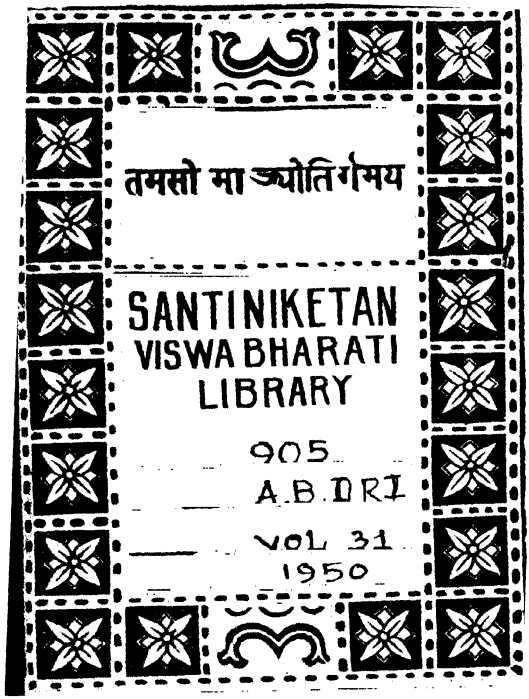

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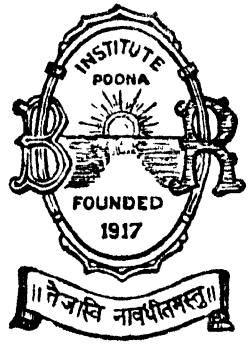
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EDITED BY

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VṚTRAHĀ INDRA

BY

R. N. DANDEKAR

Vedic mythology, as we generally know it from the *Ṛgveda* (*ṚV*), is clearly dominated by the personality of Indra. By far the largest number of *sūktas* — about 250 out of 1028 — are exclusively devoted to the glorification of this god. Apart from these *sūktas*, there are several others, wherein Indra is praised in association with other gods or is referred to in some other connection. Indra is thus obviously the most popular god of the Vedic pantheon. Even in later times he has been regarded almost as the very symbol of the official Vedic religion — the Indra-mythology being very nearly identified with the Vedic religion as a whole. It is true that Indra is celebrated in nearly one fourth of the *ṚV*, but this fact must not be taken to indicate, as is usually done, that the Vedic religion had all along been dominated by the Indra-mythology. Such an assumption, which is the result of studying the Vedic mythology as if it were a static phenomenon, would make it difficult rationally to correlate several mythical concepts in the Veda with the facts derived from the study of comparative philology, comparative mythology, anthropology, and the cultural history of the Aryans. A critical study of the Veda would show that the Vedic mythology is essentially an 'evolutionary' mythology; that, at different stages in the evolution of the Vedic mythological thought, it has been dominated by different Vedic

gods; and that the Indra-dominated mythology represents but a late stage in the course of that evolution. There is another aspect of this 'evolutionary' character of the Vedic mythology. It will be seen that the personality of a Vedic god normally presents a very complex picture. It often contains elements which are mutually inconsistent or sometimes even self-contradictory. This peculiar mythological phenomenon can be satisfactorily explained only on the assumption that a Vedic god possesses a 'growing' personality. With the different vicissitudes in Vedic life and culture, different elements came to be introduced into the personality of a Vedic god. In other words the dynamic character of the life of the Vedic people is faithfully reflected in the complex make-up of their gods. To emphasize only certain specific elements in a god's personality and thus try to define his character, one way or another, would, therefore, be unsound. What we have to do is to determine, in the light of the facts derived from the study of comparative philology, comparative mythology, anthropology and the cultural history of the Aryans, the priority of these varied elements, and thereby present, so to say, a complete history of the entire 'becoming' of a Vedic god. A study of the Vedic god, Indra, from the point of view of this two-fold evolutionary character of the Vedic mythology, would illumine several obscure points concerning the Vedic mythology in general and the personality of Indra in particular.

If we were to analyse the large number of the *RV*-passages referring to Indra and his activities, we would find that they present three main strands of the personality and character of that god. Indra is presented as a cosmic power; as a warlike leader of the Vedic Aryans; and as an ancient mythical dragon-killing hero. Most of the descriptions of Indra are centred round his war with and subsequent victory over Vṛtra. This is by far the most outstanding event in Indra's career. A proper understanding of this event would, therefore, serve as an adequate starting point for a critical study of Indra's personality and character. We may begin with an ancient traditional attempt at interpreting this contest between Indra and Vṛtra. Yāska, the author of the *Nirukta*, has posed the question: *ko vṛtraḥ*: who was Vṛtra?[1] He has mentioned

1 *Nirukta* II. 16.

two principal views regarding this question. It appears that, more or less by way of a *pūrvapakṣa*, he refers to the opinion of the Aitihāsikas, who believed that Vṛtra was a demon, a son of Tvaṣṭā. Without, however, caring to discuss and refute this view, Yāska states the view of the school of the Nairuktas, who held that Vṛtra represented a cloud.[1] This passage from the *Nirukta* would thus clearly show that, even since very early times, there have been two principal schools of interpretation of the Vedic mythology— the historical school, and the naturalistic school. The etymologists, among whom Yāska was the foremost, adhered to the naturalistic interpretation. The influence of the naturalistic school on Vedic studies in general has indeed been very great, and many scholars belonging to the earlier generation of modern Vedists accepted, without demur and almost as the final solution of the problem, the theory that the Vedic gods represented various powers of nature and that the Vedic mythology consisted of symbolical descriptions of various phenomena of nature. Incidentally, it may be pointed out that, among themselves, the naturalistic mythologists are not unanimous as to which specific power of nature a particular Vedic god represented. In pursuance of the naturalistic ideology, the Vedic gods are classified into three categories: those belonging to the sky, those belonging to the mid-region, and those belonging to the earth, in accordance with the cosmic regions where the powers of nature represented by those gods normally become evident.

The most dominant view, so far as the naturalistic interpretation of the Indra-mythology is concerned, is the one suggested by Yāska. His lead has been followed by a majority of the early Vedists of the modern times. Indra is said to be the personification of thunder-storm. He stands at the head of the gods of the *antarikṣa* and is verily the rain-god of the Vedic pantheon. The heavenly waters are obstructed by the cloud-demon, Vṛtra. Indra, therefore, smites down this cloud-demon by means of his *vajra* or thunderbolt, and releases the waters, which then flow down in the form of rain-showers. The various descriptions, in the *ṚV*, of the Indra-Vṛtra-battle are said to be clearly indicative of the phenomena of thun-

[1] As a matter of fact Yāska mentions the view of the Aitihāsikas after he has mentioned his own. In his commentary on the *ṚV*, Sāyaṇa consistently follows the Nairukta view. (*cf.* his comm. on II. 12.3; III. 33.6).

darkstorm, lightning, and rain. Heaven and earth tremble with fear when Indra strikes Vṛtra with his bolt (I. 80.11 ; II. 11.9, 10 ; VI. 17. 9). Trees are violently shaken and they bend as if in fear (I. 55.4 ; V. 32.10). As a matter of fact, everything trembles when this terrific war between Indra and Vṛtra takes place (VI. 31.2). The thundering god (X. 92.8) raises the dust on high (VI. 18.2). The demon, who obstructs the free flow of waters is variously referred to as Vṛtra, Ahi, Śambara, etc.[1] He lay hidden among the waters (II. 11.5), and Indra is said to have killed him while he was lying across the waters (II. 11.7). Sometimes Indra is said to have torn asunder the mountains and released the waters or cows imprisoned in its caves (I. 32.11 ; 57.6 ; III. 26.6 ; IV. 17.1 ; X. 89.7). This theme is repeated in one form or another in most of the hymns which celebrate Indra's glory (I.32 ; 80 ; II.12 ; 14). A Vedic poet, while proclaiming the heroic deeds of Indra, begins by pointing out that the first of such deeds was that the wielder of the *vajra* slew the dragon lying on the mountain, released the waters, and pierced the belly of the mountains (I. 32.1, 2). In support of their theory that Indra is the Vedic rain-god, scholars have emphasized the fact of his close association with the Maruts. The Maruts, according to them, are clearly the storm-divinities, who help Indra in his great exploit (III. 35.9 ; 47.3-4 ; VI. 17.11 ; VIII. 65.2-3 ; X. 113.3). Indra's connection with the Maruts is so close that the epithet, *marutvān*, is more or less exclusively applied to Indra.[2] It is in their company — and often with their help — that Indra accomplishes all his celestial exploits, particularly

[1] According to MUIR (*OST* V, 95), the demons of drought — the hostile powers in the atmosphere who malevolently shut up the watery treasures in clouds — are called by a variety of names such as Vṛtra, Ahi, Suṣṇa. DARMESTETER (*Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 97) calls Vṛtra 'l'enveloppant' while LUDWIG (III, 337) says that Vṛtra keeps away the heavenly waters from the world. PERRY (*JAOS* 11, pp. 117-205) is of the opinion that the different names for Vṛtra are but different names for one and the same thing, namely, the cloud. According to MAGOUN (*The Early Religion*, 106), the Ahi represents originally nothing more than the crest of the approaching thunderstorm looked upon as a gigantic snake.

[2] HILLEBRANDT (*VM* III, 312 ff.), however, believes that Indra's sphere of activity is diametrically opposed to that of the Maruts. He further points out that some Vedic families do not invoke Indra and the Maruts together.

his coercion of the evil spirits of air, who arrested rain, and the subsequent deliverance of the heavenly streams (I. 6.5 ; 80.4 ; 100 ; 101 ; 165 ; III. 47.3, 4 ; VIII. 65.2, 3, 4 ; X. 65). Vedists like ROTH (*PW*), OLDENBERG (*Rel. d. Veda*, 29, 51, 134 ff.),[1] MACDONELL (*VM*, 54 ff.), PERRY (*JAOS* 11, 117-205), and BLOOMFIELD (*JAOS* 15, 143), have asserted that the picture of the thunderstorm is throughout quite clear in all these and numerous other descriptions of this kind (I. 32.13 , 52.6 ; 80.12 ; II. 30.3 ; V. 32.4). They, therefore, hold that Indra was essentially a rain-god in the Veda.[2] In this connection, it is assumed that philologically the roots in the words, *indra* and *indu*, are related to each other, and that, as suggested by MAX MÜLLER[3] Indra

[1] OLDENBERG believes that Indra is a storm-god, who bears certain pre-Indian features.

[2] ROTH (*Zeller's Theologisches Jahrbuch* 1846, 352) was originally of the opinion that Indra was the god of the bright clear vault of heaven. He derived the name Indra from the root, *idh-indh*, and took it to mean the 'radiant one' (*ZDMG* 1847, 72 ff.). LASSEN (*Ind. Alter.* I, 893) adopted this view of ROTH, though the etymology of the word suggested by him was different from ROTH'S. As a matter of fact, Indra's close connection with the sky was assumed by several other scholars like BENFEY (*OO*, 48 ff.), MAX MÜLLER (*Letters on Science of Language* II, 470), GRASSMANN (*Wb ṚV*), and MYRIANTHEUS (*Die Aśvins*, xvi). BENFEY regarded him as the god of the rain-sky, while MAX MÜLLER held that the real representative of Jupiter, in the Veda, was not Dyaus but Indra. According to that scholar and MUIR (*OST* V, 77) Indra was to be identified with Jupiter Pluvius. Later on, however, MAX MÜLLER calls Indra the chief solar deity of India (*Chips* II. 91). It has been pointed out by PERRY (*op. cit.*) that Indra cannot be regarded as a deity of the sky. He is essentially the deity of the mid-region. According to Yāska, Sūrya is the god in the sky. Indra (or Vāyu) in the *antarikṣa*, and Agni upon the earth. PERRY further suggests that, among all Indo-European mythologies, this division of the universe into three regions is peculiar to the Vedic mythology. The original functions of Dyaus, as conqueror of cloud demons, were, according to him, transferred by the Indians to another god, namely Indra, who was a specifically Indian divinity. This gave rise to Indra's supposed identification with the sky. The theory about Indra being a sky-god has, however, not found much favour with the later Vedists, even though they accepted the naturalistic interpretation of the Vedic mythology. There are indeed only two most popular variations of the naturalistic interpretation of the Indra-mythology — namely, to view Indra either as a rain-god or as a sun-god. Only these two, therefore, have been discussed at some length in this paper.

[3] *Chips*, New Ed. IV, 396. Also MACDONELL, *VM*, 66.

may have thus been associated with drops of rain-water.[1] It has been further suggested by some of the scholars mentioned above that there was a two-fold development of this basic character of Indra. On the one hand, from a mere god of thunderstorm, he was elevated to the position of an all-god — of the creator and director of the entire universe (I. 52.14 ; II. 30.1 ; IV. 30.22 ; VIII. 85.6 ; X. 54.5) ; and on the other, the Vedic poets brought about the humanization of Indra's divine and cosmic person and described him as a human hero and war-lord (I. 10.3 ; 130.8 ; IV. 26.3 ; VI. 18·3 ; VIII. 14.5, 24, 27 ; X. 49.2).

Let us critically examine the theory that Indra is the rain-god in the Veda. It must be mentioned, at the very outset, that there undoubtedly are, in the personality of Indra as represented in the *ṚV*, a large number of elements of the character of a rain-god. But we may ask : can these elements be said to be the basic elements in Indra's character ? And, secondly, can these elements alone be said to indicate the entire personality and character of that god ? A minute and careful consideration of the descriptions in the *ṚV* of the Indra-Vṛtra-contest brings out some significant facts in this connection. It will be seen that, in all such descriptions, the words like 'thunder', 'cloud', 'lightning', 'rain', etc., seldom occur directly. The waters, which Indra is credited with having released and let flow, are often terrestrial, rather than celestial, waters. The terms, which are frequently used in these passages, are 'thunderbolt', 'mountain', 'fortresses', 'cows', 'light', 'waters', etc. One would, therefore, be justified in asking whether the main intention of the Vedic poets could have really been to suggest the phenomena of thunderstorm and rain through the symbolism of the Indra-Vṛtra-war[2]. The occurrence, in the

[1] Some scholars suggest that *indu* may rather indicate the drops of Soma of which Indra is so fond. BENFEY seems to connect the word, *indra*, with the root, *syand*. ROTH, giving up his original suggestion, derived it from the root *in-inv* (= to press, to urge) with suffix *ra* for *nomina agentis* and the addition of euphonic *d*. Indra thus means one who urges on or presses forward (the rain-water ?).

[2] Even OLDENBERG holds (*R. d. V.*, 140) that the 'mountains' mentioned in the Indra-Vṛtra-conflict are not to be understood symbolically as clouds, but that, for the Vedic poet, they were real mountains. So too the rivers were not celestial waters but actual rivers on the earth, particularly Vipāś and Śutudrī.

ṚV, of poetic symbolism is, it may be pointed out, quite understandable. But at least once in a while we should have come across Vedic passages which are unequivocably indicative of the phenomenon of rain. Indeed BERGAIGNE seems to be right when he suggests[1] that there is, in the *ṚV*, no clear mention of Indra's being responsible for the rain-fall[2]. The symbolism of *vajra*, *parvata*, *pur*, *gaṷ*, etc., can be interpreted — and this, more or less satisfactorily — in several ways. As a matter of fact it is actually interpreted variously. It is verily difficult to understand why the Vedic poets should have described the basic character and exploits of their principal god in such vague and indefinite terms.

The identification of Indra with the rain-god is based on some other identifications, which seem to be taken for granted. Indra's *vajra*, for instance, is understood to be the regular mythological name for lightning. But do the Vedic passages referring to *vajra* support such an exclusive assumption ? The *vajra* is generally described as *ayasa* or metallic (I. 52.8 ; 57.2). It is said to be four-angled (IV. 22.2), hundred-angled (IV. 17.10), hundred-jointed (VIII. 6.6), and thousand-pointed (I. 80.12). It is sharp (VII. 18.18), and Indra whets it like a knife (I. 130.4 ; 55.1). Such descriptions are too specific to be regarded as symbolically indicative of lightning. Moreover, though *vajra* is Indra's special weapon, it is not the only weapon which he uses. He is sometimes described as being armed with a bow and arrows (VIII. 45.4 ; 66.6, 11 ; X. 103.2-3), or as carrying *aṅkuśa* (X. 44.9). These latter descriptions can hardly be said to fit in with the rain-god-theory[3]. Another equation, on which the rain-god-theory is based, is that Vṛtra is the cloud-demon. Several objections can be raised against this equation. To begin with, it may be pointed out that the word

[1] *RV* II, 185.

[2] According to GRUPPE (as quoted by HOPKINS, *JAOS* 36, 255), it was actually open to question whether Indra to the Vedic poets themselves was a deity who gave rain. HILLEBRANDT has pointed out (*VM* III, 165) that Indra can be said to have been mentioned clearly as the giver of rains only in 6 passages in the *ṚV*. These passages form but an insignificant minority against those which speak of the deliverance of waters in general.

[3] HILLEBRANDT has rightly pointed out (*VM* III, 165) that the *vajra* need not be necessarily regarded as the distinctive characteristic of a storm-god.

vərəθra occurs frequently in the *Avesta*. That that word is philologically the ancient Iranian cognate of the Vedic word *vṛtra* is beyond any shade of doubt. In a subsequent part of this paper, we shall have to consider the word *vṛtra* in all its aspects. In the present context, however, it may be pointed out that, in the *Avesta*, the word *vərəθra* does not signify a cloud-demon even remotely. Further, in the *Avesta*, we come across a god called Vṛthragna, but he is in no way connected with the rains.[1] Again, supposing that Indra was the rain-god in the Vedic mythology, no rational explanation can be given of the fact that Andra, who is obviously the ancient Iranian counterpart of Indra, is represented, in the *Avesta*, as an obnoxious demon. Why should a mere rain-god of the Veda have been transformed into the third worst devil in the Iranian mythology ?

In the descriptions of the Indra-Vṛtra-contest the Vedic poets have frequently used certain words and idioms in a more or less technical sense, such as, for instance, *api+dhā*, *gras*, *badh*, *rudh*, *vṛ*, *stabh*, *pari+sthā*, etc. HILLEBRANDT has made a critical and analytical study of all such words and has come to the conclusion that they do not fit in well with the phenomenon of rain.[2] It will be thus seen that the descriptions, in the *RV*, of the Indra-Vṛtra-contest are such as do not warrant the assumption that they indicate, primarily and unequivocably, the phenomenon of rain. Even if the symbolism in those descriptions were to be considered from the naturalistic point of view, it may be possible to interpret it in terms of some other natural phenomena as well. It does not, therefore, stand to reason to suggest, on the strength of such indefinite evidence, that Indra was basically a rain-god.

There is another significant point to be noted in this connection. In the Vedic mythology there are three divinities, which are more or less closely connected with the phenomenon of rains : Trita Āptya, Parjanya, and Indra. From among these three, Indra seems to be later than the other two. As a matter of fact, Indra seems to have been added to the Vedic pantheon later than

[1] According to SPIEGEL (*Arische Periode*, 197), the regular rain-god of the ancient Iranian mythology is Tištar.

[2] *VM* III, 174-75.

many other gods. The tradition preserved in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (II. 2.3.3 ; II. 2.7.2), namely, that Prajāpati created all gods but not Indra, and that Indra was later generated among them as a new power is highly significant in this connection. Indra is referred to in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (II. 3.4.2) as *devānām anujāvaraḥ*. Under these circumstances a question may occur: why did the Vedic poets feel the necessity of creating a new rain-god when they already had two in their pantheon. If, on the other hand, it were suggested, for the sake of argument, that the concept of Indra is earlier than that of either Parjanya or Trita Āptya, it may still be asked, and, perhaps, with greater relevance, why the latter two apparently subsidiary rain-divinities should have been thought of by the Vedic mythologist when already there existed, in the Vedic pantheon, a very prominent rain-god, namely, Indra. As regards Parjanya, it might be argued that between Indra and Parjanya there is no absolute similarity. For, while Parjanya is the rain itself, Indra represents the rain-giving god. [1] No such distinction can be made between Indra and Trita Āptya. The character of Parjanya, in the Veda, is quite transparent; but that of Trita Āptya is rather vague and obscure.

There are, in the *ṚV*, forty passages which refer to Trita Āptya, and, taken collectively, they seem to indicate, albeit vaguely, that god's connexion with atmospheric waters. For instance, it is said that when the mighty Maruts go forth, Trita thunders, and waters roar wandering in their course (V. 54.2). [2] Such a connexion can be confirmed also by an etymological consideration of the name-Āptya.[3]

[1] It may, however, be incidentally pointed out that the magic charms for the bringing of rain are predominantly addressed to gods other than Indra.

[2] MACDONELL (*JRAS* 1893, 419 ff.) has tried to show that Trita Āptya represents the third form of Agni. He is, according to him, the divinity of lightning. The peculiar relationship between Indra and Trita cannot, however, be adequately accounted for if MACDONELL'S view were to be accepted. Moreover in V. 54·2, Trita is clearly distinguished from lightning. Also *cf.* M. FOWLER, *JAOS* 67, 59-60. BLOOMFIELD (*JAOS* XVI, cxix) regards Trita as scapegoat of gods.

[3] Obviously, the word *āptya* is philologically connected with *āp* (= water). GÜNTERT, however, tries to connect it, not very convincingly, with *āpiḥ* and interprets it as 'friend' (*Weltkönig und Heiland*, 33). K. RÖNNOW (*Trita Āptya*: *Eine vedische Gottheit*. Uppsala 1927) holds that the original form of Trita's name was *Trīto—*. He has dealt, in great detail, with Trita's character as a spirit of the waters, lustratory genius, dragon-slayer, and the brewer and dispenser of Soma.

In the *RV*, Trita sometimes appears in the special capacity of a preparer of Soma (II. 11.20 ; IX. 32.2 ; 34.4 ; 38.2 ; 102.2). This secondary trait accruing to him must have obviously been the extension of his primary character, namely, that of the bringer of rains.[1] A critical examination of the *RV*-passages referring to Trita brings forth an illuminating set of facts so far as his relations with Indra are concerned. Though, in some passages, he appears as almost identical with Indra so far as his activities in connection with the rain-phenomenon are concerned (I. 187.1 ; VIII. 7.24), there is absolutely no doubt that Indra and Trita were distinct personalities. Again, it would become quite clear that though Indra also is called Āptya (X. 120.6), Trita must have been the original Āptya. The earlier occurrence in the *Avesta* of the ancient Iranian counterpart of the latter, namely, Thrita, than that of Indra is indeed a significant point of evidence in this connection[2]. But a still more significant piece of evidence is *RV* I. 52.5, where Indra is described as having performed the feat of conquering the rain-stealers *in the manner of Trita*. This passage clearly shows that the function of overcoming the cloud-demons and releasing the celestial waters originally belonged to Trita, while, later on, Indra stepped into the shoes of that original Aryan rain-god and imitated him in the exploit of bringing rains. Trita's victory over the rain-stealers must have been regarded as so primary and characteristic an achievement of his as to be mentioned as an illustration (I. 52.4–5 ; V. 86.1).

