended on both the sides of the river Indus, and while the eastern part had its capital at Takśiśila—the capital of the western part was Puṣkalāvātī. In the east, the *janapada* evidently extended as far as the Rāvi, for Strabo locates the little kingdom of Gandaris, ruled by the Younger Poros at the time of Alexander's invasion of India, between the Chenub and the Rāvi. The Punjab, thus, was Persian from the middle of the sixth century onward.

These two countries Gandhāra and Śatagu must have been inherited by Darius from his predecessors, for, as he repeatedly says in the Behistun record, he took over the Achaemenid empire in a state of complete dis-

integration after the death of Cambyses, and had to suppress nine serious rebellions in course of one year, and hence had little time to make fresh conquests.

Gandhāra and Śatagu, were, therefore, conquered either by Cyrus, the founder of the Achaemenid empire, or his successor Cambyses, who was succeeded by Darius the great. Cambyses ascended the throne amidst troubles, "when province after province was revolting and securing independence and we have good grounds for supposing that the Eastern Iranians also succeeded from breaking away Persian control."¹⁹ Cambyses was thus throughout engaged in maintaining peace and order in his own empire, and it proves indirectly that Gandhāra and Śatagu were conquered by Cyrus himself.

The name of Cambyses (O.P. Ka(m)bujiya) has, however, been linked with the frontier people of Kamboja by Hoffman and others. Lévi makes the interesting observation that Kāpiśa and Kamboja seem to be two attempts "to render the same foreign word in a language which did not lend itself to the purpose: Ka (*Kam*) = Kdm. p s (*bj*) each has a labial followed by a palatal; unvoiced in the first case and sonant in the second; the middle term seems to have been in the two cases a spirant: f and z both of which are wanting in Sanskrit. The spirant appears in Greek also, in the sibilant of the proper name Kambyses = Ka(n)bujiya, the son of Cyrus, of whom the name probably recalled one of the conquests of his father, the destructor of Kāpiśa."²⁰

If we, then, follow the lead of the French savant, we have to admit that the region extending from Kāpiśa to Kamboja became Iranian at a very early date. Column III of the Behistun inscription refers to the fortress of *Kāpisākāni*, within the jurisdiction of the satrap of Arachosia, and here a great battle was fought in which the army of the Achaemenid king became victorious "by the grace of Ahura Mazda." Kapiśā or Kāpiśa is mentioned in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, and refers no doubt to the country of Ka-pi-shi of Yuan Chwang in the neighbourhood of Balkh. It was famous for its vine yards, now as in ancient times, as is shown by the example by which the *Kāśikāvṛtti* explains the rule, and we observe that the soldiers of Raghu also relieved themselves from their fatigue with

19 McGovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia*, p. 62.

20 *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, trans., P. C. Bagchi, p. 120.

the liquor of that country rich in vine-yards.²¹ It is also referred to in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya. We have several coins of the Indo-Greek kings bearing the legend “*Kavisīye nigara devatā.*” From the account of Yuan Chwang, it appears that Kāpiśa comprised the whole of Kafūstan as well as the two large valleys of Ghorband and Panjīr.²²

Konow proposes to identify Kāpiśa with Ki-pin mentioned in the Chinese texts (*Han Shu*, 96a, 10-12). There has been much dispute regarding the exact denotation of the term Ki-pin. Some scholars e.g., Weiger, Charpentier, Gutschmid and others would identify it with the Kabul or Kophen river basin making it thus identical with Kabulistan. This identification, though recently advocated afresh by Tarn, is certainly wrong, because in the Han period the Kabul river basin was known by another name viz., Kao-lu. Lassen and Hetzfeld have tried to locate Ki-pin further to the south in Arachosia or Southern Afghanistan. But a critical study of the Chinese texts would show that this view is hardly tenable. Chavannes points out that whereas in the later times Ki-pin equals Kāpiśa or the lower Kabul Valley, in the Han period it is equivalent to Kashmir. In fact, the term Ki-pin has always been used in a rather loose sense to denote either the whole or a part of the region extending from Kāpiśa to Kashmir. Some of the Chinese texts define Ki-pin as being bounded on the south-west by Wu-i-shan-li (Arachosia), and on the north-west by the Bactrian kingdom of Ta-yue-chi, while on the north-east it was nine days journey to Kan-tou, and on the east 2250 li to Wu-cha.²³

To turn now to the discussion of the term Kamboja, Yaska says that the Kambojas use the √'śab instead of √'gam in the sense of going. Śavati does not occur in Sanskrit, but it is a good Iranian word. There is the old Persian √'siyav—and the Avestan √'siw, *savate*, to go cf. Persian *sudam*, Skr. √'cyav Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of the Badakhsan and the Pamir regions points out that the Signi tribe uses the term *suta* in the sense of “going”; the Sarkel tribe uses the word *set* in the sense of “to go”; *subat* for “gone” and *sauma* for “will go”; the Mungī

21 *Kāśikāvṛtti on Pāṇini*, IV 2 99. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang* vol I, p. 122; *Raghu-vaṃśa*, IV. 65

22 *Indian Studies presented to Prof. Rapson*, p. 333

23 *ZDMG.*, 1906.,

tribe uses the term *siab* for "to go." All these tribal words can be traced to the $\sqrt{śab}$. Thus traces of the old Kamboja tribe exist at the present day in the Badakhasan and the Pamir regions. In the west, the tribe, in the ancient days, seems to have extended as far as the eastern part of Afganistan, for here we find peoples who call themselves Kamoja and Kaumji, in which we can trace probably the survival of the name Kamboja.

It has been pointed out that the following *gāthā* from the Pāli *Jātaka* "by itself establishes a close connection between the Kambojas and the ancient Iranians, with whom the destruction of the noxious or Ahramanic creatures was a duty.

"Those men are counted pure who only kill
Frogs, worms, bees, snakes or insects as they will...
These are your savage customs which I hate
Such as Kamboja hordes might emulate."²⁴ (VI. 110).

The Kamboja is mentioned in the edicts of Aśoka along with the Gandhāra and the Yona as an 'anta' or semi-independent border country. If we accept the view of Senart that the outlying provinces have been enumerated in R.E. XIII in a definite order, then the Kamboja country, in the days of the great Mauryan emperor, must have been contiguous to that of the Yavanas, for the Yavanas and the Kambojas are mentioned one after another in the epigraph. In the *Mahābhārata* also the Kambojas are associated with the Gandhāras and the Yavanas.²⁵ From the same epic we learn that Karṇa, in course of his *digvijaya*, went to Rājapura and defeated the Kambojas. This Rājapura has been identified with the Rajapura of Yuan Chwang which lay to the south or south-east of Poonah, near the Jhelum river, i.e., the modern Rajaori.²⁶ Thus the Kamboja country abutted to some extent on the Bāhika land, or the region watered by the Indus and her five tributaries.

From a careful study of the anthropological data, Sir Herbert Risley classified the Indian humanity into seven main physical types, and one of them is the "Turko Iranian" type, which comprises the Baloches, Brāhuis and Afghans of Baluchistan and the N.-W. Frontier Province.²⁷ These

²⁴ *JRAS*, 1912, p. 256.

²⁵ *Mbb.*, XII. 207. 43.

²⁶ *PHAL*, p. 126.

²⁷ Risley, *The People of India*, p. 7.

are probably the result of a fusion of Persian and Turki (it came at a later stage) blood. The area covered by these tribes formed a part of the great Achaemenid empire.

III. *The Reign of Darius the great (521-485 B.C.).*

In Column II of the Behistun record, Darius gives the name of nine countries, which revolted against him, when he was in Babylon. In this list we find the name of Śatagu. In this connection, it may be noted that after giving the names of 23 countries which include Gandhāra and Śatagu, in Column I, Darius says: "These countries which went away from me, by the will of Ahura Mazda became submissive to me (and) bore my tribute."

It follows, therefore, that Gandhāra and Śatagu joined in the general revolt against Darius, after his accession to the throne, and later on Śatagu revolted again, but was brought to submission.

The extensive sculptures at Behistun exhibit among other things the figures of the nine chiefs, whom Darius had successfully overthrown. The inscriptions appended to these figures, however, do not mention the chief of Śatagu, though it gives the names of the chiefs of other revolting areas. It omits Śatagu, and includes Skuntha, the chief of the European Scyths, whom Darius possibly conquered in the third year of his reign.

Besides Gandhāra and Śatagu, the Hāmādān, Persepolis and the Nāqsh-e-Rustam inscriptions of Darius mention another Indian people, Hidu, as included in his empire. As Herzfeld says "The Hidu was thus a fresh conquest by Darius himself, later than the Behistun inscription. We know that Darius passed the year 517 in Egypt, and that this and the following year saw the establishment of the Persian rule in other African countries. Since the Hāmādān inscription, as well as the foundation inscription of the terrace of Persepolis, both mention the Hidu, but not the European Scyths, and since the years 517 to 515 are fully occupied, the conquest of Sind is limited to the years 519 and 518." Smith thinks that Hidu or the Satrapy of India "must have comprised.....the course of the Indus from Kalabagh to the sea, including the whole of Sind, and perhaps included a considerable portion of the Punjab east of the Indus." The preliminaries to this conquest are described by Herodotus, who says

that Darius first sent a fleet down the river Indus to the sea and then conquered "India." But it is more probable that the Achaemenid emperor conquered and consolidated the region and then ordered the navigation of the river, possibly for purposes of trade, for, otherwise, the party ran the risk of attack, which a great conqueror like Alexander the great was unable to avoid in the later days. (For a full discussion of Herodotus' account, see the next issue of this journal).

Darius possibly conquered the lower Indus region in course of his military expedition, which he undertook to suppress the rebellions of Gandhāra and Śatagru. It was not an isolated military phase of the great Achaemenid, but part of the great expedition, which he undertook against India between 521 and 519 B.C. Parts of the Behistun inscription, in that case, may have been executed while the campaign was in progress, while the Hāmādān inscription, which first mentions the Hidu, was epigraphed after the peace was restored in the empire.

Thus Darius conquered afresh the North-Western Frontier Province with the region beyond, called "White India" by some of the Classical authors, Sind and the Punjab; "whether he had any plan beyond the enlargement of his empire is not known, but there seems to have been a good deal of Iranian blood in the North West, which may have had some bearings on his actions" (*Tarn*).

(a) The Greek geographer Hecataeus, who lived in the days of Darius says that a tribe called the Opiar "dwe'l by the river Indus, and there is a royal fort. Thus far the Opiar extends and beyond there is a desert as far as the Indus." Opiar must be identical with Opian, the capital of the ancient Kāpīśa country, where there was possibly a fort of the great king Darius. Column III of the Behistun record actually refers to the fortress of Kāpīśakāni.

In building a fort here, Darius seems to have been actuated by political reasons, for Opian was a great meeting-place of three different routes—

1. The north-east road, by the Panjshir Valley, and over the Khawak Pass to Anderab.
2. The west road, by the Kushan Valley, and over the Hindukush Pass to Ghorī.
3. The south-west road, up the Ghorband Valley, and over the Hajiyak Pass to Bamiyan.

In the fourth century, Alexander founded at this spot Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus, which became a strong Greek colony.

(b) The Susā inscriptions state that Darius built a magnificent palace at Susā, for the construction of which teak was brought from Gandhāra and ivory from Hidu.

The inscription on the tomb of Darius at Naqsh-i-Rustam must have been executed approximately about the time of his death in B.C. 486-5. Among its sculptures we find the representation of three nations, that have been called Indian, corresponding to the three Indian districts of the Achaemenid empire. Herzfeld gives the following description of them: "All the three are identical, they are naked but for a loin cloth and a sort of turban on their heads, and their weapon is a long, broad sword hanging by a strap from the shoulder". In this connection, we may note that Herodotus, while speaking of the Indians, states that they "wear a garment made of rushes, which, when they have cut the reed from the river and beaten it, they afterward plant like a mat and wear it like a corselet".

Darius was always on the guard lest there should be any, what the Indian political thinkers call, *mātsya-nyāya* in his empire. Thus he says in his Susā inscriptions: "This I did by the will of Ahura Mazda so that one does not smite another, until in (my) domain there is everybody (who) is afraid of that law which (is) mine, so that the stronger does neither smite nor oppress the weak".

It is difficult to decide what was the limit of the Indian empire of Darius or whether Darius had any actual connection with the Indian interior. An interesting passage occurs in the Apocryphal, the Greek version of the Book of Ezra, giving an account of Darius, and it runs as follows: "Now, the king made a great feast unto all his subjects, and unto all that were born in his house, and unto all the princes of Media and Persia, to all the satraps, captains and governors that were under him from India to Ethiopia in the hundred and twenty seven provinces and also to the Indian embassy from the Magadhan king". If there is any historical truth in the account, it will be interesting to determine who was the Magadhan contemporary of Darius entering into diplomatic relationship with the latter. But in the present state of our knowledge this seems to be an impossible task.²⁸

²⁸ *Jewish Antiquities*, XI. 3. 2. (33).

IV. *The successors of Darius*

In 485 B.C., Darius was succeeded by his son Xerxes, an inscription of whom was discovered at Persepolis in June, 1935. "The inscription covers four stone tablets, two containing the old Persian version in duplicate, one the Babylonian and the other the Elamite version". In it Xerxes gives the names of the countries under his rule. The list includes the three Indian provinces, Gandhāra, Śatagu and "Hidu". Thus Xerxes rightly boasts of in another Persepolis record: "What was done by my father that I protected and other did (I) further".

Classical authors inform us that in the contingents which Xerxes led against the Greeks, in the field of Marathon and Thermopaele, the Indians fought side by side with the Iranians.

It is generally believed that the tribute list, as preserved in the account of Herodotus (III. 89-95) is clearly from his own time, that of Artaxerxes I (465-425 B.C.), not, as he states, from that of Darius²⁹. In it we find a fresh list of the Indian districts. The Sattagydae, Gandarii, Dadicae and Aparytae paid together one hundred and seventy talents and formed the seventh province, while "India" or Hidu formed the twentieth satrapy and paid a tribute of 360 talents. Dadicae and Aparytae are not mentioned in the epigraphs of either Darius or Xerxes, and hence they may either be regarded as fresh conquests by Artaxerxes I, or that in his time a reorganisation of the satrapies took place.

The Dadicae are generally identified with the Dards who are well-known in the Sanskrit works under the name of Darada. Ptolemy also mentions them: "Below those of the Indus are the Daradrai, in whose country the mountains are of surpassing height". The Aparytae are otherwise unknown, but Holdich identifies them with the modern Afridi.

The Kaspioi, who according to Herodotus (III. 93) constituted together with the Sakai the fifteenth division of the empire, are mentioned again in VII. 67a, 86, among the eastern tribes of the army under Xerxes. It can hardly be identified with Kashmir, as proposed by some scholars, for in that case they would have the mountains between

them and the Sakai, a fact which makes it improbable that the two would be grouped under the same satrapy. The term has been emended by Dr. F.W. Thomas into Kāpisai, "the Kāpisakām of the Achaemenian records", which seems to be more probable.

The South Tomb at Persepolis is usually assigned to Artaxerxes II (404-395 B. C.) on artistic grounds. Here is an inscription: "The inscription is found above the heads of the figures supporting the throne of the great king, exactly as in the tomb-inscription of Darius the great, but in a far better state of preservation".³⁰ Three of these figures bear above them the following epigraphs—: *iyam Qatagnviya* (this is a Sattigidian); *iyam Ga(n)dariya* (this is a Gandharian); *iyam Ili(n)duviya* (this is a Hi(n)du). Thus Artaxerxes II maintained intact the Indian empire created by the genius of Darius and his predecessors.

When Alexander the great invaded the Achaemenid empire in c. 330 B. C., the Indians fought on the side of Darius III (336-330 B. C.) at the field of Arbela. Arrian points out that in the contingents sent from India, there were: (a) the "Indians" under the command of Bessus, the "Viceroy of Bactria"; (b) the "mountaineer Indians" under the command of Bassantes, the "Viceroy of Arachosia;" and (c) a few elephants, "belonging to the Indians who live this side of the Indus".³¹

We have already seen that for the purpose of building his palace, Darius the great acquired ivory from Hidu. Hidu country thus had enormous of elephants. Therefore, the Indians of Arrian's (c) may have been the inhabitants of the Hidu country, part of which was certainly on "this side of the Indus."

Pāṇini in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* states two very important rules:³² (i) "The affix *ca* comes after a word denoting mountain, in the sense of 'this is his motherland,' when it is a person who lives by arms"; (ii) "To a name expressing a multitude living by the trade of arms, is added the affix *ñyat*, when it is the name among the Vāhika (the land of five rivers), but not when it is the name of *Brāhmana*, nor when the word is *rājanya*." From these two rules it is evident that

30 *IRAS*, 1932, p. 373.

31 *CHI.*, vol. I., p. 341; *PHAL.*, p. 196

32 *IV.* 3. 91; *V.* 3. 114

there were “mountaineer Indians” living in the Punjab, who followed the profession of arms. We know that Gandhāra included the Punjab, and hence it is quite likely that Darius III employed these mountaineer soldiers of the Punjab in his service.

If Arrian’s Indians mentioned in (b) and (c) above can be identified with the inhabitants of the Gandhāra and Sindhu countries, then it is but natural for us to assume that the Indians mentioned in (a) above were the inhabitants of Śatagu. Thus the Indo-Achaemenid empire founded by Cyrus and expanded by his successors remained intact till the fall of the dynasty.

Dr. Jackson says, “We may assume, accordingly, that when Alexander reached the river Hyphasis, the ancient Vipās, and modern Beas.....he had touched the extreme eastern limits of the Persian domain, over which he had triumphed throughout”³³

It is not known exactly whether the Persian domain extended in the east up to the Beas, but the question arises—did Alexander, as the successor of the Achaemenids, reach the river Hyphasis? The problem needs a thorough consideration.

The Classical writers have preserved for us accounts of the invasion of India by Alexander the great, king of Macedon, whose “achievements surpass those of Heracles and Dionysius”. These texts have been translated by McCrindle in his “*The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*,” 2nd. ed., Westminster, 1896.

These texts are supposed to be based on the accounts left by the historians, who accompanied Alexander and those left by Megasthenes, who was an ambassador of Seleucus Nicator in the court of Candragupta Maurya. In their present form then they are of “much later” date, evidently containing interpolations and additions by later writers. Up to the present time, all the historians have put implicit faith in them, but this can hardly be called strictly “historical” method. An instance may be noted here. These texts describe in glowing terms the submission of the hill-state of Nysa to Alexander, who, it is alleged, paid a visit to the mountain of the land. Philostratos, however, avers that “the inhabitants of Nysa deny that Alexander ever went up to the mountains” and adds that “the companions of Alexander did not write down the truth in reporting this.” (*Appollonius*,

BK II. Ch. 9). Thus it appears that there are yet numerous errors to be corrected and that the whole history of Alexander's Indian episode must be set right.

The following chiefly are the Classical authors dealing with Alexander's exploits in India :—

- (a) Diodorus (100 B.C.-100 A.D.) who has mixed up history with fiction.
- (b) Strabo (60 B.C.-19 A.D.) who says that he himself has corrected the accounts of the previous writers, but admits at the same time that his knowledge of India is very poor.
- (c) Curtius (c. 100 A.D.), "who was deficient in knowledge of geography, chronology and astronomy" (*McCrimde*, p. 11).
- (d) Plutarch (46 A.D.-120 A.D.) whose *Lives*, especially those of Crassus and Antony, though based on first rate sources, is of little value for the history of Alexander's exploits in India as it is marred with patriotic bias.
- (e) Arrian (A.D. 200) who is credited to be the best of Alexander's historians by McCrimde.
- (f) Justin (not later than 500 A.D.) to whom accuracy "is of small importance compared with the chance of drawing a moral lesson."

It is thus apparent that our "sources" are secondary, late in date and defective. As regards Arrian, he hardly deserves so much credit as McCrimde gives him. Thus Arrian makes king Pharasmanes say to Alexander that his kingdom bordered on the Colchians (*IV. 15. 4*), but as Droysen points out "it was nonsense" (p.66). These writers again used accounts which were not very trustworthy. The chief sources of these Classical authors are the following :—

- (i) The work of Nearchos, who is considered by the later writers as an honest reporter, "who took pains to verify the stories which were told him." But the account is lost, and the few quotations that survive may or may not be genuine all through.
- (ii) The work of Onesicritus, who was the pilot of the royal vessel during Alexander's return march. Strabo considered him untruthful.

- (iii) Aristobulus, who was entrusted with a commission by Alexander (*Arrian, VI. 29. 10*). "His interest was predominantly geographical, not military: yet his book seems to have been adversely affected by the rhetorical fashion and perhaps by the Alexander myth which had already begun to take popular shape at the times when he wrote".
- (iv) Clitarchus of Colophon, who wrote a history of Alexander of a highly journalistic character and often basing his accounts on imagination.
- (v) The work of Megasthenes, which is lost and survives in the quotations of later writers. As Dr. Stein says "the useful portion of Megasthenes' report is very meagre and its authority cannot be taken as absolute."¹

Thus the "sources" which we have at our disposal for reconstructing Alexander's exploits in India are for the most part based on defective accounts, and hence we have to proceed very cautiously in dealing with this topic. The Classical authors would make us believe that in the east Alexander advanced as far as the Beas, but we have reasons to question the veracity of the statement. Alexander received the submission of Taxila and Abhisāra (Poonch and Nowshera districts), but seems to have been immediately faced by a confederacy of Indian powers headed by Poros and failed to proceed further. It was a confederacy of the Malloi, the Oxydrakoi, the republican ones, and other monarchical states that stopped the further advance of the Macedonian hero. The following notices of the Classical authors force upon us this conclusion.

Firstly, Arrian informs us that Alexander built an Alexandria at the confluence of the Chenub and the Indus, and this was the easternmost canton founded by Alexander in India. "The places called Alexandropolis..... must be military colonies which claimed to go back to Alexander" (*Tarn*). If Alexander had conquered the region up to the Beas, it is but natural that he would have constructed a "fort" or established a military colony there to guard against the "Prasii and the Gangaridae" who were constant threats to the Greek power. We may note in this connection the

34 Stein, *Megasthenes und Kautilya*, p. 297.

position of Alexandria in the Scythian land, somewhere in Kujhend, which marked the farthest limit of Alexander's advance in Central Asia.

Secondly, Justin says that Alexander "out of respect for his valour restored Poros in safety to his sovereignty" (XII. 8). Poros inflicted a heavy loss on the Macedonian garrison, and, as we know from other cases, Alexander would not let such a person go free (*cf. the case of Bessus*). The war was evidently a drawn game, and Poros was able to maintain his own position. The Classical authors have evidently twisted the facts to glorify their own hero.

Thirdly, Plutarch says, "The battle with Poros depressed the spirit of the Macedonians and made them very unwilling to advance further into India" (*McCrindle*, p. 310), and they advanced only when pressed by Alexander. Can we not suspect here that really the Macedonians went up to the battlefield of Poros, and the latter part of the statement forms a part of "Alexander myth"?

Whatever may be the state of Alexander's advance in the east in India, whether he advanced up to the Beas or not, it seems probable that the Achaemenid command was obeyed as far as the Eastern Punjab. Thus Strabo says that ".....although the Persians summoned the Hydraces as mercenary troops from India, the latter did not make an expedition to Persia, but only came near it when Cyrus was marching against the Massagetae" (XV. 1.6.). Strabo possibly knew that the Hydraces were once under the command of the Persians, even if we reject the story of Cyrus. The Hydraces or the Oxydrakoi, the Kṣudruka of the Sanskrit works, occupied the territory between the Hydraotes (Rāvi) and the Hyphasis (Beas), and "were one of the most numerous and warlike of all the Indian tribes in the Punjab".

V. *The Achaemenid Administration*

We do not know exactly the system followed by the Achaemenid monarchs in the administration of their Indian domain. As we have already seen, according to Herodotus it was divided into two satrapies, one comprising Gandhāra and Śatagu, and the other comprising India or Hidu. This system of government by satraps seems to have been prevalent throughout the Achaemenid period. The satraps, though undoubtedly subordinate to the Great Kings, had the power of issuing money on their own accounts, for we have from Rawalpindi a gold

coin (daric) of an unknown satrap of the Persian (Achaemenid) empire, though it is difficult to decide whether it was brought there from outside.³⁵ Rapson thinks that "during the period of the Achaemenid rule..... Persian coins circulated in the Punjab. Gold double staters..... were actually struck in India, probably in the latter half of the 4th century B.C. Many of the silver sigloi, moreover, bear countermarks so similar to the native punch-marks as to make it seem probable that the two classes of coins were in circulation together..... and this probability is increased by the occurrence of characters which have been read as Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī letters".³⁶ Dr. Macdonald, however, holds that the gold darics were never in circulation in India on the ground that the value of gold relatively to silver was much lower in India than in Persia and that very few darics have yet been discovered in India.³⁷

The Great Kings, however, kept watchful eyes in all the matters of the state and often interfered in the religious affairs of their subjects. Thus, after giving a list of the subject countries, Xerxes states in his Persepolis inscriptions: "And within these countries was (another) where formerly Daivas were worshipped. Afterwards by the will of Ahura Mazda, I destroyed the place of Daiva (-worship). And I proclaimed: Daivas thou shall not worship. Where formerly Daivas were worshipped there I worshipped Ahura Mazda and the divine fulfilments". The references to Daivas or Devas seem to point out that the religious revolution took place in some part of the Indian districts of the Achaemenid empire.

One curious fact we should note in this connection. When Alexander crossed the Hindukush, he met no Persian officials east of the mountain and this has led to the theory that the Indian provinces were finally lost to the Achaemenids in the reign of Artaxerxes II. The unsoundness of such a hypothesis is evident from what has already been stated though the absence of any Persian officials require some explanation. The Persians seem to have left the native states on the Indian borderland and the Punjab to retain their autonomy evidently on the condition of payment of tribute, and the satraps represented the imperial personage on the Indian soil. So long as

35 *ASIR.* 1926-7, p. 212.

36 Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 3.

37 *CHI.*, vol. I, p. 343.

these Indian chiefs obeyed their suzerain, there was no necessity of Persian officials, and the offices of the satraps were worked evidently by the Indian staffs. Bühler has pointed out this state of affairs long ago, and it was to this Indo-Persian intercourse that he ascribed the birth of the new script of Kharoṣṭhī.

From the account of the Classical authors, it appears that there were nearly twenty eight such states on the Indo-Achaemenid soil on the eve of Alexander's invasion—some of them being republics and some monarchical.³⁸ An Indian writer of the Achaemenid age condemns the Uttarāpatha as the land of the Āraṭṭas or arāṣṭras i.e., kingless states or republics.³⁹ In a later age, the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea speaks of the Araṭṭi along with Arachosii, Gandarii and Poclais as the regions lying above Indo-Scythia. At the time of Alexander's invasion there were, however, both monarchical and republican states in the Punjab, NWFP. and the Sind, and most of them, specially the republicans, offered stiff resistance to the Macedonian hero. If the Classical authors, then, are to be believed the Indo-Achaemenid empire was divided into twenty-eight vassal native states, grouped into three satrapies.

A question has often been raised whether the Paropamisadae region should be included within the boundary of the Indo-Achaemenid empire or Iran proper. Geographically, no doubt, it should go to India, but culturally it belonged to Iran. The Kharoṣṭhī, it has been assumed, is the direct result of the Persian rule in India, but a look at the excellent map of the find-spots of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, p. xiv, will show that no Kharoṣṭhī record has ever been found westward of the Panjkora river, a fact which *prima facie* may indicate that it was outside the official jurisdiction of the Achaemenid satraps of India. Indian culture, however, penetrated into the region in the later days, for when, in the seventh century the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang visited Kāpiśa he found it thoroughly Indian under a king who belonged to the Kṣatriya caste.

Another country that has similarly been connected with the Achaemenid India is Makran, the barren region lying along the coast

38 For an account of these states, see *PHAI*, pp. 196-209.

39 *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, I. 2. 14.

of Baluchistan. It has been identified with Make mentioned in Column I of the Behistun inscription and hence we can infer that it was conquered either by Cyrus or Cambyses. Herodotus mentions it (Myci), along with Sagartii, Sarangeii, Thamanaci, Utti and the dwellers on islands as forming the fourteenth province of the Achaemenid empire. The grouping plainly shows that it was not Indian, but belonged to Iran. "The people show no trace of Indian culture, and are as rugged as the land in which they dwell". The river Hingol seems to have been the farthest limit of Indian cultural zone in Baluchistan in the west, where in the later days we find one of the sacred Tantric *piṭhas* of India.

S. CHATTOPADHYAYA

ABBREVIATIONS

In the present paper, the following abbreviations have been chiefly used—

M.A.S.I. - Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.

J.R.A.S. - Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

J.A.O.S. - Journal of the American Oriental Society.

Mbh. - Mahābhārata.

C.H.I. - Cambridge History of India

P.H.A.I. - Political History of Ancient India (4th ed.), by H. C. Raychaudhuri.

Ep. Ind. - Epigraphia Indica.

Ind. Ant. - Indian Antiquary.

J.A. - Journal Asiatique.

A.S.I.R. - Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.

ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Other abbreviations, used in the references, are too obvious to require any explanation.

MISCELLANY

Jaina Antiquities in Rajgir

One of the gravest errors that has been made in our assessment of any Indian holy place is the exaggerated importance we have ascribed to Buddhism. Thanks to Aśoka, and the indefatigable Chinese travellers with their itineraries, the claims of other creeds have been completely lost sight of. The fact, that Migadava was a protected Deer Park, which might have a greater antiquity, has never even been mooted. The tree of enlightenment at Gaya, was already holy, before Buddha sat under it. To some extent, the accounts contained in the early Jaina writers, which were not verifiable by modern investigations, are to some extent responsible for this neglect. Take for example the Jaina accounts of Takṣaśīlā, in the *Paum̐cārya*, which have been very little confirmed by more than a decade's excavation at that place, by Sir John Marshall. Nevertheless, the existence of a Jaina *stūpa* at Mathura, the find of large amount of inscribed Jaina images of the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa period have proved beyond doubt the historicity of some of their claims. The caves at Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri, prove the existence of Jainism in eastern India.

It is undoubted that Jainism has a greater antiquity than Buddhism, and if Gautama was a historical personage, then Mahāvīra too, was historical. What is more, archaeological evidence tends to show, that before the rise of Buddhism, Jainism had a greater hold on the mass mind in eastern India, by which Magadha, United Bengal and Orissa are implied.¹ Buddhism supplanted it. With the acceptance of the theory that Gautama was a historical personage, a couple of postulates present themselves. First, his contemporaries. These were Mahāvīra and Gośāla, undoubtedly. Secondly, in the sermons and lectures of Buddha, we will find mention of rival religions, by controverting whose dogmas, he wanted to establish the supremacy of his own order; and consequently these will establish the existence of older faiths and philosophies.

1 Cf. My paper 'Traces of Jainism in Bengal.'

Nowhere, we have met with in the teaching of Gautama, the seventh Buddha, a half hearted distaste for the *tirthikas* or the Jainas. There is an instance in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, which establishes the knowledge of Buddha, about the *Nigranthas* another name by which the Jainas were called in Pali literature.² While relating the Śrī Gupta incident, in Gautama's missionary life, *Avadāna-kalpalatā* states, that his preceptor was a Jaina. If myths that gradually grow around the personalities of our great men are reliable, then the Śrāvastī miracle is another evidence. The late Dr. A. B. Keith told us that "In one point all these sages agreed; there were *samanas*, ascetics in some degree, and they shared this peculiarity with the Jainas, whose leader Nigantha of the Nāta clan (Nātha or Nāṭa clan), was evidently regarded with hostile eyes by the Buddha."³ If therefore, Gautama and Mahāvīra were contemporaries, in that case, we have to make allowances for 23 other *tirthankaras*. Therefore, the greater antiquity of Jainism is proved. It is also undeniable then, that Rājagrha—the earliest metropolis of eastern India, must have received this faith in its hill girt bosom.

How is it then, that with the exception of few modern temples, and Sonbhandar, wrongly ascribed to Gupta period, no actual remains of the Jainas have been traced at or near Girivraja of the Māgadhas; while followers of its rival faith, proudly flaunt before their eyes, the questionable *sattapanni*, the terraced rocky remains, the alleged Ajātaśatru *Stūpa*, the lonely Gijjhakūṭa. The answer probably is to be found in the proverbial lack of retentive power amongst the crowd. The exaggerated claims of the devout Chinese pilgrims, are based on absolutely unreliable folk tradition. One drawback of our historical methodology I have always observed. An uncritical reliance has been placed on the sources of informations of the Chinese pilgrim. Their religious devotion verging on fanaticism, should have been apparent to the more serious devotees of the school of Acton. The dates of their actual visit too, is a great handicap. The seventh century of the Christian era, is too far removed, to make the identifications certain. Admitting however, the possible accuracy of religious tradition, we have sufficient evidence to believe, that once a place acquires a religious merit; even

² Vol. 1, p. 92.

³ A. B. Keith—*Buddhist Philosophy*. Oxford, 1923., p. 137.

when the whole people have been forcibly converted, or a new ethnic stock has settled in the country it enjoys that merit. The instance of Makhdum Kund—admittedly the cave of Devadatta's *samādhi*, is a proof of this fact. The mount at Jerusalem, MacAlister tells us was already holy ground before it became holy to the god of the Hebrews.⁴ Makhdum Kund, a cavern formed by a landslide, has other traditions too, and one wonders, what stranger cults and rituals it had to witness, before it received the jealous step brother of the Śākya prince, who had renounced a throne, for the salvation of the mankind.

Elsewhere, I had occasion to point out the historical inaccuracies of the Chinese traveller Huen Tsang.⁵ Principal D. N. Sen, more than a decade ago, had given a similar warning: "*Samaññaphala Sutta* as contained in the *Digha Nikāya* is of great antiquity, and its evidential value is very much greater than the accounts of the Chinese travellers, earliest of whom came to India, 1000 years after the death of Buddha. The Chinese travellers had to depend upon local traditions, which had overgrown with legend, and led them into inaccuracies such as they have given of the First Council."⁶ Reliability of local religious tradition, will be evident from an account of Nalanda, which I had from Śrī N. P. Mukherji, Parliamentary Secretary (Home), Bihar; in 1948. Earlier in life, towards the beginning of the 20th century, when he visited Nalanda, the local people seem to have pointed out the earth covered mounds of Buddhist monasteries and temples, as the place where the rape of Rukminī took place. If it had been in China, how justified would have been an Indian traveller in ascribing ruins of Turfan or other places as the identical neighbourhood where scenes related in the *Mahābhārata* occurred. Instances are not lacking, when later Buddhists erected their sacred edifices or terraced temples on older remains of the Jaina faith. The Paharpur C. P. dedicated in the year 159 G. E.⁷ proves that Dharmapāladeva, established the Somapura *Mahāvihāra* over earlier Jaina edifices. Therefore, possibility of *stūpa* (specially *Ajātaśatru Stūpa*) structures or places, which were holy to the Jainas having been claimed by the later Buddhists as their own exist.

4 R. A. S. MacAlister—*A Century of Excavations in Palestine*, London. The Religious Tract Society, p. 103.

5 *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, vol. v.

6 D. N. Sen in *JBORS.*, vol. iv, p. 133.

7 *MASI.*, no. 55, p. 73; *El.*, vol. xix, p. 59 ff.

Guṇaśilā *caitya* is a place, which was as holy to the Śvetāmbara Jains, as Gridhakuṭa to the Buddhists. According to the *Kalpa Sūtra* the last Jaina *tīrthāṅkara*, Mahāvīra, resided at this place in or near Rajgir for several years. The prakrit *Uvasāga Dasāo* locates Guṇaśilā in the *vārikā* of Rajgir.⁸ The *caitya* has been explained in the epics, as a place of tree worship, a trait of Indian culture since chalcolithic times. The later Jaina canon as pointed out by the late Rai Bahadur R. Chanda confirms this tradition. Thus *Tri-ṣaṣṭhi śalakā-puruṣa-caritra*, by Hemacandra Śūrī, states that the site of Guṇaśilā *caitya* was *vrkṣopasobhitam*⁹. It is strange therefore to find, at Nalanda, temple sites designated *caitya* sites. Properly speaking these are *vihāra* sites. The later Jaina tradition seems to contradict the statement of *Uvasāga Dasāo*, because the *Bhagavatī Purāṇa*¹⁰ places Guṇaśilā within Rajgir city proper. The *Sthavirāvalī Caritra* of Hemacandra, mentions Guṇaśilā, as situated within Rajgir¹¹ (*abhyārṇe*). The Digāmbara *Uttarapurāṇa* mentions the Vipula hill as the permanent place of residence of Mahāvīra¹². The Śvetāmbara canon places Guṇaśilā to the north-east of Rajgir, which is the position of the Vipula hill. In one of the two lists of five hills surrounding Girivraja, in the *Mahābhārata*, a peak called 'Caityaka' is mentioned, which has been correctly identified by late Rai Bahadur R. Chanda¹³ with Vipula. Modern Gunave, in pargana Besbak, in the sub-division of Bihar, in district Patna; therefore, cannot be the site of Guṇaśilā *caitya*. Dr. B. C. Law has identified it with Kālaśilā rock, near Isigilli, where *Nigrantha* ascetics were seen practising their absurd austerities *Prima facie* this is untenable, as Kālaśilā is a rock, and Guṇaśilā is a *caitya*.

In the third decade of the seventh century of the Christian era, the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang, testifies to the residence of Jaina monks on Vaibhāra. The late Rai Bahadur R. Chanda has confused Vaibhāra with Vipulagiri¹⁴. The only person who has systematically studied the confused account of the celebrated Chinese traveller, is

8 *MASt*, no pp

10 Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* pp. 71-72

12 II. 2 etc.

14 Lilaram Jain--*Uttarapurāṇa* V.S. 1975

15 *ARASL*, 1925-26, p. 122

16 *MASt*, no. 58, p. 38.

17 *ARASL*, 1925-26, p. 123

9 VIII. 23 p. 152

11 X. 6363.

13 I. 29

Principal D. N. Sen: "Huen Tsang tells us that 'to the west of the north gate of the Mountain city was the Pi-pu-lo mountain.' This mountain does not lie to the west of the north gate of Girivraja (Mountain city) but in the opposite direction. The hot springs on the north side of the south-west declivity, of the Vipula, mentioned by Huen Tsang lie along the western side of the Vipula mountain. If this be taken as the correct rendering of the text, it gives rise to a serious difficulty, *viz.* the Pippala Guhā cannot be exactly to the west of the hot springs, which are found in large numbers at some distance to the north-east of the Vaibhāra hill¹⁸". A strictly accurate writer like late Rai Bahadur R. Chanda has been led to an error of judgment when he places the *stūpa* beside which the Jaina monks were seen practising extreme austerities on the Vipula hill.¹⁹ This *stūpa* was on the Vaibhāra hill as Vipula is referred to subsequently as the south cliff along with Devadatta's cave. As late as seventh century, there was therefore a *stūpa* on the Vaibhāra hill sacred to the Jainas, marking probably the spot where Mahāvīra resided as mentioned in the *Triṣaṣṭhi-śalākā-puruṣa-caritra* (X. 10. 145).

The existence of Jaina places of worship on the Vaibhāra hill, is proved as early as the Gupta period, objectively, by the inscribed black basalt image of 22nd *tīrthāṅkara* Neminātha. It is one of the earliest known images of the Jainas in Magadha²⁰. The brick enclosure in the vicinity of the ruined temple containing the above image along with three other Jaina sculptures is another proof of the existence of places of Jaina worship on the hill immortalised by the meeting of the First Council of Buddhist elders. This enclosure contained a series of Jaina images in niches.²¹ In fact, the display of a frieze of images within niches on the surface of the walls, seems to have been a favourite method, of establishing a sculpture gallery, with the *Māgadhān* architects in their original design. The method is noticeable at Manivāra Maṭha, Sonbandara Cave, and Temple No. III at Nalanda.

18 *Rajgir and its Neighbourhood*, pp. 25-26.

19 *ARASI.*, 1925-26, p. 123. I had the privilege of having seen at work R. D. Banerji, Dr. K. P. Jayaswal and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, but Chanda and Bhandarkar were the most painstaking.

20 *ARASI.*, 1925-26, pl. lvi, fig. (b).

21 *Ibid.*, p. 126

The Sonbhandara, itself, is an instance of utilisation of an earlier excavation at a later date by the Jainas. No doubt the extant inscriptions are in Gupta characters or early North Indian Nagari, but the technique, particularly the lustrous polish, seems to recall Maurya times; while the apsidal slope is reminiscent of Lomash Rishi at Barabar in Gaya district. It is quite possible that like the edict bearing Aśokān column, Mauryan *harmmikā*, and monolithic staircases (bearing *ex-voto* records of the Sarvāstivādins) at Sarnath, the cave was originally excavated in late Mauryan times for Jainas but received inscriptions at a later date. A revision indeed of our ascriptions, of ancient structures on the surface or under the mounds at Rajgir, has become imperative, to balance the scale. The find of a mediaeval image of the Jainas under the so-called Mauryan layer of bricks by the late Raibahadur Daya Ram Sahnī at Ajātaśatru *Stūpa* has not made us sufficiently cautious.²²

ADRIŚ BANERJĪ

22 I owe these references to Muni Haricandra Suri of Ramghat *gadh* of Banaras; but some of these have been mentioned by Chanda.

Epigraphic Notes

1. *Kesaribeda Copper-plate Grant of Arthapati Bhaṭṭāraka of the Nala Family.*

The above Grant has been edited by Mr. G. Ramadas in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 32 ff. The Grant is undoubtedly of great historical importance, and Mr. Ramadas deserves our thanks for bringing it to light. Unfortunately, while editing it, he has indulged in speculations of all kinds, and made a number of remarks which are open to serious criticism. I propose to briefly refer to some of them, as otherwise an unwary reader might be led astray by the authoritative manner in which they have been dealt with in a learned Journal.

Mr. Ramadas starts with the proposition that "the size, form of the Plates, together with the number of lines on each face, is an important item in fixing the age of the charter" (p.34). This view can hardly be maintained in the face of the fact that even two copper-plates of the same king, e.g. the Urlam¹ and Narasingapalli² Plates of Hastivarman, differ in these respects.

Next he asserts that "the Viṣṇukuṇḍi Vākāṭakas and the Śarabhapura Vākāṭakas must have been Vākāṭaka families who had immigrated into the country south of the Godavari when their imperialism had been crushed by Samudragupta" (p. 35). This single sentence contains a large number of gross misstatements which are really astounding. There is no evidence (1) that Samudragupta came into conflict with the Vākāṭakas; (2) that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins or the royal dynasty of Śarabhapura were Vākāṭakas; or (3) that the Vākāṭakas migrated to the south. Besides, Śarabhapura was far to the north of the Godāvari. The assumption that Mahendra (of Kośala) was the royal title of Bhavadatta (p. 36) is as unwarranted as the proposition that after having lost Kośala, he retired to Nandivardhana and gave shelter to Prithiviṣeṇa I (p. 40). Still more puerile is the view that Singhavarmā and Candravarmā were scions of the Nala family (p. 36), based simply on the ground that the name of their capital Puṣkaraṇa (Pokharna in Birbhum District, Bengal) is similar to Puṣkari, the

1 *El.*, XVII. 332.

2 *El.*, XXIII 62.

capital of the Nalas, which was far to the south, perhaps the Jeypore in state, Orissa. Equally astounding is the explanation of Maheśvara as 'lord over one hundred *lakhs* of people' (p. 38). Surely, a learned Journal is not the fit place for indulging in baseless speculations like these.

The author reads the date as "58 *Saṁcchare*". What he reads as 58 is purely imaginary. There is nothing in the estampage but a few shallow scratches which are clearly distinguished from the deeply engraved letters of the record. What he reads as '*saṁcchare*' is clearly *sam vva* (*samvat*) followed by a numeral figure. This is almost identical with the symbol for 50 figured in Bühler's Chart (Pl. IX. Col. V). But as this refers to the Kṣatrapa record, we cannot be quite sure that it is 50. The symbol may therefore also be read as 100, 6 or 8 on the analogy of figures for those in the Kalinga records of 7th-8th century A.D. given in Bühler's Chart (Pl. IX. Col. XV). It is difficult to be quite sure on this point but the resemblance with the symbol for 100 is the closest.

While making all sorts of guesses unsupported by any evidence Mr. Ramadas seems to have missed the real importance of the record. The Grant was issued from Puṣkari, a town which, according to the Podagadh Ins.,³ was deserted but re-peopled by a son of Bhavadatta, probably named Skandavarman. It would then follow that Arthapati Bhaṭṭāraka probably flourished after Skandavarman. Now the Rithapur plates⁴ were formally issued by Arthapati in order to confirm a Grant made (perhaps orally) by Bhavattavarman, evidently the same as Bhavadattavarman. In this record Arthapati is said to have been favoured by the feet of *Āryaka*. Although *Āryaka* has been translated by the editor as 'respectable people', it has another well-known meaning viz. grandfather. It is probable, therefore, that this grandfather was no other than Bhavadattavarman himself to whom such a reference would be quite natural in a record which was issued to confirm a Grant originally made by him. It would thus follow that Bhavadattavarman was succeeded by his son Skandavarman, and the latter by his son Arthapati Bhaṭṭāraka. Puṣkari was evidently the original capital of the family which was sacked by an enemy, where-

3 *El.*, XXI. 153.

4 *El.*, XIX. 100.

upon the Nalas fixed their headquarters at Nandivardhana. But Skandavarman re-peopled the city and the capital was again removed there by Arthapati.

2. *Tulita-khasa-bala.*

The verse 23 of the Khajuraho Inscription No. II, edited by Dr. Kielhorn,⁵ contains a list of nine countries (and peoples) which were conquered or defeated by the Chandella king Yaśovarman. A different phrase is used to describe the discomfiture of each of them. Thus as regards the first, Gauḍa, Yaśovarman is described as the “sword to (*cut down*) the Gauḍas, as if they were pleasure creepers”, and the last seven countries (or peoples) are referred to in a similar way. As to the second, the Khasas, the phrase used is *tulita-khasa-bala*. Kielhorn has translated it as “equalled the forces of the Khasas”. This meaning is hardly in accord with the rest of the sentence which describes the military superiority of Yaśovarman over each country and people. Besides, it is very unusual, to say the least of it, for a court-poet to describe his royal patron as equal to another; he is always above everyone else. Kielhorn’s translation does not therefore appear to be correct.

Now, although the verbal root *tul* means ‘to equal’, it is also used in many other senses which are more appropriate to the present context. Thus in v. 20 of *Meghadūta*, *tul* means to ‘carry away by force’ (*antabsāram ghaṇa tulayitum nanilaḥ śakṣyati tvām*). In verse 30 of *Śiśupālavadha*, Canto V, the word *tulita* occurs twice, once in the same sense (*tulita-bhūbhṛt*) and again in the sense of ‘despise’ ‘condemn’ etc. (*nṛpati-tulitopi*). In *Mṛicchakatika*, the verb *tul* is used in the Prākṛt passage *Hā avatthe tuliyasi*,⁶ where it means ‘to reduce to contempt’.

These examples show that the root *tul* was also used normally in a deprecatory sense. There can be hardly any doubt that we must take it in this sense in the passage referred to above which would then mean that the Khasas were defeated by Yaśovarman and reduced to a position of contempt.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

5 *El.*, I. 122.

6 Act I, Speech of Maitreya.

The Nature of Puṣyamitra Suṅga's Rule

About 185 B. C. Puṣyamitra Suṅga assassinated his master, Br̥hadratha Maurya, and founded a new line of rulers. For thirty-six years he was the real master of the country. Yet he never assumed any imperial title. He is mentioned merely as *senāpati* or *senānī* in all our sources, the Purāṇas, the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, the *Harṣacarita* and also the Ayodhya inscription of Dhana (bhuti?).¹ Such being the case, one naturally begins to enquire about the nature of his rule. Did he wield sovereignty in his own name or that of some phantom sovereign who reigned but did not rule?

The Purāṇa text, *kārayiṣyati vai rājyam*, i.e., "he would have the rule carried on", leads to the presumption that the legal sovereignty resided in some person other than Puṣyamitra. Was that king a Maurya? Though such a possibility cannot be absolutely ruled out, there is no evidence in its favour. There could be reasons enough for Puṣyamitra's not assuming the title of *rājā* or *mahārājā*, even though he did not have any Maurya on the throne of Magadha. Public opinion may have been against the accession of a master's murderer. Or it may be that the *Mantripariṣad* which was then a fairly strong institution² might have counselled Puṣyamitra against the assumption of the crown. Like another successful general in history, Oliver Cromwell, whose services to his country were no less important, he perhaps thought it best to keep real power alone in his hands; it mattered little whether he wore a crown or not.

Then whom did he actually have on the throne of Magadha? Two solutions can be proposed. One is partially suggested by Dr. R. S. Tripathi, though he does not go into the question of the legality or otherwise of Puṣyamitra's status. Relying on the Paurāṇic line,

Puṣyamitrasutāścāṣṭau bhaviṣyanti samā nṛpa,

he concludes that Puṣyamitra had virtually made a feudal division of his territories." If our reasoning in the last paragraph be accepted as

¹ See *HC.*, VI, p. 199. Bombay edition; *El.*, XX, pp. 64-68; *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 31.

² See the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, V, 14; *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 18-19, Jolly's edition; 3rd and 6th rock-edicts of Aśoka.

³ *History of Ancient India*, pp. 186-7.

correct, this would mean that the legal sovereignty of the empire rested with his eight sons. It is difficult, however, to agree with him for two very cogent reasons. In the first place the reading of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* relied on by Dr. Tripathi is faulty. As pointed out long ago by F. E. Pargiter, here singulars have been turned into plurals through misapplying *aṣṭau* to *suta* instead of to *samā*.⁴ On the basis of the other Purāṇas as well as the extremely valuable Jones MS. of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* the right reading can be put as —

Puṣyamitrasutaścāṣṭau bhaviṣyati samā nṛpa.

So the legal sovereignty, if it rested at all with Puṣyamitra's sons, rested only with one. Secondly, Dr. Tripathi's interpretation of the word, *samā*, as 'simultaneously' must be regarded as wrong. In the *Paurāṇic* texts dealing with the dynasties of the Kali Age the word is invariably used in the sense of "years". Hence, too, there can be no question of the alleged eight sons of Puṣyamitra ruling simultaneously, and for that very reason of their wielding the legal sovereignty of the empire in the life-time of their father.

The best help in solving the problem of the nature of Puṣyamitra's authority comes from Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, one of our best historical sources for Puṣyamitra's reign. The drama gives Puṣyamitra's son, Agnimitra, the title of *rājan*, even though Puṣyamitra was alive at the time and in enjoyment of political power. Puṣyamitra himself is designated merely as *senāpati*, and this, as we have seen on the basis of the other sources too, was the only title that he bore throughout the period of his sovereignty. Agnimitra's chief consort, Dhāriṇī, is also no mere princess but a queen addressed as such by every person. Agnimitra therefore must have been the legal ruler of the country, the person through whom Puṣyamitra carried on the government of the empire, as indicated by the Purāṇa text, *kārayiṣyati vai rājyam*, quoted above. He had, it might be remarked, also a *Mantripariṣad*, like any other full-fledged ruler, to which were referred all questions of high policy. Agnimitra was we might say, no mere provincial governor, as is generally supposed by historians, but a constitutional and legal sovereign anointed as *rājā* most probably by his father himself.

DASHARATHA SHARMA

4 *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 31.

REVIEWS

LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA AS DEPICTED IN THE JAIN CANONS. By Jagdish Chandra Jain. Pp. 420. New Book Company Ltd., Bombay 1947.

The Jaina canon, no doubt because of the obscurity and difficulty of its constituent texts, has so far attracted far less attention of scholars than the parallel Brahmanical and Buddhist literature. And yet it is undeniable that it is a positive mine of information for the most varied aspects of ancient Indian civilisation. In the scholarly work under notice this precious material has now for the first time been presented before us with such encyclopædic completeness as to make it an indispensable work of reference for many years to come. The author has not only made a thorough and firsthand study of the available material, but has also laid under contribution the researches of modern scholars extending to their contributions in periodicals. The author's good sense and sound judgment are on a par with his mastery of material. Frequently he draws illuminating parallels between the Jaina canonical data and their counterparts in the Brahmanical and Buddhist literature. His easy and simple style makes his writing attractive to the general reader no less than the scholar.

Apart from a classified bibliography at the beginning and a retrospect and two indices at the end, the work consists of six sections. Section i (introductory) gives a bird's eye view of the history of the Jaina Church and the Jaina canon. Sections ii, iii, and iv deal respectively with administration, economic conditions and social life. Sections v and vi are concerned with the geographical material and that relating to political history.

Without detracting from the high value of this work, we may be permitted to offer a few criticisms. In the introductory section the author justly observes (p. 43) that "the age of every part of the Jaina *Sūtras* should be judged on its own merits with the help of other literature." If he had consistently worked on this principle throughout his work, he could have traced, at least in part, the evolution of institutions and practices from crude forms to relatively advanced stages. But he gives away his own case by frankly stating in the same breath (p. 42) that his object is simply to exhaust the material presented in the Jaina *Sūtras* without any attempt at chronological order. Again, he tells us in the same context (p. 43) that the

material in the Jaina texts in spite of changes undergone by them during three successive redactions reflects a much older stage of civilisation than the 6th century A.D. (the date of the final redaction). The author would have been well-advised in stressing in this connection some factors which deprive the Jaina texts somewhat of their value as objective pictures of ancient Indian life. We have firstly the fact that many, if not most of the illustrative tales in the canon (including even those dealing with historical characters) belong essentially to the domain of folklore. What is more, they are often told for didactic effect in the light of the austere Jaina code of ethics, and not as realistic pictures of contemporary life. The author, it is true, rightly observes elsewhere (p. 369) that "the Jaina texts are full of legendary traditions interspersed with loose facts here and there, which are narrated by the religious teachers to enliven their sermons and to illustrate their doctrines." But this sound dictum is applied by him to the restricted sphere of political history and chronology alone.

In section ii the author might have instanced the Jaina version of the constitution of Vesali as a deliberate departure from the older authentic tradition. He might have also discussed the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal's challenging characterisation of several classes of evil states referred to in the Jaina canon as "technical constitutions." On p. 62*n* the author compares a Jaina canonical list of 18 taxes with another group found in "the Brahmanical literature." But this latter list, which is evidently quoted from Kautilya, refers to an advanced capitalistic economy unlike the former which is based on a backward rural economy. Under the head Administration of Justice (pp. 64 *f.*), many of the illustrative tales mentioned by the author are concerned with the king's abuse of executive authority and not with the legitimate exercise of his judicial functions. The author's account, it must further be admitted, fails to throw sufficient light upon such points as judicial procedure and the constitution as well as functions of the hierarchy of courts. Incidentally, it may be remarked that the elaborate account of the administration of justice in Vesali which the author quotes (p. 64*n*) with approval from Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Dīgha Nikāya* has been shown by the present reviewer (*HIQ.*, 1944) to rest on very slender foundations.

In section iii the author quotes (p. 91 *n*) a statement in Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports* to the effect that Puṇḍradeśa to the east of the Ganges was known after the Puṇḍra variety of sugarcane, and Kajolaka

(*sic*), the province to the west of the river, was called after the Kājali or Kajoli variety of sugarcane—a view which is no longer held by any serious student. Under the head Textiles (p. 97) the author might have quoted the very important list of fabrics of different materials in *Ācārāṅga-sūtra* II. 5.1. 1-5. The author's challenging statements that "State capital was not invested for purpose of industrial development (p. 108) and that the functions of the *seni* were "legislative, judicial and executive" (p. 109) are not warranted by any canonical text. His identification of the Nivartana land-measure with one acre (p. 90) is inaccurate, while his description (p. 120n) of *kabhāpana* as "a square coin weighing about 146 grains and guaranteed as to weight and fitness by punch-marks made by private individuals" is hopelessly out-of-date. On p. 111 the reference to one-ninth of the produce as the king's share is a slip. The statement about the general prevalence of drinking and flesh eating (pp. 124 and 126) fails to take notice of the ban imposed upon both practices by the Brahmanical *smṛti* law as well as the Buddhist canon from early times.

In section IV the author quotes with approval (p. 175n) the exploded view that "writing in India goes back to the 5th century B.C." He also makes the unwarranted statement that the worship of Skanda, Mukunda and Śiva was in vogue "during the lifetime of Mahāvīra" (pp. 217-18).

In section V the identification of Suvāṇṇabhūmi with "Lower Burma, Pegu and Moulmein districts" (*sic*) is too narrow.

U. N. GHOSHAL

BUDDHISM AND AŚOKA, By B. G. Gokhale 296 pp. (Padma Publication Ltd. Baroda).

This book is an intelligent survey of the historical development of Buddhism and it is not clear why the author has selected the title "Buddhism and Aśoka". The book is divided into four parts, of which the first deals with religion (122 pp.), the second with political condition (49 pp), the third with social and economic conditions (39 pp.) and the fourth with the Buddhist art (58 pp.). In the first part the author has, within a small compass, given a lucid account of Buddha's life, his teachings, his *saṅgha* as also of the Buddhist and non-Buddhist sects. He has laid special emphasis on the position of laity in Buddhism and has tried to remove the common notion

that there was no provision for laity in early Buddhism. His discussions regarding Aśoka's faith and service to the cause of Buddhism are valuable inasmuch as he brings together the views of many scholars who have written upon the topic. The next part dealing with political conditions, which formed the background of the religion, is mainly confined to the Maurya and Śuṅga dynasties. The author has brought together the results of researches of scholars on this topic but he has refrained from discussing the repercussions of the political changes on the career of Buddhism or *vice versa*. In the third book devoted to social and economic conditions, the writer has utilised the materials yielded by the Buddhist texts and discussed the influence of the religion on the social life of ancient India. The section on the Buddhist art is confined to Aśokan and Śuṅgan period while in the section on Buddhist education, he has depended mostly on the Pali sources.

The main object of the author evidently is to focuss light on the Mauryan and Śuṅga period from religious and cultural aspects, and he has acquitted himself of this task very well. It is a pity that the book bristles with typographical mistakes.

N. DUTT

HUMAYUN IN PERSIA by Sukumar Ray, M.A., Published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Price Rs. 5/-

In the field of Indian historical investigation we find so many dissertations resting on weak foundations that it is a relief to find a work that shows that the author has undertaken long hours of unremunerative drudgery to throw light on an obscure chapter of medieval history. Humayun's sojourn in Persia is an intricate subject. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar in his foreword describes it as an uninteresting corner of medieval Indian history. But it required critical investigation. All students of medieval Indian history will appreciate the quality of this work, its critical examination of the sources and the wealth of chronological and topographical details.

It would not be improper to mention in this connection that the reviewer had previously read a review of this monograph in the Sunday book-review page of the *Calcutta Statesman*. But any

one who looks for nimble speculation and facile generalisation in a work of this nature must be ignorant of the technique of research work. No one can be funny beyond the capacity of his materials.

The author gives us much more than what we get in Beveridge's paper in the *Calcutta Review*, 1898 or in volume II of S. K. Banerji's *Humayun Badshah*. On Humayun's route towards Qandahar from Qandahar to Sistan, thence to Herat, the discrepancy of evidence furnished by different authorities has been reconciled with great care. Humayun proceeded to the Safavid Court *via* Jam, Mashad and Qila Dar. Five or six different localities near Qazvin are mentioned by different authorities as the place where Humayun and Shah Tahmasp met. This discrepancy of evidence on one topographical detail gives us some idea of the extent of the difficulties of investigation. Definite conclusions cannot always emerge.