Three distinct stages may be marked in the development of the rain-god-mythology in the Veda. The Vedic poets must have originally glorified the rain-god of their Aryan ancestors, namely, Trita Āptya. This god thus found a place in the mythologies of both the branches of the Aryans, namely, the ancient Iranians and the Vedic Indians. Later on, as the result of some peculiar mythological development among the latter, a new god

[1] The ancient Aryan clans, who had specialised themselves in the preparation of Soma (Haoma), may have, later on, been named the Āptyas (Āthwyas).

[2] The counterpart of Indra namely Andra appears in the *Avesta* at a later stage, and that too as a demon. In the *Avesta*, the personality of the Aryan Trita is, so to say, split up into two. As Thrita, he is connected with the preparation of Haoma, while, as Thraetaona, he slays the fiendish dragon (Azi Dahāka).

came to be regarded as the rain-god in the Vedic mythology. That god was Indra. But even after Indra's celebration as a rain-god, in the *ṚV*, the original Aryan rain-god was not altogether forgotten. As shown above, Indra was described as imitating Trita in his feat of conquering the rain-stealers (I. 52.5). There are, however, unmistakable indications in the *ṚV* that Indra was gradually superseding the original rain-god. Whenever Trita appears with Indra, the former is clearly represented as the subordinate of the latter (II. 11. 19-20 ; VIII. 12.16 ; X. 8.7-8 ; 99.6).[1] Moreover a large number of Vedic passages referring to Trita are such as would suggest that that god had been slowly but surely sinking into oblivion. He is never presented in clear and life-like form, but is mentioned in cursory allusions. Trita is said to be dwelling in the farthest distance (I. 105.9 ; VIII. 47. 13-17), because, as ROTH rightly points out[2], he had gradually become more and more obliterated from memory[3]. The fact that Trita is not at all mentioned in certain *maṇḍala*s, such as, the second, the fourth, and the seventh — particularly, the seventh — is also highly significant in this context[4]. This subordination of Trita by Indra represents the second stage in the evolution of the Vedic rain-god-mythology. In the last stage, Trita, who was the original Aryan god of storm and rain, indeed older than Indra, was completely shelved into the background as the result of the growing popularity of Indra as the rain-god. It is suggested[5] that dim reminiscence of Trita's vanished glory and an allusion to his final subordination may be lurking in II. 34.10. Trita is there said to have been given over to the derision of the worshipper. All this discussion will have now made it amply clear that Indra was not the original rain-god of the Veda,

[1] If closely studied, such passages seem to show that Trita and Indra have been connected with each other artificially and rather as the result of a purposeful afterthought. KOSAMBI says ("Origin of Brahmin Gotras", *JBBRAS* 26, p. 64): 'Knowing what we now do of the Aryan invasion, it seems plausible that Trita is Indra or one of the invading Aryan chiefs, later collectively deified under the title of Indra'.

[2] 'Die Sage von Feridun', *ZDMG* II, 221.

[3] The few *Atharvaveda* passages referring to Trita also suggest the idea of a remote god.

[4] It is not unlikely that there were originally quite a large number of Vedic *mantras* celebrating Trita; but they were not all preserved owing to the definitely deteriorating position of that god.

[5] E. D. PERRY. Indra in the Rig-Veda. *JAOS* 11, 117 ff.

and that, as the result of some peculiar mythological development, the character of a rain-god must have been superimposed on his primarily different personality. It may be incidentally pointed out, in this connection, that the line of contact between the Indo-European stormgods on the one hand and Vedic Indra on the other is nowhere distinct or even provable.

It should be further remembered that Indra is a god, who originated and grew specifically among the Vedic Aryans. If it were to be supposed that he had been a rain-god from the very beginning, it would be difficult satisfactorily to explain why the Vedic poets should have created a new rain-god of a specifically Indian origin. Moreover, the facts that Indra was elevated to the position of the national god of the Vedic Indians and that he came to be regarded as the true symbol of their official religion cannot be adequately accounted for on the assumption that Indra's basic character was that of a rain-god. Why should a rain-god have been raised to that position in India, but not elsewhere? There is one more point, which definitely goes against the assumption of Indra's basic character as a rain-god. As a matter of fact, that point can be raised, with equal relevance, against all naturalistic interpretations of the Indra-mythology. A more or less detailed reference will have to be made, in a subsequent part of this paper, to the human character of Indra as presented in certain passages of the Veda. A careful study of such passages would at once convince one that they cannot have been the result of the humanization of an originally naturalistic divinity. Some details of the human aspect of Indra's personality, such as the mysterious manner of his birth, his assuming various forms, his peculiar interest in the welfare of unmarried girls, his great fondness for the intoxicating beverage, Soma, which is sometimes made fun of by the Vedic poets, and several others, which will be mentioned later, are so realistic and intimate that it would be difficult to believe that they are artificially superimposed on Indra's original character as a rain-god by the fancy of the Vedic poets. We have, therefore, to conclude that, though there are, in the personality of Indra as presented in the *RV*, certain elements normally belonging to the rain-god-mythology, these elements cannot be said to represent either the primary or the exclusive traits of his basic character.

HILLEBRANDT has interpreted the Indra-Vṛtra-war in quite a different light — though, again, mainly from the naturalistic point of view[1]. He had originally adopted the popular view that Indra is the rain-god of the Vedic pantheon. Later on, however, on a closer examination of the literature (both Vedic and post-Vedic) and ritual relating to Indra, he found it necessary to revise his views more or less radically. As indicated elsewhere, he started by critically studying the words and idioms, such as *api+dhā*, *bādh*, *vṛdh*, *vṛ*, etc., which are frequently used in the descriptions of the evil deeds of Vṛtra, from which Indra is said to have brought about deliverance. These words and idioms, according to him, cannot be understood to refer, even remotely, to the phenomenon of rain. Again, the *parvatas* (or *adri*, *aśman*), which also are often referred to in that context, do not signify the clouds[2]. As a matter of fact, clouds are distinguished from the *parvatas*, for, it has been said that the wings of the *parvatas* were cut off and that those wings became clouds. And, why should clouds have been regarded as demons? In Indian literature, generally a cloud is hailed as the bringer of rains and not condemned as the obstructor of celestial waters. HILLEBRANDT has, therefore, suggested that the waters obstructed by Vṛtra were not the celestial rain-waters, but that they were actually the streams of earthly rivers. According to him, the evolution of the Vedic mythology is not necessarily restricted to the geographical limits of India. He further points out that, so far as the Indra-Vṛtra-legend is concerned, there is sufficient ground to assume that, in its original form, that legend was not indigenous to India, but that it was carried by the Vedic people from outside India to their new home. The season, in which Vṛtra is described as lying on the mountains, cannot be the summer. In that season, the waters are not locked up; on the other hand, the rivers are in spate as the result of the melting of the glaciers in the North-Western mountains.

In the opinion of HILLEBRANDT, Vṛtra is the winter-demon, who locks up the flow of the river-streams. At the advent of the spring, Indra, that is to say, the sun-god, overpowers Vṛtra, the winter-demon, and releases the waters. It is the winter — and

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1 *VM* III, 1902, pp. 155-344.

2 HILLEBRANDT also points to the significant absence, in those descriptions, of such unequivocal terms as *abhra*, *megha*, etc.

not cloud — which is universally regarded as the obstructor of waters.[1] In the winter, the streams in the North-Western region dwindle away. But as the mountain-snows melt, on the approach of the Indian summer, followed by the rainy season, the waters rise and overflow the surrounding country.[2] In support of his theory that Indra was primarily the sun-god, who conquered the winter-demon, Vṛtra, and thereby released the locked-up waters, HILLEBRANDT has tried to adduce much evidence. In the frequent allusions to Vṛtra as *śayāna* (sleeping), he finds a suggestion of the winter representing the 'sleep of nature'. In the *Atharvaveda* (III. 10.12), Ekāṣṭakā, that is, the new-year's night, is said to be the mother of Indra, thus implying that Indra is the symbol of the advent of the new year, that is, of the spring. One of the demons, killed by Indra, is called Rauhiṇa. This may be but one of the many names by which Vṛtra is referred to in the Veda. HILLEBRANDT interprets Rauhiṇa as the moon, and confirms the identification of Vṛtra with the winter by pointing out that the moon is the lord of the winter. Coming to the Vedic ritual, HILLEBRANDT emphasizes the facts that the mid-day oblation (*madhyāhna-savana*) is normally offered to Indra (because he is the sun-god)[3] and that Indra is associated with *grīṣma*.[4]

A careful examination of the evidence, adduced by the sponsors of the rain-god – thery and the sun-god – theory in support of their respective theories, would seem to show that these theories cancel each other. Broadly speaking, most of the objections raised against the first naturalistic interpretation of the Indra-mythology, which has been discussed above, can, with equal validity, be raised against this second naturalistic interpretation as well. It may be pointed out, for instance, that Vṛtra's counterpart in the *Avesta* does not signify the winter-demon even remotely. What, again,

[1] HILLEBRANDT has supported this statement by means of several quotations from ancient and modern literature.

[2] *cf.* HUNTER, *Atlas of India*, p. 7, as quoted by HILLEBRANDT. HILLEBRANDT also quotes from *Arrian*, Anab. V. 9.4 ; BALFOUR, *Cycl. Ind.* s. v. Indus ; THORNTON, *Memoir on maps illustrating the ancient geography of Kāśmīr*, p. 99. etc.

[3] *cf. Śatapatha Br.* II. 4.4.13-13.

[4] *MS* II. 7.20 ; *TS* II. 1.3.5 ; *ŚPB* XIII. 5.4.28.

is the *vajra* of the sun-god ?[1] If Indra were originally a sun-god belonging, as HILLEBRANDT suggests, particularly to the pre-Indian Vedic mythology, no satisfactory explanation can be given as to why he should have been condemned to the position of a demon in the ancient Iranian mythology. Further, there was already, in the Vedic pantheon, one sun-god, namely, Sūrya. What could have been the specific reasons for introducing a new sun-god ? As a matter of fact, Indra and the sun are often mentioned side by side thus indicating their distinct personalities (I. 32.4 ; 51.4 ; II. 12.7 ; III. 31.15 ; VI. 17.3 ; 21.3 ; VIII. 12.30 ; X. 171.4). Again, the elevation of a solar divinity to the supreme position in the Vedic pantheon cannot be adequately accounted for.

The descriptions, in the *RV*, of the Indra-Vṛtra-battle are such as produce the impression that that battle must have been particularly violent and fearful (I. 80.11 ; II. 11.9-10 ; VI. 17.9). In overpowering Vṛtra, his vanquisher, Indra, had to perform enormously terrific feats (I. 32.5 ; 57.6 ; 80.14). Such descriptions would appear quite incongruous when related to the spring-time sun. At the advent of the spring, the sun appears as a particularly life-giving and energising power rather than as a fearful giant. Further, it is to be seriously doubted whether the phenomenon of the dwindling away of rivers in the winter, even in the regions mentioned by HILLEBRANDT, was actually so very common and significant in the life of the Vedic people as to be made the central theme of the mythology relating to their greatest god. The idea of glaciers, etc., which are supposed to be locking up the waters of the rivers, is nowhere unequivocally presented in the *RV*. HILLEBRANDT's suggestions that Rauhiṇa, as the moon, is the lord of the winter and thus represents the winter-demon killed by Indra, and that the references to *śayāna* Vṛtra may poetically signify the 'sleep of nature' (that is, the winter) are obviously too far-fetched. Nor need much weight be attached to the facts that the *mādhyāhna-savaṇa* is assigned to Indra or that Indra is associated with the *gṛṣma*. Firstly, such assignments and associations are, more than anything else, the result of ritualistic schematism. And, secondly,

[1] As pointed out by HOPKINS (*JAOS* 36, 242 ff), the use of stone and metal as synonymous with Indra's missile bar out the suggestion that his normal weapon might be the burning sun-beams.

if HILLEBRANDT's theory were to be accepted, Indra should have been connected with the *vasanta* rather than the *grīṣma*. Other features of the Indra-mythology, particularly Indra's close association with the Maruts and his proverbial fondness for the intoxicating beverage, would not fit in well with the sun-god-theory. The human elements in Indra's character are, as indicated above, too vital and realistic to be regarded merely as the result of anthropomorphic tendencies. It is, therefore, difficult to accept HILLEBRANDT's theory that Indra originally represented the sun-god[1].

[1] Several other variations of the solar theory have been proposed by scholars. MAX MÜLLER, for instance, sees in the Indra-Vṛtra-myth the symbolical description of the daily triumph of light over darkness (*Contribution to the Science of Mythology* I, pp. 141-42). It may be recalled that he identified Indra also with Jupiter Pluvius (*Letters on the Science of Language* ii, 470). He believes that Vṛtra is primarily the demon of darkness and that the vascillating of poetic imagery between dark night and dark cloud would be quite in keeping with the Vedic myth-making. B. G. TILAK (*Arctic Home*, 233 ff.), who propounded the theory that Vedic mythology, as a whole, can be best understood only by relating it to the natural phenomena observable in the Arctic region, saw in Indra the sun-god, who overpowered the demon of darkness who dominated that region continuously for some months. V. A. GADGIL suggests (*ABORI* XXIII, pp. 134 ff.) that Indra and Varuṇa represent the two aspects of the central Vedic concept of *ṛta*, Varuṇa, according to him, is the representative of the passive moral principle while Indra is the representative of the highest physical aspect of nature. GADGIL further suggests that the concept underlying the Indra-Vṛtra-myth is the eternal conflict between *tejas* and *tamas*. It may be pointed out that GADGIL'S interpretation, besides not being supported by Vedic evidence, is far too abstract. It is indeed doubtful whether Vedic poets ever made a clear-cut distinction between the physical and the non-physical aspects of nature. More or less the same thing can be said about the theory of FATEH SINGH (*JBHU* 5), who sees in Indra the deity of universal light and energy. He interprets the myth of Indra's birth through the side of his mother as representing the first light of dawn which is visible in a circular way. R. SHAMA SASTRI (*B. C. Law Comm. Vol.* I, 277-281) connects the Vedic mythology with astronomical bodies and phenomena. According to him, Indra is the sun fighting with the eclipse-demon. Śambara, he explains (*Thomas Comm. Vol.*, 257-61), is an eclipse-demon of the type of Rāhu and Indra's battle with him represents a slow clearance of the eclipse. A reference may, in passing, be made also to the theory put forth by P. C. SENGUPTA ("When Indra became *maghavan*", *JASBL* IV, 445 ff.) that Indra was the god of the summer solstice. Indra became *maghavan* when the sun at the summer solstice reaches the *maghā* constellation. According to SENGUPTA, this happened in 4170 B. C. He further identifies *aśleṣā* with *ahi* and suggests that *ahi* means the clouds which were seen in the sky from the rising of *aśleṣā* which did not yield rain till the rising of *maghā*.

As a matter of fact, that scholar himself could not altogether overlook the fact that the elements relating to the phenomenon of rain are sufficiently prominent in Indra's personality. He, therefore, concluded that Indra was originally the sun, but, in the *ṚV*, is no longer the sun-god, while not yet a rain-god[1]. For, as he points out, the six passages in the *ṚV*, which unequivocally refer to Indra as giver of rains, occur in the fourth, the eighth, and the tenth *maṇḍalas*, which fact would indicate, according to him, that the character of Indra as rain-god was still not established in the Ṛgvedic times. HILLEBRANDT, however, does not seem to have taken into account the fact that several descriptions of the Indra-Vṛtra-fight in the *ṚV*[2] though not necessarily indicative of Indra's essential character as rain-god, do indirectly imply the phenomenon of storm and rain. Those descriptions may not — and, as shown above, do not — prove that Indra was primarily a rain-god. But they do certainly indicate that, among the naturalistic elements superimposed on Indra's original character, those normally connected with a rain-god are more prominent.

The foregoing discussion of the two principal naturalistic interpretations of the Indra-mythology will have made it amply clear that the naturalistic or cosmic elements could not have been either the basic or the primary elements in Indra's character[3]. They clearly produce the impression of having been superimposed on the original personality of that god. Our aim will, therefore, be, firstly, to find out what the original character of Indra must have been, and, secondly, to describe and rationally account for the

[1] *VM* III, 195–96. *cf.* HOPKINS, *op. cit.*

[2] OLDENBERG has shown (*NG* 115) that the theme of the Indra-Vṛtra-fight is treated in all the *maṇḍalas* of the *ṚV*.

[3] The very significant remarks made in this connection by HOPKINS (*Religions of India*, p. 91) may be quoted here with advantage. HOPKINS says: "..... Indra has been identified with 'storm', with the 'sky', with the 'year'; also with the 'sun' and with 'fire' in general. But if he be taken as he is found in the hymns, it will be noticed at once that he is too 'stormy' to be the sun; too 'luminous' to be the storm: too near to the phenomena of the monsoon to be the year or the sky; too 'rainy' to be fire; too alien from every one thing to be any one thing ....."

circumstances under which the cosmic elements must have been superimposed on his personality[1].

One thing which would strike even a casual student of the Indra-mythology is the fact that in no other god of the Vedic pantheon are the features of human appearance (*ākṛti*) and character (*prakṛti*) so conspicuously prominent as in Indra. A closer examination of the descriptions of Indra's person and character would further convince one that so plastic a figure as his and so essentially human a behaviour as is attributed to him cannot be considered to have been the result of mere anthropomorphism. It may be pointed

[1] Some other theories regarding the basic character and personality of Indra have also been put forth by scholars. HOPKINS, for instance, believes that Indra was originally a god of fertility (*JAOS* 36, pp. 242 ff.). In support of his theory, that scholar has adduced evidence from the epic, post-Vedic, and Vedic sources. In the epics, Indra is called *pākaśāsana* (= crop-controller?), and the festival of Indra is always associated with harvest and fertility rather than with victory. In the *Pāraskara GS* (II. 17.9), Indra's wife is said to be Sītā, that is, personified furrow. Indra figures as the foremost among the gods worshipped at the ceremony of first starting the ploughs (*cf. Gobhila GS* IV. 4.28). In *AV* 4.4.4, Indra is said to be responsible for putting virility in the *oṣadhis*. Indra is described in the *RV* as *urvarāpati*; he wins the tilth, is lord of tilth, as he is lord of cattle (II. 21.6; VI. 60.1; VIII. 21.3). Such references, according to HOPKINS, indicate that Indra was first celebrated as a demon of fertility. He was then accepted as the chief war-god among two or three clans. (HOPKINS has elsewhere — *JAOS* 37, 83 ff. — tried to show that the combination of gods of war and fertility is not uncommon). From a war-god he was later on elevated to be the greatest god of the larger group of clans. Without examining, in detail, the views of HOPKINS, we may only point out that several of the objections raised against the rain-god-theory or the sun-god-theory can be raised, with equal appositeness, against the fertility-god-theory as well. The references to this aspect of Indra's character are clearly secondary and incidental. It is not unlikely that the hints regarding the power of fertility possessed by Indra are due to the combination of the elements of the rain-god and the sun-god, which were superimposed on his personality. It is well known that the sun and the rain together cause fertility.

One great draw-back of the naturalistic and similar other interpretations is that their sponsors seem to view Vedic mythology as if it were a static phenomenon. They forget that, in consonance with the various vicissitudes in the Vedic way of life and thought, there must have been inevitably effected significant modifications in the Vedic mythology as well. Therefore to emphasize only one aspect of the personality of a Vedic god without taking into account the other aspects and thereby try to determine the basic character of that god is bound to prove a faulty procedure. It would lead but to a partial picture of the personality of that god.

out that, as against the vague and indefinite naturalistic elements, the human features in Indra's personality are so realistic and life-like, that one feels inclined unhesitatingly to accept the latter as more basic and essential. Indra's body, head, arms, and hands are very often referred to (II. 16.2 ; VIII. 85.3). He is said to be golden in colour (I. 7.2). His body is gigantic ; his neck mighty ; and his back brawny. His arms are sleek, and his hands thick and firm — both right and left — being particularly well-shaped (I. 80.5 ; 102.6 ; IV. 21.9 ; VI. 19.3 ; VIII. 70.1). He has handsome cheeks (or lips), and is, therefore, often called *suśipra* (II. 12.6 ; 33.5), *śiprin* (I. 29.2 ; III 36.10), or *śipravān* (VI. 17.2). He is tawny-haired (X. 96.5,8) and tawny-bearded (X. 23.4). These and several other similar descriptions of Indra's person unmistakably produce before our mind's eye a very life-like picture of a tall, strong, well-formed, handsome, blonde Aryan. Far more life-like, however, are the descriptions of some peculiar physical mannerisms of that god. He agitates his jaws (VIII. 65.10), or puffs out his beautiful lips (III. 32.1), in a characteristic fashion, in anticipation of or after the Soma-draught. Once he is described— very realistically, indeed — as shaking off the drops of Soma from the moustaches (II. 11.17). There are references to another peculiar movement of the upper lip, and to the shaking of the beard (X. 23.1 ; 26.7). Such characteristic physical traits and mannerisms must necessarily be distinguished from the very general human traits attributed to a god as the result of the normal anthropomorphic tendencies. Indra's appearance and mannerisms are so very individualistic, that they seem to have been derived from a specific human person.