Shah Tahmasp's treatment of Humayun diluted kindness with gross insult. Humayun's reception in the Iranian court has been compared by Beveridge with Louis XIV's reception of James II. But the comparison appears to be inexact. The Shah first attempted to convert Humayun and his followers to Shiaism. He was not satisfied with the response. Two months' hostility followed this failure and there was stoppage of all intercourse. Humayun yielded to this pressure and the attitude of the Shah was completely changed. We know the broad outlines of these relations. The author has given a very detailed account. The ceremonies, the festivities, the hunting parties that have been described in this connection give us a good idea of the grandeur of the Safavid court. The exact nature and extent of the help rendered by the Shah to Humayun has also been ascertained. This dissertation helps us to understand better the foreign relations of the great Mughals, the political and cultural contact between Iran and Hindusthan from Akbar to Aurangzeb because Humayun's sojourn in Persia formed the basis of that cultural contact of later years. The appendix on the chronology of Humayun at the Safavid court and his homeward journey and chapter VI which deals with the two sieges of Qandahar in 1545 solve some of the difficulties of chronology. On p. 31 in a footnote the author fills up the gap in our knowledge of the history of the Kohinoor diamond from 1526 when Babur obtained it to the times of Shah Jahan.

The reader who wants to be amused is referred to the picture of

Persian social life as it centred around the court. The letters written by Humayun to Shah Tahmasp and the replies of the ruler of Iran are quoted in full. In his first letter, Humayun begged to present himself 'like an atom in the presence of the Sun of the firmament of splendour and magnificence'. The Shah asked him to hasten 'towards this right ending direction.' Though Humayun and Shah Tahmasp appear to monopolise our attention the personality that stands out is that of Bairam Beg (Khan), the faithful servant of Humayun.

N. K. SINHA

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society,
October, 1948

- H. N. SINHA.—*Rajputs and their Relation with the Mughals.*
S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR.—*The Nature of the Kautilyan State.*

Calcutta Review, September, 1949

KSHITISHCHANDRA CHATTERJI:—*Greek Words in Sanskrit.* The discussion centres on some Greek words that have found place in Sanskrit works on Astrology, specially in the names of the signs of the Zodiac.

Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute,
vol. VI, part 1, (Nov. 1948)

- B. C. LAW.—*Slavery as known to Early Buddhists.*
SURES CHANDRA BANERJI.—*Marriage in Old and Medieval Bengal according to Smṛti Nibandhas.*
K. C. PANDEY.—*Sanskrit Drama in a Comparative Light.*—The paper continued from the previous issue of the Journal concludes: 'Sanskrit drama differs from both English and Greek dramas, particularly tragedies, in respect of the object that it presents and the effect that it aims at producing in the spectator; yet there is fair similarity in the treatment of the subject-matter and the technique adopted for it.'
P. NAGARAJA RAO.—*Whitehead and Śaṅkara.* The views of the two philosophers, Whitehead and Śaṅkara, have been compared in the paper.
VILRAMANI PRASAD UPADHYAYA.—*Some of the Outstanding Features of the Advaita Philosophy according to Sureśvara.* Sureśvara, who was a direct disciple of Śaṅkara, has interpreted the Advaita view-points sometimes in an original way. The paper, which is to be continued, proposes to discuss those view-points as found in different works of Sureśvara.
JNANENDRA LAL MAJUMDAR.—*Gauḍapāda's Kārikā (Alātaśānti).* The writer's exposition aims at establishing the Buddhist character of the Alātaśānti chapter of Gauḍapāda's *kārikās* on the *Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad.*
K. R. R. SASTRY.—*Hindu Law: A Code of Duties.*

Journal of Indian History, August, 1948

- V. W. KARAMBEKAR.—*Bhrgus and the Atharvans*. The special achievements of the Aṅgirasas, Atharvans, and Bhrgus—the three Sage families of the *Atharvaveda* have been described and the common points between the last two families discussed. It is argued that these two families were amalgamated in the Vedic times, and the post-Vedic Bhrgus continued* to share the glory of the ancient Atharvans.

Journal of the Rama Varma Archæological Society, (January, 1948)

- A. BALKRISHNA PILLAI.—*Isila in the Edicts of Aśoka*. 'Isila' mentioned in the edicts of Aśoka has been identified in the paper with modern Kopbal in the extreme south-west of the Nizam's territory. 'Isi' in Sumerian means cow, and 'la' is an 'ethnic suffix'. Thus 'Isila' means 'the city of Gopas' = Gopa-la or Kopa-la in Tamil.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,

Letters Vol. XIV, 1948, no. 2

- RIAZUL ISLAM.—*Ibāhatiyas*. The *Futūbat-i-Firōz Shāhī* describes a sect of religious libertines practising sexual promiscuity as an item of their religious programme. A close resemblance is detected between the rituals and practices of the Ibāhatiyas and those of a particular sect of the Hindu Tantrics. The writer of the paper identifies these Ibāhatiyas with "some sects among Musalmans of the Isma'īlī persuasion."
- DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*A Stone Inscription in the Patna Museum*. This epigraph of the 1st century A.C. in Brāhmī script records the installation of an image of Ādityapuruṣa 'belonging to a *Prāvāriṣa*' i.e. a manufacturer or dealer in woollen cloth.
- HARIT KRISHNA DEB.—*Vedic India and the Middle East*. The purpose of the paper is to show that the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions rulers of Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia who flourished early in the seventh century B.C. and alludes to Śīsūnāga who was of Elamite origin and ruled about the same time in Magadha according to Puranic testimony. The paper also attempts to establish "the phonological correspondence between four of the tribes who assailed Egypt c. 1200 B.C. and four of the tribes who made a combined attack on King Sudās as mentioned in the Ṛgveda."

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol XVIII, part 1 (July, 1949)

V. SRINIVASAN.—*A History of Ala-ud-din Muhammad, the Khalji Emperor of Dehli (1296-1316 A.D.)* This monograph dealing in detail with Ala-ud-din's accession to power, activities of his generals, reforms and regulations of his time, invasions of India by the Mongols, the 'Saga' of Chitor, the campaigns of Malīk Kafur, the last years of the Sultan and his revenue decree will be continued to the next issue of the Journal.

Poona Orientalist, vol. XIII, nos. 1 & 2
(Jan. and April 1948)

NARENDRANATH CHOUDHURI:—पुराणे तन्वे च भगवती लक्ष्मीः . This paper in Sanskrit deals with the position of the goddess Lakṣmī as can be gathered from the references in the Purāṇic and Tāntric literature.

P. K. GODE.—*Viśvanātha Vaidya, the Author of the Kośakalpataru, the Protégé of Jam Sattarsal of Navanagar, Jagatsimha of Udaipur and Harisimha of Pratapgad—between c. A.D. 1580 and 1660.*

H. L. HARIYAPPA.—*On the Name Śunaśśepa.* Śunaśśepa may mean 'pillar of happiness' (Śuna = happiness, śepa = pillar), and not 'dog's tail.' The expression came to have an aspiration (śunaśśepa) as a dialectical peculiarity. The ugly sense attached to the name of the Vedic sage and the peculiar appellations of his two brothers Śunaḥpuccha and Śunolāṅgula are the creations of 'a later fancy.'

C. G. KASHIKAR.—*An Examination of Max Müller's R̥gvedasamhitā and Pada Text.* The readings adopted in the Poona Edition of the R̥gveda in some cases differ from those found in Max Müller's Edition. The former readings have the support of the oral tradition preserved among the Vaidikas in different parts of India.

C. S. VENKATESVARAN.—*The Vedic Conception of "Asura."* 'Asura' originally conveyed the idea of a good and divine spirit, and 'māya' meant occult power. Asura being associated with 'māyā' gradually acquired the sense of an evil or deceitful spirit, which in turn has given rise by way of contrast to a new word 'sura' (god) not found in the R̥gveda.

B. R. SHARMA.—*Some Aspects of Vedic Gandharva and Apsarases.*

The aquatic and equine concept of Gandharva coming from a remote antiquity persists in the Veda and the Avesta. Gandharva in the Vedic literature is a solar being dwelling in the waters of heaven with the Apsarases. As divinities associated with waters, the Apsarases are conceived in later times to have power to influence the human mind. •

K. KRISHNAMOORTY.—*Ānandavardhana's Classification of Poetry from the Standpoint of Dhvani.*

LUDWIK STERNBACH—*Infanticide and Exposure of New-born Children in Ancient India.* The conclusion reached in the paper is that as far as Ancient India is concerned "infanticide, infanticide and exposure of new born boys were prohibited, and certainly unknown, and the same of new born girls, prohibited but, perhaps, secretly practised." Infanticide had become a custom in some parts of India only much later.

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collotype and 231 plates in monochrome collotype) by Giuseppe
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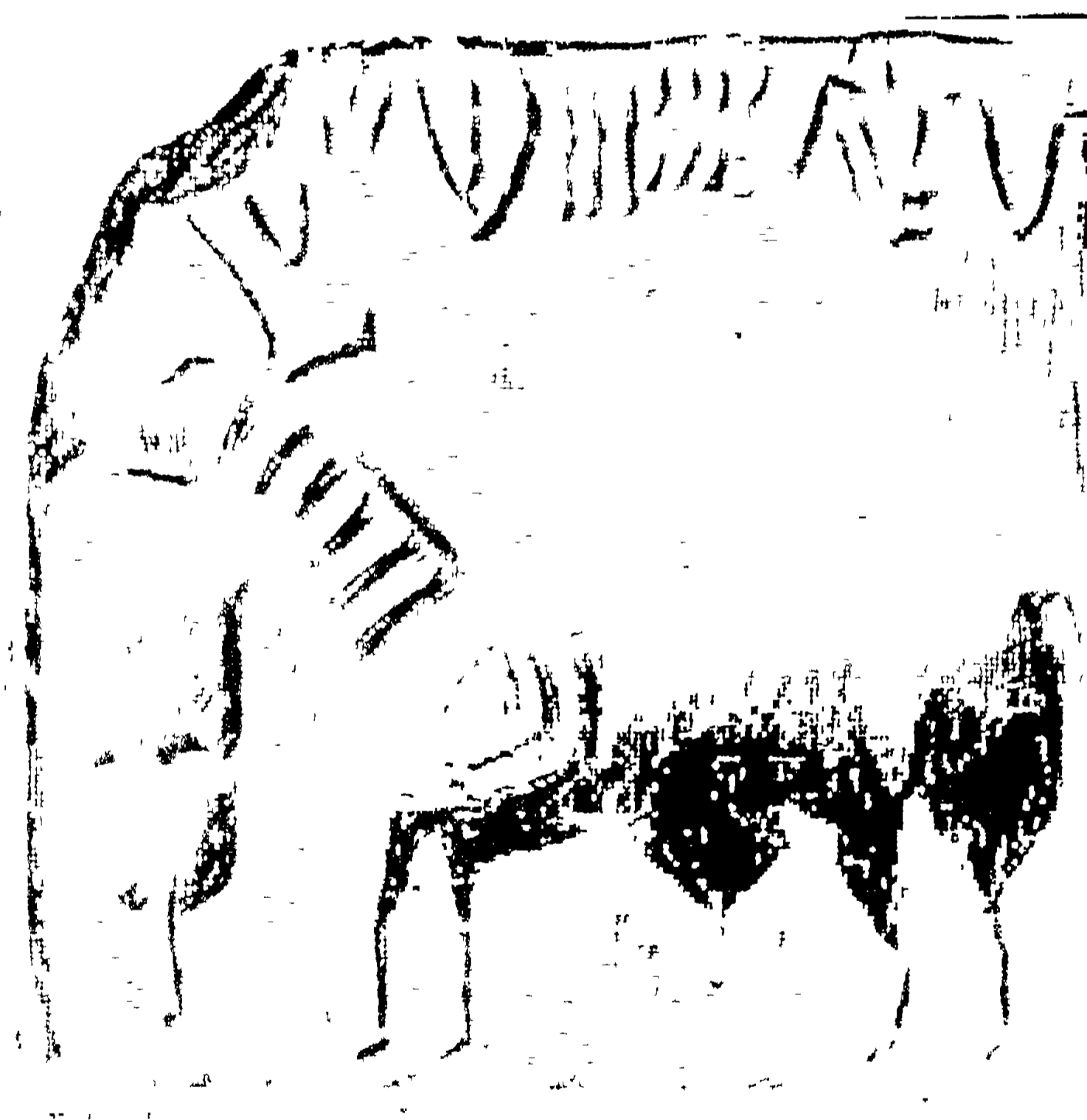
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Eleven years of works on Buddhism in Europe

(May 1936-May 1947)

Generalities

The most general question is the one put by Jean Przyluski in *RHR*, July-August 1936, pp. 52-68, under the heading: *Y-a-t-il une science des religions?* (Is there a science of religions?) The current classification in monotheism, polytheism, animism, hierarchy which lies on two fundamental ideas: notion of soul and notion of gods, is contestable. Numerous are the peoples who know neither soul nor god in the sense in which we take these words. Thus, in Buddhism in its ancient forms, water, subterranean world, trees, mountains, earth and atmosphere are inhabited by numerous genii. Besides there is a pantheon of gods who are those of the old Aryan religion. Therefore, Buddhism has inherited the Vedic polytheism and has even widened it because, in the ancient forms, there coexist a multitude of spirits scattered in the universe, a pantheon of ancient gods and the Buddha is greater than those who are new gods.

Is it animism or polytheism? Instead of choosing, the historians writing on Buddhism have declared, as they have not found either among the *devas* or among the *Buddhas* the characteristics attributed to divinity, that this religion had no god. Hence it is a religion which can be called animism, polytheism or atheism according to our point of view.

There exist three methods for explaining the resemblances of myths, symbols, and cults in the religions of different peoples, writes Maryla Falk (*Indologie auf den Wegen und Abwegen vergleichender Religionsforschung*, PBO., 1937, pp. 18-37). These resemblances

can be attributed: (1) to a primitive revelation, the same for all peoples, (2) to the common ground of the peoples beliefs having the same ethnical origin, and finally (3) may be explained by historical influences of cultures and religions. Only the last two methods are scientific and the author opposes Coomaraswamy's interpretations particularly in his *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, which constitute an evident return to the first method. The idea of this last work, which affirms that Buddhism presents exactly the same truth as the Vedas and the Brahmanism, that the Buddha is nothing but the new form of Agni or Brahmā-Prajāpati and that the *dharmacakrapravartana* is nothing but the creation of the world, is to be rejected.

In three articles (*New Contributions to the problem of the pre-hīnayānistic Buddhism*, PBO., 1937, pp. 8-17; *Mit, Kult i etyka buddyzmu*, *Przegląd Współczesny*, 65, Cracovic, 1938, pp. 362-92, and *Buddyzm jako religia i jako filozofia* Reports of the Polish Academy of Science and Arts) *Comptes-rendus de l'Acad. polonaise des sciences et des lettres*, XLIII, fév, 1938, pp. 31-2), St. Schayer has indicated the main lines of his most recent ideas on the evolution of Buddhism, then he has developed them in the collective volume published at Warsaw under the heading *Les Religions de l'Orient* (The Religions of the Orient) (*Religie Wschodu*, Biblioteka Wiedzy, Trzaska, Ewert i Michalski, Varsovie, 1938, 460 pp. 44 ill.). First he refutes the theories of Oldenberg, Geiger, Winternitz and Stcherbatsky who identify the Pāli tradition with the very doctrine of Buddha. Buddhism has never been a simple, moral doctrine, but was from its beginning a religion with its myth, its cult and its doctrine of salvation. The Mahāyāna is not posterior to the Hīnayāna and is connected directly with primitive Buddhism the fundamental dogmas of which seem to be: belief in metempsychosis; a cosmology distinguishing three spheres (*kāma*, *rūpa* and *arūpadhātu*); analysis of the human person into material elements: earth, water, air, fire, ether and a psychical element, *viññāna*; conception of the salvation constituting the passage from the *rūpa* to the *arūpadhātū*, from the world of perishable elements (*rūpa*) to that of the eternal *dharmā*; a supreme aim to attain, the *acyuta-pada*, a summit from which there is no return to the *samsāra*; a doctrine of the *karma* which loses the automatic and magic character which it has in Brahmanism and identifies the *karma* no more with the act, but with the intention

(however, like the *kleśa*, the *karma* is “physically” conceived as one of the substances that soil or purify the soul); method leading to salvation based on the moral discipline (*śīla*) and practice of the yoga (which is anterior to Buddhism as well as to Brāhmanism, and which is probably pre-Aryan). The essential and the most original point of this statement relates to the belief in Buddha. Never Buddhism would have become a religion had there been no dogma of Buddha, of a perfect and superhuman Being who, if he is neither the creator of the world nor the power that directs the fate of men, is however endowed with all other attributes of divinity. The dogma of Buddha presupposes two beliefs: (1) existence of supernatural beings appearing at intervals of many thousands of years to show the path of salvation, (2) Gautama, of Śākya's tribe has been such a being. The term *tathāgata* which designates this supernatural being has certainly not been created by Buddhism, but must have already been known in the 5th century B.C. in N. E. India. Gautama by declaring that he is the Tathāgata, thus assigned to himself the dignity of Saviour. The term *tathagata* is as much pre-Buddhistic as the term *Messie* is pre-Christian.

On the other hand, the theories of *nirvāṇa*, of *anityata*, of *anātmanvāda* seem to have been unknown to primitive Buddhism. They appear only in the Hīnayāna, in the doctrine which has evolved from the time when the distinction between monks living in monasteries and laymen has been created. This doctrine which has for ideal the state of Arhat, is born in the solitude of meditations and in spite of a-personalism with which it makes one of the bases of the Law, ends in a sort of soteriological egoism. Everybody can attain only his own salvation. The extension of the idea of impermanence to all the elements of reality (in primitive Buddhism only the elements *rūpa* were considered as impermanent), the negation of the permanent soul which logically proceeds from it, the theory of *dharmā* and of isolated *santāna* etc., are only the philosophical consequences of that monachal egoism.

The Mahāyāna is not an evolution of the Hīnayāna, but is connected to Buddhism of laymen who have not accepted the monachal exclusivism. It develops the doctrine of solidarity of all beings, which ends in the dogma of Bodhisattva, the perfect saint who renounces his *nirvāṇa* to bring salvation to the world. Then

the author rapidly reviews the philosophical consequences of this attitude to devote more place for purely religious facts: creation of a new pantheon of Buddha, Bodhisattva, Dhyāni-Buddha, which is not the deification of saints, but which continues the mythological beliefs always vivid among the laymen and gives only a new form to ancient cults. The Mahāyāna, however, avoids the polytheism by admitting the dogma of Buddha's body (*dharmakāya*) of which the Buddhas are only hypostases. The distinction between *dharmakāya* and *rūpakāya* does revive the ancient distinction between *dharma* and *rūpa* of primitive Buddhism.

The statement ends with a brief description of Tantrism and with the analysis of the doctrine of plurality of truths which allows Buddhism to become a universal religion.

In *La délivrance après la mort dans les Upaniṣad et dans le bouddhisme primitif* (The deliverance after death in the Upaniṣads and in primitive Buddhism), J. Przyluski distinguishes four periods in the religious history of India: (1) sacrificial religion and, in the non-Aryan religions, doctrine of transmigration, (2) aristocratic religion in which the sacrifices of horses play an important rôle; immortality and ascension to heaven are assured only to some privileged beings; cosmic myths and solar myths; (3) immortality is no more the prerogative of someone, knowledge and faith enable a few to reach the world of Brahmā, the farthest realm in heaven (epoch of the most ancient Upaniṣad and primitive Buddhism); (4) the deliverance can be obtained during this life and the *nirvāṇa* is transformed into a state of soul. The way of obtaining the deliverance, according to some very ancient texts, is the practice of the *brahmavihāras* which appear to be of non-Aryan origin. (I. *Die Erlösung nach dem Tode in den Upanishaden und im ursprünglichen Buddhismus*. II. *Der Lebendig-Erlöste in dem entwickelten Buddhismus*. Eranos-Jahrbuch 1937, Rhein-Verlag, Zurich, 1938, pp. 93-136).

The same author and M. Falk recall that before the Buddhist influence, China has elaborated a cosmo-physiology where microcosm and macrocosm are constructed on the same plan, where are put into correspondence the elements, the regions of the space, the colours, the organs, etc..., a system which has analogies with the conceptions which have been perpetuated in India from Atharva-Veda to Tantrism after passing through the Upaniṣad (*Aspects d'une ancienne*

psycho-physiologie dans l'Inde et en Extrême-Orient, BSOS., 1938 pp. 723-8).

Criticising Stcherbatsky's theories and Mrs. Rhys Davids's theory, J. Przyluski shows that the theory of the *skandha* cannot be accepted as an element of ancient Buddhism and still less as the pivot of the whole doctrine. Indeed, three currents are to be distinguished: Man has been considered (1) as a plurality of centralized organs, (2) as a plurality of hierarchical organs, (3) as a couple of opposite elements because the same word (*rūpa*, for example) takes different meanings in the three systems. By analysing the theory of the *skandhas* and that of *smṛtyupasthānas*, one notices the interference of the three systems, specially of the second and third (*La théorie des skandha. Contribution à l'histoire du Bouddhisme ancien*, RO, XIV, 1938, pp. 1-8).

M. Falk already finds the conception of *nāma-rūpa* in the Vedic myth of *puruṣa* who has been divided into a male being (*puruṣa* = *rūpa*) and a feminine hypostasis (*Vāc* = *nāma*). The speculation of *Upaniṣads* develops this mythical conception. The two primordial elements are different from each other and their first nature is obscured by the plurality of their manifestations. But the *ātman* continues the idea of the *puruṣa* = *rūpa* and the *brahman* represents that of *Vāc* = *nāma*. In the *Kaṭha-upaniṣad* and in the *Bhagavadgītā*, appears the equation *dharma* = *brahman*. This explains that in primitive Buddhism, the binomial *dharma-rūpa* corresponds to the Brāhmanic binomial *nāma-rūpa* (*Nāma-rūpa i dharma-rūpa. Źródła i dzieje staroindyjskiej koncepcji (Nāma-rūpa et dharma-rūpa. Sources et histoire d'une conception indienne)*. Comptes rendus de l'Acad. polonaise des Sciences et Lettres, fév. 1938, No. 2, pp. 35-40). This article has been developed in a book bearing the same title and published in India.

The notion of Time in the Indian philosophy is analysed by St. Schayer in his *Contributions to the problem of Time in Indian Philosophy* (Cracovie, 1938, 76 pp.) which develops his communication to the 20th International Congress of Orientalists (summarized in *RCCIO.*, 1938, p. 40). The Time, or rather the year (*saṃvatsara*), is a mythological notion, entity engendered by the Androgynous Anthropos. The successive hypostases of the Time are: *Prajāpati* in the Brāhmaṇa, *Amitāyus* in Buddhism, and, in Hinduism,

Kāla identified sometimes with Śiva, sometimes with Viṣṇu. In all the ancient systems, the Time is a very subtle, omnipresent, eternal substance, one and indivisible but physical. Such is the theory of the Mīmāṃsakas, of the Vaiśeṣika and part of a school of Vedānta. Past, present and future are but three "portions" of the homogeneous Time. This realistic analysis of Time is resumed by the *traikālyavāda* of the Vaibhāṣikas. Here, the hypostasis of Time-substance is replaced by that of the existence's real phases of a *dharma*. This system is discussed in detail and the author seeks to elucidate, on the basis of the *Mahāvibhāṣā* and of the *Nyāyānuśārasāstra*, certain problems left without explanation in the *Abhidharmakośa*.

This is to be compared with the *Abhidharma Documents, The Controversy of Time*, long notice published by La Vallée Poussin in *MCB.*, 1937, pp. 7-168, and the article by P. Mus: *La notion de temps réversible dans la mythologie bouddhique* (*AESHK.*, 1938-39, pp. 5-38). The latter author shows that ancient Buddhism established its doctrine of salvation on the contrast of two eschatologies: the circle of transmigration, the dive in the *nirvāṇa* which is the "Issue". Both of them escape our habitual representation of the "evolutive" time. It is only with the beginning of the Mahāyāna mythological Buddhism which begins, with Amitāyus, "Buddha with infinite age", a chronological primate, still deified in a later period by the Tantras, under the features of Mahākāla, "the Universal Time."

L. de La Vallée Poussin studies (according to the *Vibhāṣa*, the *Kośa* and Saṃghabhadra) four holy truths in relation with the apparent truth (*saṃvṛtisatya*) and the absolute truth (*paramārthasatya*), but the apparent truth is contained in the absolute truth because nothing of what is void of *paramārtha* can be called truth. Therefore there is only one truth and not a second one (*Documents d'Abhidharma. Les deux, les quatre, les trois Vérités. MCB.*, 1937, pp. 159-87). Then returning to his researches on the *Nirvāṇa*, he discerns in the Buddhistic sources, ancient or scholastic, two opposed moral tendencies: the intellectualist granting a place of choice to intelligence or *prajñā*; the mystic preferring above all calmness, concentration or *samādhi*. It is the eternal divergency between speculatives and ecstasies. In the school of the Sarvastivādin-Vaibhāṣika which combines *prajñā* and *samādhi* giving however preference to *prajñā*,

the two points of view are reconciled and it proposes two paths of *nirvāṇa* completing each other: the vision (*darśanamārga*) and the meditation (*bhāvanāmārga*); it subordinates *samādhi* to *prajña* by making of the concentration the condition *sine qua non* of the exact knowledge. For Harivarman, the ecstasies are not necessary, the reason only leads to the vision of truths; he ignores the mystic of *nirvāṇa* and denies to the latter all objective reality considering it simply as the destruction of *dhammas*. However certain texts of Abhidharma, in Sanskrit and Pāli, and a few non-canonical works show the existence of a purely mystical Buddhism where intelligence plays only a secondary rôle. The proposed ideal is the obtainment of the *nirodhasamāpatti*: supreme contemplation during which, devoid of consciousness and sensations, the saint gets into contact with the mystical entity *Nirvāṇa* (*Mūsila et Narada. Le Chemin du Nirvāṇa*, MCB., 1937, pp. 189-222).

H. von Glasenapp, in many publications has studied the dharma theory. He finds its origin, as well as that of the doctrine of the *anātman* in the conceptions reflected in the Vedic texts up to the most ancient Upaniṣads, and also in the most ancient parts of the Pāli Canon. More abstract than the Jaina theory of the *karma-prakṛti*, both of them go back to the Vedic conceptions of fluids, powers or substances that fill the world and penetrate into men (*Zur Geschichte der buddhistischen Dharma-theorie*, ZDMG., 1938, pp. 383-420; *Der Ursprung der buddhistischen Dharma-Theorie*, ZDMG., 1939, pp. 242-66 and *Actes du XXe. Congr. Intern. des Orientalistes*, 1940, pp. 216-7, and *WZKM.*, 1939, pp. 242-66; *Entwicklungstufen des indischen Denkens. Untersuchungen über die Philosophie der Brahmanen und Buddhisten*, Halle, 1940, 169 pp.)

In a voluminous book of 679 pages, J. C. Jennings has published a collection of historical texts translated from the Pāli originals to construct *The Vedāntic Buddhism of the Buddha* (London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1947). His arguments to support his Vedāntic and Stoic Buddhism raise internal as well as external criticism. He notices that, in his instructions to the first missionaries, Buddha speaks neither of new births nor of the personal act. To establish that Śākyamuni did not believe in the transmigration, the author has recourse to some purely logical arguments. Buddha has denied the existence of separate souls, now where there is no durable Self,

there can be no transmigration of soul to a new body. The reasoning may appear irrefutable to our occidental logic. But the *ātman* of which Buddha denies the existence does not correspond exactly to our Aristotelian concept: it is not a *Soul*, it is a *Self*. Though being a subsisting, eternal and immutable principle, it opposes itself diametrically to Becoming, to *Samsāra*. For the Hindus, the notions of *Ātman* and of *Samsāra* are contradictory. That is why the Upaniṣads and the Vedānta, which admit the existence of the *ātman* are brought to deny the reality of the worlds of the transmigration and to reject it in the realm of illusion or *māyā*. Inversely, Buddha who admits the reality of *samsāra* and the Law of production in dependence (*pratītyasamutpāda*) must deny the existence of an *ātman* which if immutable would have withdrawn from transmigration; that is why he imagined the painful and impersonal *skandha*, but capable of being carried away by act and passion in the cycle of Rebirths. We do not believe in the Vedic and Stoic character of Śākyamuni's message says E. Lamotte who has written a long report on the work in *Art. As.* (X. 2, pp. 160-4). However, while according a place of choice to virtues of benevolence (*maitrī*) and pity (*karuṇā*), the primitive Buddhism was not at all devoid of altruistic tendencies.

C. G. Jung, in a psychological analysis of Buddhistic meditation, underlines that for the Indians, the reality resides not in the sensorial world, but in the internal experience. Contrary to the religious tendencies of the West the aim of which is the act, the Indian religions aspire at an inactive and unconscious psychical state which is considered as the supreme form of conscienciousness. The author seeks to explain from the point of psycho-analytical view the choice of the "subjects of meditation" and points out some striking coincidences between the methods of *dhyāna* and those of psycho-analysis. The subtle difference, but very important, which is observed between the Christian and the Buddhist having attained the summit of meditation is explained by the fact that Christian psychology is deeply attached to the conscience of "ego", whereas the oriental experience lies still on the stratum of the collective subconscious state (*Zur Psychologie östlicher Meditation*, BSSAEO., v, 1943, pp. 33-53).

E. Abegg studies the whole outlook of Indian ideas on soul and its functions and presents a detailed analysis of Buddhist psychology,

trying to sketch out its history (*Indische Psychologie*, Zürich, 1945, 133 pp.).

Courses of Indo-Greco-Iranian Exchanges

J. Przyluski in *Mani et Plotin* (BCL., XIX, 1933, pp. 322-6) has shown that the Indian asceticism colours the religion of Mani and the philosophy of Plotin and when the latter thinks of establishing in Campania a city of sages, the 'new ideal which appears in his doctrine is well explained if a Buddhistic factor is intervened. Then he has shown that to the three Bodies of Buddha according to the Mahāyānic theory correspond the three Hypostases in the system of Plotin the statement of which clarifies some difficult points of the Buddhistic doctrine (*Les Trois hypostases dans l'Inde et à Alexandrie*, Bruxelles, 1935). In *Les sept puissances divines en Grèce*, he points out the analogies between the doctrine of Ajita Keśakambalin, contemporary of Buddha according to the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, and the system of Empédocle (RIIPR., s. d., pp. 255-62).

H. de Lubac, in *Textes alexandrins et bouddhiques* (RSR., 1937, XXVII, pp. 336-51), studies many original texts and finds in them the evidence of an anterior theory which offers a curious similitude with the Buddhist theory.

J. Filliozat identifies the doctrines described by St. Hippolyte with those of the Upaniṣads, specially of the *Maitrī Upaniṣad* and he gives some indications on the propagation in Occident, in the first centuries of our era, of the knowledge of Buddhist and at the same time Brāhmanic doctrines (*La doctrine des brāhmanes d'après Saint Hippolyte*, RHR., 1945, pp. 59-91).

P. Demiéville, starting from a doctrinal stanza pronounced by Chen-sieou (606-706) and reproduced in the introduction of the *Sūtra de l'Estrade* (T'an-king) follows in the Chinese, Indian, Buddhist, Hellenic and Christian literatures the metaphor that presents mind as a mirror reflecting the divine knowledge (*Sinologica*, I, 2; Bâle, 1947).

In *Les sept puissances divines dans l'Inde et en Iran* (RIIPR., s.d., pp. 500-7), J. Przyluski shows that the comparison of the series of divine powers according to Herodotus, the *Chāndogya-upaniṣad*, the *Brhadāranyaka-upaniṣad* and the Buddhist *Mahāsamaya* indicates the changes undergone by the two Upaniṣads and the agreement of the

Mahāsamaya and Iranian notions. After the period when the series of Herodotus corresponds to that of *Mahāsamaya*, the heptad is transformed. The plurality of elements stands more and more in the way of unique principle: Fire, *brahman*, Space or unlimited Time. Then he replaces in the cadre of the ethnical, economical and political realities the great theses of the Indian and Iranian philosophy. What is properly Indian or Iranian, is not such cultural elements, but the manner with which those elements are grouped to form an organic whole (*Les rapports entre l'Inde et l'Iran depuis l'époque védique*, *RHR.*, 1940, pp. 5-24). The same author, changing the orientation of his researches, resumes the hypothesis that the Śākyas of the Himālaya bear a name akin to that of the Śakas or Scythians. He shows that, in the Indian tradition, the Śākyas of the Himālaya have ethnical affinities with different peoples living south of Pamir. Buddha being a Śākya, if the Śākyas are Scythians, one must admit that a Scythian invasion took place in India in the 11th cent. B.C. at the latest—nearly at the time of their expansion towards Iran, Crimea, and the valley of the Danube (*Nouveaux Aspects de l'Histoire des Scythes*, *RUB.*, 1937, pp. 1-30).

Myths, Cults, Legends, Faiths

Faiths relating to Maitreya in Sérindia are studied by W. Baruch who follows them in the images, formularies and inscriptions of donation, Manichaeic, Ouigour and Khotanese texts (*RHR.*, CXXXII, July-Dec. 1946, pp. 67-92).

E. Abegg who had written in 1928 *Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran*, where he supported that the Indian Messianism is independent of the Iranian eschatology, exposes the evolution of the prophecies on future Buddha, in the Indian and emigrated literature. He underlines the association of this mythical personage with the idea of the *maitrī*, but, faithful to his theory, opposes the hypothesis of the Iranian origin of the myth, because it already appears in the most ancient strata of Buddhism (*Der Buddha Maitreya*, *BSSAEO.*, VII, 1945, pp. 7-37).

J. Przyluski and M. Lalou have published, in collaboration, three articles. One describes the evolution of faiths relative to the "Son of Brahmā" the lists of which from the *Mahābhārata*, *Mahāsamayāsutta* and its Tibetan and Chinese versions, from *Mahāgovinda*^o and

Janavasabhasutta, show a tendency to make into a hierarchy some forms less and less subtle. The Tibetan versions reflect originals better preserved than the Pāli manuscripts ; particularly, they introduce Hārītī in the old Buddhistic pantheon (*Notes de Mythologie Bouddhique. Les fils de Brahmā, HIAS.*, 1939, pp. 69-76). In other notes of mythology (*Yakṣa et Gandharva dans le Mahāsamayasuttanta, HIAS.*, 1938, pp. 40-6), the authors had compared a passage similar in the *Mahāsamaya* and its Tibetan versions, the *Ānāṭiya* and the *Mahāmāyūrī*, a passage which is the evidence of an ancient mythology where Vedic gods, *Yakṣa* and *Gandharva* were confused. Later on the classification becomes more and more precise, four groups of Genii are subdued to four Guardian Kings of the Quarters of Space, but one finds often, the archaic list subsisting side by side with the canonical classification. In the restitution of names of genii, preference goes to the non-Pāli tradition. Finally, the *Récits populaires et contes bouddhiques (JA.*, 1936, pp. 177-91) show that the study of Buddhist tales, popular stories for a long time orally transmitted before being fixed, could not be done according to the habitual processes of the literary criticism. The comparison and analysis of four tales common to the *Avadāna-śataka* and to the *Karma-śataka* show the principles which have guided the elaboration of Buddhistic tales: (1) purification of popular stories containing immoral elements (here, marriage between brother and sister): expurgation and addition of a morality ; (2) transfer of certain motives of a tale to another, by analogy ; (3) respect of disciplinary rules: modifications are made to obtain stories corresponding to the rules of Vinaya. On his side, J. Przyluski compares *gandharva* with *gardabha* and recalls the rôle played by the *gandharva* in the Buddhist theory of reincarnation (*Asses, Horses and Gandharvas, IC.*, III, 4, pp. 613-20); he points out that the Sanskrit *devamanuṣya* and Pāli *devamanussa* must not be rendered by "men and gods," but by "men-gods". The notion is not specifically Buddhistic ; it exists simultaneously with that of the *Vidyādharas* of Brāhmanical literature and its diffusion is explained by the increasing importance of the magic in the first centuries of our era (*JA.*, 1938, pp. 123-8). At last, in *Inara and Indra (RHA.*, 1939, pp. 142-6) he exposes a Vedic myth showing Indra living among the Asuras in a female form among women and in a male form among men, and he points out a series of equivalent bisexual divinities of the Great Goddess.

The Chinese form of Avalokiteśvara (Kouan-yin) is also subject to a change of sex. E. Erkes resumes the obscure question of the date of this change and, according to Eberhard who has found in a text of 817 the mention of female Kouan-yin, he makes this date go back beyond the traditional Xth cent. On the other hand, always according to Eberhard, the change of sex of Avalokiteśvara would proceed from his identification with a goddess of the sailors who is still venerated to-day on the south-east coast of China. At last, a figurine of Kouan-yin, dated 556 and coming from North China, show some feminine peculiarities in its coiffure and mantle. Let us note that it does not concern Kouan-yin "with children", the only aspect considered to-day as an unequivocal feminine appearance, but of an isolated divinity, whose ambiguous sex appears already in North China in 556 (E. Erkes: *Zum Problem der weiblichen Kuanyin, Art. As.*, 1946, pp. 316-21).

M. Lalou studies the epic and Buddhist forms of the god Vaiśravaṇa who is also Androgynous, and compares his aspect of god of Treasures with that of Gaṇeśa. The research is called forth and helped by some images found in Touen-houang (*Mythologie indienne et peintures de Haute-Asie. I. Le dieu bouddhique de la Fortune, Art. As.*, 1946, pp. 97-111 et *IA.*, 1937, pp. 301-2). It is also mythology subject in the *Rgyud Sumpa* and the *Lha klu čhen-po thams-čad spyān-drañ-pa*, mss. of Touen-houang, which the same author has edited and translated (*Notes de mythologie bouddhique, 2, HJAS.*, 1938, pp. 126-36).

The cosmogony has been studied by H. Günther (*Die buddhistische Kosmogonie, ZDMG.*, 1944, pp. 44-83) according to the passage of the *Aggaññasutta* which describes the apparition of men on the earth. The author seeks to show that, in its essential features, the Buddhist cosmology continues the speculation of the Upaniṣads.

Lin Li-kouang has edited the Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese texts of the *Dharmasamuccaya* and gives a French translation of it. The first volume (*Annales du Musée Guimet, tome 53, 292 pp.*, Paris, 1946) contains the first five chapters.

In *La Lumière sur les Six Voies. Tableau de la transmigration bouddhique d'après les sources sanskrites, pāli, tibétaines et chinoises en majeure partie inédites* (Paris, 1939, 330 pp.), P. Mus deals on the one hand with the Buddhist hells and, on the other hand, writes

the history of the *Saḍgatikārikā*, which alludes to the cycle of the Apocrypha and to the Sanskrit tradition of Abhidharma. These *ṣaḍgati*^o are attributed to Dhārmika Subhuti by Vasubandhu, and only some very late traditions, admitted nevertheless by Sylvain Lévi, have claimed to confuse him with Aśvaghoṣa. The intervention of the Burmese Pāli scriptures regarding a *Lokapaññati*, causes P. Mus to show that this *Lokapaññati* is nearer to the Sanskrit tradition than to the Pāli vulgate, which seems less strange if one remembers the relations between the Magadhan Buddhism and the Burmese Buddhism already attested by the archaeology. The whole study of the Abhidharma Sarvāstivādin will have to be taken up again in the light of Pāli Burmese. The Burmese documents are precious, not only for the exegesis of the texts and the study of the doctrines, but also for the literal criticism of the Buddhist Sanskrit badly fixed, badly preserved.

According to P. Mus, the early Buddhist art which "substitutes" in the representation of Buddha that of the places he sanctified by his visit is a survival of the primitive "participation". The symbols do not take the place of the Buddha, they *are* Buddha (*La mythologie primitive et la pensée de l'Inde*, BSFP., pp. 84-126).

The problem of the representation of the holy place is resumed by Jean Przyluski in *La Participation* (Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1940, 167 pp.). The same author, by studying *Le Culte de l'étendard chez les Scythes et dans l'Inde* (*Zalmoxis*, 1938, pp. 13-9), points out the mixture of two religious notions: fixed column or mobile standard, carrying each a sacred emblem. He compares the finds made at Doura-Europos relating to the cult of the standard with this cult in ancient India according to the *Cakkavatti-sihanādasuttanta* and shows the duality of the fixed and pacific god (stone column of the sedentaries) and of the ambulant and warlike god (standard of the nomades).

The Stūpa. P. Mus has grouped under a separate title the studies on the Bārābuḍur (analysed in *Bibl. B.* VI, 548; VII-VIII, 810) by adding a preface of 300 pp. Always in connection with the Javanese monument, he deals with the genesis of the Mahāyāna Buddhology, the origin of five Jinas who are hypostases of Śākyamuni. The aspect, the name, the emblem and the activity of each of the Jinas characterised an episode of the career of Śākyamuni:

Vairocana, the first preaching at Benares and the four other Jinas, the four weeks following the Bodhi. From Benares, Śākyamuni-Vairocana dominates the symbolic square gathered around the Bodhi tree. The transcendent Buddha has created with his own body, by a mythical segmentation, the innumerable Tathāgatas, and the latter are grouped into a single one when a Buddha appears on the Earth and preaches the Mahāyāna. This magical dispersion and this return to unity are the exact reply of the dispersion of Prajāpati in the person of gods of the world and his reconstruction in that of Agni identified with the complete circle of the regents of the Orient. The Mahāyāna central Buddha tends to follow the model of the Creator God of the Brāhmaṇas. It is to Brahmā Prajāpati, not to Viṣṇu, that Buddha owes his first attributes of the Lord of the Universe. The three bodies of the Buddha are considered as intermediary between Buddha and men.

On the other hand, J. Przyluski has noted, according to the conceptions of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, that the seven terraces of the Bārābuḍur correspond to the seven (later on ten) steps in the career of the Mahāyānist saint. He notes also that the round terraces of the Bārābuḍur begin with the fifth storey, which agrees well with the description of the fifth earth in the *Akṣyupaniṣad* (*Les sept terrasses du Barabudur*, *HJAS.*, 1936, pp. 251-6). But it is difficult to consider the Bārābuḍur, which is a reduction of the cosmic mountain surmounted by 73 stūpas, simply as a stūpa. It is a construction that seals up the mystical union of the empire and the universe (*The terminal stūpa of the Barabudur*, *JGIS.*, 1936, pp. 158-69).

G. Combaz offers a general view of *The Evolution of the Stūpa in Asia* (*Les symbolismes du stūpa*, *MCB.*, 1936, 125 pp, 49 fig.) and J. Buhot in *Notes d'Architecture bouddhique* studies the transformation of the hemispheric stūpa into a high square or octagonal tower, transformation that he explains by the existence of a wooden revetment destined to protect the most venerated stūpas of India and which was soon considered as equivalent to the monument itself. As to the origin of the pagodas on hexagonal plan he thinks that it comes from a false interpretation of a model on square plan. (*RAA.*, XI, 4, 1937 and XIII, 1939-1942).

At last, in an article bringing together informations from the *Dulva* translated by M. Lalou, and remarks of Wogihara, L. de La Vallée

Poussin studies the composing parts of the stūpa, their cult and the funeral usages (*Staupikam*, *HIAS.*, 1937, pp. 276-89).

W. Zinkgraff has studied the *Divyāvadāna* (*Vom Divyāvadāna zur Avadānakalpalatā*, Heidelberg, 1940) specially the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* and the *Padmaka*°. E. J. Thomas (*BSOAS.*, X, 3, 1940, pp. 654-6) corrects a passage of the Mākandika history (*Divyā*°, p. 579). Though the work has appeared in America, it is useful to compare with these two studies on the *Divyāvadāna*, the work of K.K.S. Ch'en on the *Svāgatāvadāna* wherein is translated the Chinese version and wherein are discussed the problems raised by the other texts (*A Study of the Svāgata Story in the Divyāvadāna and its Sanskrit, Pāli, Tibetan and Chinese Versions*, *HIAS.*, 9 fev, 1947, pp. 207-314).

Dschi Hian-lin has translated (*ZDMG.*, 97, 1943, pp. 284-324) seven stories of the *Mahāvastu* and of the Chinese Canon related to the Tokharian recension of the *Puṇyavantajātaka*, text edited and translated by G. S. Lane (*JAOS.*, 67, March 1947, pp. 33-53).

Doctrines

K. Régamey inaugurating the *Publications of the Oriental Commission of the Warsaw Society of Sciences and Letters*, has edited, translated and commented upon the Chapters VIII, XIX, and XXII of the *Samādhirājasūtra* (*Three Chapters from the Samādhi*°, Warsaw, 1938) according to a manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris and the Chinese and Tibetan versions. It deals about a work preliminary to the complete edition of the *Samādhi*° planned by Schayer and Régamey. War and death of Schayer have delayed this publication for which the recent Gilgit finds will bring some precious elements of comparison.

The same author has published the Tibetan text of the *Bhadramāyā-kāravvyākaraṇa*, accompanied with an introduction and an annotated translation. It is one of the small *sūtras* of the *Ratnakūṭa*, part of a series that Régamey intends to disclose to us. The original text is lost; two Chinese versions of which one goes back to the IIIrd-IVth century and a Tibetan translation and fragments of a Śaka paraphrase edited by Leumann are left (*Bibl. B.* VII-VIII, 103). The central theme of the story is the legend of the magician Bhadra who, to compromise Buddha, invites him to a feast that he creates by magic on a heap of ordure (sweepings). Buddha omniscient foresees the trap.

He accepts the invitation and by the power of his magic he subdues Bhadra by preventing him from destroying the illusory feast. Thereafter he preaches on the universal magic. Some reminiscences of the legend are found in the Dhammapada commentary, but it is only in the *Bhadramāyākāra*^o that it serves as a point of departure for the development of the doctrinal theses. The quality of these two works makes us greatly regret their almost complete destruction during the Warsaw fires. Their author at least was saved and has been able to resume his scientific activity in the Universities of Lausanne and Fribourg.

When Régamey explains the method to be followed to edit the texts the original of which is lost, he considers that the restitution of the original text is practically impossible and that the method to be followed is (i) to edit all the versions (except the Chinese if it is already edited in *Taishō*), and (ii) to make a critical translation according to all the known versions, by mentioning all the variants, even the evident mistranslations to present the whole of the data. Sten Konow, on the other hand, has reconstructed the two first chapters of the *Daśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* in Sanskrit (Oslo, 1941), and compares the data that they provide on the *dharmas*, from which a Bodhisattva must be detached, with the lists of other *Prajñāpāramitās*, the *Dharmasamgraha*, the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, the Pāli Canon, the *Mahāvastu*, the *Lalitavistara* etc.

The fragments of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* found at Gilgit have been utilized by W. Baruch in *Beiträge zum Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, Leyde, 1938, 100 pp., when he compares the Nepalese manuscripts, those fragments of Gilgit and the Chinese translations.

G. Tucci has discovered in 1939 in a monastery at La-lu, a short manuscript on palm leaves of a summary of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* bearing the heading of *Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha* of Diñnāga. He publishes it and translates it (*Minor Sanskrit Texts on the Prajñāpāramitā*, I. *The Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha of Diñnāga*, *JRAS.*, Ap. 1947, pp. 53-75) and shows that Nanjio, followed by Bagchi, restores a title *Buddha-mātrka-prajñāpāramitā-saṅgīti-śāstra* and mentions Nāgārjuna as author whilst the *Hōbōgirin* and the *Catalogue Tōboku*, which restore a title *Ārya-prajñāpāramitā-samgraha-kārikā*, mention Diñnāga as author. The document deals with "sixteen insubstantialities" and "ten distractions".

E. Obermiller has published at Moscow, in 1937 (*BB*, XIX,

125 pp.) the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṅcaya-gāthā*.

A. Ferrari has published and translated the Sanskrit text of the *Arthaviniścaya*. She has filled up its gaps with the Tibetan version and has compared the Chinese version of Fa-hien and of Kin-tsun-che (Roma, Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1944). Then, in 1946, she published the edition and the translation of the Sanskrit text of the *Pāramitā-samāsa* of Āryaśūra, according to a manuscript preserved in the library of the Mahārāja of Nepāl, with the variants of the Tibetan version (*Il "Compendio delle Perfezioni" di Āryaśūra*, Annali Lateranensi, X, Città del Vaticano).

E. Lamotte has published in eight years, three important works: 1. *Le Traité de l'acte de Vasubandhu (Karmasiddhiprakaraṇam)*. Edition of the Tibetan version and French translation. Though the Tibetan and Chinese traditions place this treatise in the *śāstras* of the Great Vehicle, E. Lamotte regards the work as that of a Sautrāntika, because the author accepts the reality of exterior things, specially of *rūpa*, and his psychology of the *ālaya* has nothing in common with the idealistic system of the Vijñaptimūtra. The translation of Chap. XVII of the *Madhyamakavṛtti* of Nagārjuna and Candrakīrti shows how these authors refute the system of the Sautrāntika and of the Sāṃmitiya and establish the position of the Madhyamika on the non-existence of act, passion, body and "enjoyers", while recognizing a practical efficacy in the non-substantial act.

2. *La Somme du grand Véhicule d'Asaṅga (Mahāyānasamgraha)*, Tome I: *Versions tibétaines et chinoise (Huan-tsang)*; Tome II: *Traduction et Commentaire*. It is a critical edition of the Tibetan based on the comparison of the Tibetan version with the four Chinese versions of Buddhaśānta, Paramārtha, Dharmagupta and Huan-tsang. The Tibetan version is the base of the French translation and is accompanied with a continued series of explanations borrowed from the Indian commentaries. The first two chapters of the *Mahāyāna*^o, published and translated, deal respectively with the *ālayavijñāna* and the *dharmalakṣaṇa*. There is still to be published the Vol. III: Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese Index, and the Vol. IV: Introduction containing a study on the Yogācāra literature and systematic statement of the doctrines of Asaṅga.

3. The beginning of the enormous *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra* de Nāgārjuna (*Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse*. Tome I, XXXIII + 620 pp., Louvain, 1944), of which the author gives a translation enriched with notes where he tries his best to identify, through the whole canonical as well as extra-canonical Buddhistic literature, the quotations without precise references abounding in the text.

W. Couvreur, after having shown that this *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra* of Nāgārjuna, though belonging to the Madhyamaka school, borrows from the Sarvāstivādins the principal materials of Buddhology, compares the latter with the Tokharian fragments (*Tocharische Sprachreste*), published by Sieg and Siegling and ascertains between the two sources an almost perfect agreement with the marks (*lakṣaṇa*), the minor-marks (*anuvyañjana*) and the ten epithets of Buddha. Hastily perhaps, he concludes in favour of the Sarvāstivādin-Vaibhāṣika character of the Tokharian Buddhism. Indeed, it seems impossible to determine from which school the latter holds his doctrine by the mere fact of borrowing marks, minor-marks, etc., which were the common wealth of all the Buddhist schools.

F. Weller has translated the *Yu-hsing-ching*, 2nd sūtra of the *Dirghāgama* of the Dharmaguptas, translated into Chinese by Buddhayaśas and Chu Fo nien in 412-413 A.D. (*Buddhas Letzte Wanderung*, MS., IV and V).

D. Friedman has published the translation of the first chapter of the *ṭīkā* of Sthiramati on the *Madhyāntavibhāga* (*Sthiramati Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā, Analysis of the middle path and the extremes*. Utrecht, 1937), soon after when Stcherbatsky had given the translation of the first chapter of this *Madhyāntavibhāga*, of the *ṭīkā* of Sthiramati and of the *bhāṣya* of Vasubandhu (*Madhyāntavibhāga. Discourse on discrimination between Middle and Extremes, ascribed to Maitreya and commented by Vasubandhu and Sthiramati*, transl. from the Sanskrit (and Tibetan), BB, XXX, Moscow-Leningrad, 1938).

A. Kunst has published in 1939, at Cracovie, the annotated translation of the *Anumānapariṣā*, Chap. XVIII of the *Tattvasamgraha* with the commentary of Kamalaśīla and the Tibetan and Sanskrit text of the *kārikās* (*Probleme der Buddhistischen Logik in der Darstellung der Tattvasamgraha*).

Yoga and Tantrism. Medicine, Magic, Physiology

L. de La Vallée Poussin tries to discover in the theistic and speculative Yoga traces of "pure" or "without Metaphysics" Yoga from which Buddhism originated (*Le Bouddhisme et le Yoga de Patañjali*, MCB., 1937, pp. 223-42).

H. Von Glasenapp has published some articles on Tantrism and Śaktism (*OAZ.*, 1936, pp. 120-33), on Vajrayāna (*Die Entstehung des Vajrayāna*, ZDMG., 1936, pp. 546-72), on the rites of initiations in the Javanese Buddhism (*OLZ.*, 1936, pp. 483-9 and 1938 pp. 201-4) and a book on the development of Buddhist Tantrism in India as well as in Meridional, Oriental and Central Asia. He distinguishes pure Tantrism, devoid of erotic elements from Śaktic Tantrism which has borrowed these elements from Hinduism. The Buddhist Śaktism is studied with its secret doctrines, its rites and its metaphysical support (*Buddhistische Mysieren. Die geheimen Lehren und Rite des Diamant-Fahrzeugs*, Stuttgart, 1940, 201 pp.)

In *Yoga en Yantra in bunne beteekenis voor de Indische Archaeologie* (Leyde, 1946, 180 pp.), P. H. Pott distinguishes "two paths" in the Tantric yoga. He studies the object of meditation (*yantra*), their different developments, as the *maṇḍalas*, and the help that they bring for the study of the Tantric yoga, its symbols and cosmogonies. The symbols of the "left path" are inspired from a complex of ideas connected with death, cemeteries and associations that they evoke. The most remarkable centre of the microcosmic cosmogony of the left path is "the lotus of the heart" (*ānanandakandapadma*) on the petals of which reside eight divinities. The author has found some constant groups of eight divinities, which can be connected with this lotus, like those of the divinities of the sacred cemeteries of Nepal. The study of these groups proves that there are two which are intermingled and which are the sources of the Buddhist Tantric pantheon.

The theories which retrace the origin of the yoga to a prehistorical technique of chamans are criticized by J. Fillozat. For him, the question is of a pneumatic conception of ancient Indian physiologists which is comparable to that exposed in the hippocratic treatise "Des Vents" (winds). There follows a note, which nobody will go there to search for, on the impropriety of the term "Illuminé" employed for translating "Buddha" (*Les origines d'une technique mystique indienne*, RP., 1946, pp. 208-220).

In the course of researches of physio-pathological order on the cardiac arrhythmias two French specialist doctors have recognized the influence of the concentration of thought on the functioning of the circulatory system (C. Laubry and T. Brosse: *Documents recueillis aux Indes sur les "Yoguis" par l'enregistrement simultané du pouls, de la respiration et de l'électrocardiogramme*, *Presse Médicale*, no. 83, Oct. 1936).

Le culte des nāga et la thérapeutique, as it is exposed by a Tibetan text, has been translated and commented by M. Lalou. It is about a complicated ceremony, requiring the concentric presence, around a *maṇḍala*, of eight specimens of thirteen animals, from lizard to horse. The prayers and offerings of drugs do not determine a magical flux acting directly on the man for whom the cult is being celebrated: the medico-magical force released by the rite must be at first exerted on the sick *nāga* who consents then to the reflux of this force towards man (*JA.*, Jan-Mar. 1938, pp. 1-19).

Among the Tantric teachings attributed to Nāgārjuna, we find three important texts: a collection of therapeutic formulae, a treatise on alchemy and a manual of sorcery. J. Filliozat shows that one has been right not to give too much of attention to these attributions and that those scientific and magical treatises are not particularly Buddhist but simply Indian (*Nāgārjuna et Agastya, médecins, chimistes et sorciers*, *AXXCIO*, pp. 228-9). In a general study called *Magie et Médecine* (Paris, 1943, 147 pp.), the same author among other Buddhist subjects deals with the magic rôle of the *maitrī*. He has also gathered some texts on the demoniac possession of the children. In *Le Kumāratantra de Rāvaṇa et les textes parallèles indiens, tibétains, chinois, cambodgien et arabe* (Cahiers de la Soc. Asiatique, Paris, 1937), he edits and translates a chapter of the *Rgyud bñi* the teaching of which is attributed to Buddha *Bhaiṣajyaguru*. He studies a Tantric complement to this text: *Lhan-thabs*, the Tibetan translation of the *Gubhyāgnicakra*, the Chinese version of the *Rāvaṇa-kūmara-tantra* of the Chinese Tripitaka and similar non-Buddhist various texts.

Documents from High-Asia

J. Filliozat and Hōryū Kuno have studied some Sanskrit fragments of the *Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins* coming from the Pelliot mission

and have compared them with the corresponding passages of the Chinese version (*JA.*, 1938, pp. 21-64).

By publishing in 1939, researches on the historicity of the texts of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (*Beiträge zur Textgeschichte de Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, Göttingen, 1939, *NGGW.*, Fachgr. III, 2, pp.55-94). In his researches E. Waldschmidt claims greater degree of authenticity of the Sanskrit tradition. This opinion has been contested by A. M. Piggazzalli (*Nuove tradizioni sulla morte del Buddha*, *Scientia*, 1931, 67, pp. 173-7) who is convinced of the authenticity of the Pali Canon. E. Waldschmidt prepares the editions of the Sanskrit fragments of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* found at Turfan and he has resumed his researches by dividing into six groups the events occurring during Buddha's Parinirvāṇa. The first four groups are studied in *Die Überlieferung vom Lebensende des Buddha* (Göttingen, 1944, 168 pp.).

Other Sanskrit fragments found in Turfan, those of the *Āṭānāṭīkasūtra*, are utilized by H. Hoffmann in a general study of this interesting and difficult text (*Bruchstücke des Āṭānāṭīkasūtra aus dem zentralasiatischen Sanskrit-kanon der Buddhisten*. Kleinere Sanskrit-text. Leipzig, 1939, 105 pp.).

F. W. Thomas has completed his researches undertaken in 1926 on *The Nam Language* (*JRAS.*, 1939, pp. 192-216) and on the same subject, M. Lalou has noted that a long ms. found at Touen-houang, written in Tibetan scripts, is certainly a specimen of the same language (*JA.*, 1939, p. 453).

Three other documents coming from Touen-houang have been studied by M. Lalou. *A Touen-houang prelude to the Karaṇḍavyūha* (*IHQ.*, XIV, 1938, pp. 198-200) gives a summary of a mss. of the Tibetan Pelliot collection which contains a résumé of the *Valāhajātaka* and which describes the Great Hell (*Mahānaraka*) from which Avalokiteśvara takes out the beings when they pronounce a formula which is not: "Om maṇi padme hum". In the same Indian review (*Touen-houang Tibetan document on a Dharmadāna* (*IHQ.*, XVI, 2, pp.292-8) she gives the text and translation of an official act relating to a gift of holy scriptures executed at Ça-ču (Touen-houang) and offered by Khri-gcug-lde-brcan. At last, the *Notes à propos d'une amulette de Touen-houang. Les litanies de Tārā et la Sitātapatrādharaṇī* (*MCB.*, IV) reproduce and explain one of the prettiest Tibetan documents of

Touen-houang preserved in Paris. It is an inscribed image; twelve out of twenty four verses of litanies of Tārā that introduce the personages are found in a leaf of Central Asia, wrongly identified by Hoernle with the *Mahāpratyāṅgiradhāraṇī*. There are indeed two *Pratyāṅgira*^o and two *Sitātapatrā*^o. One of the latter, anonymous, seems to be the prototype of the similar texts and the model of the amulet which has certainly been worn.

J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas and Ch. Toussaint have published *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet* (Paris, 1940-1946, 204 pp.). It concerns historical Annals, Chronicles and royal Genealogies. The first mention of Buddhism is found there under Khri sron lde bean, end of the VIIIth Cent. (cf. *JA.*, 1937, p. 149).

W. Fuchs has published in *SPAW.*, XXX, 1938 under the heading *Huei-chao's Pilgerreise durch Nordwest-Indien und Zentral-Asien um 726* a new translation and edition of the fragment of the journal of Huei-chao discovered in Touen-houang by Pelliot and which comprises the voyage from Magadha to Karashar.