Another peculiarity, which clearly distinguishes Indra from other major gods of the Veda, is the fact that he is frequently referred to as having been born. Two entire hymns, namely, III. 48 and IV.18, deal with the subject of his birth. In one of these hymns, Indra is said to have been born in an unnatural way, that is, through the side of his mother (IV. 18.1-2). A special reference to such an unusual phenomenon would become meaningless unless there had been in vogue, among the people, some such traditional belief relating to the birth of an actual human hero. As is well known, such miraculous birth is always associated, in the

popular mind, with a great and unique person[1]. It is further not unlikely that the reference to Indra's having killed his father in order to snatch away Soma from him and thus made his own mother a widow (III. 48.4; IV. 18.12) is the result of popular myth-making based on an ordinary historical fact such as that Indra's father died suddenly soon after his birth[2]. Indra's miraculous power is said to have become evident as soon as he was born (VIII. 45.4-5). In X. 153.1, there is a reference to the infant god surrounded by attendant women. Another interesting reference is to be found in VIII. 58.15, where the immature boy, Indra, of head-strong temperament, is spoken of as having mounted a new wagon, and roasted, for his parents, a fierce bull. All these descriptions point unmistakably to the basic human character of Indra's personality.

A reference has already been made elsewhere to the traditional belief that Indra is a later addition to the Vedic pantheon. This very significant tradition cannot be adequately explained except on the assumption of Indra's primarily human personality. It implies that Indra was not originally a god, but that he was a human hero who attained to godhead by virtue of his miraculous exploits. Not only that, but he soon superseded the older gods (VII. 21.7) and came to be regarded as the foremost among them (II. 12.1).

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[1] Attention may be drawn to the myth regarding Alexander's alleged miraculous birth. Such myths do not affect the historicity of the hero about whom they are narrated. The naturalistic interpretations of this myth, such as that it may have been derived from the notion of lightning breaking from the side of the storm-cloud (MACDONELL, *VM*, 56), or that it refers to the first light of dawn, which is visible in a circular way (FATEH SINGH, *JBHU* 5), are clearly unconvincing. According to W. Norman BROWN (*Siddheshwar Varma Comm. Vol.*, 1950, pp. 131-36), there is no necessity of assuming Indra's unnatural birth from his mother's side. He interprets the phrase, *pārśvānnirgamāṇi*, in the sense of 'accompanying'. See also BROWN, *JAOS* 62, pp. 93-95.

[2] E. SIEG ("Indra und der Somaraub nach dem *RV*". *Jacobi Comm. Vol.*, 228-239) tries to correlate the apparently varying accounts regarding Indra's nativity given in *RV* III. 48 and IV. 18. According to him, Vyaṁsa (IV. 18.9) seems to have been the father of Indra. This Vyaṁsa was a Dāsa and Indra killed him. Tvaṣṭā, on the other hand, mentioned in III. 48.4 and IV. 18.3, was Indra's 'great father' (III. 48.2), that is, Indra's maternal grandfather. SIEG accordingly says that Indra belonged to the Dāsas, on the father's side, and, to the gods (Aryans), on the mother's side.

This fact is mythologically represented in a variety of ways in the later Vedic literature (*TS* II. 3.4.2 ; *MS* I. 9.4 ; *TB* II. 2.3.3 ; II. 2.7.2 ; *AB* VIII. 4.12).

But by far the most convincing proof of the essentially human character of Indra is the fact that the Vedic poets have often referred to what may be called the 'weaknesses' of that god. One such oft-mentioned weakness is Indra's proverbial fondness for Soma. His immoderate indulgence in the intoxicating beverage is a favourite theme of the Vedic poets. Indra is spoken of as having gone to the extent of stealing Soma to quench his thirst (III. 48.4 ; VIII. 4.4). He was *somapā par excellence*. But his was not merely an addict's passion for drink. For, Soma always exhilarated him to carry out his warlike deeds (II. 15.1 ; 19.2; VI. 47.1-2 ; VII. 22.2 ; VIII. 81.6). For instance, in order to prepare himself for a decisive war with Vṛtra, Indra is described — of course, hyperbolically — to have drunk three tankfuls of Soma (V. 29.7). But the most significant *sūkta*, which must needs be mentioned in the present context, is X. 119. [1] In this *sūkta*, Indra is represented as being under the influence of an excessive draught of Soma and boasting of his greatness and capricious power. As PERRY has rightly pointed out, [2] Indra's condition after a drink of Soma parodied in this *sūkta* is too realistic not to be considered human. It is a fine example of caricature and would remind one of modern newspaper caricatures — either in the form of humorous articles or of cartoons — in which innocent fun is made of some foible in the character of a great personage. No disrespect is, however, thereby intended. On the other hand, by light-heartedly poking at such a foible, that high personality is brought nearer to the hearts of the people, for, it indeed emphasizes his essential humanness. As a matter of fact, it is believed that such harmless foibles enhance, rather than detract from, the genuine greatness of that person. Indra, the human hero, must have been in the habit of indulging in a more or less sumptuous draught of Soma in order to invigorate himself before entering battle. This well-known habit of his seems to have been made the subject of a delightful parody in the *Laba-sūkta*.

[1] This *sūkta* is traditionally known as the *Laba-sūkta*.

[2] PERRY, *op. cit.*

Similarly Indra is represented as an expert in female lore (VIII. 33.17). He seems to have taken a peculiar interest in the welfare of the children of unmarried girls (II. 15.7). As a domestic aider and as particularly interested in girls not yet married, he appears in the form of the 'little man,' invoked by Apālā (VIII. 91), who chews Soma-plant and prepares grain for him that he may make her friutful.[1] In *AV* (VIII. 6.13), Indra is said to come to the help of a pregnant woman. Though Indra's amorous adventures are nowhere clearly mentioned in the *RV*, there are, in it, few faint indications of that trait of his character. These latter must have indeed been the basis of Indra's representation, in later mythology, as a romantic figure — a 'gay Lothario'[2]. In the *Atharvaveda*, Indra is once said to have been enticed away by an Asura female (VII. 38.2). In another Vedic passage[3], we are told that Indra, being enamoured of a *dānavī*, named Vilisteṅgā, went to live among the Asuras, assuming the form of a female among females and of a male among males. A mention must also be made, in this context, of the famous Vṛṣākapi hymn (X. 86). In that hymn, Indra is spoken of as having been exhausted when a bold, lascivious monkey administered to him some medicine, through which Indra regained his manly power. As shown in another paper[4], this Vṛṣākapi is to be identified with the fertility-god Viṣṇu. The whole episode may thus refer to Indra's efforts to preserve his virility intact[5]. Such descriptions of a more or less 'intimate' character must be understood to refer to the actual life of a human hero before he became the supreme god.

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1 *cf.* HOPKINS, *op. cit.*

2 *cf.* HOPKINS, *op. cit.*

3 *Kāṭhaka* III. 47.9. It is not unlikely that this passage and the passage from the *AV* mentioned above (namely, *AV* VII. 38.2) refer to one and the same incident.

4 DANDEKAR, "Viṣṇu in the Veda". *Kane Comm. Vol.*, pp. 95–111.

5 According to MACDONELL (*VM*, 64), this hymn describes a dispute between Indra and his wife, Indrāṇī, about the monkey, Vṛṣākapi, who is the favourite of the former and has damaged the property of the latter. Vṛṣākapi is soundly thrashed and escapes, but afterwards returns, when a reconciliation takes place. PERRY (*JAOS* 11) sees in this hymn a satirical description of Indra's domestic life. BRADKE (*ZDMG* 46, 465) also considers the story to be a satire, in which, under the names of Indra and Indrāṇī, a certain prince and his wife are intended. A critical study of the hymn would, however, show that none of these interpretations is satisfactory.

It may be pointed out, in this connection, that the Vedic poets have never unnecessarily overidealised the character of Indra, which they would have done had he been primarily thought of as a god. Indra was essentially a man of this world, and, as such, he did not disdain deceiving his enemy or cleverly circumscribing the conditions of an agreement whenever circumstances so demanded[1]. Another very significant reference, so far as Indra's original character is concerned, is to be found in I. 32.14, where the mighty Indra is said to have been overcome with fear when, after killing Vṛtra, he thought that some avenger of the enemy was following him. Such a reference would be hardly understandable in relation to a god, who had been conceived as a god from the very beginning.

The Maruts are described as the constant associates of Indra in his mighty deeds. Indra is accordingly called *marutvān* and the Maruts are referred to as *indrajyeṣṭha*[2]. But the proverbially harmonious relations between the heroic leader and his loyal followers seem to have been disturbed on certain occasions (I. 170.2 ; 171.6 ; VIII. 7.31). It was either cowardice or treachery on the part of the Maruts, which must have estranged them from Indra. Indra is represented as telling them, in derision, that they were not eager to accompany him when he went to the battle-field, but that, when he was invited to a sacrifice, they did not want to leave him alone (I. 165). This realistic legend relating to the temporary estrangement between Indra and the Maruts must have been based on an actual episode, and would thus prove the historicity of Indra as much as his essentially human character. The facts that Indra is described as wandering in various forms (I. 51.9 ; III. 53.8 ; VI. 47.18)[3], and that his enemies did not first realise the greatness of his prowess or altogether refused to believe in his very existence

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[1] *cf.* Indra-Namuci episode : V. 30.7 ; VIII. 14.13.

[2] For a more detailed discussion about the relation between Indra and the Maruts, see the concluding part of this paper.

[3] Indra is said to have assumed, at different times, the forms of a woman (Menā- *cf.* HILLEBRANDT, *VM* III, 172), horse's hair (*cf.* GELDNER *Ved. Stud.* II, 183), an ant (I. 51.9), a dancer (I. 130.7 ; II. 22.4), etc. Also see VIII. 2.40. B. GEIGER has connected the ten forms of the Avestan Vṛthragna with Indra's transformations (*SAW Wien* 1916, 69 ff.). GÜNTERT refers to the latter in connection with Viṣṇu's various incarnations (*Der arische Weltkönig*, 308).

(II. 12.5) further confirm the primariness of the human traits in Indra's personality as well as his historicity.

More prominently and frequently, however, than the mere human traits have the heroic traits in Indra's personality been celebrated in the *RV*. Indra's name itself verily comprises all notions relating to virile power.[1] He is often very significantly called, or compared with, a bull, who was regarded as the symbol of such power (I. 165.11; II. 16.4; V. 31.5; VIII. 1.1). Indra is superhumanly mighty (I. 80.15; VI. 21.10; VII. 21.7; VIII. 50.2); he is dreadful (I. 84.2, 7; II. 21.2); he is indeed invincible (IV. 17.19; 30.3, 5). No one born, past or present, can rival him (I. 165.9). Several epithets expressive of excessive power, such as *śakra*, *śacīvat*, *śatakratu*, *manasvān*, etc., are frequently attributed to Indra. Indra's *śuṣma* and *nṛmṇa* (II. 12.1) are often referred to and his eternal youth and vigour (II. 16.1; III. 32.7; VI. 24.7; X. 86.11) have become almost the hallmark of his personality. But there is also another side to Indra's heroic character. He is exceedingly generous (I. 30.1; IV. 31.7; VIII. 14.4; 24.21, 54.7; 70.3). He freely bestows goods and wealth on the pious man (II. 19.4; 22.3; VII. 27.3); and this he can easily do, for, he possesses all treasures (I. 30.10; VI. 45.8). As a matter of fact, Indra's liberality had become so very characteristic of him that he almost entirely monopolised the proud epithet, *maghavā*.[2] Indra's wisdom and prudence also are frequently celebrated in the *RV* (I. 62.12; II. 16.2; VIII. 85.3).

It will be thus seen that Indra's personality presents a curious combination of 'human' and 'superhuman' or 'heroic' elements. As a matter of fact, it is this combination of the 'human' and the 'super-human', which makes Indra's personality so 'living' and so attractive. The incongruity between the human aspect of Indra's personality characterised by sensuousness and similar other normal 'weaknesses', on the one hand, and the superhuman aspect characterised by miraculous powers, generosity and similar other traits of heroic perfection, on the other, is not due to the 'more intense anthropomorphism of Indra's nature'[3]. It is rather the result of

[1] For a detailed philological study of the name 'Indra', see the sequel of this paper.

[2] *cf. yudhi-vīra* and *dāna-vīra* of classical Sanskrit.

[3] *cf.* MACDONELL, *VM*, 65.

the sincere efforts on the part of the Vedic poets to present a realistic picture of a historical human hero, who, while accomplishing almost superhuman deeds, still exhibited the essential humanness of his character. In the light of what has been said above, it would be very interesting to see how the Vedic poets approach their favourite national god, Indra, in varying attitudes — sometimes in a 'crouching, pusillanimous spirit and fear of his violence', at other times, on remarkably intimate and friendly terms, but always exhibiting great devotion and fidelity towards him, a firm belief in his miraculous powers and a 'touching reliance upon his goodness'.[1]

On the strength of the evidence adduced so far, we may now be justified in concluding that Indra must have been primarily a human hero — indeed, essentially a historical personality —, that, in course of time, he must have been elevated to the position first of a national war-god, and then of the supreme god, and that, later on, naturalistic or cosmic elements must have been superimposed on his personality.[2] How can we account for this 'growth' of Indra's personality? In order to be able to answer this question satisfactorily, we shall have to go back to the cultural history of the ancestors of the Vedic Indians.

As indicated in another paper,[3] we may assume, on the strength of linguistic, archaeological, anthropological, and culture-historical evidence, that the proto-Indo-Europeans had their original home in the Ural - Altaic region. Some tribes from among this proto-IE stock migrated from their primary *Urheimat* towards the South-Eastern direction and ultimately reached the region around Balkh. There they lived for a considerable length of time before further migrations started from among them. As a matter of fact, these tribes remained in the region round about Balkh so long that they almost forgot their connections with their primary *Urheimat*. For our present purpose, it is neither necessary nor desirable to go into the

[1] *cf.* PERRY, *op. cit.*

[2] It may be pointed out, in this connection, that, from the anthropological point of view also, 'naturalism', as propounded first by Yāska and then by ROTH, MAX MÜLLER, OLDENBERG, MACDONELL and others, often represents but a later stage in the development of mythological ideology.

[3] DANDEKAR. 'The Antecedents and the Early Beginnings of the Vedic Period'. *PIHC*, Bombay 1947, pp. 24-55.

details of this whole problem of the original home of the Indo-Europeans and their early migrations. It may only be pointed out that these people, who lived in the region of Balkh, were the proto-Aryans. In the initial stages of the proto-Aryan period, there took place some stray and desultory migrations mainly towards the South-Western Asiatic region. But, even after these small-scale migrations, the main stock of the proto-Aryans, which was made up of the common ancestors of the Vedic Indians and the ancient (Avestan) Iranians — who are popularly, and, from several points of view, appropriately, known as the Aryans — continued to live in the Balkh region for a pretty long time.

It was indeed in this region that the 'Aryan' language and religion attained 'characterisation'. In other words, the common primary form of the languages and the religions of the *ṚV* and of the *Avesta* must have evolved while the common ancestors of the Vedic Indians and the ancient Iranians lived together in their common home in the Balkh region. The most characteristic feature of the religion of these people, which we may call the 'Aryan' religion, seems to have been the concept of Asura Varuṇa.[1] In the course of the evolution of their religious thought, the Aryans had realised that this universe, vast as it was, was not 'chaos'. Every single phenomenon—big and small — in cosmic as well as human life was governed by some definite law. The universe was, as it were, magically 'bound' down and thus strictly regulated. It was, in other words, 'cosmos'. The concepts of the cosmic law, *ṛta*, and of the administrator of that law, the cosmic-magician Varuṇa, represents the most outstanding contribution of the Aryans to religious thought in general. In that age, the life of the Aryans had been so closely bound with nature, from several points of view, that it was but inevitable that they should have evolved the religious concept of the cosmic-magic-bondage. No doubt, there must have grown, among the Aryans, several other religious concepts and practices, such as, for instance, those connected with Soma-Haoma and fire; but the *Asura-Ṛta* – concept seems to have completely dominated the Aryan religious ideology.

[1] DANDEKAR, '*Asura* Varuṇa', *ABORI* XXI, 157-91; also see 'The Antecedents etc.' *PIHC*, 1947.

As has been already indicated, the Aryans did not live in the region around Balkh permanently. Further migrations started from that region. As compared with the major primary migrations of the Indo-Europeans from their *Urheimat* in the Ural-Altaic region, the migrations of the Aryans from the Balkh region may be called the secondary migrations in the history of the Indo-European peoples. Some tribes from among the Aryans who were of a peace-loving temperament moved towards the South-West. Gradually, and without having to encounter any serious hindrance, they migrated to the north of Iran and subsequently settled in that country. These were the ancient Iranians. As may be expected, they had brought with them, to their new home, the Aryan language and religion in their basic forms. Naturally enough, in course of time, the ancient Iranians must have developed the basic Aryan language and religion in their own peculiar manner. The other Aryan tribes, however, were more ambitious and warlike. From their home in the Balkh region these adventurers set out on a mission of conquest and colonization towards the South-East. This, however, was not an easy task. On their onward march these people, who were really the ancestors of the Vedic Indians, had to encounter serious opposition from several antagonistic tribes. Their gradual progress towards Saptasindhu, where they ultimately settled down, makes a long tale of a series of wars. But through all these wars, the early Vedic people were finally led to victory by a heroic compatriot of theirs, whom they very appropriately called Indra.

It may be presumed that the tribes who tried to arrest the onslaught of the Vedic Indians came from various stocks. From the descriptions in the *ṚV*, it would appear that they were racially and culturally quite different from the Vedic Aryan adventurers. They are generally said to have been black-skinned (I. 130.8; II. 20.7; III. 34.9), and snub-nosed (V. 29.10). Their speech was barbarous (I. 174.2; V. 29.10; 52.8); they did not perform any sacrifices as the Aryans did (I. 33.4; VII. 6.3; VIII. 70.11); they did not worship the Aryan gods (III. 31.19; VIII. 70.11); and, above all, they did not recognise the national hero of the Vedic Indians, namely, Indra (IV. 23.7; VII. 18.16). These antagonistic tribes, who are variously described as having stolen away the cattle of the Aryans (II. 12.3 ; III. 30.10; VI. 39.2), or pent up the

streams of the rivers (I. 32.12; II. 12.12; III. 26.6; IV. 17.1), or attacked the Aryans, from their secret recesses in the mountains (II. 12.11), or fought with them from their fortified settlements (II. 14.6; 19.6; VIII. 17.14), are sometimes individually named,[1] while, at other times, only the names of their leaders are mentioned,[2] but, more often, they are all collectively referred to as the Dāsas (I. 51.8 ; II. 12.10 ; X. 38.3; 86 19).[3] Indra, the young, blond, bearded, handsome, well-shaped, mighty, heroic leader of the Aryans, invigorated by a drink of Soma, is variously described as having protected the Aryans from the attack of the Dasyus (VIII. 24.27); subjected the Dasyus to the Aryans (IV. 18.3); put down the *dāsa varṇa* (II. 12.4); overpowered the black-skinned foes (I. 13.8 ; III. 34.9); dispersed 50,000 of them (IV. 16.13) and rent their citadels (I. 51.5; IV. 16.13); surpassed the Paṇis in might (VI. 20.4; VII. 56.10), and recovered

[1] Such as, for instance, Dasyu (I. 100.12; II. 20.8; X. 99.7); Paṇi (VI. 20.4; 39.2; VII. 56.10); perhaps Pṛthu and Parśu (VII. 83.1).

[2] Such as, for instance, Arbuda (I. 51.6; II. 11.20); Aśna (II. 14.5; 20.5); Ilībiśa (I. 33.12); Uraṇa (II. 14.4); Krivi, (II. 17.6; 22.2); Cumuri (VI. 26.6); Dṛbhika (II. 14.3); Namuci (II. 14.5; V. 30.7-8; VI. 20.6); Pipru (I. 101.2; II. 14.5; IV. 16.13); Rudhikrā (II. 14.5); Rauhiṇa (I. 103.2; II. 12.12); Varcin (II. 14.6); Vyaṁsa (I. 101.2; 103.2); Śambara (II. 12.11; IV. 47.21; VII. 18.20); Śuṣṇa (V. 32.4; X. 22.4).

[3] It is very likely, as HILLEBRANDT has pointed out (*VM* III, 268 ff.), that Dāsa itself was originally the name of some inimical tribe, such as the Daha, whom the Aryans must have encountered in the course of their early wanderings. Later on, however, that word came to be applied to any tribes hostile to the Aryans. These unfriendly tribes were referred to as the *dāsa varṇa* (II. 12 4), implying thereby that they were racially distinct from the Aryans, or the *dāsīḥ viśaḥ* (II. 11.4 ; IV. 28.4; VI. 25.2). In later mythology, Dāsas came to denote demons in general. The word, *dāsa*, is used in the *ṚV* in the sense of 'slave' only three times. Incidentally it may be pointed out that, though the words, *dāsa* and *dasyu*, are often used in the same sense, originally the word, *dasyu*, did not have the same meaning as the word, *dāsa*. HILLEBRANDT suggests that the antagonism between the Āryas and the Dāsas was of a political character while that between the Āryas and the Dasyus was more of a religious nature. TAVADIA, however, affirms (*VBQ*, 1940) that Dasyu also was originally the name of a people or country and that the bad connotation came to be attached to that word at a later stage. According to Kasten RÖNNOW ('Vedic *Krivi*'. *AO* XVI, 161-80), the Dāsas mentioned in the Veda were the Nāga-worshipping native tribes. He further points out that this serpent-cult predominated in the regions on the Himalayan slopes.

the cows (X. 108). Many were the hostile leaders conquered by Indra.[1] Many again were the Aryan chiefs and tribes to whom Indra is said to have rendered timely succour in several ways.[2] The Aryan warriors soon learnt to depend on Indra's help and so constantly invoked him (II. 12.8; IV. 24.3). For, they looked upon him as their one compassionate helper (I. 84.19; VIII. 55.13; 69.1), as their deliverer and advocate (VIII. 85.20), as their very strength (VII. 37.5) — a veritable wall of defence (VIII. 69.7). Never indeed did he fail them (X. 152.1). With his special thousand-pronged weapon, *vajra* (I. 80.20), he smote down the barbarous enemies (I. 101.5 ; VI. 23.2), and gave land to the Aryans (IV. 26.2). He thus assured for them a smooth career of conquest and colonization. It is, therefore, no wonder that such a leader should have soon become a national hero and then a national god of the Vedic Indians.[3] A warring people would naturally glorify to the utmost a warlike god.[4] This heroic god of battle, though a later addition to the Vedic pantheon, soon surpassed all earlier gods (III. 46.3), who yielded to him in might and strength (VIII. 51.7). Even, the important older gods subordinated their power to Indra's divine glory and kingly dignity (VII. 21.7). This elevation of a national hero to the supreme godhead must be assumed to have belonged to a period subsequent to the bifurcation of the Iranian Aryans and the Indian Aryans. Such an assumption alone would rationally explain why Indra is tradi-

[1] See foot-note 2 on page 28 above. It should be noted, in this connection, that the descriptions, in the *ṚV*, of many of Indra's warlike expolits are such as clearly produce the impression of actually being the accounts given by eye-witnesses.