J. Nobel had begun a very advanced study on the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsottamasūtra* in a work which appeared at Leipzig in 1937. He has published at Leyde, in 1944, a second part uniquely consecrated to the Tibetan versions in which he utilizes four fragments of Touen-houang reflecting the most ancient Tibetan tradition.

E. Benveniste has pursued his works on the Sogdian documents of the Pelliot mission. Simultaneously have appeared the *Codices Sogdiani*, reproduction in fac-simile of the manuscripts of the Bibl. Nationale de Paris (publication of the Monumenta Linguarum Asiae Maioris, Copenhagen), i.e., of all the texts edited, translated and commented in the two following volumes: (1) *Textes Sogdiens* (Paris, Geuthner, 1940, in quarto, 280 pp.) and (2) *Vessantara Jātaka* with, in appendix, the *Sūtra des Causes et des Effets* (Paris, Geuthner, 1946, in quarto, 137 pp.). The *Textes Sogdiens* are of every sort; some of them cannot be identified; the whole of the collection is of great interest. E. Benveniste publishes at the same time an important glossary. In 1942, I. Gershevitch has corrected some lectures of Gauthiot according to the fac-simile of the *Vessantara* (*JRAS.*, 1942, pp. 97-101). W. B. Henning, in *BSOAS.*, XI, 4, 1946, pp. 713-40 has

given an account of the fac-simile of Copenhagen and of the edition of E. Benveniste.

F. Weller utilizes the Tibetan and Chinese versions of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* to interpret the Sogdian version published by Reichelt (*Zum sogdhischen Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*, Leipzig, 1937) and enriches and corrects his article relating to the first part (*Bibl. B.*, VII-VIII, 179). In *MS.*, II and III, by comparing the Chinese version of Buddhahadra, he annotates the Sogdian text on the Dhyāna also published by Reichelt.

F. W. Thomas, in *A Buddhist Chinese Text in Brāhmī Script* (*ZDMG.*, 91, pp. 1-48) and H. W. Bailey in *Vajraprajñāpāramitā* (*ZDMG.*, 92, M. 579-83), confront and justify their readings of a ms. from the Stein collection, being a fragment of the Chinese translation of the *Vajracchedikā* by Kumārajīva, transcribed in Brāhmī script.

The Kharoṣṭhī documents have been taken up again by T. Burrow in *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan* (Cambridge, 1937) and *Further Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Niya* (*BSOS.*, IX, pp. 111-24). Those texts are those published by Rapson, A. M. Boyer, etc. One of these, viz., No. 661 has been annotated by F. W. Thomas in *Some notes on Central Asian Kharoṣṭhī Documents* (*BSOAS.*, XI, 1945, pp. 513-49). On his side, H. W. Bailey studies, under the title *Gāndhārī* (*BSOAS.*, XI, 1946, pp. 764-97), certain aspects of the middle-Indian dialect represented by the Aśoka inscriptions and the Kharoṣṭhī Documents of Central Asia, including the *Dharmapada* of Khotan. He had given the year before a new edition of the fragments of this *Dharmapada* reproduced photographically by Senart and Oldenbourg, with an index and Sanskrit equivalents.

The same author, H. W. Bailey, has pursued his works on the Khotanese in the *Rāma Story in Khotanese* (*JAOS.*, 1939, pp. 460-68) where the text is summed up and the forms of the proper names studied; in *Hvatanica II* (*BSOS.*, IX, pp. 69-78), where he discussed the meaning and etymology of numerous words contained in the glossary of Leumann; in *Hvatanica III* (*BSOS.*, IX, pp. 521-43 and 859-60) where he edited and translated, with a glossary and the restitution of the Sanskrit forms, a Sanskrit-khotanese bilingual preserved in the *Bibl. Nationale de Paris* and which is a conversation between an Indian bhikṣu and a man of Kan-tcheou; in *Kaṇaiska* (*JRAS.*, 1942,

pp. 14-28; 250) he gives the text and translation commented with a Khotanese version of the legend of Kaniška. And he has published in 1945 a collection of Khotanese texts (*Khotanese Texts*, Cambridge University Press).

In the *JA.*, 1941-42, pp. 83-104, Sten Konow has published a *Note sur une nouvelle forme aberrante du khotanais* regarding a fragment of 62 lines found in the region of Tumšūq by Pelliot. The writing is that of the Koutchean mss. It is about the formula of the Triple Refuge followed by the mention without great cohesion of the duty of the *upāsaka* towards the *Śikṣapāda*. There is a glossary-index with the transcription and an attempt of translation.

The works on Tokharian, since 1939, are pointed out by H. W. Bailey in *Recent Work in "Tokharian"* (Transactions of the Philological Society, 1947).

Anne-Marie Von Gabain has pursued the edition of Huan-tsang's biography in Ouigour by publishing four letters which form the end of the VIIth chapter. She gives the corresponding Chinese text (21 pp. notes, index, in *SPAW.*, XXIX, 1938, pp. 371-415).

D. Sinor argues about this work. He deals with the writing of the Ouigours, their dialects, their conversion into Buddhism. Buddhist texts have been translated in the *t'ou-kine* language as early as the VIth century and from the beginning of the 'turquisation' of Turkestan, we must take into account a Turkish Buddhism (*À propos de la biographie ouigoure de Huan-tsang*, *JA.*, 1939, pp. 543-90). The same author has described (in Hungarian) 54 Turkish Buddhist texts. He has added a bibliography and a short study (in English) on Turkish Buddhism in Central Asia (*A Középázsia török Buddhizmusrol. On Turkish Buddhism in Central Asia*, Budapest, 1939).

J. Przyluski has studied, in *Les Ugrya dans l'Inde* (*RO.*, 1939, pp. 1-6), the name Oḍḍiyāna = Tib. O-rgyan/U-rgyan and a series of geographical names which goes from Khotan to the Indus and continues in India up to Orissa and which seems to be explained by the migration of people whose name can be restored in the form Ugrya(n).

The Artistic Expansions

A. Foucher has published with Mme E. Bazin-Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila* (Paris, 1942, 173 pp. 32 pl., 34 maps; and 1947, pp. 174-426, 8 pl.) which forms the

first part of a historical, geographical and archaeological introduction to the works of the French Delegation in Afghanistan. In connection with it have to be mentioned the publications of Hackin on the excavations executed in 1936-37 on the sites of Begrām and Shotorak (*RAA.*, XII, 1938, pp. 2-11; *OAZ.*, 1938) and the work devoted to the block no. 2 of Begrām, with Mm. J. R. Hackin's collaboration; those of G. Ghirshman (*JA.*, 1943-45, pp. 59-71) and those of J. Meunié on the site of Shotorak (Paris, 1942, 70 pp. 42 pl.). The latter has found near Shotorak the ruins of the convents where Kanīṣka kept Chinese hostages. (*Le couvent des otages chinois de Kanīṣka au Kapiśa.* (*JA.*, 1943-45, pp. 151-62). The site and almost each details correspond to Huan-tsang's description.

In 1938, W. W. Tarn published *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge University Press, 339 pp.), field of researches also explored by Sten Konow: *New Traces of the Greeks in India* (*NIA.*, 1940, pp. 639-48); L. Bachhofer: *On Greeks and Śakas in India* (*JAOS.*, 1941, pp. 223-50), article discussed by Sir John Marshall, *Greeks and Śakas in India* (*JRAS.*, 1947, p. 3); P. Meile (*Les Yavanas dans l'Inde Tamoule, Mélanges Asiatiques* (= *JA.*, 1940-1941, pp. 85-123) showing that great care ought to be taken when interpreting the term *yavana* which does not always mean "Greek"; A. Foucher, *Le lieu de naissance du roi indo-grec Ménandre* (*AI BCR.*, 1939, pp. 541-57); *A propos de la conversion au bouddhisme du roi Indo-grec Ménandre* (*AI BM.*, XLIII, 2, pp. 260-95); *Les satrapies orientales de l'empire achéménide* (*AI BCR.*, 1938, pp. 336-52).

J. Hackin, in *L'Art Bouddhique de la Bactriane et les origines de l'Art Gréco-bouddhique*, puts again the problem of the heads of Hellenistic character found in Kunduz, of the meeting of Buddhism and Hellenism. According to him Buddhism penetrated into Bactria as early as the IInd cent. B.C., and the Greco-Buddhist art has been born on the Bactrian soil.

The question has given rise to numerous researches where are integrated, though of an American author, those of B. Rowland Jr. In *Gandhāra and Late Antique Art: The Buddha Image* (*AA.*, 1942, pp. 223-36), this author indicates that the wholesale production could not have begun in Gandhāra before the 2nd cent. A.D. and that it must have been the work of artisans coming from the Roman Orient. Statues of Buddha from Hadḍa show the Buddha dressed in the

himation and not in the *saṃghatī*. On his side, H. Buchtal draws the attention on the similarities between the art of Gandhāra and the Christian art of the IVth-Vth and subsequent centuries (*The Common Classical Sources of Buddhist and Christian Narrative Art, IRAS.*, 1943, pp. 137-48) which he explains not through the Hellenistic currents, but through the Roman expansion and he proposes to see, in the Gandhāra art, a "Romano-Buddhist" school. According to the date the Roman motives to which he refers, the most ancient image of Gandhāran Buddha cannot go back beyond the 1st. cent. A.D. (*The Foundations for Chronology of Gandhāra Sculpture, TOCS.*, 1942/43, pp. 21-32). The iconography of the episodes of the life of Buddha, such as it has been formed in Gandhāra, reflects an evolution of Buddhism. The progressive divinization of Buddha by the Mahāyāna and his representation in the human form correspond to a current of thought analogous to those that have brought at first the Romans to divinize their emperors and then the Christians to represent Jesus (*The Western Aspects of Gandhāra sculpture, PBA.*, 1945, 28 pp.)

For M. Grünwald (*Geistige und stilistische...Art. As. IX*, 1-3, pp. 37-67), the analogies between the art of Gandhāra and of Turfan and the primitive Christian art are explained by the same Hellenic art influences. He establishes some parallels between the Chinese art of the 5th and 6th centuries and the passage of the Byzantine art to the primitive Roman art and shows the convergences between the Chinese style of the Wei and T'ang epoch and the Roman sculpture of the 11th and 12th centuries. The stylistic characteristics of the Buddhist sculpture are compared, from the synoptic point of view, with that of the European sculpture of Middle-Age, and conceived as the expression of analogous spiritual tendencies.

With regard to Buddha's legend in the *Buddhacarita*, F. Weller admits as possible that, in the 1st cent. the figured representations have served as source of inspiration, hypothesis which can explain disharmonies otherwise inexplicable (*Schauplatz und Handlung im Buddhacarita, ZDMG.*, 1939, pp. 306-338). As for the Indian reliefs representing Channa who clings to the tail of Kanthaka, they must have been inspired by the Greek reliefs of Cavaliers (*Channa am Pferdeschweife, OLZ.*, 1941, pp. 377-88).

H. Lueders tries to solve the problems put forward by the identification of the Bhārhut sculptures; he is not of Barua's opinion, that all the representations are related to the *Jātaka* and he concludes by showing that there is not any disagreement between some representations and the tradition of the Theras, as it has been pointed out by A. Foucher and other authors (*Bhārhut und die Buddhistische Literatur*, Leipzig, 1941, 182 pp.).

M. Lalou, by comparing two texts dealing with the painted clothes (*paṭa*), the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and the *Tārāmūlakalpa*, has discovered that the first section of the last text is a plagiarism badly done of the first thirteen chapters and of the three-fourths of the fourteenth chapter of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* because the important iconographic descriptions of those chapters are incompletely adapted to their new aim. If the *Tārāmūlakalpa* had been utilized in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, there would have been a number of false identifications (*Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa et Tārāmūlakalpa*, *IJAS.*, 1 Nov. 1936, pp. 327-49).

A. Getty published in 1936, with a preface by A. Foucher: *Gaṇeśa. A Monograph of the Elephant-faced God* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 103 pp. 40 pl.), where she follows the images of the god in the entire era of Buddhist diffusion, then, in 1940, she has presented a curious iconographic research on the mysterious Uga-jin, the god-serpent represented coiled up and with a man's head. Though this divinity is actually assimilated by the Japanese Buddhism (being the object of a secret cult), its traces are not found again in India. But it resembles closely the god of fertility adored in Iraq, at Babylon, and in Mesopotamia towards 3000 B.C., whose most ancient image is furnished by a seal of Suse. The author gives the hypothesis that it is a question of a secret form of the cult of Tammuz and notes that the Mexican god of the creation is also represented under the form of a coiled serpent holding in his mouth a man's head. The relation of this god with Uga-jin is difficult to establish because certainly he is his contemporary, but the two symbols can be derived from the same god of fertility of Mesopotamia (*Uga-jin: the coiled-serpent God with a human head. Art. As.*, VIII, 1, 1940, pp. 36-48).

The *Indo-tibetica IV*, published by G. Tucci in 1941, exposes the results of the exploration of the temples situated on the road of Gantok to Gyantse. G. Tucci has already published the documents from the exploration of the temples of Tabo, Lha-lung and Chang

(Haut-Kunavar) (*Indo-tibetica III, I templi del Tibet Occidentale e il Loro Simbolismo Artistico*, Parte I, *Spiti e Kunavar*, Rome, 1935), and he has again just started to resume his researches on the spot. These documents (one volume of plates reproducing the monuments and their decoration, and one vol. of inscriptions) are of great importance for the Mahāyānist iconography. Their abundance allows to retrace the evolution of the Tibetan art and to discover its principal courses in the XIVth and XVth centuries.

The Lamaist Cathedral of Peking is studied by F. D. Lessing (*Yung-ho-kung. An iconography of the Lamaist cathedral in Peking*, Stockholm, 1942, vol. I, 179 pp., 32 pl.) which adds four rites to the descriptions of a part of buildings, a study on Pu-tai and four *Lokapālas*, notes on *saṃvara* and the translation of the inscriptions. The work will be complete in four volumes.

In *Les Influences et les réminiscences étrangères au Kondō du Hōryūji*, J. Auboyer replaces the paintings of Kondō in the historical milieu of the VIIth-VIIIth centuries, an epoch when are developed the post-Gupta art in India, Irano-Buddhist complexes of Afghanistan and Central Asia, the great ensembles of Central Java, etc.,...By minute comparisons, she concludes against the traditional opinion which saw in the frescos of Kondō a direct influence of *Ajantā* (nay even a production of the same atelier), in favour of the influences of meridional India (Ellorā), of Afghanistan and specially of Central Asia carried through China (Paris, Geuthner, 1941).

In 1944, G. Coedès published a *Histoire ancienne des Etats hindouisés d'Extrême-Orient* (Hanoi, 366 pp., tableaux, maps, index) which is at the same time the history of the Buddhist expansion in respect of religion as well as art, in South-East Asia (a second edition, carefully published, has just appeared in Boccard, Paris, 1948, *Histoire du Monde*, VIII-2, under the heading *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*.)

R. Le May has published *A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1939, 165 pp., 205 ill.) some elements of which have formed the subject of a communication of the author for the XXth International Congress of the Orientalists (*AXXCIO.*, pp. 200-7).

G. de Coral Rémusat, in *L'Art Khmer. Les grandes étapes de son évolution* (Paris, 1940, 137 pp.), deals with the Buddhist

expansion: coexistence of Brahmanism and Buddhism at a remote date (Vth cent.) ; preponderance of Çivaism and persecution of the Buddhists (VIth-IXth cents. approx.) then greater and greater tolerance which ends under Jayavarman VII (XIIth-XIIIth cents.) in the preeminence of a Buddhism dominating and protecting Brāhmanical gods.

H. Parmentier has published a *Esquisse de l'art laotien* (*BAL.*, 1937), where he notes that images of Bodhisattva are nearly absent, probably because Laotian Buddhism is that of the Little Vehicle.

Ph. Stern, in *L'Art du Champa (ancien Annam) et son évolution* (Toulouse, 1942, 122 pp.), proposes a chronology based on a succession of styles which he has determined by the evolution of the decorative motives.

L. Bezacier has published *Essais sur l'art annamite* (Hanoi, 1944, 253 pp.). It seems that Buddhism has been implanted in Annam specially under the Chinese form from the XIth cent. In Tonkin, though the divinities bear the traces of Chinese influence, generally an Indian origin can be pointed out (*Le Panthéon des Pagodes bouddhiques du Tonkin*, *BSEI.*, Saigon, 1943, 38 pp.).

The excavations carried out in the Malay Peninsula are exposed and commented by H. G. Quaritch Wales in an article published in *India* (*IAL*, 1938) and in *Recent Malayan Excavations and some Wider Implications* (*JRAS.*, 1946, pp. 142-9). The Buddhist finds are important. Likewise, in Sumatra, some Buddhist monuments, one statue of Buddha which belongs to the Vth cent. have been found up to the N.W. of Palembang, (F. M. Schnitger: *The Quest for mysterious kingdom in Sumatra*, *ILN.*, 20th Nov. 1937, pp. 890-2).

Religious and Laic Legislation

M. Hofinger in his *Etude sur le Concile de Vaiśālī* (Louvain, 1946, 300 pp.) brings material relating to the Second Council. He has translated them from the canonical sources for which, by studying the formation of the Canon 'Scripturaire', he establishes a relative chronology. Following the same method of researches as J. Przyluski, M. Hofinger ends in a complete agreement with the results of the *Council of Rājagṛha*. He underlines that once more the Pāli Canon does not reveal a source of information superior to the Chinese and Tibetan canonical stories, it is even sometimes inferior to them.

R. Lingat in a study on *L'Influence Indoue dans l'ancien droit*

siamois, shows that if since a long time one has recognized in the ancient Siamese right of the Ayuthia epoch some traces of Indian influence, the recent hypothesis: introduction to Siam by the Burmese, between 1569 and 1584, of a *Code of Manu*, is criticizable. He proposes another founded on some historical, archæological and linguistic facts: the *Dharmaśāstra* incorporated in the Siamese laws was in its primitive form a *dhammasattham* in circulation among the majority of the people of the kingdom of Dvāravatī and taken up by the Siamese immigrants. After the foundation of Ayuthia, the Siamese would have preserved the Code, of Indian origin, but skilfully transposed by the Mon on the Buddhist mode and would have translated and incorporated it in their legislation (*Institut de Droit comparé. Etudes de sociologie et d'ethnologie juridiques publiées sous la direction de René Maunier*, XXV, 1937, 29 pp.).

The same author devotes an important judicial study to the marriage of the *bikkhu*, to the fate of their abandoned wealth, to their succession and their will, the whole founded on the Buddhist monks Code of Discipline. (*Vinaya et droit laïque. Etude sur les conflits de la loi religieuse et de la loi laïque dans l'Indo-chine mahāyāniste*, BEFEO., XXXVII, 2, 1937, pp. 416-77).

Instruments of Work

By publishing an illustrated study on the bricks of Gopālpur (*IRAS.*, 1938, pp. 547-53) which date from the VIth century, E. H. Johnston has supplied J. Filliozat with some points of comparison with the Tibetan scripture which could have been known in Tibet a little before the traditional date, *i.e.*, before Thon-mi (VIIth century) (*Jl.*, April-June, 1939, p. 283). A bibliography of the history of the scripture has been published at Linz in 1836, by P. Sattler and G. von Selle (*Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Schrift bis in das Jahr 1930*, 234 pp.) but it is insufficient concerning the Indian scriptures and specially those of the Buddhist texts of Central Asia and Nepal.

Four Grammars have been published in France:

Grammaire laotienne, by J. J. Hospitalier (Paris, 1937);

Grammaire sanskrite élémentaire, by L. Renou (Paris, 1946);

Grammaire du tibétain littéraire, by J. Bacot, (Paris, 1946);

Grammaire de la langue mongole écrite, by L. Hambis,

(Paris, 1946).

and three in Germany :

Tibetische National Grammatik, by Schubert, (Leipzig, 1937);

Alttürkische Grammatik, by A.M. von Gabain (Leipzig, 1941);

Khotansakische Grammatik, by Sten Konow (Leipzig, 1941).

The third fascicle of *Hōbōgiri* appeared in 1937. The article "maladie" (*byō*) by its importance excels a dictionary notice. J. Rahder is the author of an article on *jñāna*.

W. E. Soothill and L. Hodous have published *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* with a number of Sanskrit equivalents (XIX + 510 pp., London, Kegan Paul, 1937).

A general study on the order of words in the Sanskrit and Middle-Indian prose : inscriptions of Aśoka, *Dīghanikāya* II, etc...has been published by J. Canedo (*Zur Wort- und Satzstellung in der Alt- und Mittelindischen Prosa*, Göttingen, 1937, 8°, 114 pp.).

H. Hendriksen has kept himself busy with the *Syntax of the Infinite Verb-Forms of Pāli*, Copenhagen, 1944, 169 pp.

In a short note : *Über die Formel der vier edlen Wahrheiten* (OLZ., 43, 1940, pp. 73-9), F. Weller shows that in a formula of "four noble truths", the faulty forms like *dukkhanirodham*, etc. are explicable by *Māgadhi*.

G. Borsani has compiled the complete list of the titles of all the divisions and subdivisions of the Pāli Tipiṭaka (*Prospetti e indice del Tipiṭaka*, Milan, 1942, 265 pp.).

J. Filliozat has published the first fascicle of his *Catalogue du fonds sanskrit de la Bibl. Nationale*, where he makes the historical account of the formation of the collections and describes the mss. of the collections of Hodgson and Burnouf (Paris, 1941). In the *Catalogue des mss. sanskrits et tibétains de la Société Asiatique*, the same author gives the inventory of the mss. offered by Hodgson to the Asiatic Society.

M. Lalou published in 1939 the tome I of the *Inventaire des mss. tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Fonds Pelliot tibétain, Nos. 1-849) where excepting the texts relating to the Discipline, the majority of the Buddhist documents : collections or isolated texts are described. The tome II is ready for publication.

In the *Indian Texts Series*, G. P. Malalasekera published two volumes of his *Dictionary of the Pāli proper names*.

The activity of the Pāli Text Society has been manifested by numerous publications; by I. B. Horner, for example, 3 volumes of translation of the *Vinaya*, the edition of the *Madhurattavīlāsini* and that of the commentary of Buddhaghosa on the *Majjhimanikāya* (*Papañcasūdani*); A. P. Buddhadatta, B. C. Law, C. V. Joshi, J. Takakusu, M. Nagai, L. Babbitt, D. L. Barua, J. Kennedy, S. Gehman, H. Kopp, E. M. Hare, F. L. Woodward, have also published in the same collection some editions and translations. The vols. I and II of the *Dīghanikāya*, since long exhausted, have been reproduced photographically and the Pāli-English Dictionary is in progress of reedition (Parts III and IV appeared; Parts I-II and V-VIII in the press).

MARCELLE LALOU

ABBREVIATIONS

- AEHSR = Annuaire de l'École des Hautes-Études. Sciences religieuses.
- AIBC = Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes-rendus.
- AIBM = Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Mémoires.
- AJA = American Journal of Archaeology.
- Art. As. = Artibus Asiae.
- AXXCIO = Actes du XXe Congrès International des Orientalistes.
- BAL = Bulletin des Amis du Laos.
- BB = Bibliotheca Buddhica, Moscou-Leningrad.
- BCL = Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres . . . Académie Royale de Belgique.
- BEFEO = Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Bibl. B. = Bibliographie bouddhique.
- BSFP = Bulletin de la Société française de Philosophie.
- BSOS
(BSOAS) = Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies.
- BSSAEO = Bulletin de la Société Suisse des Amis de l'Extrême-Orient.
- HJAS = Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.
- IC = Indian Culture.
- IHQ = Indian Historical Quarterly.
- ILN = Illustrated London News.
- JA = Journal Asiatique.
- JAOS = Journal of American Oriental Society.
- JGIS = Journal of the Greater India Society.
- JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- MCB = Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques.
- MS = Monumenta Serica.
- NGGW = Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen.
- NIA = New Indian Antiquary.
- OAS = Ostasiatische Zeitschrift.
- OIZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.

adjoining regions were first known to the Chinese through the reports of Chang-k'ien, which are incorporated in Ch. 123 of *Sbi-ki* of T'si-ma-t'sien, the Herodotus of China.² According to this information, "the people occupying the tracts from Ta-yuan (Ferghana) westwards as far as the country of An-si (Parthia) talked different dialects, but their manners and customs being in the main identical, they understood each other. They had deep-set eyes, most of them wore beards....." A later authority states that they, excepting the inhabitants of Yu-tien, had high noses, while the commentary on the *Sbi-ki*, 123, 4, states that the Yueh-chi, a tribe of this region, were pink and white in complexion.³ The description seems to convey the idea that the population belonged to the Indo-European group, and as the people understood each other, the various dialects of this region apparently originated from a common stock.⁴

The Behistun, Persepolis and the Hāmādān inscriptions speak of the Śakas as included within the empire of Darius. The Hāmādān inscription fixes the habitat of this tribe beyond Sugd or Sogdiana (para-Sugdian) i.e., in the valley of the Syr-Daria or Jaxartes, in and around Ferghana. This is exactly the place where Strabo also locates them: "The Sacae and the Sogdiani are separated from one another by the Jaxartes river, and the Sogdiani and Bactrians by the Oxus river."⁵

The Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Darius, "which reflects the changes in the extent of his empire and in the organisation of its administration," divides the "Śaka" people into three different groups, distinguished by appositions, viz. (1) the Śaka *tigrakhandā*, (2) the Śaka *haumavarkā* and (3) the Śaka *taradrāya*. Amongst these, the Śaka *taradrāya*, the Śaka beyond the sea, evidently the Caspian, refer to the European Scyths, and not to the Śaka tribe proper, for the Persians called "all the Scythians Sacae."

The Śaka *tigrakhandā*, "the Śakas with pointed caps," and the Śaka *haumavarkā*, "the Śakas who are the preparers of Soma," the Amyrgian

2 This chapter has been translated by F. Hirth, in *JAOS.*, 1917, pp. 89 ff.

3 McGovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia*, pp. 473 ff.

4 Thomas thinks that the original language of this region was a form of Proto-Tibetan, *Asia-Major*, vol. II., 1925, pp. 251 ff.; cf. Pelliot, *Mémoires de la Société Linguistique*, 1913, pp. 89 ff.; Scholars now generally think that the Śakas belonged to the Indo-European stock, and spoke a branch of the Iranian tongue: *JRAS.*, 1920, p. 156; *IHQ.*, vol. II, p. 193; Haddon, *Races of Man*, p. 112.

5 Strabo, XI. 8. 2.

Śakas, have been regarded by Herodotus as the one and the same people. "The Sacae" says Herodotus, "who are Scythians, had on their heads caps, which came to a point and stood erect; they also wore loose trousers, and carried bows peculiar to their country, and daggers, and also battle axes, called sagares. These though they are Amyrgian Scythians, they called Sacae, for the Persians call the Scythians Sacae." Several modern scholars also follow the same view and regard the two as identical.

Before dealing with this question further, we may for a moment look at the dress of the figures of the Śaka prisoners on the tomb of Darius. They wear "a long over-coat, cut exactly like a modern morning dress, lined with fur, long and rather wide trousers with coverings for the feet made of the same piece of stuff, and a cap with protecting ear and cheek pieces, extremely pointed in the case of the 'European' and 'tigrakhaudā Śaka,' much less in case of the 'haumavarkā.'" The wearing of the pointed caps was thus a fashion with all Śaka and the kindred tribes.

So when the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription speaks of the Śaka 'tigrakhaudā,' "those who used pointed caps," we may take them as meaning the Śakas in general, or rather the Śakas settled in the empire of Darius, including the 'haumavarkā' and the 'taradrāya,' although they using the same head-dress were different in other respects.

The habitant of the Śaka 'haumavarkā', preparer of Soma, must be searched for in the region that was the home of the Soma plant. In the *Mahābhārata* and the Vedic literature Mount Mujavat is described as the place wherefrom comes Soma.⁶ The *Atharvaveda*⁷ speaks of the Mujavats and the Gandhāris, the people of Gandhāra, modern Prang and Garsadda, 17 miles north-west of Peshawar, on the Swat river⁸ apparently as despised people. Since the Mujavats and the Gandhāris form a group, it may be inferred that the Mujavat mountain was not far away from the Gandhāra country. In his interesting article "On the Ephadra, Huma and Soma plant," Sir Aurel Stein has shown that Soma, Persian Huma, was prepared from the juice of "ephadra pachyclada," a tall shrub growing in the regions of the Western Himalayas and Western Tibet.⁹ Col. Chopra

6 *Mbh.*, XIV. 8: 1.; *Vedic Index*, s.v. Soma and Mujavat.

7 *Atharva-Veda*, V. 22. 14.

8 Foucher, *Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhāra*, p. 11.

9 *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. VI, 1931, pp. 501-514.

in his "Indigenous Drugs of India," pp. 139-40, describes two varieties of "ephadra" growing, side by side, in the Himalayan region:—

- (i) *E. vulgaris* or *E. gerardiana* is known in the vernacular as Jaunsar. It occurs in the Jhelum valley, Hariab district, also in Kurram valley (at an altitude of 1,000 feet) and also in the inner tracts ascending in Sikkim to an altitude of 16,500 feet above the sea level.
- (ii) *E. intermedia* var. *tibetica* is known in the vernacular as hum (Trans-Indus). It is a small erect shrub, occurring in the inner valleys of Chitral, in Gilgit, Zauskar, Upper-Chenub, Kunwar and in Baluchistan, and also in the Jhelum valley.

It is evident thus that the ephadra of the class (ii) is the Soma plant of the ancient days. This ephadra *pachyclada* (*intermedia*) is known as huma in Persia, gehma in Bombay and Oman in "Pushtu." They give an alkaloidal content ranging from 0.2 to 1.0 per cent. As pointed out by Stein, when taken with sugar they produce an intoxicating effect on the human body. The Śaka '*baumavarkā*,' therefore, seems to have occupied these tracts of the Western Himalayas and extended up to the Jaxartes, "*the Amyrgian plain of the Śakas*," mentioned by Hellanicus and handed down to us by Stephan of Byzanz. In this plain, they evidently were mixed up with the Śaka *tigrakbaudā*, and hence the Classical writers thought that they were one and the same people. The region extending from the Pamir to the Ferghana, as we shall see below, was the home of the early Śaka tribe.

A Śaka settlement in Central Asia is referred to in the Annals of the First Han Dynasty, Ch. 96A, fol. 10 v, which reads as follows: "The race of the Sok has extended far and formed a series of states. From Shu-le to the north-west, all belonging to the states Hiu-sun and Kun-tu are old tribes of the Sok."¹⁰ This account would locate the Śaka principality to the west of Kashgaria in the Chinese Turkistan.

The above Chinese account is corroborated to a great extent by the geography of Ptolemy, though we know it gives the picture of the second century A.D., when the Śakas had already migrated in several directions

An interesting account of the Ephedra *Pachyclada* will be found in Hooker's *Flora of British India* vol. V, pp. 810-863.

¹⁰ Remusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, I. p. 205.

both south and west. Ptolemy was evidently quoting an older tradition, though we do not know exactly the source of his information, whether it was any local chronicle or the report of any traveller from Asia. According to Ptolemy.....

1 "The Sakai are bounded on the west by the Sogdianoi along their eastern side already described, on the north by Skythia along the line parallel to the river Jaxartes as far as the limit of the country which lies in 130° E. 49° N., on the east in like manner by Skythia along the meridian lines prolonged from thence and through the adjacent range of mountains called Askatangkās as far as the station at Mount Imaos, whence traders start on their journey to Sera which lies in 140° E. 43° N., and through Mount Imaos as it ascends to the north as far as the limit of the country which lies in 143° E. 35° N., and on the south by Imaos itself along the line adjoining the limits that have been stated.

2. The country of the Sakai is inhabited by nomads. They have no towns, but dwell in woods and caves. Among the Sakai is the mountain district, already mentioned, of the Komedai, of which the ascent from the

Sogdianoi lies in	...	...	.	125	43
And the parts towards the valley of the					
the Komedai lie in	...	...	.	130°	39
And the so-called Stone Tower lies in			.	135°	43

3. The tribes of the Sakai, along the Jaxartes, are the Karatai and the Komaroi, and the people who have all the mountain region are the Komedai, and the people along the range of Askatangka the Massagetai; and the people between are the Grynaioi Skythai and the Toornai, below whom, along Mount Imaos, are the Byltai."

Thus Ptolemy's account shows that the home of the Śakas extended from the Jaxartes valley to the Himālaya (Imaos) in the south.

Similar account of the Śākadvīpa or the land occupied by the Śakas may be prepared on the basis of traditions recorded in the Purāṇas and the Great Epic.¹¹ The Epic speaks of the "Hill fort," mountain Kumuda and the river Cakṣur-varḍhanikā in the Śaka country. The "Hill-fort" is no doubt the "Stone-tower" of Ptolemy, while Kumuda corresponds to the Komedai and the Cakṣurvarḍhanikā to the Jaxartes. The Komedai is the Chinese Kiu-mi and the Arabic Al-Kumedh, and probably signifies the

¹¹ *Mbb.*, VI. ii; *Matsya Purāṇa*, ch. cxxii.

region now known as Karategin, lying on the Surkhab or Waksh river, a northern tributary of the Oxus. The Great Epic further speaks of the river Sītā¹² (Yarkand) and the country of Maśaka of the same land by which may be meant the Massagetai of Ptolemy.

The close similarity between the accounts of the Śaka country in the Indian literature and the geography of Ptolemy shows that a common source of information must have been used by them which accounts for the common error of taking the Massagetai as the Śaka tribe, for Herodotus, the earliest authority on the subject, distinguishes them from the Sacae, and also from the Scythians in general.¹³ That common source must, however, be older than c. B.C. 126, the date of Chang-k'ien's visit to the Yuch-chi court in Ta-hia, for before that date the Śakas had left their home in Central Asia and migrated to Eastern Iran and India.

Prof. F. W. Thomas, in an article in *JRAS.*, 1906, pp. 181 ff. propounds the theory that a group of the Sacae, established in Drangiana at a very early date, sometimes in the seventh century B.C., or even earlier, were living there all through the Achaemenid and the Hellenistic periods, although the name Sakastana was not given to the region until the revival of the Śaka power in the second century B.C. This revival of the Śaka power, according to Thomas, had nothing to do with a fresh irruption of the Sacae from Central Asia at a later date. Rapson and Poussin accept this view in a somewhat modified form. They admit the early Śaka occupation of Sakastana, but think at the same time that "there is good evidence that the earlier Scythian settlements in Iran were re-inforced about the time the Śakas first occupied Bactria."¹⁴

There are some difficulties, however, in accepting this view. First, there is no proof whatsoever, literary or archaeological, that the Śakas were living in Drangiana at such a remote age. The earliest definite reference to Sakastana, the later Sijistan and the modern Seistan, is to be found in Isidor of Charax, a younger contemporary of the Roman emperor Augustus (B.C. 27-A.D. 14) who, however, locates "Sakastana, to the south east of Zarangiana or Drangiana, also called Paractacena, including Sigal, the

¹² The Sītā is apparently the Yarkand river, Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, vol. I, p. 32; II, pp. 283, 288.

¹³ Herodotus I. 201 ff., especially I. 216.

¹⁴ *CHI.*, vol. I. p. 567; *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas et des Barbares*, p. 263.

capital, a province to the north of the Helmand river." At this time thus Drangiana lay outside "Sakastana" proper. Again, as Sten Konow states "The Naksh-i-Rustam inscription which mentions Zranka i.e., Drangiana, without any reference to Śakas, might be taken as an indicative that they were not, in those days, settled in Seistan.¹⁵ From the evidences available, Classical and Chinese, we may be led to suppose that the Śakas first entered Sakastana after being expelled from their home-land in Central Asia, some time in the second century B.C.

According to Hermann the Śaka "tigrakbanda" of the Persian epigraphs were "really" the Massagetai who lived just to the east of the Caspian. Śaka 'baumavarkā,' according to him, were the Amyrgian Sacae of the Greeks and lived in the Pamir. In the present thesis the Śaka 'tigrakbandā' has been identified with the Sacae of Strabo who were living to the north east of the Jaxartes river. Hermann thinks that the Sacae of Strabo were another branch of the Śaka family identical with the Sacarrauci or Sacarauli of the Classical authors. The account of Herodotus (VII. 64) indicates that the Śaka 'tigrakbanda' or the Śakas with pointed helmets and the Śaka 'baumavarkā', the Amyrgian Śakas, were living side by side mixing with each other on the common front. This clearly goes against the theory of Hermann for the Śaka 'baumavarkā' if located in the Pamir becomes far away from the Śaka 'tigrakbandā' on the Caspian. If we locate the Śaka 'baumavarkā' on the Pamir, we have to identify the Śaka 'tigrakbandā' with the Sacae of Strabo living to the north east of the Jaxartes river. (Cf. Tarn, *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. IX. p. 582).

It is but natural for a tribe living in the inhospitable region of Pamir and the adjoining areas to be attracted towards the rich and fertile plains of India in the south where nature is more bountiful and man leads a more easy life.

The Vedic texts, if we abstract from the *Atharva-pariśiṣṭas*, do not refer to the Śakas. Pāṇini in his *Aṣṭādhyayī* (c. 400 B.C.) mentions the term Śaka in connection with the rules "Gargādibhyo Yañ" (IV. 1. 105) and "Śauṇḍikādibhyo aya" (IV. 3. 92), where it is evidently inserted in order to explain the name "Śākya." This naturally leads to the query: Were the Śākyas of Śaka origin? In the present state of our knowledge we cannot, however, press the point further.

¹⁵ *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, II. i. p. xviii; *Pavry Memorial Volume*, pp. 220 ff.

(a) The earliest certain mention of the people in Indian Literature is to be found in the work of Kātyāyana (c. 300 B.C.). In his Vārtika on the sūtra of Pāṇini, *Kambojāluk*, IV. 1. 75, Kātyāyana adds that "the 'luk' *pratyaya* should be employed not only to the term Kamboja, or it should be stated rather 'after Kamboja and the like,' because we find the affix elided after Cola and etc. Thus Colaḥ 'the King of the Colas.' So also Keralaḥ, Śakaḥ, Yavanaḥ."

(b) Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* (c. 150 B.C.) while commenting on the Sūtra of Pāṇini "*Śūdrānām-aniravasitānām*" states incidentally that the Śakas are not untouchables and they need not be "*expelled from the dish*," and further that they are living outside the Āryāvarta which is defined as the region to the east of Ādarśa or Adarśana i.e., the place where the river Sarasvatī disappears in the sand, the present Hissar in the Punjab; to the west of Kālakavana, usually identified with a wild tract near Allaha-bad; to the south of the Himālayas; and to the north of the Pāriyātra, i.e., the western part of the present Vindhya range.

In the absence of further corroborative evidence, we cannot take the references of Kātyāyana and Patañjali as at once pointing to the settlement of the Śakas in India in their days, for it is quite possible that the grammarians are here referring to the Śakas settled in their original home bordering on India.

The Purāṇas and the Great Epic inform us that the Brāhmaṇas of the Śākadvīpa or the Śaka country were called Magas.¹⁶ Ptolemy in his Geography speaks of a settlement of the Maga Brāhmaṇas in South India—

"In like manner the parts under Mount Bettigo are occupied by the Brakhmanoi Magoi as far as the Batai with this city. Brakhme.....128 19."

The "Mount Bettigo" is identical with the Tamil Podegai, Sk. Malaya, ranges in the Pāṇḍya kingdom. Herodotus (*I. 101*) states that the Magi or Magas were one of the six tribes of the Medes. In the Indian literature, however, as they are described as the Brāhmaṇas of the Śaka land, they seem to have migrated to India in the train of Śakas and performed the priestly functions of the tribe.

Prof. Moulton points out that the Magi introduced in ancient Persia the custom of marriage between the closest kin, a religious duty of the

¹⁶ *Kūrma Purāṇa* XLVIII, 36; *Mbh.*, VI. ii.

most extravagant sanctity.¹⁷ We find this custom also in South-India. The earliest reference to it as a South-Indian custom is to be found in the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, which Keith assigns to the second or third century B.C.¹⁸ But the work seems to be pre-Aśokan in view of the fact that in it Kalinga is branded as a very impure country (*paabhyām sa kurute pāpam ya Kalingam prapadyate*) which shows that in the days of the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* the Brāhmaṇical culture had not penetrated into that place. But from the Thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka we learn that in Kalinga "there dwell Brāhmaṇic, Śramanic and other sects and householders, among whom are established this hearkening to the elders, hearkening to the parents, hearkening to the preceptors, seemly behaviour and steadfast devotion to friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives and to slaves and servants. This suggests that the Brāhmaṇical culture became prominent in Kalinga some time before the days of Aśoka, and hence the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* is to be regarded as pre-Aśokan.

Thus the custom of marriage between the closest kin came into vogue in South India sometime before the third century B.C., the age of Aśoka. It is, of course, not clear whether the custom was indigenous or of foreign origin. If it had been introduced by the Maga Brāhmaṇas, then the Śakas may have come to India in a pre-Aśokan age, and in that case we may take the examples of Kātyāyana and Patañjali as referring to the Śakas in India.

Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhatsamhitā* tells us that the installation and consecration of the images and temples of the Sun should be caused to be made by the Magas,¹⁹ who, as we have already seen, were regarded as the Brāhmaṇas of the Śaka community. According to the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* Śāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa, by Jāmbavatī, constructed a temple of the Sun on the river Candrabhāgā and appointed Maga priests for the purpose of the daily worship of the god.²⁰ It thus appears that the Maga-Śakas introduced a new form of Sun-worship in India. The statement of the Purāṇas, "*Śākadvīpe tu tai Viṣṇu Sūrya-rūpo dharo mune,*" seems also to point to the Śaka influence on the Sun cult of India.

17 Moulton, *Early Religious Poetry of Persia*, pp. 75-77.

18 Keith, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 438.

19 *Bṛhat Samhitā*, LV. 19.

20 *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, ch. 139.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar says that in the account of the Saura systems there is not the remotest allusion to a temple of the Sun.²¹ It appears, therefore, that if we find any reference to a Sun temple we may presume it as an instance of Śaka influence. Now, we learn from Philostratos that there was a temple of the Sun at Taxila, and from Plutarch that there was another on the Hydaspes, to which the elephants of Porus ascended on the advance of Alexander.²² If our theory that the Magas came to India in the trains of the Śakas be correct one, then this would prove that the Śakas entered India before the advent of Alexander in this country.

III. *The Yavanas*

In a series of articles in *J.A.*, 1926-29, Przyluski has dealt with the tribes e.g. Udumbaras and others, that possibly migrated to India prior to the days of Alexander's invasion. But the greatest historical proof of the settlement of a foreign tribe on the Indian soil in such an early age, it is commonly supposed, is furnished by a rule in the Grammar of Pāṇini, IV. 1. 49., which states *inter alia* that a feminine form of Yavana is *Yavanānī*. According to Kātyāyana, *Yavanānī* denotes *Yavanāllipyām*, paraphrased by Patañjali (*Mahābhāṣya*, ed. Kielhorn II, p. 220): *Yavanāllipyām iti vaktavyam, Yavanānī lipiḥ*.

The denotation of the term Yavana is a moot question, though the general tendency of the scholars is to take it as referring to the Ionian Greeks. Pāṇini certainly lived in the pre Alexandrian period, possibly in the fifth century B.C., and hence the question naturally arises, what was the ultimate source of Pāṇini's knowledge of the Ionians or the Greeks? Two alternatives are possible: (a) that the Ionians had already established a colony in India at the time of Pāṇini, or (b) that Pāṇini got the knowledge of the Ionians through the Persians.

(a) A Yona state is mentioned along with Kamboja in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (II. 149) as flourishing in the time of Gautama Buddha and Assalāyana. The historians of Alexander's invasion speak of the Greek state of Nysa, and Arrian says that the Nysians were not an Indian race, but descended from the men who came into India with Dionysius. Thus the Nysians seem to have been Thracians and not Ionians. Bhandarkar

²¹ R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 221.

²² Cunningham, *Coins of the Śakas*, pp. 22 ff.

thinks that, Sophytes, who ruled a district on the bank of the Akesines and who speedily submitted to Alexander was a Greek prince with an Indian name, though this view has not generally been accepted by the historians. It thus appears to be beyond any doubt that the Greeks had settled in India long before the days of Alexander's invasion.

(b) Now, had Pāṇini referred to these Grecians of India, the proper term to be used by him would have been Yona (cf. *Majjhima Nikaya*), and not Yavana. The inscriptions of the Achaemenid monarch Darius also vouchsafe it. Here the old Persian form of the Ionian name is Iauna, while the Elamite has Ia-u na, and the Babylonian form is Matu in-ma-nu, and Matu in-a-ma-nu. Weissbach points out that in the Babylonian form *m* stands for *u*, according to a peculiar sound-law, or perhaps rather an orthographical rule.

Lévi has pointed out that the "Yavana" is the Sanskrit form, while the Prakrit form is Yona. But the use of the "Yona" or "Yauna" in the *Mahābhārata*, seems to weaken the theory.²³ Prof. Horwitz, in his *Indian Theatre*, derives the term Yavana as "*Yavena gacchatīti Yavana*" and takes the term as referring to those who used a quick mode of conveyance—the Persians, who came on horse-backs and the Grecians and laterly the Romans and the Arabs, who came in sailing ships. He holds, therefore, "that the term Yavana need not necessarily refer to the Grecians, who never called themselves as Ionians, with which alone can the term Yavana be equated," and hence concludes "that because there is the term Yavanikā in the Sanskrit dramas, Indian dramaturgy need not be assumed to be post-Grecian in origin." Prof. E. J. Thomas also came to the conclusion that the term Yavana denoted not only the Greeks, but the Persians as well.

Thus we have two terms in the Indian literature, Yauna and Yavana, that require serious considerations. The term Yauna is undoubtedly derived from "Iauna," the Ionians, but the exact stem of the term Yavana is uncertain. It has been pointed out that the term Yawan or Javan is of Hebrew origin and was "originally the collective designation of the Ionians of Asia Minor."²⁴ From a very early period the Indians maintained commercial relationship with the Babylonians, and it is thus not improbable, it may appear, that "the word came to the Hindus from the Baby-

23 *Mbh.*, XII.. 207. 43.

24 *JAOS.*, 1904, pp. 302.

Ionians probably during the Persian rule, but possibly earlier. It was thus in its origin a mere transfer of current Semetic usage."

It has been suggested that "Pāṇini of Gandhāra obtained his knowledge about the true Yavanas from the Ionians of Sogdiana." But since the *Majjhima Nikāya* speaks of a Yona state on the Indian borderland at the time of Buddha, we may presume that Pāṇini, if he had any knowledge of the Ionians or the Greeks, derived it from the Greeks of India itself. But what does the great grāmmarian mean by the expression "the writing of the Yavanas."? We have no evidence of Greek script in India before the days of Alexander the great. It is, however, quite possible that the Greek traders of Pāṇini's age used in India the Aramaic script, the official script of the Achaemenid empire, and Pāṇini may have referred to it as the writings of the Yavanas. And the use of Aramaic in India is proved by a Taxila inscription discovered by Sir John Marshall.

Dr. Tarn discusses at length the significance of the term *Yonaka* and distinguishes it from Yona. We may, however, compare *Yonaka* with terms like *Madraka*, *Kośalaka* etc. The word is, no doubt, derived from the term Yona with the suffix *ka* in the sense of "this is his motherland," and it is hardly necessary to connect it with Yung-kin of Wen-chung as Dr. Tarn has done.²⁵

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²⁵ O. Stein's view that the term Yavana never means Greek is hardly tenable. For his views see *Indian Culture*, vol. I, p. 343 ff.

MISCELLANY

Text and Interpretation of some Verses of the Meghadūta

Kālidāsa's *Megha-dūta* has got to its credit no less than fifty commentaries which were written at different times in different parts of the country, but these commentaries seldom agree with one another in giving the original text of the poem and the true interpretation of many of the words or expressions occurring in the individual verses.

We are often given the impression that the *Megha-dūta* consists of two parts; and it is Mallinātha, the most popular commentator of the *Megha-dūta*, who is specially responsible for creating such an impression, for he breaks up the poem, perhaps for the first time, into two distinct halves, styles them Pūrva-megha and Uttara-megha respectively, and adds separate colophons to his commentary on these two halves. That this division is artificial and was not intended by Kālidāsa himself, can be proved by various evidences. Firstly, the opening verses of the so-called Uttara-megha, describing Alakā, are direct continuations of the concluding verse of the Pūrva-megha and are connected with the latter by means of the Relative Pronoun यस्यां or the Pronominal Avyaya यत्र—words which can never be used to begin a new Section or Canto. Secondly, in the Kashmir and Bengal texts¹ of the *Megha-dūta* as well

¹ For Mss. preserving the Kashmir text of the *Megha-dūta* see E. Hultsch, K. B. Pathak and G. R. Nandargikat's Introductions to their respective editions of this work.

For the Bengal text see Dacca University Mss. Nos. 33E, 321F, 408F, 1016B, 1079B, 2129(A) and 70G, all of which are written in Bengali characters and of which the last only contains a commentary entitled *Meghadūtārthabodhini* by one Kaviratna Caktavartī. For other Bengal Mss. see Haraprasad Shastri, *Catalogue of Sans. Mss. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. VII (Kāvya Mss.), pp. 7-9, Nos. 4956 (with the commentary of Kaviratna) and 4958 (with the commentary of Bharata-sena); J. Eggeling, *Catalogue of Sans. Mss. in the Library of the India Office*, VII, pp. 1422-23, Nos. 3773-76 and 3779-80 (of which No. 3774 contains the following commentaries: *Subodhā* of Bharata-sena, *Muktāvali* of Rāmanātha Tarkālamkāra, *Mālatī* of Kalyānamalla, *Ṭikā* of Haragovinda Vācaspati and *Meghadūta-tātparyā-dīpikā* of Sanātana Gosvāmin, Nos. 3775-76 contain Bharata-sena's commentary, No. 3779 contains that of Sanātana Gosvāmin, and No. 3780 contains that of Divākara), Th. Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue*, No. 218; H. Shastri and S. C. Gui, *Catalogue of Sans. Mss.*

as in those given by the great majority of the commentators such as Vallabhadeva², Kalyāṇamalla, Ravikara, Divākara, Śāśvata and others³ the poem occurs as a continuous whole having no division. Thirdly, those few texts which break the integrity of the poem, do not agree mutually in naming the parts. For instance, Mallinātha styles these parts Pūrva-megha and Uttara-megha respectively; Dakṣiṇāvartanātha names them as Pūrva-saṃdeśa and Uttara-saṃdeśa⁴; Pūrṇa-sarasvatī calls them Prathamāśvāsa and Dvitiyāśvāsa⁵; in some Mss. the parts bear the names Prathama-sarga and Dvitiya-sarga⁶; in one Ms. with Mallinātha's commentary the parts are called Pūrva-megha-saṃdeśa and Uttara- or Dvitiya-saṃdeśa⁷; and so on. The names Pūrva-megha and Uttara-megha, given by Mallinātha, do not seem to bear any cogent meaning, however poetic they may appear to be. These names may signify either two distinct clouds or two stages of the same cloud, but such significations are quite irrelevant in the *Megha-dūta*, for it is not the Cloud but its route, destination and mission which have been poetically treated by Kālidāsa. There is, of course, difference of tone and treatment in the two halves, the one relating to the pleasures and pains of the life on

in the Library of the Calcutta Sans. College, VI, Nos. 108-9 (p. 79) and 207-210 (pp. 128-9); Chintaharan Chakravarti, *Cat. of Sans. Mss. in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat*, Calcutta, pp. 202-3, Nos. 106-7; Haraprasad Shastri, *Notices of Sans. Mss.*, X, p. 112, No. 3371 (containing the commentary of Ravikara); Haraprasad Shastri, *Notices of Sans. Mss.*, Second Series, I, pp. 295-6, No. 293 (containing an anonymous commentary), and III, p. 154, No. 237 (containing the commentary of Divākara).

2 The *Megha-dūta* with Vallabhadeva's commentary, *Megha dūta-vivṛti* has been edited by E. Hultzsch, London, 1911.

3 For Mss. of the commentary *Megha-latā* and of those of Kalyāṇamalla and Śāśvata see R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sans. Mss.*, IX, p. 163 (No. 3076), VII, pp. 148-9 (No. 2383), and VIII, pp. 187-8 (No. 2740) respectively. Kalyāṇamalla's commentary is styled *Mālatī*. For Mss. of the commentaries of Ravikara and Divākara see the immediately preceding footnote.

4 See Dakṣiṇāvartanātha's commentary *Pradīpa* edited by Mm. T. Ganapati Shastri, Trivandrum, 1919. Dakṣiṇāvartanātha names the *Megha-dūta* as *Megha-saṃdeśa*.

5 Pūrṇa-sarasvatī's commentary *Vidyullatā* has been edited by R. V. Krishnamachariar, Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, 1909. Pūrṇa-sarasvatī also names the poem *Megha-saṃdeśa*.

6 *Adyar Library Catalogue*, Part II, p. 11; A. B. Keith, *Cat. of Sans. and Prakrit Mss. in the Library of the India Office*, II, p. 1064, Nos. 6999 and 7000.

7 A. B. Keith, *Cat. of Sans. and Pkt. Mss., Ind. Off.*, II, pp. 1064-65.

earth and the other to Alakā, the dreamland of perpetual joy and affluence, but the two regions, which concern the two halves, are very closely connected, the second being a direct outcome of the first, on which it depends for its origin and constituent elements. Moreover, the flight of the Cloud from Rāmagiri to Alakā is a continuous one having no break and consequently not necessitating treatment in separate sections.

We shall now take up the individual verses as they occur in G. R. Nandargikar's edition (published by Gopal Narayan & Co., Bombay).

Pūrva-Megha

Verse 30—वेणीभूतप्रतनुमल्लामावतीतस्य सिन्धुः etc.

In this verse the reading '०सल्लामावतीतस्य सिन्धुः' is given by Mallinātha alone, and Dakṣiṇāvartanātha and Sarasvatī-tīrtha⁸ have '०सल्लामावतीतस्य सिन्धुः' in its place. All these three commentators take the word 'सिन्धु' not as a proper name but as a common noun to mean 'a river' and hold that the expression 'असौ सिन्धुः' or 'सा सिन्धुः' ('that river') refers to the river Nirvindhya (already named and described in the immediately preceding verse), because, as Mallinātha and Dakṣiṇāvartanātha say, they did not know of the existence of any नदी (i.e. river considered as a female) called Sindhu, although there was a नद of that name in Kashmir. On the other hand, in Bengal, Gujrat⁹ and Kashmir texts of the *Megha-dūta* as well as in those of Jinasena (author of the *Pārśvābhyudaya*), Sumatīvijaya, Pūrṇa-sarasvatī, Mahimasīṃhagaṇi, the author of the *Sāroddhārīnī*, and many others¹⁰ the reading 'सल्लामावतीतस्य सिन्धुः' occurs. Cāritravardhanācārya¹¹ also reads '०सल्लामावतीतस्य सिन्धुः', and Vallabhadeva has the verse as '०मल्लामावतीतस्य सिन्धुः पारुडुच्छायां... । ...व्यञ्जयन्ती...॥' Although, like Mallinātha and others, Cāritravardhanācārya and Vallabhadeva take the word सिन्धु to mean the river Nirvindhya, Pūrṇa-sarasvatī takes it to be the name of a certain famous river (सिन्धुरिति नाम्ना प्रसिद्धा कापि नदी) in Malwa other

8 Our references to Sarasvatī-tīrtha's commentary are based on K. B. Pathak's edition of the *Megha-dūta*.

9 For the Gujrat text of the *Megha-dūta* see Nandargikar's edition.

10 For information about these authors and works see Pathak and Nandargikar's editions of the *Megha-dūta*.

11 His commentary, called *Cāritravardhīnī* has been published from Benares (Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 88, 1946).

than the Nirvindhya, and Sumativijaya and the *Sāroddhāriṇī* expressly say that there is a river of the name of Kāli-sindhu in that district. In Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthāna*, I, p.18 there is mention of a small river named Sind (Sindhu) which arose from the Dewas (Devagiri hills) and fell into the Chambal. According to *Matsya-purāṇa* 114. 23-24 the Narmadā, Kāverī, Vetravatī, Sindhu, Śiprā and a few other rivers arose from the Pāriyātra mountain. From all these, most scholars have preferred the reading 'सलिला तामतीतस्य सिन्धुः' and taken 'सिन्धु' to be the name of a river different from the Nirvindhya. But all commentators and critics of the *Megha-dūta* have overlooked another, perhaps more important and decisive, evidence which has been furnished by Kālidāsa himself in his imageries relating to the Nirvindhya and the Sindhu. Of these two rivers, the former has been described in verse 29 (वीचिज्ञाभस्तनित्विहगश्रेणिकाञ्चागुणायाः etc.) as a wanton and passionate maiden full of youthful vigour and conscious of her physical beauty and eager to win a lover to the joys of youth by means of various amorous jestures and even by showing her beautiful navel, whereas the latter (i.e. the Sindhu) has been painted in verse 30 as an extremely loving, faithful, mild and soft-hearted wife who, being separated from her husband, always pines for him, thinks of none but the latter and avoids all kinds of decoration. This remarkable difference in poetic vision at once drives us to the conclusion that the above two verses cannot refer to the same river, viz. the Nirvindhya. Mallinātha's remark 'निर्विन्ध्याया विरहावस्थां वर्णयन्तिरकराकरणं प्रार्थयते', which precedes his comment on verse 30 (वेणीभूत-प्रतनुसलिला etc.) is unfounded and unjustifiable, because in the line 'निर्विन्ध्यायाः पथि भव रसाभ्यन्तरः संनिपत्य' the Cloud has already been requested to unite with the Nirvindhya and satisfy her hunger.

Verse 33—हारांस्तारांस्तरलगुटिकान् कोटिशः शङ्खशुक्तीः etc.

This verse occurs in the texts of the *Megha-dūta* as given by Jinasena (in his *Pārśvābhyudaya*), Vikrama (in his *Nemidūta*), Mallinātha, *Sāroddhāriṇī*, Sarasvatī-tīrtha, Sumativijaya, Mahimasimhagaṇi and Cāritravardhanācārya; but it is omitted by Vallabhadeva, Pūrṇasarasvatī, Dakṣiṇāvartanātha and many others as well as in the Bengal and Kashmir texts. Mallinātha takes it to be spurious; yet he comments on it probably because this verse had wide circulation in his time. As it occurs in the *Pārśvābhyudaya*, K. B. Pathak finds

fault with Mallinātha's view and regards it to be a genuine one. But Pathak fails to note that the incomparable picture of the beauty, prosperity and happy life of Ujjayinī, which Kālidāsa gives by metaphorically identifying this city with the most beautiful part of heaven and thus allowing full freedom to the imagination of the readers, is hopelessly marred and mutilated by the verse 'हारांस्तारांस्तरलगुटिकान् etc.' in which the reader's imagination is deprived of its freedom and limited to a few things only which appear to constitute the prosperity of the city and to contribute to its beauty.