[2] The *ṚV* refers to Indra's benefactions to Kutsa (V. 29.10), Turvaśa and Yadu (II. 15.5; V. 31.8; VI. 45.1; VIII. 10.5), Sudās (VII. 19.3; 20.2; 32.10-11; 33.1), Mudgala and Mudgalānī (X. 102); Kakṣīvat (I. 51.13), etc.

[3] Such a historical interpretation of the evolution of the Indra-myth alone would explain why, in no other Indo-European mythology — not even in the Avestan mythology — do we find an exact counterpart of the Vedic Indra.

[4] H. LOMMEL (*Der arische Kriegsgott*) emphasizes the basic character of Indra as the Aryan war-god. L. von. SCHROEDER (*Herakles und Indra*, Wien 1914) suggests that the many common traits in the character of Indra and Herakles would indicate their common origin. PIGGOTT (*Prehistoric India*, p. 260) rightly points out that Indra is the apotheosis of the Aryan battle-leader.

tionally regarded as *devānām anujāvara*, and why this supreme god of the Vedic Indians should not have found place in the Avestan pantheon.

Such then is briefly the story of the genesis of Indra's godhead. One thing, however, must be necessarily emphasized in this connection. It will be easily realised that all the warlike exploits, which, in the *RV*, are attributed to Indra, could not have been accomplished by one single individual. Many of them must certainly fall to the credit of the historical hero. But when history becomes mythology, an individual also tends to be more or less turned into an institution. Such is normally the course of mythological development, particularly in the Veda. When, therefore, the historical Indra was transformed into a national war-god, all mighty deeds of prowess—real or imaginary—came to be regarded as his handiwork. It may also be pointed out, in this context, that the warriors of the Vedic age invoked Indra for help not only in their battles with the Dāsas and other inimical tribes. There was a period in the history of the Vedic people when different Vedic tribes fought among themselves. In such civil wars, both sides invoked Indra for help (II. 12.8). Indra is, therefore, often described, in the *RV*, as the valiant vanquisher of the Dāsa foes as well as of the Ārya foes (VI. 22.10; 33.3; 60.6; VII. 83.1; X. 69.6). This fact would again confirm Indra's essential character as a war-god.

This elevation of a historical hero to the position of the national war-god of the Vedic Indians was accompanied by the superimposition, on the original character of Indra, of certain features which were derived from a significant mythological concept belonging to the common Aryan period. It has already been pointed out that the most predominant religious concept, which was evolved during the Aryan period, was that of Asura Varuṇa. Side by side with that concept there were evolved, in that period, other religious concepts and practices as well. One such religio - mythological concept was that of Vṛtra - Vṛtrahan. A very detailed study of this concept has been made by BENVENISTE and RENOU in their excellent monograph, *Vṛtra et Vṛθragna*[1]. These scholars have shown, in a

[1] BENVENISTE, E. and RENOU, L. *Vṛtra et Vṛθragna: Étude de mythologie indo-iranienne.* Paris 1934.

convincing manner, that the basic idea suggested by the linguistically cognate words, *vṛtra* in the *ṚV* and *vṛthra* in the *Avesta*, has been conserved only in the *Avesta*. These words have to be derived from the root **var* meaning 'to resist'[1]. From that root, the neuter substantive, *vṛtra*, is formed[2]. The original sense of the word *vṛtra* is, therefore, merely 'resistance'[3]. In the *Avesta*, the concept is never personified. The word *vṛthra* is never found there to have been used to denote the agent of resistance. In the *ṚV* also, the word is very frequently used in neuter plural — *vṛtrāṇi*. These facts would show that, during the common Aryan period, there existed among the ancestors of the ancient Iranians and the Vedic Indians a more or less general concept of *vṛtra - vṛthra*, that is to say, resistance. Closely related to that concept there also evolved the equally general and colourless concept of *vṛtrahā - vṛthragna* — the divine power which overcomes such resistance[4]. It must be emphasized that neither the concept of *vṛtra* nor that of *vṛtrahan* had originally any specific physical or human basis. In a sense, they were more or less 'abstract' concepts.[5] The elevation of Indra to the position of the national war-god — which mythological phenomenon was restricted only to the Vedic Indians — conferred a new meaning on the *vṛtra - vṛtrahan* concepts. Those 'abstract' concepts were, so to say, given some 'concrete' basis in the course of the development of Vedic mythology. The historical hero, Indra, overcame a number of human foes who had 'resisted' the onward march of the Vedic Indians. These human foes, thus,

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[1] Yāska (*Nir.* II. 5) derives the word *vṛtra* from the root *vṛ* (= to cover), the root *vṛt* (= to roll), or the root *vṛdh* (= to grow).

[2] Compare, in this connection, similar formation *mitra* from the root * *m(e)i-* (= to bind) [*vide* DANDEKAR, '*Asura* Varuṇa'. *ABORI* XXI, 157-91].

[3] Particularly resistance in a defensive sense. The Avestan usages point to the fact that *vṛthra* is often the counterpart of *ama* (= the power of offence). The significance of 'victory', which is conventionally attached to that word is quite erroneous. This is confirmed by the examination of all its compounds and of all the adjectival epithets applied to it in the *Avesta*.

[4] It is suggested that Vṛthragna is one of the pre-Zoroastrian deities opposed by Zoroaster, but afterwards introduced into his religion.

[5] As pointed out by BAILEY (*BSOS* VII, 975), the interpretation of the expansion of the Vṛthragna worship gains much from the consideration, in the monograph by BENVENISTE and RENOU (pp. 68 ff.), of Hellenistic *Artagnēs*, Armenian *Vahagn*, Chorasmian *Arthagn*, and Sogdian *Vašagn*.

naturally, came to be looked upon as the Vṛtras[1]. And correspondingly the more or less colourless and abstract divinity, which overcame resistance, namely, Vṛtrahan, came to be merged into the historical hero, who actually overcame the human Vṛtras[2]. A Vedic Indian historical current and an ancient Aryan mythological current thus combined to evolve the later Vedic mythological concept of Vṛtrahā Indra. As against this, among the peaceable ancient Iranians, there was no scope for such historical concretisation of the concepts of Vṛtra – Vṛtrahan. Those concepts have, therefore, conserved their original abstract sense in the *Avesta*[3]. It

[1] BUDDHA PRAKASH suggests (*ABORI* XXX, 163 ff.) that the Vṛtras defeated by the Vedic Aryans actually represented a specific pre-Vedic Indian people. He is inclined to identify them with the Veretatae or the Oraturae mentioned by MEGASTHENES in *Indika*. BUDDHA PRAKASH further points out that the Vṛtras possessed the elements of the Dasyus and the Asuras, that their habitat was the Himalayan range of the North-West (Incidentally it may be mentioned that, while discussing the question of 'The Cradle of the Indra-Vṛtra Myth', K. CHATTOPADHYAYA [*Proc. VI AIOC*, 529-33] suggests that Semirechinsk in Russian Turkestan [which, according to him, is identical with the Vedic Saptasindhu] must have been the region where that myth came to be evolved), and that their religion was characterised by serpent-symbology (*cf.* in this connection RÖNNOW'S views mentioned in foot-note 3 on page 28). Considering, however, the facts that the word, *vṛtrāṇi*, occurs in neuter plural, that the Vṛtras both among the Āryas and the Dāsas are mentioned in the *RV*, and that, in the *Avesta*, the word, *vṛthra*, occurs without any historical significance, it is difficult to accept the identification of the Vṛtras with any specific people. *Vṛtrāṇi* indicates foes in general.

[2] That the concept of Vṛthragna is specifically Aryan, and, therefore, earlier than that of Indra, which is specifically Indian, is confirmed by the fact that the word, Vṛthragna, occurs in the earlier strata of the *Avesta*, such as the Sirōzah, the Yašts, and the Āfrigans, while the word Andra, representing the demonisation of the Vedic god, Indra, occurs only in the later strata, as also by the fact that, in the *Avesta*, the concept of Vṛthragna receives a more or less detailed treatment, while that of Andra occurs only in a casual manner. As a matter of fact, the name Andra occurs, in the *Avesta*, only twice (Vid. X. 9; XIX. 43).

[3] It would not be logical to suppose that the Vedic Vṛtrahā Indra was the original concept and that it was separated into two independent concepts in the Avestan mythology. For, as KEITH points out (*IC* I, 461 ff.), it is more natural for India to unite ideas than for Iran to separate them. Moreover it would not be adequately understandable why, if the Iranians had actually separated into two the concept of Vṛtrahā Indra, the epithet, namely, Vṛtrahā, should have been regarded as divine, while the substantive, namely, Indra, should have been regarded as demoniac.

must be pointed out, in this connection, that, even in the *ṚV*, the frequent occurrence of the neuter plural, *vṛtrāṇi* (VI. 22.10 ; 60.6 ; VII. 83.1), betrays the original impersonal and abstract connotation of the word.

The history of the concept of Vṛtra is closely linked up with the course of the evolution of the Indra - mythology as a whole. Originally the word, *vṛtra*, significantly used in neuter gender, expressed the general idea of 'resistance'. It was in no way connected with the concept of Indra, which, as a matter of fact, had not then even arisen. This was the state of things in the common Aryan period. When the historical hero, Indra, came to be glorified among the Vedic Indians, they personified the impersonal concept of Vṛtra, which they had inherited from their Aryan ancestors. Vṛtras then came to denote the human foes, whom Indra, the national hero of the Vedic Indians, valiantly put down. Soon Indra, the national hero, was deified by the Vedic poets. Corresponding to this deification of the human Indra, there took place the demonisation of the human Vṛtra. At this later stage of the Ṛgvedic mythology, the historical human Vṛtras were collectively transformed into the one 'demon', who prominently opposed Indra, the great god. And still later, when naturalistic elements came to be superimposed upon Indra's original personality so that Indra came to be regarded as the rain-god, there was a corresponding naturalistic transformation of Vṛtra's personality so that he came to be looked upon as the cloud-demon[1]. It will now become perfectly clear why, in the Avestan mythology, there is a divinity, Vṛthragna, but no demon, Vṛthra ; why the Avestan Vṛthragna and Andra are in no way connected with each other ; why, in the *ṚV*, Vṛtrahan lost his character as an independent divinity and that word became merely an epithet of Indra ; and, finally, why in the *ṚV*, the word *vṛtra*, is employed, in neuter plural, to denote the human foes, and, in masculine singular, to denote a demon.

It has been already pointed out that the origin of the religious practices connected with Soma-Haoma must be traced back to the

[1] It would thus be clear that Vṛtra originally represented neither the cloud, as suggested by the Nairuktas, nor the demon-son of Tvaṣṭṛ, as suggested by the Aitihāsikas.

common Aryan period. The ancestors of the Vedic Indians and the ancient Iranians, who lived-together in the Balkh region, must have soon discovered the remarkable properties of the Soma plant, which grew in abundance on the slopes of the Mūjavat mountain situated close to their common habitat. The intoxicating juice extracted from this plant must have been originally used in connection with some primitive magic ritual. Anthropological investigations would amply testify to the practice of the primitive priests taking some such intoxicating decoction with a view to producing in themselves a peculiar magic-orgiastic ecstacy[1]. With the rise, among the Vedic Indians, of the valiant hero, Indra, Soma-drinking came to be naturally associated with him. It may be said that, in a sense, the intoxicating drink began to be used for a purpose which cannot be said to have been strictly ritualistic. A draught of Soma, before entering battle, would banish all fear from the hearts of the warriors and put new vigour in them. This must have indeed been a most common experience.[2] It is quite understandable that Indra, the warrior-leader, should have been described as indulging in the Soma-drinking more freely than others. As a matter of fact, in course of time, immoderate indulgence in the Soma-drinking came to be regarded as a distinctive trait of Indra's character — at once the strength and the weakness of the national hero. And, as shown elsewhere, the Vedic poets have actually treated it as such in their glorification of Indra. Indra became *somapā par excellence*. (II.12.13). He is often described, in the *RV*, as being exhilarated by a drink of Soma to carry out his warlike deeds (II. 15.1; 19.2; VI. 47.1,2; VII. 22.2; VIII.81.6). Whatever Indra accomplished he owed to the magic power of Soma. Sometimes, however, the Herculean head of the hero must have become befogged by an overdose; and it is such a condition which has been beautifully caricatured by a Ṛgvedic poet in X. 119. The Vedic poets refer to Indra as a ' thirsty stag ' (VIII. 4.10), or a ' thirsty bull ' (I. 130.2), or a 'thirsty buffalo' (I. 16. 5). Indra is so eager for a drink that he cannot wait until

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[1] *vide*, for instance, O. PERTOLD. 'The liturgical use of Mahuda Liquor by Bhils.' *Arch Or.* III, pp. 400 ff.

[2] Not only the botanical properties of the Soma plant but also the faith that the juice of the plant possessed ritualistic-magic character must have worked in producing the effect.

Soma is drawn for him (X. 116.4), but 'gulps down cask and lancet and all.'[1]

The concept relating to Soma is thus the second Aryan religious concept — the first being the Vṛtra-Vṛtrahan-concept — which has been combined with the Vedic Indian historical concept of the national hero. The more or less secular significance with which the concept of Soma came to be endowed on account of its connection with the historical warrior, Indra, must, however, be considered to have been but a temporary phase. With the elevation of Indra to godhead and the gradual development of the regular Vedic ritual, Soma again attained, in the fullest possible measure, its original magico-ritualistic significance (which, as indicated above, it must have never lost altogether), and Soma-worship became a very prominent feature of the Vedic religion.[2]

In view of the continued warlike activities of the Vedic Indians, it was but natural that they should have elevated their national war-god, Indra, to the supreme godhead in their pantheon. This gesture on their part gave rise to quite a serious mythological upheaval. It will be remembered that Asura Varuṇa was the supreme god of the common religion which the ancestors of the Vedic Indians and the ancient Iranians had evolved. This Asura-dominated religion was inherited both by the Indian Aryans and the Iranian Aryans. The Iranian Aryans seem to have faithfully stuck to that religion. As a matter of fact, in the normal life of those people, there does not seem to have occurred any very significant event, which could have influenced their religious ideology to any appreciable extent. Of

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1 PERRY. *op. cit.*

2 In the Iranian religion, on the other hand, the Aryan religious practices relating to Soma-Haoma seem to have gradually dwindled in importance. The Haoma is not referred to in the *Gāthās* of the *Avesta*. This silence is probably significant. In his religious reform, Zoroaster seems to have rejected Soma-worship. RÖNNOW ('Vedic *Krivi*', *AO* XVI, 161-180) believes that Soma once belonged to the Nāgas and was sacrificed for them. An analysis of the Soma-sacrifice, according to him, would bring out clearly traces of ancient Indian serpent-cult. Incidentally it may be added that RÖNNOW regards Soma as the divine vivifying essence of water (*Trita Āptya*, Uppsala 1927).

course, in course of time, they developed the Asura-religion of their Aryan ancestors in their own peculiar manner, so that it eventually took the form of the religion presided over by Ahura Mazdah. The case of the Vedic Indians, on the other hand, was essentially different. As has been already pointed out, the Vedic Indians were ambitious adventurers. They, therefore, set out on a career of warlike activities, valiantly fighting their way towards the Saptasindhu country. In this their new career, they must have found that the cosmic-magic Asura-religion, which had come down to them from their Aryan ancestors, was not at all adequate. A warring people, as suggested above, necessarily wants a war-god —rather than a god presiding over cosmic law — as their supreme god. The Vedic Indians, therefore, transformed their national hero, Indra, into such a war-god, and, in consonance with their new way of life and thought, worshipped him as their greatest god. Thus, in the religion of the Vedic Indians, Indra ultimately superseded Asura Varuṇa. In other words, the new Vedic religion prevailed over the ancient Aryan religion.

A critical study of the *ṚV* would show that, in that Veda, three distinct phases of the relation between the ancient Varuṇa-religion and the new Indra-religion can be clearly marked. Some passages in the *ṚV* (I.24.6; 25.10; II. 27.10; VII. 87.5,6; VIII. 41.7; X. 132.4) are still found to glorify Varuṇa as the world-sovereign. They thus seem to preserve the memories of the religious ideology of the pre-Indra Aryan period. This represents one phase. The major portion of the *ṚV*, however, clearly indicates that Varuṇa-religion was being put into the background and the Indra-religion was aggressively coming to the forefront. The *ṚV* hymn, IV. 42, is a highly significant document in this connection. Varuṇa is shown in that hymn to assert his right to supremacy and to adduce valid reasons in support of his claim (st. 1-4). Indra is made to say that Varuṇa's arguments did not concern him in the least and that, in virtue of his being the strongest god, he—Indra—must necessarily be regarded as the supreme god (st. 5-6). Eventually the poet recognises unreservedly the supremacy of Indra (st. 7). This hymn thus represents, in an unmistakable manner, the supersession of Varuṇa by

Indra.[1] According to PERRY,[2] another hymn, namely, *ṚV* X. 124, exhibits the transference of supremacy from Varuṇa to Indra in a very peculiar light. Agni is there represented as abandoning father Varuṇa and going over to Indra. The fact that hardly a dozen hymns in the *ṚV* celebrate Varuṇa exclusively while Indra is glorified in nearly 250 hymns is again clearly indicative of Indra's ascendancy over Varuṇa.[3] As will be shown later, this mythological supersession of the Asura by Indra, which represents another phase of the Indra-Varuṇa-relationship, gained a peculiar significance from two points of view—first, from the point of view of the relations between the Vedic religion and the Iranian religion, and, secondly, from the point of view of the political history of the Vedic Indians. Still another phase of the relationship between these two mythological currents is marked by a spirit of compromise. It must be remembered that, even among the Vedic Indians, there were some tribes who continued to adhere to the Varuṇa-religion. They must have, however, seen the signs of the changing times. Instead of either giving up the Varuṇa-religion altogether or dogmatically sticking to it in the face of the generally prevailing Indra-religion, they, very wisely, tried to bring about an honourable compromise between the two religions. They argued that, after victory is won by the war-god, Indra, Varuṇa is needed to establish law and order. 'Indra *conquers* and Varuṇa *rules*' — this was their slogan (VII. 83.9). Such attempts at a religious compro-

[1] According to HILLEBRANDT, *ṚV* IV. 42 contains only a sharp definition of the provinces of the two divinities. There is no suggestion of transfer of power from Varuṇa to Indra. It may, however, be asked: if it was merely a sharp definition of the provinces of the two divinities, why should Varuṇa try so much to assert his claim? On the other hand, in view of the warlike character of the Vedic Indians, the supersession of a cosmic god by a war-god would be quite logical.

[2] *op. cit.*

[3] In the Śunaḥśepa legend in the *Ait. Br.* (VII. 13-17), Indra is represented as approaching Rohita, in the disguise of a *puruṣa*, and dissuading him from going back to his father, Hariścandra, who wanted to sacrifice him to Varuṇa. Indra's interference in this connection is entirely fortuitous and may only be reminiscent of the ancient rivalry between him and Varuṇa. Indra perhaps did not want that a sacrifice should be performed in honour of his rival, Varuṇa. It is also possible that Indra, as the guardian of 'imperium', wanted to prevent the immolation of a promising young representative of the *kṣatra*.

mise seem to have been made particularly by the Vāsiṣthas (VII. 82.2,5, 6; 84.2,4; 85.3).

For our present purpose we are concerned more particularly with the supersession of the Asura-religion by the Indra-religion.[1] This supersession must have had inevitable repurcussions on the relations between the Vedic religion on the one hand and the Iranian religion on the other. The separation between the two branches of the Aryan stock — namely, the Vedic Indians and the ancient Iranians was, as shown above, the result of normal historical migrations. These latter, however, it must be remembered, were governed by temperamental differences among those people. The cultural contacts between these two branches, it may be presumed, continued even after their separation. The Ahura-Mazdah-religion of the Iranian Aryans was closely akin to the Asura-Varuṇa-religion of the Vedic Aryans, for, both of them had been developed out of a common religious ideology of their Aryan ancestors. The rivalry between the Asura-Varuṇa-religion and the Indra-religion, which is an outstanding event in the religious history of the Vedic Indians, could not, therefore, have failed to influence the ancient Iranian religion as well. As was to be expected, among the war-like Vedic Indians, Indra superseded Asura Varuṇa. The ancient Iranians, on the other hand, were essentially peaceable and ethically inclined people. Nothing seems to have happened in their history to loosen the strong hold which the cosmic law-giver, Asura, had on their minds. The Ahura-religion, therefore, continued to prevail unchallenged among them. As against this, they regarded the Vedic Indian Indra-religion as more or less upstartish. The Soma-drinking war-god of the Veda did not suit their way of life and thought. Not only this, the Vedic Indra, with all his virtues and weaknesses, must have become definitely reprehensible in the eyes of the die-hards among them. The most natural result of this attitude of theirs was that they came to regard Indra as not only undivine but positively demoniac. The fact that such an 'un-

[1] In the *ṚV*, the epithet *asura* is sometimes attributed also to Indra. But it was so attributed only when that epithet lost its original significance (*cf.* DANDEKAR, '*Asura* Varuṇa', *ABORI* XXI, 157-91) and came to be used in a more or less conventional sense, namely, 'the powerful one'. It thus became almost a courtesy-title conferred on all mighty gods.

worthy figure should have elsewhere eclipsed the noble Asura must have lent greater poignancy to the attitude of some Iranian mythologists. In a late phase of their mythology, therefore, they represented Indra as Andra, the third worst devil[1].