It will be interesting here to note that in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Kādambārī* (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press edition, p. 99) there are a few lines, given in connection with the long and detailed description of Ujjayinī, which have got much similarity in idea and language with the verse 'हारांस्तारान् etc.' These lines are the following:—

अस्ति...प्रकटशंङ्खशुक्लिमुक्ताप्रवालमरकतमणिराशिभिश्चामीकरचूर्णसिकतानिकरनिचितैरायामिभिरगस्त्यपरिपीतसलिलैः सागरैरिव महाविपणिपथैरुपशोभिता...उज्जयिनी नाम नगरी ।
...यस्यां च अन्तस्तरलता-हाराणाम् ... ।

It is true that Bāṇabhaṭṭa has been much influenced by Bhāsa and Kālidāsa, especially the latter, with whom he seems to have tried to compete on some points,¹² but he has used his own language even in those places where he has repeated the ideas of his predecessors.¹³ So, it is probable that some unknown author, very likely of Central India, had composed the verse on the basis of the idea and wordings of the

12 Compare, for instance, Bāṇabhaṭṭa's long and detailed description of Ujjayinī and of the agitation among women at the time of Candapada's entrance into that city after finishing his education, with Kālidāsa's short but pointed description of Ujjayinī in the *Megha-dūta* and of Aja's entrance into the palace of Bhoja in *Raghu-vamśa*, Canto VII

13 As instances, the following extracts may be noted:—

(a) <i>Kādambārī</i> , pp. 100 ff	<i>Megha-dūta</i> , Pūrva-megha, verse 37
योवनमदमत्तमालवीकुचकलशलुलितमलिलया ...मिप्रया परिक्षिप्ता...उज्जयिनी... ।	धृतोद्यानं कुवलयरजोगन्धिभिर्गन्धवत्यास्तोय- क्रीडानिरतयुवतिस्नानतिक्लैर्मरुद्धिः ॥
(b) <i>Kādambārī</i> , p. 104.	<i>Megha-dūta</i> , I, 31
विजितामरलोकद्युतिरवन्तोषूज्जयिनी नाम नगरी ।	शेषैः पुगयैर्ह तमिव दिवः कान्तिमत खगडमेकम् ॥
(c) <i>Kādambārī</i> , p. 159.	<i>Svapna-vāsavadattā</i> , Act I
अपरिगतानि दैवतान्यप्यनुचितपरिभवभाञ्जि भवन्ति ।	यौगन्धरायणः—भवति ! एवमनिर्ज्ञातानि दैवतान्यवधयन्ते ।

lines of the *Kādambarī* mentioned above and interpolated it into the *Megha-dūta* long before the *Pārsvābhyudaya* was written.

Verse 45 : —तस्याः किञ्चित्करधृतमिव प्राप्तवानोरशाखं etc.

This verse is not wanting in any Ms. of the *Megha-dūta* and is consequently regarded as an original one. All commentators and annotators of the *Megha-dūta* are of opinion that this verse relates to the river Gambhīrā already named and described in the immediately preceding one (No. 44—गम्भीरायाः पयसि सरितश्चेतसीव प्रसन्ने etc.); but a careful comparison between these two verses tends to show that the second (No. 45) has a very different tone and imagery. In the preceding verse (No. 44—गम्भीरायाः पयसि सरितः etc.) the Gambhīrā (lit. the Grave one) has been described as an Udātta-nāyikā who bears to her lover deep and sincere love undisturbed by any misgivings and has a strong desire for union with him, but whose feelings do not find outward expression except in that she expresses her love not by various amorous gestures like an ordinary passionate woman but simply by her short but affectionate glances. But in the verse ‘तस्याः किञ्चित्करधृतमिव etc.’ the picture is quite different. Herein the river has been viewed as a lustful woman who does not feel shame to attract her lover by lying prostrate on her back and exposing the private parts of her body (cf. विवृतजघनां) by allowing her garment to slip down to a very great extent. In this verse the word ‘किञ्चित्’ (slightly), occurring in the expression ‘किञ्चित्करधृतम्’, is very important. It indicates the wilful carelessness of the Nāyikā in keeping her garment in its proper place. The picture given in the second half of this verse is highly erotic and verges on indelicacy; and in this respect it is unparalleled in the works of Kālidāsa.

There are other points which should be considered here. Of the ten rivers,¹⁴ except the Gambhīrā, which have been described in the *Pūrvamegha*, it is only the big three, viz. Revā, Carmaṇvatī and Jāhnavī, to each of which two verses have been devoted by Kālidāsa. The remaining seven are all small rivers running into the Carmaṇvatī (modern Chambal), and in the case of none of these seven Kālidāsa has devoted more than one verse. Even the Vetravatī and the Sindhu,

14 Viz. Revā, Vetravatī, Naganadi (i.e., Pārvati), Nirvindhya, Sindhu, Śiprā, Gandhavatī, Carmaṇvatī, Sarasvatī and Jāhnavī.

which are comparatively big among these seven, have not been allowed to be exceptions. So, the Gambhīrā, which is a very small river, does not seem to have been treated of in more than one verse (viz. verse 44). Further, the Cloud has already been asked in verse 44 to satisfy the desire of the Gambhīrā. So, it is needless to repeat a similar request in another verse.

From all these considerations it seems that verse 45 (तस्याः किञ्चित् etc.) is a spurious one and did not originally belong to the *Megha dūta*. It must have been added very early, perhaps not very long after Kālidāsa's death, otherwise it could not occur in all the available Mss.

Verse 58—ये संग्मोत्पतनरभसाः स्वाङ्गभङ्गाय तस्मिन्

मुक्ताध्वानं सपदि शरभा लङ्घयेयुर्भवन्तम् । etc.

Mallinātha gives the prose order of the first two lines as follows: तस्मिन् संग्मोत्पतनरभसा ये शरभा मुक्ताध्वानं भवन्तं सपदि स्वाङ्गभङ्गाय लङ्घयेयुः, and explains the word 'मुक्ताध्वानं' as 'मुक्ताध्वा शरभोत्पतनमार्गो येन तम्' (that has avoided the path of the Śarabhas). Pūrṇa sarasvatī, Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, Mahimasiṃhagaṇi, Cāritravardhanācārya and a few other commentators agree with Mallinātha in giving the prose order and interpretation of the above two lines. But a careful consideration will show that such prose order and interpretation do not satisfactorily explain why the Śarabhas should get enraged at the sight of the Cloud and attack it all on a sudden although the latter carefully avoids their path and remains at a safe distance. We are, therefore, to construe the above two lines thus: तस्मिन् ये शरभाः संग्मोत्पतनरभसाः (सन्तः) सपदि मुक्ताध्वानं भवन्तं स्वाङ्गभङ्गाय लङ्घयेयुः. If, as in the above construction, we take the word 'सपदि' (suddenly) with 'मुक्ताध्वानं' and explain the latter as 'मुक्त आध्वानः सम्यग् गजितं येन तम्' (that has given out a loud roar), then the whole situation stands as follows. After reaching the Himalayas the Cloud would give out a roar, which would acquire greater volume and intensity by resounding on the rocks. But the Śarabhas, living on that mountain, could not previously get themselves ready for such a loud sound. Consequently, being taken aback, they would not find time to see whence the roar came but would mistake the Cloud for a lion and instantaneously jump up with impetuosity to attack it through rage, so deep-rooted their enmity with the lions was (cf. अष्टापदः शरभः सिंहाती—*Mahābhārata*). That the word 'मुक्ताध्वानं' is constituted of the words मुक्त

and आध्वान (आ+ध्वन्+घञ्—loud roar) and not of मुक्क and अध्वन् (path) is shown not only by the reading मुक्कध्वानं (for मुक्काध्वानं) occurring in some of those Mss.¹⁵ which read the verse as above but also by the Bengal and Kashmir texts as well as by those of the *Sārod-dhārinī*, Vallabhadeva, Sumativijaya¹⁶ and others, in which this verse is read as follows: ये त्वां मुक्कध्वनिमसहनाः स्वाङ्गभङ्गाय (v.l. कायभङ्गाय in Kashmir Mss.) तस्मिन् दपोत्सेकादुपरि शरभा लङ्घयिष्यन्त्यलङ्घयम् etc.

The root 'ध्वन्' has been used by Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and others to mean the roaring of the cloud, sea, lion etc. See, for instance, *Megha-dūta*, Uttara-megha, verse 38—यां वृन्दानि त्वरयति...प्रोपितानां मन्द्र-न्निर्घन्धैर्निभिः, *Rtu-sambhāra* 2.10—ध्वनता पयोमुचा and 2.21—ध्रुत्वा ध्वनिं जलमुचां, *Raghu-vamśa* 10.35—परिभूतार्णवध्वनिः, *Kumāra-sambhava* 1. 56—असोढसिंहध्वनिरुन्ननाद and 8.24—रावणध्वनितभीतया तया, and *Kirātār-juniya* 5.12—ध्वनितसूचितमम्बुमुचां चयम्.

Uttara-megha

Verse 14—तलागारं धनपतिगृहानुत्तरेणास्मदीयं

दूराल्लक्ष्यं सुरपतिधनुश्वारुणा तोरणेन । etc.

In this verse there is a variant reading 'गृहात्' (for 'गृहान्') in some texts of the *Megha-dūta*. But the reading 'गृहान्', which occurs in the Kashmir text as well as in those of Vallabhadeva, Mallinātha, Pūrṇa-sarasvatī, Dakṣiṇāvartanātha and Cāritravardhanācārya, is supported by all these commentators with the citation of Pāṇini's rule 'एनपा द्वितीया'. Vallabhadeva decries the reading 'गृहात्' by saying 'पञ्चम्यन्तः पाठस्त्वनार्यः'; Mallinātha refers to it and tries to support it grammatically by saying 'धनपतिगृहादिति पाठे उत्तरेणेति नैनप्प्रत्ययान्तं किंतु तोरणेनेत्यस्य विशेषणं तृतीयान्तम्'; and Dakṣiṇāvartanātha clearly disfavours it as he prefers the reading 'गृहान्' saying 'धनपतिगृहानुत्तरेणेति पाठः'. Thus these three commentators clearly testify to the great popularity of the reading 'गृहात्'. Yet they preferred the other reading most probably because it could be supported grammatically by the rule 'एनपा द्वितीया'.

We shall see below that the word उत्तरेण has not been derived from the word उत्तर with the addition of the third case-ending and used as an adjective to the word तोरणेन but is formed by means of the Taddhita suffix एनप् and that the original reading is 'गृहात्' in which the fifth case-ending is used in connection with the एनप् प्रत्ययान्त word उत्तरेण.

15 Nandargikar's edition, p. 47, fn.

16 Nandargikar's note on v. 58.

In dealing with the construction of buildings in a capital city the *Śukra-nīti-sāra* (1. 250-253) says: “Dwelling houses for ministers, clerks, members of Council and officers should be built separately to the north or east. Leaving a space of 100 cubits towards the north and 200 cubits towards the east of the palace, military cantonments are to be laid out. The wise king should provide for the houses of the people in order of wealth and birth near his palace in all directions.” So, we can presume that the house of the Yakṣa, who was an अनुचर of Kuvera, was situated not very far from that of his master. Had the Yakṣa’s house been situated at a long distance from that of Kuvera, he would not draw the attention of the Cloud to Kuvera’s house in order to enable him to find out his own without difficulty. Consequently, the word ‘उत्तरेण’ must have been formed with the addition of the suffix एनप् which means ‘in a particular direction but not far’ as the rule ‘एनबन्व्यतरस्यामद्वरेऽपञ्चम्याः’ (Pāṇini 5. 3. 35) shows. The word ‘दूरात्’ (in the second line दूराल्लक्ष्यं etc.) must not be taken to indicate that the house of the Yakṣa was situated at a long distance from that of Kuvera; it simply points to the distance from which the Cloud would be able to notice the Yakṣa’s house.

The reading ‘गृहात्’ is found in the great majority of the texts of the *Megha-dūta* and has got much better Ms. evidence in its support. For instance, the *Pārśvābhyudaya*, the *Sāroddhārīnī*, *Lakṣmīnīvāsa*, *Mahimasimhagaṇī*, *Sumativijaya* and *Megharāja* have this reading; the Bengal text has it invariably; most of the Mss. of Gujrat, Rajputana and Central Provinces contain it; and Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita gives it in his *Praudha-manoramā* and supports it grammatically after the manner of Mallinātha.¹⁷ Moreover, the gravity of sound and the consequent melody created by the letter ‘दृ’ in ‘०गृहादुत्तरेणा’ is destroyed by the nasal ‘न्’ (following the long vowel आ) in the reading ‘०गृहान्’. That the use of the fifth case-ending in connection with a word having the suffix एनप् was not absolutely uncommon with early Sanskrit writers of repute is shown by Bāṇabhaṭṭa’s *Kādambarī* (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press edition, p. 259) in which we find an example of such use in the sentence ‘इतश्च नातिदूरे तस्माद्भारतवर्षादुत्तरेणानन्तरे किंपुरुषनाम्नि वर्षे वर्षपर्वतो हेमकृटो नाम निवासः’ । It is to be noted that of the numerous Mss. used for the

17 *Praudha-manoramā* (Benares ed., 1888), p. 287 — कथं तर्हि तत्रागारं धनपति-
गृहादुत्तरेणास्मदीयमिति ? उत्तरेणेति तृतीयान्तं तोरणेनेत्यनेन समानाधिकरणं बोध्यम् ।

different editions of the *Kādambari* not a single contains any variant reading for 'भारतवर्षादुत्तरेण,' nor is there any word in the whole sentence to which the word उत्तरेण may be taken as an adjective. In some Mss. of Harṣavardhana's *Nāgānanda* also there is a reading 'अस्मादुत्तरेण' in which the fifth case-ending has been used in connection with the एनप्-प्रत्ययान्त word उत्तरेण¹⁸.

It seems that the original reading '०गृहादुत्तरेण' was changed to '०गृहानुत्तरेण' either by the copyists who wanted to conform it to Pāṇini's rule 'एनपा द्वितीया' or by the effacement, due to oldness of Mss., of the lower half of the semicircular portion of the letter द .

Verse 21—तन्वी श्यामा शिखरिदशना पक्वबिम्बाधरोष्ठी

... ..

... ..

या तत्र स्याद् युवतिविषये धातुराद्येव सृष्टिः ॥

The fourth line of this verse has been explained by Vallabhadeva as: युवतिविषये नारीमध्ये वेधस आद्या सृष्टिरिव । आदौ ह्यनुद्वेगाद्रम्यं निर्माणं भवति . Mallinātha explains it as follows :

युवतय एव विषयस्तस्मिन् युवतिविषये । युवतीरधिकृत्येत्यर्थः । धातुर्ब्रह्मण आद्या सृष्टिः प्रथमशिल्पमिव स्थितेत्युत्प्रज्ञा । प्रथमनिर्मिता युवतिरियमेवेत्यर्थः । प्रायेण शिल्पिनां प्रथमनिर्माणे प्रयत्नातिशयवशाच्छिल्पनिर्माणसौष्टवं दृश्यत इत्याद्याविशेषणम् । तथा चास्मिन् प्रपञ्चे न कुत्राप्येवंविधरामणीयकं रमणीरत्नमस्तीति भावः ।

All the other commentators follow Vallabhadeva and Mallinātha in their explanation of the above line. Pūrṇa-sarasvatī, however, suggests an alternative meaning, according to which Devī Dākṣāyaṇī is referred to by the words धातुराद्येव सृष्टिः¹⁹. But a careful consideration will show that none of the above explanations is plausible. The various excellences of physical beauty of the Yakṣa's wife, as mentioned in the above verse as well as in a few others (such as verses 22, 23, 29, and especially 43, of the *Uttara-megha*), points to its perfection, which can never be expected in the first creation of an artist, for, it is only by repeated practice that an artist can create an object of perfect art. Further, if 'आद्या सृष्टिः' is to mean simply 'the first creation', why then does Kālidāsa use the expression 'युवतिविषये' ?

18 *Nāgānanda* ed. Nerurkar, Act IV, p. 56 शङ्खचूडः । (उत्थाय) यावदहमप्य-स्मादुत्तरेणादूरे भगवन्तं दक्षिणगोकणं प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य स्वाम्यादेशमनुतिष्ठामि ।

19 अथवा, स्त्रीमर्गबीजभूता परमेश्वरीतेजोशसंभूता देवी दाक्षायणी भगवतो नील-लोहितस्य धर्मपत्नी सृष्टिराद्ये त्युच्यते..... ।

The above objections lead us to believe that the fourth line refers to Śatarūpā, a female of exquisite physical beauty, as her very name indicates. This Śatarūpā was the first female created by Brahmā; and stories about her origin are to be found in many of the extant Purāṇas. The *Manu-smṛti* (1. 32) does not name Śatarūpā but states that the creator divided his body into two parts which then turned into a male and a female respectively and that he procreated Virāṭ on this female. According to the *Harivamśa* (1. 1-2), *Vāyu-purāṇa* (chaps. 8-10), *Brahma-purāṇa* (chaps. 1-2) etc., which contain an older version of the story, Brahmā, being inspired by a wish for creation, first produced seven sons, namely Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasiṣṭha, from his mind, and Rudra from his rage, and asked them to create beings. But as the creation was then made by them through their mind, it did not multiply. So, Brahmā wanted that the creation should be made through sexual intercourse. Consequently, he divided his body into two halves; by one of these he became a male, and the other turned into a female. The latter, who was named Śatarūpā, filled up the earth and heaven by her glory (mahimā) and was accepted as wife by the former.

More detailed and interesting account of Śatarūpā is contained in *Matsya-purāṇa*, chap. 3, which gives the story as follows.

Brahmā, wishing to create beings, had ten sons born of his mind, namely Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Pracetas, Vasiṣṭha, Bhṛgu and Nārada. He then produced Prajāpati Dakṣa from his right thumb, Dharma from his breast, Lobha from his lips, Moha from his intellect, Mada from his egoism, Pramoda from his throat, and Mṛtyu from his eyes. Next, as he muttered the Sāvitrī for the sake of creation, his body broke up into two parts, one of which turned into a male and the other into an extremely beautiful female variously named as Śatarūpā, Sāvitrī, Gāyatrī, Sarasvatī and Brahmāṇī. Brahmā took this Śatarūpā to be his own daughter (ātmajā), because the latter was born of his own body (sva-deha-sambhūtā); but at her sight Brahmā became so much afflicted by sexual passion that he exclaimed 'Oh the beauty, Oh the beauty!'²⁰ Although Vasiṣṭha and others called Śatarūpā their sister, Brahmā could not desist from looking amorously

at her but continued to praise her beauty by repeatedly saying 'Oh the beauty, Oh the beauty!' He felt such a strong desire for seeing Śatarūpā that he had four more faces developed for the purpose. He then sent out his sons for creation, married Śatarūpā, repaired with her into his lotus-abode, and enjoyed union with her like an ordinary human being for hundred divine years!

From the above stories we learn that Śatarūpā was the first female created by Brahmā and that she possessed such youthful beauty as could charm even the creator himself. By using the word युवतिविषये²¹ in the line 'युवतिविषये धातुरायैव सृष्टिः' Kālidāsa points definitely to this Śatarūpā, who possessed youth most suitable for creation and who was created for that very purpose.

This Śatarūpā must also have been referred to by the words स्त्रीरत्न-सृष्टिरपरा in *Abhijñāna-śakuntala*, Act II, verse 9—

चित्ते निवेश्य परिकल्पितसत्त्वयोगा रूपोच्चयेन मनसा विधिना कृता नु ।

स्त्रीरत्नसृष्टिरपरा प्रतिभाति सा मे धातुर्विभुत्वमनुचिन्त्य वपुश्च तस्याः ॥

By explaining the word अपरा as जगत्स्त्रीसृष्टिविलक्षणा Rāghavabhaṭṭa goes wide of the mark. This स्त्रीरत्नसृष्टिरपरा could not be the same as Tilottamā, a divine nymph, because, according to the *Mahābhārata* (Vaṅga-vāsī ed., I. 211. 11f.), Tilottamā was created by Viśvakarman and not by Brahmā.²² It is to be noted in this connection that in the *Manu-smṛti*, *Matsya-purāṇa* etc. the word विभु has been used with respect to Brahmā in the verses relating to the origin of Śatarūpā²³.

In *Kumāra-sambhava* 2. 7 Kālidāsa refers briefly to the origin of a male and a female from the two halves of Brahmā's body and to the creation which proceeded from this couple.

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21 The word युवति, being derived from the root यु— to unite, means a female who is highly suitable for union, i.e. for procreation.

22 The expression धातुर्विभुत्वमनुचिन्त्य, occurring in the verse of the *Abhijñāna-śakuntalā* quoted above, shows that the first exquisitely beautiful woman also was created by Brahmā.

23 Cf. धातुर्विभुत्वमनुचिन्त्य etc in the verse of the *Śakuntalā* quoted above.

Mahāsāmanta-Mahārāja Viṣṇuṣeṇa (Viṣṇubhaṭa)
and Sāmanta Avanti*

In the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, there are two sets of old impressions of an exceptionally interesting inscription which I am going to edit for the *Epigraphia Indica* with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India. The record seems to have been incised on the two sides of a single copper plate or, more probably, on one side each of two copper plates; but I have failed to trace the whereabouts of the original. The characters employed in the inscription belong to the West Indian variety of the Southern Alphabet and resemble those used in such epigraphs as the Sunaokala plates of *Mahāsāmanta-Mahārāja Saṅgamasīṃha* (Kalacuri year 292 = A.D. 540),¹ the Sankheda-Mankuni plates of the Kalacuri year 346 (A.D. 594)², the Palitana plates of *Sāmanta-Mahārāja Sīṃhāditya* of the Gārulaka family (Gupta-Valabhī year 255 = A.D. 574)³, and the inscriptions of the Kalacuris of the sixth and seventh centuries⁴ as well as of the early members of the Gurjara family of Nāndīpurī and the Maitraka family of Valabhī. On palaeographical grounds, the record under discussion has to be referred to the sixth or seventh century and to a locality not far from the Gujarat-Kathiawar region. This date seems to be supported also by the internal evidence of the document.

The document records an order, issued from the *vāsaka* (residence or camp) at Lohātā, by a ruler named Viṣṇuṣeṇa who is endowed with the feudatory titles *Mahākārtā-kṛtika*, *Mahadaṇḍanāyaka*, *Mahāpratībhāra*, *Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahārāja*. It is interesting to note that precisely the same epithets (the *pañca-mahāśabda*) are also known to have been used by Dhruvasena I (Gupta-Valabhī years 206-26 = A.D. 325-45) of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhī,⁵ although to whom exactly he owed allegiance is difficult to determine in the present

* Paper read before the History Section of the All-India Oriental Conference, Bombay Session, held in November, 1949.

1 *El.*, vol. XI, p. 74 f.

2 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 20, *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, vol. I, p. 4 ff. The inscription is genuine in my opinion.

3 *El.*, vol. XI, p. 17 f.

4 Cf. Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 1206-08.

5 *Ibid.*, Nos. 1304-05.

state of our knowledge. The order of *Mahāsāmanta-Mahārāja Viṣṇuṣeṇa* was addressed to his subordinates and officials such as the *Rājan*, *Rājaputra*, *Rājasthānīya*, *Āyuktaka*, *Viniyuktaka*, *Śaulkika*, *Coroddharanika*, *Vailabdhika*, *Drāṅgika*, *Cāṭa* and *Bhāṭa*, to other associate bodies executing the ruler's orders as well as to the *Dhruv-ādhikaraṇa*. The mention of the *Dhruv-ādhikaraṇa* connects the epigraph under discussion with the Maitraka dynasty and with the Kathiawar-Gujarat region. The expression *Dhruv-ādhikaraṇa* or *Dhruv-ādhikaraṇika* is peculiar to the Maitraka records. *Dhruva* has been explained as being still used in Kathiawar and Kachh to denote "a person who superintends on behalf of the Rāja the collection of the royal share of the produce of lands" and Dhruva is still a surname among the Gujarati people.⁶ Another fact possibly connecting Viṣṇuṣeṇa with the Gujarat-Kathiawar region, if not with the Maitrakas themselves, is his interesting epithet *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-śrī-bāva-pād-anudbyāta*. This reminds us of the fact that in several Maitraka records *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara Śīlāditya III* (Gupta-Valabhī years 343-65 = A.D. 662-84) is represented as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-śrī-bāva-pād-anudbyāta*, while his son Śīlāditya IV is endowed with the same epithet with the only substitution of the word *bappa* (father) for *bāva*. Fleet explained the word *bāva* as indicating an uncle or a relation of one's father's generation.⁷

Viṣṇuṣeṇa informed his officials and subordinates that the community of merchants apparently belonging to Lohātā had approached him to be favoured with the ruler's own *ācāra-sthiti-pātra* to be utilised by them in protecting and favouring their subjects and that he had already granted them his *sthiti-pātra* used in protecting and settling the people of his dominions. This *sthiti-pātra* or *ācāra-sthiti-pātra*, later also called *anugraha-sthiti-pātra* in the document and *sthiti-vyavasthā* and *sthiti-pātra-vyavasthā* in a subjoined endorsement, has been fully quoted in the document and is one of the most remarkable things in ancient Indian epigraphy. We shall discuss this interesting list of customary laws elsewhere.⁸

6 *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 170 n; Sankhā, *Archæology of Gujarat*, p. 200 and note.

7 *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 186n.

8 My paper on this subject was read at the Classical Sanskrit Section of the A.I.O.C. (Bombay) and has been contributed to the *J.R.A.S.B.*

After completing the text of the list of *ācāras*, Viṣṇuṣeṇa, in the usual way, requests all future rulers of the country for their assent. Then follows a reference to the *Dūtaka* or executor of the document, who was the *Sandhi-igraba-kāraṇ-ādhikṛta* Bhaddaka. The document ends with the date: *Sam 600 + 40 + 9 Śrāvāṇa-śu 5*, and the reproduction of the ruler's signature: *sva-bastab śrī-Viṣṇuṣeṇasya*. There is little doubt that the year 649 should be referred to the Vikrama Samvat of 58 B. C. and that the date corresponds to 592 A. D. As will be seen from our discussion below on an endorsement subjoined to the document, the above suggestion is not only supported by palaeography but also by the date of the endorsement. That the use of the Vikrama era was not unknown in the Gujarat-Kathiawar region is suggested by the Dhiniki plates of Jukadeva, dated V. S. 794 (A. D. 737),⁹ which were found in the Okhamandal District of Kathiawar. The Vikrama era seems to have penetrated into that region from Rajputana where we notice its use in records dating from the third century A. D.¹⁰ The use of the Vikrama era in the present inscription may possibly be explained by the suggestion that the merchants, in whose favour the document was issued, were accustomed to its use. It seems reasonable to think that the Jains, mostly a mercantile community, are greatly responsible for the development of the Vikrama and Śālivāhana-Śaka sagas as well as for the spread of both the Vikrama and Śaka eras.

An interesting endorsement, appended to the document and showing slightly later forms of characters, says that *Sāmanta* Avanti issued an order from Darpapura to his own officials informing them that he had given his assent to the *stṭiti-vyavasthā* granted by the illustrious Viṣṇubhaṭa to the community of merchants residing at Lehoṭaka-grāma (apparently a mistake for Lohāṭaka-grāma, i.e., Lohāṭā, mentioned earlier in the document) and that no disturbance should be made to persons conducting themselves according to the above *stṭiti-pātra-vyavasthā*. This endorsement ends with the date: *Sam 300 + 50 + 7 Kārttika-ba 7*. Whether *Sāmanta* Avanti of Darpapura was a subordinate of *Mahāsāmanta-Mahārāja* Viṣṇuṣeṇa of Lohāṭā or whether the Lohāṭā area came to form a part of the district ruled by him at a

⁹ Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 17.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 1 ff.

later date cannot be satisfactorily determined. The most interesting information supplied by the endorsement is however the date in the year 357 of an unspecified era. Consideration of the palaeography of the document and of its locality probably in the Gujarat-Kathiawar region suggests that the year has to be referred either to the Kalacuri or to the Gupta-Valabhī era; that is to say that the date corresponds either to A. D. 605 or 676. The importance of this date of the endorsement lies in the fact that it supports the evidence of palaeography by precluding the possibility of year 649, the date of the document of Viṣṇuṣeṇa, being referred to the Śaka era of A. D. 78. Another interesting information supplied by the endorsement is that Viṣṇuṣeṇa was also called Viṣṇubhāṭa. This fact seems again to connect the ruler with the Maitraka family in which a name like Dhruvasena is sometimes also found in the form Dhruvabhāṭa. We know that the Maitraka ruler Dhruvasena II Bālāditya (Gupta-Valabhī years 310-21 = A. D. 629-40), who was the son-in-law of king Harṣa of Kanauj, has been mentioned in the *Si-yu-ki* of Hiuen Tsang by the name Dhrūbhāṭa or Dhruvabhāṭa.¹¹

We have seen that *Mahāsāmanta-Mahārāja Viṣṇuṣeṇa (Viṣṇubhāṭa)* claimed some relation with his overlord described as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-śrī-bāva*. The date of the document, A. D. 592, would suggest that this overlord was probably the Kalacuri king Śaṅkaragaṇa whose Abhona plates are dated in A. D. 595.¹² The facts that the Sarsavi plates of Kalacuri Buddharāja, dated Kalacuri year 361 = A. D. 609, were issued from Ānandapura, modern Anand¹³ in the Kaira District, that Dadda I of the Gurjjara house of Nāndīpurī (Nandor in the Rajpipla State) and Broach is described as *Gurjjara-nṛpati-vaṁśa-mahodadbau śrī-saba-janmā Kṛṣṇa-br̥day-abitāspadaḥ kaustubha-maṇi-r̥va*¹⁴ with a probable allusion to his allegiance to Kalacuri Kṛṣṇa, that the Kalacuris certainly extended their power over the northern Maratha country and Malwa,¹⁵ and that king Kṛṣṇa's coins, referred to as *Kṛṣṇarāja-rūpaka* in the Anjaneri inscription of Pṛthivīcandra Bhogaśakti

11 Cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. II, pp. 246-7.

12 Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 1206.

13 *El.*, vol. VI, p. 297.

14 Cf., e.g., *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIII, pp. 82, 88.

15 They granted lands in the Nasik region and issued charters from Ujjayini and Vidiśā; cf. Bhandarkar, Nos. 1206-08.

dated 709 A. D., are not only found in the Nasik District but also in the islands of Bombay and Salsette¹⁶ as well as at Dhamori in the Amraoti District and Pattan in the Betul District of Berar¹⁷ would suggest that the Kalacuris were able to extend their power over the Gujarat-Kathiawar region and that from the middle of the sixth century A. D. all rulers of that region, bearing subordinate titles, owed allegiance to the Kalacuris. It is also interesting to note that the date in our document falls in the period between the rule of the Maitraka ruler Dharasena II (Gupta-Valabhī years 252-70 = A. D. 571-89) and that of Śīlāditya I-Dharamāditya (Gupta-Valabhī years 286-90 = A. D. 605-09) and that, if Viṣṇuṣeṇa (Viṣṇubhaṭa) actually belonged to the Maitraka dynasty, his rule may be accommodated between A. D. 589 and 605. If however Lohātā, and not Valabhī, was his headquarters, it is possibly to be suggested that he was ruling side by side with the Maitraka king or kings of Valabhī, even if he belonged to the same family. But the endorsement seems to suggest that Lohātā was a village in the dominions of Viṣṇuṣeṇa.