The religious conflict between Indra and Asura Varuṇa may have gained a peculiar significance from the political point of view as well. Under the victorious leadership of their war-god, Indra, the Vedic Indians conquered several antagonistic tribes who resisted their onward march. As indicated above, these foes of the Vedic Indians are referred to, in the *ṚV*, under the general name, Dāsas[2]. It is, however, possible to derive from the *ṚV*, more specific

[1] The representation of Indra as a demon in ancient Iranian literature has proved a knotty problem in comparative mythology. This curious mythological phenomenon has been accounted for in several ways. Martin HAUG, for instance, suggested that it was the result of a conflict between the Asura-religion and the Deva-religion, which arose among the Indo-Iranians. Some other scholars attributed Indra's demonhood to his immoderate indulgence in the intoxicating beverage, Soma, which trait of his character must have been found to be revolting against the essentially moral tone of Zoroaster's religious reform. Still other scholars see in the demon Andra of the *Vendidad* the reflection not of the Vedic Indra but of the less reputable Indra of the *Purāṇas*. GRAY (*Iran. Rel.*), who regarded Indra as primarily a rain-god, believed that, in India, Indra brought the beneficent rains of the monsoons, while, in Iran, he is associated with the malaria-bringing heavy rains of winter. This would explain, according to him, why, in the Iranian mythology, Indra is looked upon as a malevolent power. Still another view is that Indra's original nature as a fertility-god must have gone against the grain of the sophisticated Ahura-religion. CHATTOPADHYAYA considers (*Proc. IV AIOC*, 11-24) Indra's demonhood to have been the result of an individual poet's fancy. He refers, in this connection, to the fact that Milton filled Satan's camp with the gods of the people neighbouring the land of Israel.

According to M. A. SHUSTERY (*Proc. III AIOC*, 109-112), Indra has Rustam for his counterpart in Persia. There are several points of similarity between the two. The fact that the *Avesta* is silent about Rustam is explained by SHUSTERY by presuming that Rustam was the hero of the ancient Iranian mythology but was not accepted as such by the new religion of Zoroaster. H. GÜNTERT (*Der arische Weltkönig*, 57 ff.) has pointed out that Mithra in the later *Avesta* has inherited certain popular traits in Indra's character. B. GEIGER, for instance, notes (*SAW Wien* 1916, 176, 7, 74) the similarity between Indra's *vajra* and Mithra's *vazra*. A. EGGERS (*Der arische Gott Mitra*, 40 ff.), on the other hand, thinks — curiously enough — that it was Indra who inherited the warlike features in Mithra's character.

[2] The word *vṛtra* normally denotes an enemy in general — whether he be Ārya or Dāsa.

historical details at least in some respects. One of the epithets exclusively attributed to Indra, in the *RV*, is *purandara*. By way of explaining the significance of this epithet, I had put forth[1] the following hypothesis. In the course of their onward march into India, the Vedic Aryans must have come across a people who lived in fortified settlements (*puraḥ*). The civilisation of this people, which was characterisd by *pur* (= fortified settlement), must have become conspicuous in the eyes of the Vedic Indians on account of its sharp contrast with their nomadic tribal life. These *puraḥ*, it may be presumed, represented the last phase of the great Indus Valley civilisation, particularly that aspect of it, which had developed in the region of Harappa. These Harappa people seem to have stubbornly resisted the progress of the Vedic Indians. Their fortified settlements must have certainly stood them in good stead — at least to a certain extent. But, after all, their opposition was but the last gasp of a people with a more or less exhausted civilisation. Indra, the national hero of the Vedic Indians, seems to have shattered their many *puraḥ* (I. 51.5 ; II. 14.6 , 19.6 ; VIII. 17.14) and ultimately vanquished them. The connection between the Indus Valley civilisation and the Vedic civilisation can thus be historically explained. To *purandara* Indra belongs the credit of having finally brought to an end the ancient Indus civilisation, which was already on its last legs, and of having established, in its place, the Vedic civilisation, which was infused with new life and vigour[2]. As is well known, the Indus civilisation exhibits several affinities

[1] DANDEKAR. '*Asura* Varuṇa', *ABORI* XXI, 190.

[2] DANDEKAR. 'The Antecedents and the Early Beginnings of the Vedic Period'. *PIHC* X, 1947, 24-55. This hypothesis gets confirmation from the archaeological excavations recently carried out at Harappa. *cf.* R. E. M. WHEELER. 'Harappā 1946: The Defences and Cemetery R. 37'. *Ancient India* 3, pp. 58-130. The identification of the Dasyus and the Dāsas – of dark skin and flat noses and possessing cities – with the inhabitants of Harappā and Mohenjodaro, who had, among them, a large proportion of proto-Australoids, is, according to PIGGOTT (*Prehistoric India*, 261), almost certain. According to KOSAMBI ('Origin of Brahmin Gotras', *JBBRAS* 26, p. 49), the myth of Indra killing a demon to free the pent-up waters is to be understood in the sense of Indra's having shattered the river-dams constructed by the Indus people. Tremendous prehistoric dams of this sort still exist a little to the West of Mohenjodaro. But releasing of waters by Indra was a source of joy to the people. This point does not seem to fit in well with KOSAMBI'S suggestion.

with the Assyrian civilisation. It may be presumed that the Aryans had already become familiar, directly or indirectly, with the civilisation of the Assyrians. When, therefore, the descendants of those Aryans, namely, the Vedic Indians, encountered a civilisation which showed affinities with the civilisation of the Assyrians, namely, the Indus civilisation, they must have straightway connected the latter with the civilisation of the Assyrians or the Asura people. They must have thus found the counterpart of the religious conflict between Indra and Asura Varuṇa also in the political sphere, namely, in the form of the conflict between the Indra-people and the Asura-people, that is to say, between the Vedic Indians on the one hand and the Indus people, who were culturally akin to the Assyrians or the Asura-people, on the other.[1]

The philological consideration of the name Indra would fully confirm the basic heroic character of the god Indra. It should be remembered that Indra is a specifically Indian name, and that, in no other Indo-European languages, except the ancient Iranian[2] and the Mitannian,[3] is its cognate form evidenced. A reference has already been made to some of the attempts made by scholars to give the derivation of the word, *Indra*.[4] It has also been pointed out

[1] It is interesting to note, in this connection, that, in the *Avesta*, the word *daeva* (*deva*) (Vid. X. 9; XIX. 43) — opposed to *ahura* denoting the mighty god — came to mean a 'demon'. As against this, in later Sanskrit, the word *asura* — as opposed to *deva* (Indra)-came to be used in the sense of a 'demon'. It must be pointed out that *asura* is the original word, while the word, *sura*, used, in later Sanskrit, in the sense of 'god', is artificially formed by regarding the *a* in *asura* as a negative termination.

[2] *cf. andra* (Vid. X. 9; XIX. 43). How this Indian god came to be introduced in the *Avesta* has already been explained above.

[3] *cf. in-tar* and *in-da-ra* or *inaras* on the Boghazköi tablet. For the explanation of the mention of this Indian god in connection with the treaty between the King of the Hittites and the King of Mitanni, cir. 1400 B. C., see DANDEKAR. *PIHC* X, 1947, pp. 24-55.

[4] From the root *idh-indh* (ROTH, *ZDMG* 1847, 72 ff.; BERGAIGNE, II. 166; GRASSMANN and BOLLENSEN, *ZDMG* XLI, 505). From the root *in-inv* (ROTH; WEBER, *Rāj.* 31 fn. 3). From the root *syand* (BENFEY). *indra-indu* (MAX MÜLLER, MACDONELL, *VM* 66). See also V. M. APTE. 'The Name: 'Indra' — an Etymological Investigation'. *J Bom U* XIX (N. S.) 2, 13-18. APTE derives the word from *indh* or *ind* (= to be glorious or bright, to kindle, to blaze). According to him, this derivation was present even to the minds of the Vedic poets. Incidentally it may be added that APTE seems to regard Indra as the Sun in the Arctic region.

that none of these attempts appears to be convincing.[1] From among other attempts, in this connection, a mention may be made of that of JACOBI. JACOBI connects[2] the word, *indra,* philologically with **anro* (Sanskrit *nar*) and thus emphasizes the essentially manly, virile character of Indra. According to BEZZENBERGER[3] the words, Vedic *indra*, av. *andra*, peh. *andar*, ags. *ent,* are philologically cognate words and must have originally denoted some thing like a ' giant '. This view of BEZZENBERGER's seems to have been found acceptable by HILLEBRANDT.[4] KRETSCHMER and BENVENISTE suggest that the Hittite word, *innar,* denoting ' might, ' is at the basis of the word, *indra.* Accepting this suggestion, Batakrishna GHOSH says[5] that the name of the Vedic god, Indra, is but a thematized form of the Hittite word, *innar.* There is no doubt that the words, *indra* and *innar*, are closely related to each other from the philological point of view. But to assume on that account, as KRETSCHMER has done, that the concept of the Vedic god, Indra, is of Hittite origin is demonstrably wrong[6]. It should, however, be

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[1] Yāska gives (*Nir.* X. 8) as many as thirteen different derivations of the name, Indra.

[2] *KZ* XXXI, 316 ff.

[3] *BB* I, 342.

[4] *KLbl.* II, 3.

[5] *IC* XV, 146-158.

[6] *cf.* P. KRETSCHMER. ' Zum Ursprung des Gottes Indra '. *Anz. W. Ak.* LXIV, 39; ' Indra und der hethitische Gott Inaras '. *Kl. F.* I, 297. CHARPENTIER. ' Indra '. *MO* 25. DANDEKAR. *PIHC* X, pp. 24-55. One of the four gods invoked as witnesses to the treaty between the King of the Hittites and the King of Mitanni, documented on the Boghazköi tablet, is Inaras. What can be the relation between this god and the Vedic Indra? It has been suggested by scholars like JACOBI (' On the Antiquity of Vedic Culture '. *JRAS* 1909, 721-26) and WINTERNITZ (*Hist. of Ind. Lit.* I, 306) that, in view of the close resemblance of the four gods mentioned on the Boghazköi tablet with the Vedic gods, Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and Nāsatyau, the Mitannians may be justifiably regarded as an offshoot from among the Vedic Indians migrating to South-West Asia. According to these scholars, therefore, Inaras is just the Mitannian form of the Vedic Indra. Such an assumption would, however, give rise to certain difficulties from the linguistic and culture-historical points of view (*vide* DANDEKAR. ' Antecedents etc '. *PIHC* X, 24-55). A more satisfactory hypothesis in this connection may be proposed as follows: The Mitannians, like the Kassites, originally belonged to those IE tribes who migrated from their primary *Urheimat* in the Ural-Altaic region to Bactria. In view of their later history, these tribes may be

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noted that the etymological attempts mentioned above, namely, those of JACOBI, BEZZENBERGER, KRETSCHMER, and BENVENISTE, though not quite acceptable, rightly emphasize the fact that the name, Indra, is essentially suggestive of 'manliness' and 'might'. By far the most convincing etymology of the word, so far put forth, appears to be the one given by GÜNTERT.[1] GÜNTERT derives the word, *indra*, from the idg. **oid* (= to swell) and gives quite a plausible explanation of *n* and *r* found in that word.[2] The name, Indra, thus emphasizes the 'swelling, manly virility' of the hero. That the words, *indra* and *indu*, are closely related to each other from

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called the proto-Aryans. While living together in that region the proto-Aryans, that is to say, the ancestors of, among others, the Mitannians, the Kassites, and the Aryans (= the Indo-Iranians, or the ancestors of the ancient Iranians and the Vedic Indians), must have developed their own peculiar language and religion. In the earlier part of the proto-Aryan period, the Kassites and the Mitannians seem to have further migrated from their proto-Aryan *Urheimat* in Bactria to SW Asia leaving their Aryan brethren behind. They must have naturally taken with them the language and religion which the proto-Aryans had already evolved. These language and religion must be regarded as the forerunners also of the Aryan language and religion — and so of the languages and religions represented in the *Avesta* and the Veda. This would account for the similarity between the Boghazköi gods and the Vedic gods. It has been shown above that Indra was a god of specifically Vedic Indian origin. The question would, therefore, naturally arise: How then could god Inaras occur in the Mitannian religion? This can be explained in the following manner. The Mitannian word, *Inaras*, and the Vedic word, *Indra*, which are, without doubt, linguistically connected with each other, must be traced back to a common proto-Aryan word, which must have meant 'a hero with swelling manly power'. As indicated above, the Mitannians migrated from the proto-Aryan *Urheimat* in Bactria before the Aryans did. On their way to and in SW Asia, it is likely that they had to encounter some opposition which they ultimately overcame under the behest of one of their heroic leaders. In course of time, the Mitannians seem to have given their leader the appropriate name, Inaras. Inaras was later on deified and thus secured a place in the pantheon of the Mitannian gods. The originals of the mythological concepts of Inaras and Indra — namely, the heroic leaders of the Mitannians and the Vedic Indians respectively — were quite distinct from each other. It would, therefore, not be quite accurate to regard Inaras as the Mitannian counterpart of the Vedic Indra.

1 *Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland*, 1923, pp. 13–14.

2 Ludwig may not be far from right in connecting *indra* with Slav. *jedru* (= impetuous).

the philological point of view seems to have been recognised from very early times. It must, however, be pointed out that, in that case, the word, *indu*, does not denote 'drop' of Soma or rain-water, as suggested by earlier scholars, but of the *semen virile*.[1] The words, *vṛṣā*, *vṛṣabha*, which are very often used in connection with the Vedic Indra, would thus be semasiologically very close to the name, Indra. The Vedic god, Indra, must, therefore, have originally been a human hero, who, possessing great virile power, led his Aryan followers from victory to victory in the numerous battles in which the latter must have been engaged by their many foes. Indeed no better and more appropriate name could have been thought of for the war-like leader of the Vedic Indians.

Originally a historical hero from among the Vedic Aryans, who was, in course of time, transformed by the Vedic poets first into an 'institutionalised' national hero and then into the national war-god of the Vedic Indians, and who, in consonance with the war-like way of life and thought of the Vedic Indians, came to be finally regarded as the supreme god of the Vedic pantheon — this is the evolution of Indra's personality which we have traced so far.[2]

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[1] With this etymology, the interesting *vṛṣākapi-sūkta* (X. 86) would seem to acquire a peculiar significance.

[2] In his book, *The Hero* (A Study in Tradition, Myth, and Drama), London, 1949, Lord RAGLAN has made some thought-provoking observations on the subject of 'Hero in mythology and history'. Without attempting a detailed examination of RAGLAN'S observations, it may be pointed out that those observations, though very suggestive, appear to be clearly onesided. According to RAGLAN, there is no justification for believing that mythological heroes were originally historical persons or that any of the stories of their exploits had any historical foundation. He says that the world of tradition is quite a different one from that of history. He further points out that the stories of heroes in several mythologies in the world follow a specific pattern, which is characterised by 22 points (pp. 178-79), and that this pattern strongly suggests a ritual pattern rather than a historically authentic account. Out of these 22 points at the most four points can be found in the story of the Vedic Indra. Therefore, even accepting RAGLAN'S analysis of the 'Hero' (which is by no means either complete or entirely convincing), the Vedic Indra cannot be regarded merely as a traditional hero without any historical character. It may be pointed out, in this connection, that it is certainly not claimed that the entire Indra-mythology is authentic history; all that is claimed is that there unmistakably exist, in

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But the 'growth' or the 'becoming' of the Vedic Indra did not stop here. There were some other currents which were, in course of time, merged into the mythology relating to that god. One of the most natural consequences of the elevation of a human hero to the position of a god—particularly to the position of the supreme god of the pantheon, as in the case of Indra—was to make him responsible for some mighty cosmic deeds. As a matter of fact, it is the association with such cosmic deeds that truly testifies to the godhead of a god. This is indeed one of the ways in which history is transformed into mythology. The further evolution of Indra's personality also is, as will be seen, the result of this process of mythological development. Indra, who was primarily and essentially the national war-god of the Vedic Indians, accordingly came to be connected with some cosmic phenomena. In this matter, the Vedic poets seem to have proceeded more or less on strictly logical lines. A vanquisher of human

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that mythology, some historical elements. Even RAGLAN seems to admit (pp. 148, 151) that mythology does tend to reflect, to a certain extent, political and economic conditions. Speaking of the basis of history, RAGLAN enumerates five classes of historical materials. Among these he includes contemporary records. As suggested elsewhere in this paper, it may be claimed that the Veda is, in a sense, a record of contemporary historical events. To the question posed by RAGLAN, with a view to ascertaining the historicity of a hero, namely: do we have any contemporary record of the hero's existence?, the answer, so far as Indra is concerned, is in the affirmative. Further, it is a common experience, particularly in India, that a historically authentic hero has, in course of time, several mythical elements superimposed upon his character, even when that hero has nothing to do with ritual. Several instances can be quoted, which would falsify the author's statement that no progressive monarch has been deified (p. 204). It is also unwarranted to say that all myths are narratives connected with ritual (p. 144). To prove that no figure in mythology can have a historical character, RAGLAN suggests (p. 6) that the savage has no interest in the past and that, even if he had, there was no means of having that interest gratified. But ancient literature contains unmistakable indications that the ancient people did have an absorbing interest in tribal history and that they manifested it in the form of tribal songs. RAGLAN'S observations about 'Hero' cannot, therefore, be said to affect the original historicity of Indra's personality. All that one can say is that there did exist what may be called a universal hero-myth, which was connected with a ritual, and that, as will be shown later, some elements of this universal hero-myth came to be superimposed upon the Indra-mythology in the course of its evolution.

foes could as well be regarded as a vanquisher of cosmic foes. The Vedic poets had, therefore, to think of some cosmic wars, which would correspond with the fierce battles which the heroic Indra had actually fought for his Vedic Aryan followers. And the phenomenon of nature, which exhibited many features of actual warfare, such as, the fierceness and horror, the wrath and tumult, the ruthless uprooting of the one and the animated elation of the other, was certainly that of thunderstorm, lightning, and rain. The Vedic poets, therefore, made Indra the central figure — the hero — of this cosmic drama.[1] It is, however, not unlikely that the Vedic poets themselves were conscious of the various discrepancies — mythological and poetical — which would result from such more or less artificial development of Indra's personality.[2] But such discrepancies, they must have argued, were inevitable in the normal process of mythological development.[3] In the process of transforming the heroic Indra into a rain-god, the Vedic poets must have

[1] Apart from the fact that the phenomenon of thunderstorm represents the closest cosmic counterpart of an actual battle, there may have been some other reasons as well, which prevailed upon the Vedic poets while transforming the warlike Indra into a rain-god. Victory in battles, under the leadership of Indra, often opened up, for the Vedic Indians, new avenues of a richer and fuller life. Perhaps the most common blessing, which the Vedic Indians longed for in this new phase of their cultural life — which, incidentally, must have become less warlike and more settled in character — was properly-timed and plentiful rain. Such rain, again, was perhaps the only concrete bounty, which the Vedic poets could think of as resulting from the cosmic battles. The evolution of a war-god particularly into a rain-god would become fairly understandable if looked at from this point of view. Moreover the most concrete cosmic form of *vṛtra* or resistance, which Vṛtrahā Indra overcame, is the cloud, for, it is the cloud, which resists the free flow of the much longed-for rains. It is also likely that, in the new conditions of life of the Vedic people, the philological connection between the words, *indra* and *indu*, was perhaps given a significance different from the original one, and Indra then came to be associated with rain-drops. Another factor, which must have made the Vedic poets think of the phenomenon of waters, while superimposing a cosmic character on Indra's personality, was the merger into the Indra-mythology, at this stage, of yet another mythical current, namely, the one connected with the universal myth of the hero and the dragon.

[2] Attention has already been drawn to some of these discrepancies while critically examining the rain-god-theory about the Indra-mythology.

[3] In the present case, it is indeed these discrepancies which have served as the starting point for a critical analysis of the Indra-mythology.

experienced one great difficulty. The Vedic pantheon already contained one rain-god, namely, Trita Āptya, whom the Vedic Indians had inherited from their Aryan ancestors. The question must have, therefore, arisen as to how to accommodate these two mythical concepts — the one of the ancient rain-god, Trita Āptya, and the other of the new rain-god, Indra. The answer to this question, however, was quite simple. Indra, who had already become the foremost among the gods of the Vedic Indians, when transformed into a rain-god, must naturally supersede the original Aryan rain-god. As indicated in the earlier part of this paper, the Vedic poets seem to have made purposeful efforts in this direction. Though a stray passage in the *ṚV* suggests that Indra took over the rôle of the rain-god from Trita (I. 52.5), it becomes clear that the Vedic poets have consciously attempted to obliterate the latter from memory. It is only by assuming the superimposition on Indra — at a later stage in the evolution of his personality, and for the reasons detailed above — of the character of a rain-god that the relations between Trita Āptya and Indra, as presented in the *ṚV* directly or indirectly, can become adequately understandable.[1]

Side by side with this superimposition on Indra's personality of the character of a rain-god, which represents the last phase in the

[1] As pointed out by OLDENBERG (*Rel. d. Veda*, 143), Indra is the rain-god also in Pali literature. This is quite understandable. The superimposition of the character of a rain-god on Indra's original personality represents the last phase in the growth of Indra. It is, therefore, natural that this last phase should have been mainly adopted in later literature. It may, however, be mentioned in this connection that in Pali the word, *vṛtra*, seems to have disappeared altogether (HILLEBRANDT. *VM* III, 195). For, he is not mentioned as the rival of Sakka, who has been transformed into *devānaṁ indo*. As regards Sakka, Professor and Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS held the view that Sakka and Indra are quite different conceptions. Charles GODAGE (*Ceylon Univ. Rev.* III), however, believes that the Buddhist conception of Sakka is a historical growth out of the epithet, Śakra, which is exclusively attributed to the Vedic Indra. Buddhist Sakka is a development of the Vedic Indra with the pronounced emphasis on the moral side of his nature. According to GODAGE, we can understand how the savage infuriated Vṛtra-slayer of Veda came to be the exponent of ethics of mildness and non-violence, and a master in the art of self-command.

process of the 'becoming' of Indra,[1] there occurred the merger of another mythological current into the Indra-mythology. A comparative study of the ancient mythologies of the world would show that most of them have one myth in common, namely, the myth relating to the contest between the hero and the dragon.[2] The significance of this universal myth is quite obvious. It should, however, be remembered in this connection that only the general basic skeleton of this myth is adopted by the various ancient mythologies, the details put into it being different in different cases. In other words, we find the concepts of 'Hero' and 'Dragon' in almost all ancient mythologies, but these concepts do not necessarily have the same contents everywhere.[3] The ancient Aryans also adapted — of course in their own peculiar manner–this myth of the hero and the dragon in the general scheme of their mythological thought. Indeed the Vedic Aryans must have found the adaptation of this myth particularly easy. In their new mythology, they had already deified the historical hero, Indra. The most natural thing for them to do, therefore, was to identify the hero of the ancient

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[1] The naturalistic elements in Indra's personality are, as indicated above, derived mainly from the phenomenon of thunder-storm and rain. The growth of a war-god into a rain-god must indeed be considered to have been the result of the specific attempts made by the Vedic poets to superimpose a cosmic character on the heroic Indra. Apart from this, however, in the normal development of Vedic mythology as a whole, there was a stage, which was characterised by what may be called the 'solarisation' of several Vedic gods (*cf.* DANDEKAR. 'Viṣṇu in the Veda'. *Kane Comm. Vol.*, 95–111; 'Pūṣan, the Pastoral God of the Veda'. *NIA* V, 49–66). Certain naturalistic elements in Indra's personality, which are vaguely reminiscent of the sun-god (not, of course, in the sense in which HILLEBRANDT understands it, namely, the sun-god, who vanquishes the winter-demon, but rather in the sense in which MAX MÜLLER understands it, namely, the sun-god, who daily overcomes the demon of darkness) must have been due to this solarising tendency.

[2] The various forms which this universal hero-dragon-myth has taken in different ancient mythologies are: Zeus and Typhon, Hercules and the Hydra, Apollo and Python, Thor and the Serpent, Marduk and Tiamat, Gilgameš and Humbaba, Innara and the Dragon, Thraētaona and Azi Dahāka. See also: RAGLAN, *The Hero*, London 1949, pp. 177–189.

[3] Even when this myth is interpreted from the naturalistic point of view, the phenomenon of nature, which it is made to represent, is not always the same. However, as was quite natural, the dragon was normally associated with waters.

dragon-myth with that historical hero. Indra's principal enemies, both human and cosmic, accordingly came to be known by the name, Ahi (dragon), and several new elements, derived from the ancient dragon-myth, came to be introduced into the Indra-mythology[1]. So far as the *ṚV* is concerned, with the identification of Indra with the hero of the ancient dragon-myth, the growth of the personality of Indra may be said to have come to an end.

Before closing the history of the evolution of the personality and character of the Vedic Indra, a reference may usefully be made to his associations with some other gods. It has already been pointed out that Indra is very closely associated with the Maruts—indeed, so much so that Indra is called *marutvān* and the Maruts are referred to as *indrajyeṣṭhāḥ*. How did this association come about and what exactly is its significance ? In order to be able to answer this question, it would be necessary to trace—albeit briefly—the evolution of the Marut-mythology. In the Ṛgvedic mytho-

[1] E. SIECKE (*Indra's Drachenkampf*, 1905) traces the Indra-Ahi-contest back to lunar origins. His theory, however, appears to be quite farfetched. According to R. S. OJHA (*JBORS* 28, 55-64), this myth, which is found in India, Babylonia, Greece, Egypt, Persia etc., reflects the historical conflict between the serpent-worshipping people, who had spread from the mediterranean coasts to the Indian plains, and the non-serpent-worshipping people like the Aryans. A. P. KARMARKAR (*NIA* 5, 184-189) believes that the Mohenjodaro seals indicate the prevalence of the Nāga-cult in those hoary times and that the Indra-Vṛtra-fight is symbolical of the Ārya-Nāga-fight. Discussing the " Vedic *Krivi* ", K. RÖNNOW (*AO* XVI, 161-180) says that the religious history of the *ṚV* contains, among other themes, the one which refers to the tension between the Deva and Asura-cults of the immigrant Aryans and the Nāga-cults of the native peoples. This, according to that scholar, is represented through the conflict between Indra and Vṛtra-Ahi. He further suggests that, later on, many Aryan or semi-Aryan tribes joined the serpent-cult, but the tribes worshipping Indra never compromised (*vide* also foot-notes 58, 69 and 76). These and similar other views are not improbable, but they would require more confirmatory evidence. In any case it seems certain that the elements of the ancient myth relating to the hero and the dragon were first superimposed on the Indra-mythology, and the resulting mythical Indra-Ahi-conflict may then have been consolidated through its historical counterpart in the form of the Ārya-Nāga-conflict. (In this context, reference may also be made to: A. BANERJI-SASTRI. " The Nāgas ". *ABORI* 18, 338-50 ; K. K. GUPTA. " The Nāgas and the Nāga Cult in Ancient Indian History ". *PIHC* III. ; E. von EICKSTEDT. " Arier und Nāgas ". *Hirt Comm. Vol.* 1936 ; M. GHOSH. " Serpent-Worship in Ancient India " *PAIOC* VII.)

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logy, the Maruts are associated mainly with two gods, namely, Rudra and Indra. Just as the Maruts are designated as *indra-jyeṣṭhāḥ* — the followers of Indra, they are also called *rudriya*—the children of Rudra. How can these two concepts be correlated with each other? It is neither possible nor necessary in the present context to go into the details of this entire problem. The following hypothesis may, however, be put forth as the only one, which would satisfactorily explain the various aspects of the mythology relating to the Maruts. Rudra seems originally to have been the god of death in the *ṚV*[1] and the Maruts belonged originally to the paraphernalia of that god. Etymologically the word, *marut*, may be derived from the root *mar* (= to die). It would seem likely that primarily the Maruts were the personifications of the souls of the dead[2] and secondarily the messengers of the god of death. As the messengers of death, the Maruts seem to have formed a uniform, well-disciplined, homogeneous group. It has been pointed out, in another context[3], that, in the course of the development of Vedic mythology, Rudra gradually lost his character as god of death and was soon superseded by Yama, who, incidentally, was not originally the god of death. Not only this, but, for this and several other reasons, Rudra seems to have also been soon reduced to quite a subordinate status in the official Vedic religion. This must have inevitably resulted in the breaking up of the original connection between Rudra and the Maruts—even the few references to that connection, which have been preserved in the *ṚV*, becoming gradually less understandable. The Vedic poets consequently gave to the mythological concept of the Maruts quite a new significance. In doing so, they emphasized a specific feature of their original character, namely, that they formed a uniform and well-disciplined group. The Maruts are like brothers, among whom none is the eldest or the youngest (V. 59.6; 60.5). They are equal in age (I. 165.1) and are of one mind (VIII. 20.1, 21). They also look alike with their golden mantles (V. 55.6), golden helmets (V. 54.11), and armlets (II. 34.2). They always move about in fixed formations-thrice sixty (VIII. 85.8), or thrice seven (I. 133.6). These

[1] DANDEKAR. " Rudra ". *Summary*, AIOC XII, Benares 1943-44.

[2] As suggested by KUHN and BENFEY (*OO. on ṚV* I. 64), with whom MEYER (*Idg. Mythen* I, 218) and SCHROEDER (*WZKM* 9, 248-9) agree.

[3] DANDEKAR. " Yama in the Veda ". *B. C. Law Comm. Vol.* I, 194-209.

peculiarities of the Maruts must have presented to the mind of the Vedic poet the picture of the formations of well-disciplined soldiers in their uniform. When, therefore, the memories of the original character of the Maruts were being gradually obliterated, the Vedic poets must have naturally thought of associating them newly with their war-god, Indra. That the connection between the Maruts and Rudra represents a prior phase of the Marut-mythology is clearly indicated by the fewer and more or less vague references in the *ṚV* to that connection.[1] On the other hand, the references to the association between Indra and the Maruts are many and quite distinct. Moreover, the transference of the Maruts from Rudra to Indra would appear more logical. That Maruts could have been transferred from a prominent god, like Indra, to Rudra, who had already been reduced to a subordinate position in the *ṚV*, is indeed inconceivable.[2] As mentioned elsewhere, the Maruts are represented as increasing the strength and prowess of Indra (III. 35.9; VI. 17.11). They generally assisted him in the battles (III. 47.3-4; VIII. 65.2-3; X. 113.3).[3] Attention has already been drawn to a

[1] Attention may be drawn, in this context, to the very significant observations made by L. D. BARNETT ("The Genius: A Study in Indo-European Psychology". *JRAS* 1929, 731-748). According to that scholar, the striking fact that just the Maruts have some serpent-attributes (which do not belong to any other gods in the *ṚV*), such as *ahibhānu* (I. 172.1), *ahimanyu* (I. 64.8, 9), *ahiśuṣma* (V. 33.5), would indicate that, in the Vedic religious tradition, there was some old connection between the Maruts and the serpents. It would also seem to confirm the original connection between the Maruts and Rudra. (The later connection between Rudra-Śiva and the serpents is well-known). BARNETT further points out that the Maruts of the *ṚV* are in origin a host of genii, whose primary duty is the guardianship of the Aryan and his family. The ordinary man, the ranker in the Aryan armies, saw in the Maruts the celestial counterpart of himself. (BARNETT emphasizes the parallelism between the Maruts and the Fravaśis of the *Avesta*). In his *Der arische Mannerbund* (Lund 1938), Stig WIKANDER has expressed some interesting views on this subject. WIKANDER tries to prove that the Vedic word, *marya*, signified not merely a lusty young man but a member of a particular society vowed to a particular cult. The *maryas* were indeed the earthly counterparts of the Maruts in heaven. According to that scholar, the two words, *marya* and *marut*, are etymologically connected with each other.

[2] That the Maruts could have been associated with Rudra and Indra simultaneously is equally inconceivable.

[3] The Maruts are sometimes described also as the singers of the battle-(I. 19.4).

couple of passages in the *RV*, which seem to show that some features of the mythological connection between Indra and the Maruts may have been the reflections of the actual historical connections between a war-lord and his lieutenants. In I.165.6 and VIII. 7.31, the Maruts are described as having left their leader, Indra, in the lurch. Elsewhere (I. 170.2; 171.6) there is a clear reference to the serious differences between Indra and the Maruts. It should, however, be remembered that such incidents must have been but rare, and that they perhaps only help to confirm the historicity of Indra's original personality.

When in the course of the development of the Vedic mythology, a cosmic character came to be superimposed upon the personality of the national war-god, Indra, and when Indra was consequently transformed into a rain-god, a corresponding transformation occurred in the character of the Maruts also. The trusted lieutenants of the war-lord now became the allies of the rain-god. In other words, the Maruts came to be regarded as the divinities connected with storm. This is the final phase in the evolution of the character of the Maruts as presented in the *RV*, and that is why, in later mythology, the Maruts are usually represented as storm-gods.[1]

Another god, with whom Indra is associated in the *RV*, is Bṛhaspati-Brahmaṇaspati (II. 23.18; 24.2; IV. 49. 1-6; VIII. 85.15.). A critical study of the Ṛgvedic hymns, which celebrate Brahmaṇaspati would clearly show that that god is obviously a conscious priestly creation. Without going into the details of this question, it may be pointed out that, through this god, the priestly community must have originally thought of glorifying the magic power of prayer. The word, *brahman* (in Brahmaṇaspati), must be understood in the sense of the ' magic power of prayer '. As indicated

[1] It is interesting to note that the Vedic god, Vāyu, is rarely connected with the Maruts. He is only once referred to as having created the Maruts from the wombs of the heaven (I. 134.4). Had the naturalistic character of the Maruts been primary, there would have occurred more frequent references to the association between Vāyu-Vāta and the Maruts. See, in this connection: Stig WIKANDER. *Vayu*. Uppsala 1941. WIKANDER says that, in the rites, myths, and speculations relating to Vāyu-Vāta, we have clear traces of an old religion which must have played an important rôle in the common Indo-Iranian period. According to him, Vāyu-Vāta was not merely a god of wind but also of ' breathing ' — the soul of the universe.

above, on account of their warlike way of life and thought, the Vedic Aryans transformed Indra, their victorious warrior-leader, into the supreme god of the Vedic pantheon. At that time, it must have been the anxiety of the Vedic poets and priests—an anxiety which is indeed quite understandable—to impress generally upon the people that it was not merely the valour of the warriors, blessed by the national war-god, Indra, which helped them towards victory. In order to be truly effective that valour has to be necessarily aided by the magic power of prayer. This anxiety, on the part of the Vedic poets and priests, may be said to have been mythologically expressed through the creation of Brahmaṇaspati. In this context, attention may be drawn to the very significant fact that Brahmaṇaspati, like Indra, is a god of specifically Indian origin. The Vedic poets have consciously set this god by the side of Indra and have represented him as having been responsible—together with Indra — for the victorious battles against the enemies (II. 23.18; IV. 49. 1-6). Sometimes this anxiety to place the magic power of prayer on par with warlike valour seems to have got the better of the Vedic poets. As the result of this, in some passages, Brahmaṇaspati alone is credited, by the Vedic poets, with having accomplished the heroic deeds which are normally—and, of course, more naturally—attributed to Indra (I. 40.8; II. 23.11; 24.2; VI. 73. 1-2; X. 67.5; 103.4). Some of Indra's exclusive epithets also have been applied to Brahmaṇaspati—such as, for instance, *maghavan* (II. 24.12) and *vajrin* (I. 40.8)[1]. The obvious incongruity between the basic character of Brahmaṇaspati, as clearly indicated by his name, and the generally warlike traits, which are sometimes attributed to him, can thus be rationally accounted for.[2]

The history of the evolution of Indra's personality, which has been set forth above, would now make it amply clear why the

[1] It is likely that a peculiar reaction of this tendency is to be seen in the passages where Indra is referred to — rather incongruously — as *kṛta-brahma* (VI. 20.3), *brahman* (VI. 45.7), and *brahmavāhas* (VI. 45.4).

[2] As was to be expected, in course of time, Indra, the national war-god of the Vedic pantheon, came to be regarded as the prototype and the guardian of kingship in ancient India (*AV* XIX. 24.2; *MS* II. 1.4; *AB* VII. 23.1; *ŚPB* III. 9.1.16, 18). The *bhūmi* is said to have chosen Indra as her lord (*AV* XII. 1.37). In *AV* (III. 4.6), the king is significantly referred to as human Indra. Corresponding to this development of the Indra-concept, Brahmaṇaspati must have come to be regarded as the symbol of sacerdotalism (*TB* I. 7.7.4).

Vedic mythology, as a whole, is so very greatly dominated by that god. As indicated elsewhere, in course of time, Indra came to be regarded as the very symbol of the official Vedic religion. This fact is fully confirmed by a peculiar mythological device, which is sometimes employed in the *RV*. Side by side with what may be called the official or hierarchical Vedic religion, there had existed, in the Vedic age, several other currents of mythical and religious thought. These latter seem to have been current either among the masses of the Vedic people (as against the hierarchical classes) or among the non-Vedic people. It may be presumed that the religious and mythological ideology of these people was, for several reasons, found to be more or less unacceptable by the guardians of the official Vedic religion, which gradually tended to become sophisticated and hierarchical. Their gods, therefore, must have originally received but scant recognition at the hands of the Vedic poets and priests. In course of time, however, the religious thought of the masses—both Vedic and non-Vedic—must have effectively asserted itself. Consequently their gods must have inevitably forced their way into the Vedic pantheon. With a view to properly consolidating this new position acquired by the 'popular' gods, the Vedic poets, who sponsored them, brought them into close association with Indra—more often artificially than otherwise. Such association with Indra, the symbol of the official Vedic religion, served the purpose of setting the seal, as it were, of official recognition for those gods.[1] The association of Indra with Viṣṇu and with Pūṣan, which is demonstrably artificial and the result of an afterthought, belongs to this category.[2] The popular gods, Viṣṇu and Pūṣan, were, so to say, granted official recognition by associating them with Indra. Except on this assumption,

[1] Another device of a similar character intended for officially introducing a god into the Vedic ritual seems to have been to associate that god with Soma.

[2] *vide* DANDEKAR, "Viṣṇu in the Veda", *Kane Comm. Vol.*, 95-111; "Pūṣan, the pastoral god of the Veda", *NIA* V, 49-66.

the relations between Viṣṇu and Pūṣan, on the one hand, and Indra, on the other, would remain wholly ununderstandable. [1]

Indra seems to have held the position of the official representative of the Vedic religion even in later times. [2] The *govardhana*-mountain episode in the career of Kṛṣṇa [3] is only a mythological reflection of the historical contest between the Vedic religion, on the one hand, and the newly-developed popular Bhāgavata religion, on the other. [4]

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[1] It may be pointed out, in this connection, that when the entry of these popular gods into the Vedic pantheon became inevitable, the Vedic poets, who represented the official Vedic religion, saw to it that, before those popular gods became Vedic gods, such elements in their character, as did not fit in well with the official religious ideology, were more or less obliterated, and that almost a new character was superimposed on them. (*vide* DANDEKAR on Viṣṇu and Pūṣan).

[2] According to SHENDE (XIII AIOC, *Summary*, 1946), Ṛgvedic Indra is transformed in the *Atharvaveda* into a deity of popular appeal to redress private and public grievances. See, in this connection, also RENOU. "Indra dans l'Atharvaveda". *NIA* VIII, 123-129. GAJENDRAGADKAR (XIII AIOC, *Summary*, 1946) points to the striking difference between the Indra of the Veda and the Indra of the epics. While the Vedic Indra, inspite of a not entirely moral conduct, ever remains pre-eminent, the epic Indra is haunted by the shadow of defeat and dethronement.

[3] *Harivaṁśa*, *adhyāyas* 15-18.

[4] The sequel of that episode seems to hint at the victory of the popular religion over the Vedic religion. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that, in a late *Kāvya* by a South Indian poet (17th cent. A. D.), Kṛṣṇa is actually given the title of the 'queller of the pride of Indra' (*vide* O. C. GANGOLY. "Indra-Cult versus Kṛṣṇa-Cult". *JGJRI* VII, 1-27). When ultimately Kṛṣṇa came to be regarded as the chief god of the Hindu pantheon, some epithets of Indra, such as *govinda* and *keśiniṣūdana*, seem to have been transferred to him.

SOME IDEAS ON HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION*

BY

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

While the student of history should probe into and, in varying degrees, make use of the material culled from literature of all variety and from every other kind of evidence that can throw any light upon historical events, he should be naturally hedged in by various limitations of utilisation and interpretation of material.

Archaeological material can at best furnish only what may constitute the dry bones of History, only "such a sequence of occurrence and priority and posteriority in point of time and the general condition of the civilization of the people whose handiwork is subjected to examination." A full appreciation of historical evolution and cultural development, needs very much more than the mere assembling of such material in proper sequential, correct and skeletal formation. Literary matter has been utilized for historical purposes to a far greater measure than the material gathered from other fields, but it needs to be used with considerable caution. The use of literature as a source for the construction of History is subject to factors of risk which should be carefully avoided. It belongs to the region of conscious effort; and full allowance must be made, in the interpretation of its substance, for variations in indlividual temperament and personal equations of all kinds.

One notable feature, characteristic of the work of historians, and researchers engaged in the several fields of historical research in our land is that each writer is particularly sensitive to the lapses or omissions of his immediate predecessors and becomes likely to occasionally work himself up into passion over such defects.

* The paper was read at the Bhandarkar Institute on 16th September 1950, at the XXVth Anniversary of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar.

This feature has become specially noticeable in work relating to the history of the recent centuries. Bacon gave sage counsel to historians, when he wrote that the past should be investigated by students with an absolute blank in their minds as to what they might wish to know or what they might expect to find in it. A complete application of this method will reduce the historian's task to the mere cataloguing of facts even without casual comment. It is held to be defective fundamentally, as constituting a dry, not a scientific, nor even a reasoning, process, but a mere collection of building up of the sequence of different happenings, phenomenal and, in many respects, meaningless and unfruitful, annalistic data, unmarked by the " apprehension of differences as the basis of pre-requisite of thought. "

Lord Acton has given his idea on this subject, in the following words in his " *Lectures on the Study of History*:- " " In the Renaissance the art of exposing falsehood dawned upon keen Italian minds and it was then that History as we understood it, began to be understood and the illustrious dynasties of scholars rose, to whom we still look both for method and material, Mediaeval chroniclers of literary merits like Mathew Paris, Joinville and Froissart whose testimony to the events of their own time was fairly trustworthy, did not satisfy the essential condition of true historical study. "

As to the question when this ideal came to be realized in the evolution of historical work, Gooch's answer is that for liberty of thought and expression, for clear and ordered insight into the different ages and for the judicial temper on which the historical science, if it existed at all, should be based, only the 19th century witnessed the emergence of a historical method with high ideals of objectivity and truthfulness. In such an atmosphere alone, " History and interpretation and method are made to re-live with every awakening of the critical spirit. "

Thus the new school of historians identified, in the process of their labours, history with critical inquiry. There has come into prominence another school of writers who identify history primarily with composition and press the beginning over further, " not only to epic poems and ballads, but to the simplest recital of some unwonted occurrence or adventure. " (Teggart, *Prolegomena to History*, 1913, P. 173).

Leopold von Ranke, the illustrious German historian, cautiously avoided any probing of the fundamental problems of the historical scholar's task and wrote his monumental works as narratives built wholly upon what seemed to him to be the best elements sifted from the mass of testimony available. A consequential problem is whether the historian should attach any importance to the literary form to be adopted for his work and whether that form should give expression to any pronounced subjective or individual characteristics that would naturally be manifest in the projection of any peculiarities of his particular personality and the temper of his work. In reality and essence all statements of past events are only re-statements made after the examination of the evidence accumulated till his own day, by the writer. In many instances, the re-statement resolves itself into " a selection dominated by ideas current now, from the restricted contents of the original statements. "

Accounts of happenings in the past occasionally get refined by the charm of guessing ancient motives from the records of ancient deeds; but more commonly they become distorted and twisted from true perspective by the interjection, unconscious in many cases, of later, or even contemporary, ideas. The historian of the past has indeed a cardinal duty to project his imagination and visual powers into the past, but runs the risk of subordinating to his mental twist facts that might have had a fundamentally different spiritual and contemporary ideology. This applies, in a particular measure, to the narration of ancient epochs, whose tempo and perspective he has to investigate.

An ideal aim that may be expected of historians of the events of the distant past, may be here noted. Mommsen's view was that history should be neither written nor made without love or hate. It is true that this intensity of personal feeling which is inseperable from patriotism and politics, has given history its specific quality of intellectual and emotional excellence. But at the same time such a feeling has served as the greatest obstacle to true historiography. The golden mean between these two extremes which are fundamentally antithetic to each other, is very difficult to find; but a very close approximation to this ideal mean should be the aim of all writers of history, particularly of

those engaged in presenting pictures of formative epochs and of nation-building and other constructive heroes. It is a most difficult task to portray great personalities and their impelling forces in all the complete and full accuracy of their lives, actions and ideals, without getting involved in one or another of these dangers. Such has been the expreience of the historians of our national heroes like Akbar and Shivaji and of the emergence of nationalities like the Marathas and the the Sikhs and movements like the religious renaissances of the past and the cultural and political rebirth of modern India. In the belief that they are depicting the spirit of the times, some writers have unconsciously reproduced their own mental texture and environment in their conclusions about the past.