As regards *Sāmanta* Avanti, I am inclined to believe that he dated his endorsement in the Kalacuri era and that he may have been a Gurjjara, although nothing can be said definitely on these points until further evidence is forthcoming.

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16 *El.*, vol. XXV, p. 229.

17 *IHQ.*, vol. XXV, p. 86.

Jāja, Jājā, Jājadeva, or Jajjala, a Minister and Commander of Hammīra of Raṅthambhor

In the annals of Rājput chivalry, there is scarcely a name better known than that of *Haṭhī** Hammīra of Raṅthambhor. The fight put up by him against Alāuddīn Khaljī, the tyrannical Sultān of Delhi, with a view to protecting the Neo-Muslim leaders, Muhammad Shāh and his brothers, who had taken refuge at the Raṅthambhor court, has inspired many a poet of Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Hindī as well as Rājasthānī to sing his glory and offer the incense of admiration at the shrine of his memory. Of people, whom he had favoured, many deserted him. His chief general, Ratipāla, and the finance minister, Dharmasiṃha, proved traitors. In his last fight, Hammīra was accompanied by only nine warriors, of whom four were not even his co-religionists. But besides these he had at least one more follower of undoubted loyalty, the Cāhamāna Jāja, Jājā, Jājadeva or Jajjala who had been left behind to put up a last fight for Raṅthambhor.

The material for Jāja's life is extremely scanty. The *Prākṛitapaṅgalam*, a book on Prākṛit prosody written sometime in the fourteenth century, quotes five verses from some Apabhraṁśa poem dealing with Hammīra's achievements. Of these two refer to Jājadeva; none, it might be noted, mentions even by name, the other ministers and generals of Hammīra. This fact in itself should be testimony enough for Jājadeva's pre-eminent position in Hammīra's kingdom. Had this Apabhraṁśa poem drawn upon by the *Prākṛitapaṅgalam* come down to us, we might have received a full account of the great hero, Jāja. In its absence, all that we can present to our readers is an incomplete, though by no means incorrect sketch of his achievements, based on the two extant Apabhraṁśa verses and a few stray references from the *Hammīramahākāvya* of Nayacandra Sūri.

According to the *Hammīramahākāvya*, Jājadeva was one of the eight members of Hammīra's (*mantri*)*pariṣad*. The *Prākṛitapaṅgalam* mentions him as Hammīra's *mantrivara*, i.e., excellent minister.² But it is not as a *mantrin* but as Hammīra's brave general that he

* Of dogged resolution; one who sticks to his word even against the dictates of common sense.

1 X, 33-34.

2 P. 249. For the verse see footnote 5.

lives on in the minds of the people. When Alāuddīn, egged on by the traitor Bhoja, a natural brother of Hammīra, sent Ulūgh Khān against the kingdom of Raṅthambhor, Jājadeva was one of the eight generals who attacked and defeated the Khaljī army in the Hindavāt Pass. It was a well-executed piece of strategy. The Rājputs waited for the coming of darkness, and then fell on the Muslims from all directions, causing the greatest confusion in their camp. Hammīra's brother, Vīrama, came from the east, Muhammad Shāh from the west, Jājadeva from the south, and Garbharūka from the north. From the south-east, north-east, south-west, and north-west, the attack was, respectively, directed by Ratipāla, Raṅamalla, Tichara, and Vaichara.³ Whoever the conceiver of the plan may have been, perhaps it was Hammīra himself, it was thoroughly successful. With the cry of "Hammīra", "Hammīra", the Rājputs filled the ditch surrounding the camp, burnt the stockades, cut down the ropes of the tents, and caused such havoc that Ulūgh Khān's army was soon on the run, leaving behind all its war material, camp equipage and even women.⁴

Immediately after this victory the Neo-Muslim leader, Muhammad Shāh, sacked Jagarā, the jāgir given to the traitor, Bhoja, by Alāuddīn Khaljī. And about the same time perhaps Hammīra and Jājadeva raided Delhi. The Cāhamāna warriors must have by then become well-known in the Khaljī dominions. They had defeated even Ulūgh Khān, the most skilful of Alāuddīn's generals; they had made the captured Muslim women sell butter-milk in the countryside of Raṅthambhor. Is it therefore to be wondered at that the *Prākṛtapaiṅgalam* should state that when Hammīra marched forth with his "excellent minister", Jajjalā, in the van, the hearts of the Muslim populace of Delhi sank with fear; many even fainted when the city-drum announced the dreadful news to them.⁵

We have no information from the *Prākṛtapaiṅgalam* regarding the results of the raid. Nor does Nayacandra, intent on belauding Hammīra and depicting in lurid colours the seditious activities of a

3 *Hammīramahākāvya*, X, 35-39.

4 *Ibid.*, 40-62.

5 *Dhollā māria Dhilli maha, mucchiya Meccha-sarva pura Jajjalā mantivara calia vira Hammīra.*

(page 249).

group of Hammīra's officers, say anything about Jājadeva till we reach the last two cantos of the *Hammīramahākāvya*. Jāja, may, however, be expected to have efficiently discharged his duties as a defender of the beleaguered fort. His counsel too could never have been one of craven despair and flight.⁶ Even when all hope had been lost, he is represented as saying, "Putting on firmly my armour and covering my horse with armoured trappings, I shall bid farewell to my relatives, and with the permission of Hammīra, my lord, enter the battlefield. Brandishing my sword through the air, I shall strike it on the enemy's head, and, breaking the armours of others with mine own, turn aside even mountains (from my path). For Hammīra's sake I shall burn myself in the fire of the Sultān's anger and striking my sword on his head go to heaven, leaving behind this body."

Jāja might have made this proposal when Hammīra, himself, was thinking of opening the front gate of the fort and rushing down on the enemy with a handful of his followers. He had the fullest faith in Jāja; he knew that death held no terror for this brave warrior. But where was, he might have thought, the need of sending Jāja to his sure destruction when he had for him work which made the doughtiest warriors' blood run cold. He put Jāja in charge of the *jaubar* of the fair ladies of his harem, his queens, his daughters, and other female relatives. When this part of his duties had been accomplished, Jajjalā came back to his master and presented him with nine heads of elephants, saying, "I worship thee, as Rāvaṇa worshipped Śiva. I, however, having only one head, offer these nine as substitutes. The tenth head offered would be mine."⁸

6 See footnote 9.

7 *Pindhan didha saṇḥa vāha uppara pakkhara dai
bandhu samadi raṇa dhasau sāmi Hammira baṇa lai/
uddala nabapaha bhamau khagga ru sisabi dārau
pakkhara pakkhara ṭhelli pelli pabbaa a phālan//
Hammira kaju Jajjala bhanaha
kohāṇala muha maha jalau/
Sulatāna-sisa karavāla dai
tajji kalevara dia calau'//*

(*Prākṛtapaiṅgalam*, p. 180)

8 *Hammīramahākāvya*, XIII, 187-189. This is rather a free rendering of the verses.

Another duty also remained to be performed. Even when Hammīra fell, the fort must not pass into the hands of the enemy without a bitter struggle. Hammīra appointed therefore Jāja as his successor, after having vainly requested him to leave the fort and save his life. "Hammīra had", says Nayacandra, "asked Jāja twice to go away. Therefore deliberately concluding that two negatives make one affirmative, he decided to stay behind in the fort".⁹ How well Jāja discharged his duty as the last defender of the fallen fort may be seen from the following tribute paid by Nayacandra :—

"In this world, really to be congratulated is Jājā alone, the upholder of that affection and loyalty which came naturally to him, for he defended the fort for two days, even after the death of the ruler (Hammīra)"¹⁰

A devoted and loyal warrior or statesman, perhaps, needs no better epitaph.¹¹

DASHARATHA SHARMA

9 *du.11 nañau prastutārthanī pravadata itivata kṣmābhṛtā dviḥ prayuktā-
maucityadyāhi yāhiti vacanaracanām svārthasamstham vidhāya/
yastiṣṭhannapyalumpanna khalu nijavibhoḥ śasanam svāmibhaktah
khyātastenava namnāpi sa jayatu ciram Chāhamānah sa Jājā//
(Hammīramahākāvya, XIV, 18)*

10 *Hammīramahākāvya, XIV, 16.*

11 Cf Bismarck's epitaph, "A faithful servant of Emperor William I."

Fifteenth All-India Oriental Conference

The fifteenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference was held at Bombay in the first week of November 1949. In the unavoidable absence of Dr. S. K. De, President-elect, Prof. Nilakantha Sastri, the Vice-President, conducted the proceedings. The printed address of Dr. De was, however, available and presented to the Conference. In the learned and thought-provoking address Dr. De laid stress on two important aspects of oriental studies in India :

1. The need for entire reorientation of our educational policy with reference to classical studies which are much neglected in these days.

2. The expansion of the scope of these studies by the inclusion of the study of the life and literature of territories outside India with which she was at one time in close contact. It is felt that this is high time for reviving cultural relations between India and other countries of Asia. It has been suggested that the Conference can do this by inviting representatives from different countries of Asia and even by holding some of its sessions at various centres outside India.

About 250 papers were submitted by almost as many scholars from different parts of the country for the eighteen sections into which the Conference was divided. The number was too large for the comparatively very short time available for the disposal of the papers. A decent brochure containing summaries of the papers was distributed among the members present at the Conference. It appears, as usual,—and it has been frankly admitted by the Local Secretary—that the summaries as sent by the authors were not properly edited and that papers of one section have been included in another. Of course it has to be admitted that under the present statutory arrangement of the sections it is sometimes difficult to assign a paper to a particular section. Of the sections the section on Classical Sanskrit is evidently the most popular with 63 papers, History coming next with half as many papers. The five sections devoted to modern Indian languages (Gujrati, Marathi, Kannada, Hindi and Urdu) had together 29 papers in all which could be conveniently dealt with in one section. Three important symposia were scheduled

to be held. Of these the one on Oriental Studies and State Policy was dropped owing to the absence of the General President at whose initiative it was stated to have been included in the programme.

In the other two, e.g., Sanskrit as a terminological lingua franca and simplified Sanskrit, a number of scholars took part by delivering extempore speeches as evidently no previous arrangement was made in this connection well ahead. The possibility of simplifying Sanskrit was questioned by many while the use of Sanskrit as the background of newly coined words seemed to have received general support.

Elaborate arrangements were made for dramatic and musical entertainments. The *Abhijñāna-Sakuntalam* was staged in this connection in an abridged form by the members of the Haritoṣa Samiti. Ladies and gentlemen who took part in the play were all Sanskrit-knowing people, most of them were graduates with a few professors, teachers and lawyers. The acting was admirable. The preponderance of music, however, seemed on occasions to impede action and the flow of the dialogues. Besides songs specially composed for the purpose and introduced in the drama some of the verses of the dialogues were set to music. It is not known if it was an innovation or had a tradition behind it. At least this is unknown in Bengal.

Arrangements for visiting places of cultural and historical importance included visits to Kaivalyadhāma and the Elephanta Caves. At the Kaivalyadhāma there was a small but very interesting demonstration of some yogic exercises accompanied by an explanatory talk by Swami Kavalayananda, the founder, referring to original texts and their co-ordination with modern scientific research. The Swamiji also drew attention to the objects of the Institute which aimed at conducting scientific and literary research for the propagation of Yoga in all its aspects with a view to co-ordinate it with everyday life.

Two important resolutions based on similar ones passed at the last session at Darbhanga were adopted in the present session. The first resolution reiterated the demand for the establishment of an All-India Indological Research Institute at a suitable centre at an early date. The purpose of the Institute would be to carry out and co-ordinate researches in history, languages, arts and literature of India. The Institute would also actively encourage the study of language, history and culture of Asian countries which came in cultural contact with India in the past like Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan,

Palestine, China, Japan and South-East countries. It was decided that a deputation consisting of Dr. P. V. Kane, Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja and Dr. R. N. Dandekar would wait on the Prime Minister, the Home Minister and the Education Minister of the India Government to explain the need for the setting up of a Central Indological Research Institute.

The second resolution requested the Government of India to set up a regular and full-fledged department called the Manuscript Survey of India to safeguard and salvage literary treasures lying in ancient manuscripts in different parts of the country. It may be pointed out here that an almost identical resolution moved by the writer of the present note was passed at the First Indian Cultural Conference held in Calcutta in 1936 under the auspices of the Indian Research Institute. Though the alien Government of the time paid little heed to it, it is expected that the present national Government will give effect to it at the earliest opportunity.

The session concluded with the announcement of the results of the election of the Executive Committee, the office-bearers and the General and Sectional Presidents of the next session. It was decided that the Sixteenth Session of the Conference would be held in Lucknow under the Presidency of Prof. Hirianna of Mysore.

I would conclude this note with a few suggestions for the improvement of the future sessions of the Conference in certain directions in the interest of the world of scholars. It will be convenient if the number of sections could be curtailed by amalgamating or even by dropping a few. The need for having two separate sections on History and Archaeology is not quite clear. They might even be left out as there is the History Congress to do full justice to them. Provision might be made for only one Modern Indian language section dealing with the problems and achievements of all provincial languages. The proceedings of this section should be carried on in the language generally adopted in the main Conference, so that they may be intelligible to the general body of scholars and thus be more attractive than at present.

Properly edited summaries of papers submitted together with Presidential addresses and other printed materials issued for the Conference might be sent to all members before the commencement of a session as is done by the Indian Science Congress. These may be

regarded as parts of the main proceedings which may be published soon after each session containing only the material not already printed and issued. This will avert much unnecessary duplication and effect considerable saving in printing charges. Besides, the Proceedings need not contain the text of any paper. This will make the Proceedings neat and handy, save a huge drain from the funds of the Conference and make speedy publication quite an easy affair. As a matter of fact, all the papers submitted are not available for publication in the proceedings and a good number are published elsewhere. Neither is it possible to make room for all. It may be mentioned here that the list of papers submitted before the past sessions of the Conference which has just been published will be more useful to scholars than any of the Proceedings issued so far especially as it indicates the names of journals or books where the papers could be known to have been printed.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

REVIEWS

A HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE, Classical Period, Vol. I, General Editor: S. N. Dasgupta; Contributors to this Volume: S. N. Dasgupta (Preface, Introduction, History of Alamkāra Literature and Editor's Notes) and S. K. De (History of Kāvya Literature); Published by the University of Calcutta, Royal Octavo, (roughly) 130 + 834 pp. Calcutta 1947.

Excepting perhaps some volumes in the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, no other work has a greater referential value for a student of Indian literature in general and Sanskrit literature in particular than the monumental *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, Bands I-III, by M. Winternitz. But as it was in German it could not be of sufficient use in Indian Universities. The Calcutta University had the English translation of the first two volumes published under the supervision and with the revisions of Professor Winternitz himself. The Professor passed away when the English translation of the third volume had advanced but a little. Attempts to secure the supervision of some European scholars having failed, the University approached Dr. S. N. Dasgupta to undertake the work, but he proposed that, as the translation of Vol. III had not much advanced, 'it would be better to plan another work dealing with the subjects that form the content of Volume III of Professor Winternitz's work.' The title of the book also was changed into History of Sanskrit Literature, as 'Indian Literature' is too vast a subject to be taken up as a sort of appendage to the history of Sanskrit literature, as Professor Winternitz had done. As Dr. Dasgupta's hands were heavily occupied with other works, it was arranged that under his 'chief editorship within an Editorial Board the work should be done by contribution by the scholars of Bengal.' As a result of this arrangement we have here the Volume I dealing with Kāvya and Alamkāra; and Volume II is expected, according to the plan, to deal with other Technical Sciences, and also to include some residue of this volume received late, namely, 'some of the contributions, such as those on the Historical Kāvya, or the elements of literature in Inscriptions, or the Prākṛt literature,' though some general estimates of some of them have been taken in the first volume itself in the body of the book and in the Editorial Notes.

Thus the volume under review is the fruit, partly fulfilled of course, of a laudable attempt of a premier University of our land to replace, at least partly, if not to supersede, the Volume III of the *Geschichte* by Professor Winternitz through the co-operative efforts of learned Sanskritists from Bengal.

Judging this volume as a unit, the collaborators have not been able to give it a unified, compact and well trimmed appearance; and it stands as a contrast to Professor Winternitz's work which is a model of thoroughness and regulated planning. There is much repetition between their contributions; and even in basic chronological approach there is often disagreement. There is no doubt that possibly the entire contribution of Dr. De was there before the General Editor while he wrote his Introduction and Notes (see pp. xlvi, 57, 622, 178 l.; 689 etc.) in which the latter quotes from and refers to the former; but still he does not stand the temptation of discussing the very topics which Dr. De has already dealt with (see pp. lv, 21, lxxxii, 64; etc.) Dr. Dasgupta does not appear to have made up his mind on the date of Bhāmaha (see pp. 513, 528, 532-3); and his discussion about the date of Kālidāsa whom he assigns to 2nd or 1st B.C. (pp. 728, c.) lacks in that objective and judicious weighing of evidence and requisite courtesy for the theories of others which characterise Dr. De's discussion of the same topic (pp. 424 ff.). Whether we put Aśvaghoṣa or Kālidāsa earlier makes a world of difference in our values of estimating the evolution of Sanskrit ornate poetry. As Dr. De has aptly, if not curtly, remarked. 'To argue that Aśvaghoṣa is later than Kālidāsa is to presume, without sufficient reason, a retrogressive phase in literary evolution.' (p. 424).

As the contributions of the collaborators to this volume are like two parallel lines, it is advisable to evaluate their sections individually and separately. Dr. Dasgupta has surveyed certain topics in his Introduction with a wide mental horizon and remarkable sweep, and some of his observations, though partially true, strike a novel note and have a wider appeal. He has made a good case 'that the cause of the artificiality and unreality of the life depicted in the Kāvya is due to two facts: one, the gradual depletion of life from society due to the rigour of the Smṛti and absence of any intercourse with any foreign literature, and the other, the conservatism for which whatever foreign life was known to India could not in any way influence the character and perspective of the Indians'. (p. xl). Equally refreshing are his observations on the dis-

play of aesthetic conditions (pp. xlii f.). His range of information is often pretty wide, and facts from different places and times are easily brought together in one place; but one wonders what he intends to prove from statements like these: 'This shows that in Kālidāsa's time at least the Gāndharva marriage was going out of fashion. But in the story of *Vāsavadattā* in Bhāsa and also in *Avimārika*, it appears that no exception was taken to the Gāndharva marriage. But for the restriction by the Privy Council the law of Gāndharva marriage still holds according to Hindu Law. But as early as the story of Vilhaṇa we find that in spite of the provision of Hindu Law the Gāndharva form of marriage was not recognised by the society' (p. lxiii).

His survey of *Alaṅkāra* literature often takes the shape of enumeration (p. 534 etc.) and technical discussion. Some of his generalisations in discussing the principles of literary taste and criticism deserve a careful study and scrutiny.

His Editorial Notes stand much detached in the make-up of this volume. Mostly they are bibliographical, often repeating what is already covered in the earlier portion of the work. It would have been much better that some were absorbed in the body of the work, some of them preserved for the Second Volume, and taking into consideration what Dr. De has discussed in his contribution, some others were easily omitted.

Here and there one comes across some minor slips too which in a work like this deserve to be corrected earlier, otherwise they get perpetuated in subsequent writings of mediocore authors. It is good that the author himself withdrew his suggestion of deriving *alam* (in the word *alaṅkāra*) from Latin or Gk. *aurum*--gold, otherwise many would have welcomed it as a palatable proposal (see pp. 513, xi). On p. 533 we read thus: 'Though Kane holds the opposite view, Daṇḍin's work *Kāvyaḍarśa* is very popular and has many commentators.' There is some confusion; and the clause of Kane's opinion possibly refers to his view on the relative chronology of Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha (see p. 531). On pp. 656-7 we have a statement thus: 'The earliest form of text is what is found in the *Pārśvābhyudaya* by Jinadāsa, who wrote his *Samasyāpūraṇa* poem in the 9th century.' The name of the author of *Pārśvābhyudaya* is Jinasena; and there is no poem of his by name *Samasyāpūraṇa*.

Dr. De's contribution to this volume, History of Kāvya Literature, which covers pp. 1-512, is a self sufficient unit, thoughtfully planned and

brilliantly executed. His object cannot be expressed better than in his own words: 'But the aim of the present account is not to offer a mere antiquarian or statistical essay, not to record and discuss what has been said on Sanskrit literature (the value of which, however, is not and cannot be ignored), but to give, as concisely as possible, a systematic and literary account of the literature itself.' Sanskrit literature 'ranks legitimately as one of the great literatures of the world, to the appreciation of which broader historical and literary standards should be applied', special emphasis being 'laid upon the literary aspects of the problems, which have, so far, not received adequate attention'. (See p 1, foot-note). Dr. De admirably fulfils, throughout his contribution, the aim which he has in view.

In matters of format and selection and, at times, sequence of topics, Dr. De's discussions often remind us of Keith's two works in the field, namely, *Sanskrit Drama* and *A History of Sanskrit Literature*; but Dr. De is never mechanical and pattern-like in his presentation, and his approach to Sanskrit literature as a literary critic is attended with unique success. As a historian he has concisely portrayed the background and origin of Sanskrit poetry and drama. In dealing with authors and works he makes a choice of striking topics connected with them and discusses them with a characteristic freshness and in a persuasive tone. He makes his readers deeply interested in what interests himself more. In estimating the literary qualities of Aśvaghōṣa, in accepting this or that date for Kālidāsa, in evaluating the authenticity of the plays of Bhāsa etc., his observations are devoid of any prejudice for this or that theory; and he judiciously balances the evidence and presents his conclusions with a catholic poise, if necessary keeping the problem open almost as at the dawn of studies. As a literary connoisseur he has a firm grip on his subject and his estimate is most happily worded.

About the *Buddhacarita* he observes: 'The work is, therefore, not a bare recital of incident, nor is it a dry and dogmatic exposition of Buddhist doctrine, but the Buddha-legend is conceived in the spirit of the Kāvya in respect of narrative, diction and imagery, and the poet's flame of faith makes the best lines of the poem quiver with the needed glow.' (p. 74). About Aśvaghōṣa's poetry he adds thus: 'If his poetry has not the stress and discipline of chiselled beauty, it has the pliability and promise of unrefined form; it has the sincerity and throb, if not the perfectly ordered harmony, of full-grown music.' (p. 76). About Kālidāsa's

success he says: 'As a dramatist Kālidāsa succeeds, mainly by his poetic power, in two respects: he is a master of poetic emotion which he can skilfully harmonise with character and action, and he has the poetic sense of balance and restraint which a dramatist must show if he would win success.' (p. 135).

Thus all along, it may be in delineating the characters or in estimating the literary merits, Dr. De has an enchanting grace and literary flavour about his exposition; and one feels certain that the literary merits of Sanskrit literature can be better appreciated now through his able discussions.

The University of Calcutta, we hope, will see that the second volume is published soon, and the Editors would give it a more systematic, compact and well digested form.

A. N. UPADHYE

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Brahmavidya (Adyar Library Bulletin) vol. XIII, pt. 3

- P. K. GODE.—*Some Cultural Gleanings from the Jñānakāṇḍa of the Kāśyapasambhitā of the Vaikhānasa*. The *Jñānakāṇḍa* dealing with the Vaiṣṇava rituals of the ancient Vaikhānasa sect contains references to various grains (including *caṇaka*), flowers and castes and mentions *tāmbūla* as an offering for purifying breath (*mukhavāsa*), and *tulasī* as a sacred plant for worshipping Viṣṇu.
- K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.—*Bhāvabhaṭṭa*. Anuṣṭupcakravartin Bhāvabhaṭṭa was a musician author under the patronage of Mahataja Anup Singhji of Bikaner. His father was also a musician at Shah-jahan's court. Manuscripts of Bhāvabhaṭṭa's twelve works on music have been noticed here.
- A. N. SRINIVASA RAGHAVA AIYANGAR —*The Purāṇic Bhāratavaṛṣa*. The Purāṇic statements as interpreted by the author of the paper lead him to conclude that the appellation Bhāratavaṛṣa refers to 'the spiritually inclined Human World' and Bhaṭata Khaṇḍa to 'the body of a spiritually inclined individual.'
- JLAN FILLJOZAT.—*India and French Indology*.

Journal of the Annamalai University, vol. XIV (March, 1949)

- A. CHIDAMBARANATH CHETTIAR.—*The Dravidian Neuter Plural*
- SERIAL PUBLICATIONS.—The editing of the *Bhāvanāvivēka with Viyama-granthibhedikā* has been completed and that of the *Nyāyaparīśuddhi* and *Vidbioimarśa* continuing.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,
vol. 23 (1947)

- H. D. VALANKAR. — *Prākṛta and Apabhraṃśa Metres*.
- V. V. GOKHALE.—*Fragments from the Abhidharmasamuccaya of Asaṃga*. Eight fragments have been published from a rare manuscript of Asaṃga's *Abhidharmasamuccaya* which will be of special interest dealing, as they do, with philosophical speculations about the Pañca-skandhas, Ālayavijñāna, Pratītyasamutpāda, life after death, paths of salvation and the superiority of the Mahāyāna doctrine of the Vaipulya texts.

- D. D. KOSAMBI.—*Early Brahmins and Brahminism*. According to the writer of this paper, Brāhmiṇa means a follower or descendant of Brahmā and Brahminism a cult entirely pre-Aryan.
- B. M. BARUA AND PULIN BEHARI CHAKRAVARTI.—*The Saugar Plate of Trailokya Varman*. The Sanskrit texts of the copper-plate published here with English translation record a land-grant made in the early 13th century by Trailokyavarmadeva, the nineteenth ruler of the Chandel dynasty of Bundelkhand. The document supplies us with a missing link in the post Paramardi history of the Chandel family.
- A. S. BHANDARKAR.—*The Origin of the Pathare or Patane Prabhus*.
- G. V. DEVASTHALI.—*Alaṅkāra-tilaka of Bhānudatta*. Texts have been critically edited.

Ibid., vols. 24-25 (1948-1949)

- P. V. KANI.—*Varāhamihira and Utpala: their works and predecessors*. The great astronomer Varāhamihira and his commentator Utpala flourished in the 6th and 10th centuries respectively. The paper supplies information about their works and adds notes on the authors and treatises mentioned by them, particularly on those names which are connected with the subjects treated in their works.
- D. D. KOSAMBI.—*Chronological Order of Punch-marked Coins: A Re-examination of the Older Taxila Hoard*.
- H. D. VELANKAR.—*Prosodial Practice of Sanskrit Poets*. This is an analysis of the metres used in the works 'of some 28 Mahākavis in Sanskrit literature' flourishing between the 2nd century and 16th century A.C.

**Journal of Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute,
vol. X, part I, (Jan.-June, 1949)**

- N. SUBRAMANIA SASTRI.—*Libraries in Ancient and Medieval India*. The copying of sacred books is regarded in India as an act of merit. The practice of multiplication of copies and their distribution among the libraries on religious consideration was in vogue in ancient times. Manuscript Libraries grew at different institutions like the Universities of Dhānyakaṭaka, Nālandā and Vikramaśilā. The accounts left by the Chinese and Tibetan chroniclers give an idea of the Libraries of ancient India. After the destruction of some of the famous collections of books at Nālandā, Vikramaśilā and Odantapur by invaders, per-

haps a large number of Manuscripts was carried to Nepal and Tibet where they are still found. From the 11th century onwards, the Jain Bhandars began to develop at Pattan and Jessalmir, and a little later, the various Palace Libraries like the Sarasvatī Mahal Library of Tanjore and the Durbar Library of Nepal were established. The centres of learning such as the Maṭhas and other seats of religion also helped the formation of Manuscript Collections. That learned families and individuals had their own Libraries is evidenced from the later instances of the Payvur family of Kerala and Kavindrācārya Sarasvatī of Banaras.

- Manuscript Notices: संगतिसंग्रहः The *Samgatisaṅgraha* which is a Viśiṣṭādvaita treatise by one Raghunāthācārya of the Rāmānuja school interprets the aphorisms of the *Brahmasūtra*, topic by topic, indicating their appropriateness and consistency at every step.
- T. VIRARAGHAVACHARI.—वैशेषिकरमायनमहितं वैशेषिकदर्शनम्. The publication of the *Vaiśeṣikasūtras* with a new commentary continues with the seventh chapter completed in this issue.
- P. V. RAMANUJASWAMI.—*Laghuśabdārthasarvasva: A Sanskrit Encyclopedia in Manuscript*. Here are reproduced as specimens, the introductory verses of an Encyclopedia in Sanskrit compiled in the last century by Paravastu Venkata Rangachryalu Ayyavaralugaru of Vizagapatam as already noticed in a previous issue of the Journal.

**Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. XVIII, pt. 2,
(September, 1949)**

- H. D. VELANKAR.—*Hymns to Indra in Maṇḍala I*. Fifteen hymns in celebration of Indra occurring in the first Maṇḍala of the *R̥gveda* (I, 61-63; 80-84, 100-104, 121) have been rendered into English and annotated.
- G. V. DEVASTHALI.—*Jaimini and Śabara on Senses and Powers of Words*.
- K. KRISHNAMOORTHY.—*Ānandavardhana's Treatment of Dhvani in Relation to Bhakti, Guṇa, Doṣa, Saṅghaṭanā, Rīti and Vṛtti*.
- C. R. SANKARA AND B. CHAITANYADEVA.—*Postulational Methods and Indian Musicology*. This is a mathematical attempt to 'extend the application of postulational method from the domain of general linguistics and phonetic analysis to the domain of Indian Musicology' with reference mainly to the musical values of *tīvra madhyama* and the musical scale.

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