Yet another covered pitfall faces the hisforian. Conclusions accepted through a length of time have tended to stereotype and even fossilise popular and later judgments (*e. g.*, Macaulay's depiction of Warren Hastings and the synchronism of Sandrocottus and Seleucus); and any attempt, however honest, to go against these well-established assumptions has the disadvantage and risk of being condemned either as revolutionary for the sake of mere novelty and not sufficiently orthodox, or as being not based on acceptable data of sufficient weight and value. The fact is that every new view-point has to run the gauntlet of fierce criticism; and only a few sturdy offspring of the historian's labours in this direction, survive their exposure on the Mount Taygetus of fierce challenge.

Thus novel conculsions which are put forward in conflict with the old, though they are very often based on inadequate study or upon data which may not be convincing enough, are easily rejected on grounds that, when examined internally and *per se*, they do not admit of acceptability. On the other hand, the danger is also present of "faddists who have become indissolubly wedded to their pet theories and interpretations and hasten to condemn well-grounded historical conclusions on grounds alleged to be marked by refreshing reason and convincing argument so called."

This distancing, both mental and moral, which is so necessary between the historian and the subject of his work, should be effected with the conscious skill of the trained artist; but it is

found, in actual practice, to be more often the effect of the operation of the distance of time that intervenes. One can justifiably ask that this sobriety of attitude rising from a rigid impartiality of mind and judgment should be kept up on a most rigorous scale and should never be allowed to be warped by considerations of national or parochial pride and also by the natural desire for claiming great credit for pictures of the past that should be reflected on us. How often have pictures of the past with preconceived ideas serving as their bases, been given expression to by writers, largely Indian, but comprehending foreigners also, when they have proceeded to describe the genesis of the Dravidian and Aryan civilizations, the effect of the Aryan invasion on the inhabitants of South India and the consequent inter-twinings of cults and beliefs, the bearings of the impact of one civilization on another and even of the less uncertain, but more elusive, interaction of the forces of the North upon the South and *vice versa*? These dangers among others, have got to be guarded against by all historical students and interpreters of the vast and memorable expansion of Indian culture into the Central, Eastern and South-eastern regions of Asia, our knowledge of which has been expanding by leaps and bounds, particularly in the last two decades. Any inquiry into the culture-contacts of India with the outside world will comprehend fields of research which are particularly susceptible to the manifestation of such an outlook and temper of presentation. Dr. Finot, the distinguished Director of the Indo-French School of Oriental Research at Hanoi, has rightly warned us that "it is impossible to trace clearly the evolution of Indian civilization in Indo-China in all its definite stages without great precaution being taken and to show how the ideas and social institutions of India came to be transformed at the touch of foreign races of quite a different turn of mind."

Sir Denison Ross has also given a somewhat subdued expression of the same caution which is, however, perfect in form and purport, relating to this latent risk of over-statement in such cases. He writes:- "The detachment that is really called for in an effort at the understanding of an extraneous culture is not perhaps always possible in the fullest measure. Nobody therefore, need be held to blame; but it is nonetheless necessary to remove

the defect and perfect the knowledge that we possess of ancient Indian culture in its evolution down to modern times. That such defects are possible with a large amount of sympathy for the subject of study, is in evidence in the latest publication bearing on the subject by three continental scholars in the work *Ancient India and Indian Civilization,* published by Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Company, London, 1934."

Primitive and pre-historic cultural epochs have been roughly defined to be the times in which man was dominated merely mechanically by his physical environment; while the correct historical era begins from that point in which social life had already become the result of the interaction of human wills. It is difficult to maintain in this sense that the so-called Paleolithic and Neolithic epochs were not quasi-historical. Nor can the age of the Indus Valley Culture be held to have been part of the prehistoric epoch. We can classify these with a considerable degree of appropriateness, under the category of evolution proceeding during historic times, because the growing volume of excavations and finds and the ever-developing interpretations of material thus recovered and the comparative study of primitive social institutions that has become possible thereby, strengthen the view that documents either in writing or in forms as good as written, exist abundantly in the archaeological relics, potsherds, stone and metal implements and other discoveries, and such modern survivals of them have been interpreted and give very helpful facilities for the study, comparative as well as evolutionary, of ancient customs and institutions.

The field of history proper has been thus projected to cover these far-off times which were till recently termed primitive or pre-historical. This has been made possible by the endeavours of scholars who have followed the method of comparative studies which has been in increasing vogue for over a century and has securely laid the foundations of primitive anthropology. Explorers of eminence of the present century like John Marshall, Aurel Stein and R. D. Banerji (not to speak of other personages) have given us vistas of periods and regions which may well be regarded either as projections of the present into the past or *vice versa*. Thus the idea of continuity of history which was stressed by E. A.

Freeman many decades ago has been brought back to us, "after so long a circuit to the view of Diodorus and the Stoics that all men living or who once lived, belong to the common human family though divided from one another by time and space." And as a result, History to-day includes "not alone every manifestation of political activity among men but the entire range of human experience."

Hindu culture has been of an essentially comprehensive and absorbing character sustained through millenniums. It justly occupies a large space in the map of human evolution, as it has demonstrated, in its growth through the ages, a vitality for survival and progress and a capacity for the absorption as well as the adaptation of foreign elements into its fold. It has spread over a vast area of Asia, in fact all Asia, excepting only the Islamic countries of the West and Siberia In Further India and Indonesia, the absorption of Indian culture by their peoples stopped so soon as their active and living contact with India ceased : but its continuing influence is manifest even at the present day, after several centuries of Islam's hold upon the population, in the fact that the cultural back-ground of many parts of Indonesia has remained essentially Hindu. If Hindu culture has thus demonstrated its prolonged vitality in foreign lands, it is obvious that it possesses inherent forces of strength that should have operated in India itself, and strongly influenced the alien peoples and cultures that have been woven, in the course of the ages, into the web of Indian life. In the interaction between essentially Hindu elements and the essentially foreign ones in the evolution of Indian culture may be seen those features that have been at once the glory and the bane of our land. In this connection one fruitful line of reseatch is the inquiry into the widening stream of Hindu life flowing steadily on towards the ocean of interaction of peoples and cultures.

The phenomenon of race mixture has been a most complex and perplexing feature; and the pictures drawn of such mixtures are roughly marked by a descending scale of evaluation of colour and group. The various theories of the divisions of the Indian peoples into race types and groups and their correspon-

ding cultures, such as Dravidian, Aryan, Scythian, Mongolian, Austric etc., do not admit of any certain conclusions as to where the distinctions of the types, ethnic or cultural or otherwise, should properly begin and where the corresponding features of the other should be regarded as ending. This search after the mirage of race origins and groupings and culture contacts, Aryan, Dravidian, and others, is in essence largely the search for data concerning the development of social institutions like the village community, tillage, irrigation and social economy. We are probably on safe ground in assuming that in India the art of regular tillage, though it has been often interrupted to some extent by successive invasions, has contrived not only to maintain its intensive hold upon the people, but developed in some remarkable directions through the ages. The series of external invasions and internal irruptions, so far from their having broken down either the complexities of caste or the involutions of land tenure and village rights, have but added to the complications of the situation; and the divisions of caste have consequently tended "to dip, clash, combine and interpenetrate into one another and not to be superimposed, one upon another, like the skins of an onion."

The stratification that ensued in Indian society was not in the least peculiar to the Indian peninsula, even if, as it has been suggested, the caste system was more complicated and rigid than anywhere else, and sacerdotalism asserted itself almost to the dwarfing of the secular in almost every relation of life. One writer has remarked thus: "That it was not wholly due to the subtropical character of the climate with its fierce vegetational power, is evident by the fact that among the "Turanian" race on the other side of the Himalayas, in bare, windy and barren Tibet, sacerdotalism has almost equal power, if a less monstrous mythology. In India, however, progress cannot always have been banned, and ... ... Buddhism coming in as one of the great challenges in the history of humanity. But it will also be found that nothing availed to supplant the allied despotism of priest and king, or the lever the people out of the superstitions of which, indeed, the common people are the greatest conservtors." (Cowan: *A Guide to World History*; 1920, pp. 82-86).

The military and political achievements of the Muhammadan conquerors and rulers, the special genius of Muslim writers, artists and builders, these and other related topics have been largely dwelt upon; but the problem that would still have to be explained, is how far Islam has really entered into the web of Indian life in some of its remote phases spacially and from the point of view of the lower strata of the population and whether historians have really depicted the Muslim peoples themselves in their religious and social life fully and clearly through the ages, apart from their conquests and politics and superficical contacts with the Hindu cultural and religious currents. The charge generally made that our indigenous historians have not lived into the life of the common people and have not given full pictures of their everyday activittes and difficulties or of the changing features of society is not fully true. Thus Kalhana's Rajatarangini is far more than a record of kings ' doing; and Pandit Jawahalal Nehru, describing the scope of his work, in his foreword to R. S. Pandit's *Rajatarangini, the Saga of the Kings of Kashmir*, (1935, page 12), points out how the historian has revealed the old order changed in Kashmir and the economic structure collapsed, shaking up the old Indo-Aryan polity and the rendering it an easy prey to internal commotion and foreign conquest. He estimates the worth of Kalhana as revealing this interesting phase.

Another illustration, *viz.*; Blochmann's estimate of the value of Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* gives a true idea as to what a full-told history, at the hands of a great polyhistor ought to be in scope. Apart from the trustworthiness, the love of truth and the marvellous powers of expression that marked the great author, "the governed classes are brought to the fore-ground; men live and move before us, and the great questions of the time, axioms then believd in and principles then followed, phantoms then chased after, ideas then prevailing, and successes then obtained are placed (before our eyes in truthful and therefore) vivid colours." Abul Fazl's "wishes for the stability of the throne and the welfare of the people, his principles of toleration, his noble sentiments on the rights of man, the total absence of personal grievances and of expressions of ill-will towards encompassing enemies, show that the expanse of his large heart stretched to the clear offing of sterling wisdom. "

Professor Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan has pointed out many a time the significance of the history of the British period for the understanding of present-day problems. The material at the disposal of the student for what may be called the British epoch is staggering in quantity, as well as bewildering in its range; and the difficulty of co-ordination of such a mass is formidable in many places. The dross of romanticism and commonplace sentimentalism, which occasionally permeates research in more antique epochs can affect this period only in a much smaller measure; but we have a great risk to avoid; *viz.*, the more serious and, in reality, the more insidious danger of researchers trying to read, either by reason of unconscious bias or by force of subconscious analogy, a great deal more than is justifiable in a rigidly objective process that should mark the study of the causes of the decay of the Muslim and Maratha powers and the rise and establishment of the British, in preference to other European, domination.

The enormous quantities of records, despatches and other kinds of manuscript material pertaining to the activities of the European companies in our land are largely the result of the almost Venetian supervision exercised by the home authorities over their frequently insubordinate and generally corrupt servants and settlements in India. These have been supplemented by a great amount of pamphlet literature embodying the passions and prejudices of persons who played their parts in the great drama of eastern enterprise. Besides these, we have a very large collection of despatches and correspondence received and despatched, which it was usual for men in high office in those days to keep for themselves. Above all, there is the difficulty of co-ordinating these official sources with the indigenous output of material, like *Bakhars*, chronicles, *Kaifaiyats*, diaries, genealogies, local tracts, news-letters, letter-books and *Shakavalis*, most of which have been utilised by the enterprising scholars of Maharashtra who patiently dug them literally out of the earth in which they remained buried so long.

The correct method of using such material, a great quantity of which still lies hidden far away from the ken of even the keenest researcher, was most difficult to pursue, for European writers,

particularly as they lacked a knowledge of some of the intricate phases of Indian life and thought that are most necessary for the right understanding of their subjects of study. That this defect characterised the work of even such an acute student of Maratha history like Elphinstone, has been made clear to us by Sir Jadunath Sarkar who urged that, even for the most intensive student of any particular period or topic, a search is essential for the further acquisition of the papers and correspondence of the actors themselves and of those who were in immediate contact with the events they described. The aim of accumulating on scientific lines a *corpus* or consolidated body of every kind of first class original records in all the different languages in which they were written, collected and arranged in volumes according to subject matter and periods, has been accepted as the desideratum for any really constructive historical work in Maratha History. The accumulation and careful edition of such a collection of material for each period or topic, in which every concerned paper of primary importance in whatever tongue it may be, should go hand in hand with the gathering of other equally important data. The Peshwa Daftar at Poona has been analysed and made to serve as a corpus for the Peshwa period by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai.

It is true that personalities claimed a disproportionately large attention from historians and researchers in the modern period. One explanation of this feature is the lack of a proper co-ordination between different aspects of national life, military and political on the one hand, and social and industrial on the other. The eighteenth century has had no adequate historical material like monographs and pen-pictures of its social and economic life, except in the field of Maratha history in which larger and more intensive work has been done and a higher level of research and presentation has been attained than in others. In respect of the military and political history of British rule in that century partisanship of varying character has been abundantly in evidence.

A numerous section of our *intelligentsia*, particularly our historians, have unconsciously developed a quasi-English mentality and, consequently, an overstressed admiration for English political and administrative ideals. This feature has resulted in a

lack of accurate and impartial survey of our history, whose distorted reflection is preasented with "a facility that seemed quite natural in the nineteenth century but now appears some what obsolete in these resurgent days of nationalistic feeling."

We have been powerfully influenced by British political practice and European ideology and literature; and it is noteworthy that the growth of Indian nationalism has accentuated this tendency which has, however, produced a double-faced effect. One set of writers are apprehensive of the possible political repercussions of their views and consequently deny themselves that full freedom of expression which is their right and duty. The other class of writers go the contrary way and display a bias which is artificially strained so as to please the administration. It is only very rarely that we get any impartial and balanced history of recent events that is indifferent to the effect that its views and judgments may produce upon the administration or the dominant party or section of public opinion. This holds true even in the present post-Independence epoch.

No historian should display any tendency to weave destiny round his heroes, instead of allowing the story of their destiny to unfold itself in a natural manner. Every piece or bit of his work should be primarily based on an impartial interpretation of data, which should be subjected to strictly scientific tests in their qualitative selection.

The main task of the historian is to make history as much of a reality as possible, concrete and alive—"combining in it both the actuality of the field of treatment and a justifiable and well-founded morality of analysed conclusions." Above all, he should avoid making his narrative degenerate into one kind of romance or another.

The tendency to discover extra-historical and quasi-providential reasons for the appearance and vitality of British rule has been as told above the bane of one set of writers. Polybius, in the preface to his *Oecumenical History*, apostrophizes his readers in this vein, when he describes what struck him as the 'wonderfully rapid' establishment of Roman ascendancy over the Greek world. He wrote thus:—What mind, however commonplace or

indifferent could feel no curiosity to learn the process by which almost the whole world fell under the undisputed ascendancy of Rome within a period of less than fifty-three years, or to acquaint itself with the political organization to which this triumph—a phenomenon unprecedented in the annals of Mankind—was due? What mind, however infatuated with other spectacles and other studies, could find a field of knowledge more profitable than this?" (*Historiae*, Book I). As Polybius was but the typical representative of social *milieu* given to praise of Roman rule, so a similar environmental influence is inherent, in varying measure, in the minds of our *intelligentsia* and our historical writers of this and previous generations. This has in effect made them live and write with an almost English mentality and with an excessive admiration for English political and administrative ideals.

Yet another remark may be made with reference to the touchiness of our present-day writers. As has been noted:— "The writer of to-day inevitably has a world outside his own people, listening intently and as touchy as his own people, as swift to take offence ... This knowledge of an overhearing even eavesdropping, public, of being in *partibus infidelium*, exercises a constant silent censorship, which has made British Indian History the worst patch in current scholarship. Orme, Elphinstone, Montgomery Martin, Marshman, Thornton, Keene, Beveridge, Mill and Wilson, and most of the earlier historians of separate episodes are vivacious in reading and kept the subject alive."

The British environment, material and administrative and in its moral and spiritual aspect, has got to be carefully evaluated with particular reference to the effects caused by changing conditions and by the varying pressure of contacts, with the variegated mass of the Indian peoples.

The principle of continuity has become complicated and in the field of Indian History by the assumption of varying margins between historical and pre-historical times and peoples of our land as well as by numerous breaks caused by lack of adequate source and by the lacunae that occur from the operation of this and other factors in the early history of the different regions and dynasties.

True history should be comprehensive, and not merely be nation-wide, but also extend particularly in the portrayal of cultures, their origin and dispersion, to a continental and even inter-continental background. Many phases of Indian History, markedly those relating to the filiations of Dravidian and Aryan culture and origins, and the spread of Indian civilisation in Indonesia and Serindia, require that the historian should extend his understanding from the conventional, narrow, and possibly subnational, and project it on a truly international, background.

PRIMITIVE SOCIETY AND YAJÑA

BY

D. K. BEDEKAR

Yajña is the hub and nexus of the entire thought-world of the ancient civilised man. It is not only an Āryan institution. It has a universal character. Mythological, philosophical and social thought centred round Yajña, during the ancient period stretching from B. C. 4500 to 300 B. C., i. e. from the ancient Egyptians of the Copper Age to the mature thought of Aristotle. In Aristotelian thought, we see the first decisive step breaking away from the ancient thought-world of Yajña. Thenceforth, human thought progressed along Aristotelian lines in the West, but even then Yajña continued to influence it for centuries. In the eastern civilisations, Yajña remained, however, the sole basis and motive power of thought. In particular, the routine life of the people, their festivals, their ethics, the social and political creativeness of the élite were all governed by that nucleus of ideas and practices which may be collectively called the Yajña.

2. *Yajña as the root of Philosophy, customs, etc.*

If Yajña is the hub of the ancient thought-world, it is clear that a correct understanding of the basic concepts of the ancients depends upon a thorough grasp of the meaning of Yajña. The significance of such concepts as *karma*, *brahma*, *ātman*, *yoga*, etc., as also their mutual connections, development and metamorphosis in later period can be correctly studied only if the investigation is constantly referred to the source, viz. the nucleus of Yajña. The same may be said about such practices as the royal coronation, *a-sagotra* marriages, the institution of *deva-dāsis*, the *Jagannātha ratha*-festival and a host of apparently diverse and mutually unconnected customs. Unfortunately, however, very little attention is paid to Yajña, and the whole thing is relegated to the background as mere ritual. The philosophical discussion of concepts like *brahma*, *karma*, etc., is divorced from considera-

tion of the ritual. It is held, in a vague manner, that philosophical thought and ritual of the ancients were two distinct and unconnected activities. Ritual, it is supposed, was the monopoly of priests, while philosophy was the prerogative of the seers.

It is imperative, however, to reject this divorce between ritual and philosophy. Even more; we should seek in ritual the roots of philosophy, following the maxim 'first was deed, then the word'. Yajña must be given the prime status in all our investigation, because it possessed this supreme position in reality.

3. *Yajña is axiomatic even to the ancients.*

Apart from the divorce of ritual and philosophy, another reason why Yajña has not received adequate attention is its hoary character. Yajña seems to stretch back into the unknown past, centuries before the rise of ancient civilizations, which could boast of literature or monuments. Investigation about such concepts as *brahma*, etc., is undertaken with the help of hymn literature. Linguistics, archaeology and anthropology are pressed into service and speculations are made about the meaning of such terms. But the Yajña ritual is thought to be incapable of such treatment and study. It is simply described, taken for granted, or at best explained as 'magical practices'.

We should now reject this tendency to treat Yajña as something to be merely taken for granted. We must realise that to explain it away as magic does not really explain its significance, because magic itself has its origin in Yajña.

We must try to get at the root of Yajña, just because it is so hoary, not only to us, but even to the ancients. It is uninversally taken for granted even by the ancients. They venerated it as time-less and made it the axiomatic basis of their thought-world. Why ? What is behind the ritualistic mask of Yajña ? What is the secret of its hold on the mind of the ancient man ? What is its genesis ?

4. *Human Sacrifice as primæval Yajña.*

The key to the understanding of Yajña is the study of its genesis; hence it is necessary to get at the primæval Yajña. This is, however, not difficult. In fact, anthropologists are long agreed

on this that behind the various sacrificial practices of the ancient world stands the primitive *human sacrifice.*

Even then, it is necessary to take into account two objections to this theory of the primitive human sacrifice.

(i) Human Sacrifice as a non-Āryan Institution :

It is held by many Indian scholars that Āryans were never 'guilty' of human sacrifice. Dr. A. P. Karmarkar, for instance, first affirms that " we find the early traces of the same (i. e. human sacrifice— DKB) in Greece, Italy, among the Celts, Teutons and Slavs, the Phoenicians and Egyptians, the early Japanese, many African tribes, South Sea Islanders, some American tribes and particularly the Mayas and Aztecs ". He also gives evidence to show that human sacrifice was practised in Mohenjo-Daro. He further even gives references to this practice in Vedic and Purāṇic literature. Yet his conclusion is epitomised in the following :- " Further the famous chapter on *Purusha-medha* in the *Yajurveda* mentions, among other victims, the *Vrātya*, *Puñścali* and *Māgadha.* This evidently proves the keen hatred of the Āryans against the practice of human sacrifice ... ... Thus all these instances are clear proof of the fact that the rite of human sacrifice must have been popularly in vogue amongst the proto-Indians and that the Āryans must have adopted it later on, mainly on account of the fusion of the two races ".[1]

The author seems to hold the view that when the Greeks, the Egyptians, etc., were barbaric enough to relish human sacrifice, their contemporaries the Āryans were so civilised as to entertain a 'keen hatred' against it; what is more, the Āryans were so noble in their culture-contact and race-fusion that they obligingly 'adopted' this 'hateful' practice of the proto-Indian barbarians ! It is needless to comment upon this, but it is all the same necessary to clarify certain things.

Nobody would deny the fact that the ancient Āryans gradually came to look upon human sacrifice as unnecessary and substituted the sacrificial horse for the sacrificial man. But then this substitution was effected by all the mature ancient civilisations. To forget this is to slip into that attitude of mind which is similar

[1] Dr. A. P. Karmarkar, 'Human Sacrifice in proto-India' B. O. R. I. Vol. XXV, 1944, pp. 109-115.

to the race-arrogance of Nazi scholars who provided ' proofs ' of Nordic superiority over Jews, Asiatics, Slavs, and, in fact over all non-Nazis.

(ii) But apart from Āryan racialism, there is another obstacle to the correct appraisal of the universal nature of human sacrifice and also of its role as the prime cause and mover of the whole thought-world of Yajña. This obstacle is the projection of the modern mental frame work into the ancient and primitive past. This projection blinds us to the fact that the ancient man and the primitive man were living and thinking in a different social context than ours, and did many things strange to us, with a clear and even pious conscience, things which are apt to jolt even our so-called ' instincts '. But man is not such a creature of ' instincts ', but is conditioned by his social environment and feels and thinks in his social context.

It is clear from overwhelming evidence that human sacrifice did not cause revulsion to the ' instincts ' of primitive and even ancient man. Further, if we closely look into later substitution, effected in mature civilisations, we will not fail to see that the original human sacrifice is *not given up*, but is actually *preserved*, though now in the form of ritual.

What does this show ? It clearly shows that the substitution was not motivated by any feeling of guilt or revulsion against human sacrifice. It was easy for instance for the ancient *Aśvamedha* hymn-makers to drop out all practices and words which so directly and naïvely point to the human sacrifice, but they did not do so.[1] They again and again seek to establish the identity of the immolated horse with the human being for whom it is substituted.[2] It is obvious from all this that human sacrifice is not only the distant ancestor of sacrificial practices in non-Āryans civilisations but also in Āryan civilisation.

[1] Vide Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, 3. 8 and 3 9, particularly 3. 9. 8, which directly mentions human victims.

[2] There is a mythological story that Dadhīchi, who by self-immolation gave his bones to be fashioned into the divine thunder-bolt, was beheaded and resurrected by the Aśvinī-kumāras, who gave him a horse's head. This story is a good example of the nature of this substitution.

5. *Human Sacrifice as a Creation Rite.*

From Yajña, in general, to the specific human sacrifice is a big step. It carries us back into the primitive past of mankind, away from the Egyptians, Greeks, proto-Āryans, Āryans and the rest. It simplifies matters for investigation, because our mind is freed from the hazy mosaic of the ancient thought-world, and we are put face-to-face with a single simple problem, the genesis and meaning of the grim (to us moderns) fact of human sacrifice.

But this simplification is merely a matter of isolating the core of something that we wanted to examine. The core is, again, as hard as, or even harder than, the outer shell, because by re-substituting, say, man for the horse, we do not get any nearer to the essence of sacrifice.

Here, again, we must take the help of the anthropologists, who agree upon the universal and primaeval character of human sacrifice. They further affirm that human sacrifice was a *creation rite*.

This is a very important step, because it takes us much nearer to the core of sacrifice. What is more, this step helps us to free our mind from some banal conjectures. For instance, some authors have held that sacrifice is nothing but a rather pompous killing off of prisoners in primitive wars. Others have held that human victims were killed to propitiate the Sun-god or some other deity. The first one of these conjectures is based on a superficial 'interpretation' put on a simple fact of primitive society; the second conjecture is based on a facile generalisation of a simple fact which is *to-day* observable, say, in a *Kālī* temple.

Freeing our mind from such easy conjectures, we must ponder over the well-established fact that the human sacrifice was a definite human 'thought-creation' and a deliberate practice expressing it. In short, it was not merely an *act* of the primitive man, but was his *rite*. A rite is not undertaken to perform a routine act such as the beheading of captured members of a hostile tribe. A rite is neither an act expressing, say, the emotion of fear or love towards a deity. Routine necessity, sentiment, instinct or even curiosity and such other springs of *action* are irrelevant in the consideration of a *rite*. As I have already said, a *rite* is a 'thought-creation' accompanied by, or rather embodied in, an

adequate performance or 'vidhi'. Human sacrifice is such a rite and it is a *creation* rite.

Sacrifice, or deliberate killing, produces a revulsion in our modern minds, because to us death is not willed but imposed on man by external circumstances. To the primitive man, however, death was *willed*[1], because everything, – i. e. every action, was *willed*. This volition was not, however, egocentric, but a collective impersonal volition. If the modern man affirms "I am, because I think," the primitive man affirmed, with equal conviction, "I am, because the collective thinks." It is this primitive faith that leads the group and its members to hold that every person "lives or dies", because the impersonal collective so wills. The man whose death is willed by the collective is not *killed* but *voluntarily dies*. He is *Yama*, who willed his own death, and who is transformed later into the deity who wills the deaths of all human beings.

6. *Basic Pattern of the Rite.*

When we affirm that human sacrifice is a creation rite, it would be clear that it is a solemn affair, entirely different from any of the normal occupations of the primitive man. It can also be seen that it is neither a pantomime mimicing actual life nor is it in the nature of a fictitious fanciful drama. The rite is enacted, and hence some anthropologists have compared it to the drama; but the comparison is apt to mislead. A rite, and particularly the prime creation rite, is a solemn and *holy* enactment, and as we all know, *holiness* is not the mark of actual life, its mimicry or sheer fancy.

Let us now probe behind this solemnity and holiness of the creation rite. A reconstructed skeleton, or basic pattern, of the primitive creation rite may be put down as follows:[2]

Specific time, site, materials, sacrificial victims and priests, and specific enacatments (*vidhi*) and text (*mantra*) were used. These specific things, all put together, formed the body of the rite and all these were holy. They were not selected for their utility

[1] Vide 'Before Philosophy' by Prof. Frankfort and others, p. 25.

[2] Lord Raglan has given a detailed description in "Jocasta's Crime" and I have adopted this from his book.

or excellence but ordained by ritual custom. The ritual objects and persons were, with elaborate care, isolated from ordinary un-holy objects and persons. This whole assemblage of holy things formed the ritual ' world '.

(b) In this ritual world, the rite of creation was enacted *periodically*. Thus the whole rite presumed the eternal and cyclic character of creation. There was no beginning. Consequently, creation was not out of nothing, but out of ' Chaos, ' i. e. out of a destroyed creation. So, there was first a destruction of the existing creation, and then a new creation out of the rite, enacted within the ritual ' world. ' [1]

(c) A mock battle was staged within the ritual enclosure, which used to be, very often, on a hill-top. This was done to achieve the defeat of evil. In the *Aśvamedha* ritual a dog with four eyes, (i. e. with eye-spots above the eyes) was killed by the son of a harlot, (T. B. 3, 8, 4).

(d) Then, a *mithuna*, (i. e. a pair or couple) who served as the new creators in the preceding rite, were sacrificed and their blood, eye-balls, skull, bones, etc., were used 'to make' the new world.

There used to be a holy tree (say like *Aśvattha*) on the hill-top and the top of this tree was called the Heaven. On this there were seated the new *mithuna*, who were to live as the creators for the new creation. This pair used to descend from the tree-top. The youth was then followed by the maiden with appeals for intercourse. Then they performed the ritual intercourse. (The youth and maiden used to be brother and sister, and this is reflected in the universality of incest in creation myths. I will refer later to the *Yama-Yamī* myth, which is certainly related to this ritual incest).

(d) After the *mithuna* ritual the blood and flesh of the sacrificed pair was scattered in the fields to bestow fertility on the tribe, crops and cattle. The bones of the pair were preserved as holy. The new pair was then taken out in a triumphal procession

[1] This is equivalent, I think, with *Ṛta*, which is a physical and well-defined area. See ' *Ṛta in Ṛgveda* ', by Prof. V. M. Apte, B.O.R.I. Silver Jubilee Vol. XXIII, pp. 55-60. *Satya*, then, would mean the outer created world.

and the whole assembly used to shout in frenzy and used to indulge in sex-excitement, wine-drinking, dances, etc.

The new pair was considered to be ' gods ' and so treated till the next rite, in which they were sacrificed.

7. *Creation rite as the basis of magic.*

The first thing, that emerges out of the above, is the transparent ' materiality ' of the ritual as a creation drama. Yet the real world of life, *sat*, is kept out of the ritual world of *ṛta*. This involves a paradox and a very significant one.

Formerly, I have referred to rite as a ' thought-creation ', but that was a tentative description. Now we see that every rite has a dual character: on the one hand, it is very *material*; on the other, it is *removed from* the *real* and is apparently fanciful. Why this paradox ? Why did the primitive man create this paradox ?

It is, however, clear that the primitive did not delude himself with the absurd notion that the creation rite was really responsible for the whole creation. He could not be considered so foolish as to think that the bones of the martyred couple were actually transformed into mountains. The creation rite cannot be based on such a grand illusion.

But there is involved in the rite a theory of a ritually created ' energy ' which can be attributed to the primitive mind. This energy was also considered a substance and this energy was given the character of eternity, omnipotence, etc. Such a theory is feasible, since it is likely to emerge in the mind of primitive men. How and under what peculiar circustances the concept of such an energy arose, we shall discuss later. But, if such an energy-substance (*karma*) is conceived, it is understandable that this *karma* could be conceived by the primitive man as the creative cause of the real world.

Thus, we are here face-to-face with the paradox of a material and cosmic ' mind-energy. ' It is the same paradox which meets us, in different forms, throughout the history of philosophical thought as the dialectical struggle between Spirit and Matter, or Mind and Matter.

The creation-rite is the first consciousness of this *mind-matter paradox* and its first attempted solution. The theory of magic was

born out of this solution, and this theory served as the basis of theology, mythology and science in ancient civilisations.

8. *Prajāpati's Diffusion and Unification.*

From sacrifice to its core, the human sacrifice, and thence to the creation-rite and the theory of a ritual energy-substance has been the course of our investigation. Now, if we can solve the apparently 'mystical' nature of this energy, we get the answer to all our queries.

Now, to reach towards the genesis of this energy-concept of the primitive we must see what *mode* was thought to be efficacious to create the energy. We cannot get at the real primitive creation rite in any recorded form, but we may study the *Aśvamedha* rite, and in its hymns we actually get a glimpse at the mode or vital process. In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa. 3. 9. 8, a very significant argument, or piece of reasoning, regarding the meaning of sacrifice, is given as follows :

" After he had created the creatures, Prajāpati through love entered into them. He could not disengage himself from them and reassemble his parts together. He said, 'He shall prosper who shall disengage me from these and restore me to unity.' Then they prospered. Whosoever offers the horse-sacrifice, he restores Prajāpati to unity and (consequently) prospers, "[1]

In this passage, we can discern the creation myth with the familiar features of death and new creation. But it can also be seen that the death and birth of Prajāpati have some unique features. His death is as it were dissemination and 'exhaustion'[2] of a focus, and his birth is just the converse of his death. Birth is restoration of the unity, which may again dissipate itself to a diffusion amounting to death.

The words used in the passage for death and birth are significant : the word *anu-praveśa* does not signify *nāśa*, but something denoted by such words as *abhiniveśa* and *abhimāna*. All these words are extensively used in our later systems and always indicate a process by which a deity or nuclear principle (like *brahma* or

[1] Vide, " *The horse-sacrifice in the Taittiriya-Brāhmaṇa* ", by M. Paul-Emil Dumont, pp. 485.

[2] It was held that the hymns also get so exhausted by the completion of the Aśvamedha. See T. B. 3. 9. 18.

mahat) occupies the body or vehicle that is its own adequate abode. The dualism of body and soul in later thought is anticipated in this concept of *anupraveśa*, but anticipation is not identity. *Anupraveśa* does not brook such dualism. The objects which are entered into by the *Prajāpati* acquire even their validity, *nāma-rūpa* or 'reality' only because of this *anupraveśa*.

This process of *anupraveśa* has also this uniqueness that it is 'through love,' which means it is not in the nature of a violation or encroachment from outside. The process is best illustrated by the 'natural' *sarga* or flowing out of the mother's blood to the foetus in her womb. The biological illustration has a further correspondence. In such a *sarga* the flow is not only non-coercive, but is also non-voluntary, and even attended with a sense of pleasure and fulfilment on the part of the donor. The sense of fulfilment and pleasure is further reciprocated by the donee. All these aspects of biological *sarga*, maternal and sexual, have a bearing when we try to grasp the significance of *prena anupraveśa*.

Now what is significant in *Prajāpati*'s *anupraveśa* is that he gets so entangled into the objects, or *prajā*, that he as if withers away and feels incapable of 'reassembling his parts' as the translator has put it. The *mantra* uses the word *sambhava*, which means 'becoming together.' The word has come to mean 'birth' in later *Sanskrit*.

If we ponder over this piece of reasoning in the *mantra*, we will get a clear idea of the meaning of death and birth as the ancients viewed it. Death meant only a 'diffusing away' and birth meant a 're-gathering.'

So *nothing* is actually *destroyed*. It is a cycle of diffusion and concentration. The 'one' becomes 'many' and, the 'many' converge back into a nucleus 'one,' but this 'one' is never more than a '*unity* in *combination*.' This peculiar concept of unity continues to dominate the entire course of Indian philosophical thought and, as Dr. Betty Heimann puts it: "India's idea of unity is more or less merely the concept of cosmic collectivism or combi-

[1] The *Mahāmanau*, or two great oblations, offered in *Aśvamedha*, speak of the *Prajāpati* as *prānot* and *ātmada*. See T. B. 3. 8. 18.

nation of aggregates or of a final or original receptacle assumed, or of balance of pluralities or polarities, but never concept of genuine uniqueness or simplixity.[1]"

9. *Unification through participation of prajāḥ.*

From the diffusion or quasi-death of *Prajāpati,* we must proceed to consider the mode of his re-assemblage or *saṃbhava.* The *mantra* says that *Prajāpati* was 'united' by the *Aśvamedha.* The actual word used for the act of 'unifying' *Prajāpati* is '*saṃbharaṇa,*' i. e. the gods 'filled him together.' The becoming' (*saṃbhava*) of *Prajāpati* was thus a *saṃbharaṇa,* and this act of unification was achieved by the gods through Yajña. This act of Yajña gave Prajāpati his unity (or 'birth') and added *samṛddhi* to the gods.

Before we revert to the consideration of the Yajña in general, we will pause to note one important aspect of this *Aśvamedha* unification. Already, we have seen that *Prajāpati* got diffused and therefore had to seek a resurrection by means of re-unification. But, diffusion was not in a void, but was an 'entanglement' in the *prajāḥ.* It is but natural, then, that the process of unification should require the co-operation of the *prajāḥ.* These multi-forms had absorbed the *Prajāpati* and they must, so to say, disgorge him before he could be re-united. The active role and co-operation of the *prajāḥ* in this process of re-unification has an important bearing on the discussion about the mode and meaning of Yajña, to which we shall soon proceed.

10. *Motivation of human sacrifice, acquisition of ritual energy.*

We have examined the details of the important Yajña and found therein the process of ritually re-uniting *Prajāpati* who had withered away and got enmeshed in the *prajāḥ.* We could also see the significance of Yajña as a ritual of death and birth.

We can now return to our original query, viz. the problem of *human sacrifice,* which is core of all such rituals as the *Aśvamedha.* If human sacrifice is only a creation ritual, how can we account

[1] Dr, Betty Heimann "*Plurality, Polarity and Unity in Hindu thought, A Doxographical Study,*" B. S. O. S. (London), 1939, Vol. IX, Part 4, page 1015.

for the fact that primitive man evolved such a rite, involving the killing of young members of the primitive social group? Moreover, how was it conceived that the rite bestowed any benifit on that society?

We will start with the last question, because this is a vital one. A rite is a solemn enactment performed for a definite purpose and with an implicit belief in the efficacy of the rite. What is more, the rite is not undertaken for satisfying abstract curiosity, or, say, cosmological speculation. The rite must, therefore, have a firm foundation in its purposiveness and must be held to be beneficial to the social group which performs it. The primitive human sacrifice is a creation rite, but this does not mean that primitive man sacrificed a couple to enlighten themselves on cosmic creation.

It may be objected that the creation rite involved cosmic speculation, such as the 'creation' of the sun and moon from the eyeballs of the immolated persons, and consequently the rite was not entirely a practical affair. But there is no need to deny these elements of cosmic speculation. What is necessary to urge is the fact that the rite had *primarily* a 'practical' *motivation*, and that the cosmological speculation was an *outcome* but not the motivation of the rite. This 'practical' aim was, of course, not exoteric but esoteric, in so far as the practice was ritualistic and the desired object was also a *ritualistic energy*. That this energy was itself considered to be a means of acquiring progeny, cattle, gold, victory over enemies, etc., is a fact, which has unfortunately led some Indian scholars, with nineteenth century rationalism and naturalism as their guiding thought, to invent the fiction that the *direct* aim and *phala* of Yajña was material wealth, progeny, etc., It is strange that after laborious research into the details of Yajña, they could come to the astounding discovery that Yajña is not a ritual.

The *Aśvamedha mantra*, quoted above, will help us, for instance, to get at the real situation. The gods undertook the task of unifying Prajāpati only because he promised them that "he shall prosper who shall disengage me from these and restore me to unity."

So, finally, we arrive at this position that the *primitive social group performed human sacrifice as a creation rite to unify the withered Prajāpati and thereby to acquire a ritual energy and consequent prosperity.*

11. *Discovery and diffusion of Human Sacrifice in Primitive Society.*

It is at this point, that I am proposing a new hypothesis regarding the genesis of the rite. This hypothesis is based on the fact that the concrete, purposeful and leading ideas of a social stage are 'reflections' of the social fabric of that stage. The creation rite is such a solemn significant idea put into practice. It is, therefore, correct to expect that the facts of primitive social life provide the basis for the rite.

A little digression into the broad outlines of ancient social chronology must precede the statement of the hypothesis. In India, we know that ancient society was based on a stable village community (*grāma*), its hereditary leaders (the *deshmukhs*) and servants (*mahāras* etc.) and small or big towns each held by a group of royal families (*rāja-kulas* or *gaṇas*) or by a single royal dynasty. This urban and rural society was divided on the basis of hereditary castes.

This pattern of society existed from the time of the arrival of the Britishers backwards to the period of Aryan settlement in India. Further, the same pattern seems to have existed among the Aryans of the *saṃhitā* period and even in Mohenjo-Daro we can guess the existence of a *gaṇarājya* of the type of the later kingdom of *Vaiśālī* ruled by the Licchavi royal clan. (See Mr. S. K. Dikshit's article in the present issue of the Annals).

It may, therefore, be stated that during the Copper Age civilisation, which had extended from Egypt to China and India during the period B. C. 4500 to B. C. 1500, the village-cum-royal-city pattern of society had evolved in some regions like India, while another pattern of slavery-temple aristocracy-Monarchy had evolved in places like Egypt, out of a tribal society, which was neither differentiated between urban and rural classes nor between slaves and masters, royal families and subjects, or ruling castes and the ruled ones.

It is this undifferentiated, classless and caste-less primitive society that we must study if we have to get at the root of the primitive rite. The earliest evidence of some kind of ritual is the ritual rock-paintings of the primitive Aurignacian man, who is estimated to have lived over 50,000 years ago. So the discovery of human sacrifice must be attributed to some primitive tribal group living in some region during the vast stretch of time from the epoch of the Aurignacian ritual-painter to the time of the birth of the Copper Age. It is even possible that the rock-paintings came after the human sacrifice, or it may be said that the paintings are crude steps towards the primæval rite.

Though the time, place and authorship of the creation rite can not be determined except in this vague manner, this much is certain that once discovered the rite was taught to or adopted by the whole world of primitive human society. This diffusion of knowledge can alone explain the remarkable resemblance of the creation rite performed by the civilised and uncivilised descendants of the primitive man.[1] There is other evidence to show that human groups, afterwards insulated from each other in the separate continents in later ages were actually living contiguously, or even together, in some primitive epoch.

12. *Tribal gathering as a human institution.*

We must now seek for some basic characteristics of the undifferentiated primitive society which will give us a cue to the genesis of *Yajña.* Such a distinctive feature of primitive life is the inherent cohesion between the members of a primitive social group. Even in later epochs and in the modern period we come across religious, national or class groups with internal cohesion. But this cohesion pales into insignificance, when compared with boundless unqualified oneness of the primitive group, which did not know about the modern family and the individual based on private property. These two institutions, (particularly the family, *kula,* in the ancient civilisations) were the guiding wheels of social life after the break-up of primitive society.

[1] Lord Raglan has elaborated this point in his books, ' Origin of Religion ' and ' Jocasta's Crime '. Also see Hocart's ' Kingship, ' page 3.

This cohesion in the primitive group was neither accidental, nor was it a special psychological feature. It was a simple reflex of the struggle of the social group against nature in a collective manner. The group-cohesion was not vitiated by the institutions of the family or the individual, with 'private' aims and and interests, because there could be no such institutions in the primitive struggle for life.

Hypothetically, we may imagine a primary human group which lived under one roof, cooked and ate together, hunted together and so on. But this state of affairs could not have continued long and the creation of daughter-groups and their diffusion from the original mother-home was inevitable. This reasoing may be criticised as rather schematic. It is, however, an obvious but necessary and valid schematisation for the purposes of our study and it does not violate any of the known and basic facts of primitive life.

Now, while this diffision of one group into many colonies must have occurred under the stress of imposed external necessity, there was no occasion or cause for a change in the *mode* of living. The collectivism of the original group and the colonies was identical and all the groups had everything to gain by federating in a union (like the *panca-jana*) for mutual help. The result must have been that the colonies must have sought to keep together, in some way. Actually, i. e. in day-to-day existence, they could live only in widely distributed seperate groups, but they sought a unity, and this unity could only be deliberately achieved. In other words, this unity had to be 'invented', and it had to be a rationalised *institution*.

In fact, the occasional but deliberate *coming together* of the diffused colonies under one roof was the *first human institution*. This occasion was, therefore, a feast, a celebration and a great *strength-giving* event to all concerned.

13. *Emotional and real value of the primitive assembly.*

Can we imagine the possible occasions on which there could be such a gathering?

The answer is simple: death, birth and mating are three primary but routine events which could be the occasion of a tribal gathering. In addition there could be external momentous events such as a war with a hostile tribe or a destructive forest-fire, flood, drought, epidemic, attack by wild animals, etc. Taking into consideration the fact that human groups were extremely ill-equipped to fight against these calamities we can imagine how such tribal gathering must have been looked upon by men as great events of security, preservation, strength, etc. Great emotional gravity and solemnity were inevitably attached to the death gatherings and feasts held for marriages and births. The sense of awe and pain caused by death, the sight of maternal pain and joy of delivery at child-birth and the exhilaration of sex are psychic factors, which gave tremendous value to such tribal feasts and dances.

A back-ground of centuries of such tribal feasts with the accompaniment of dances, wine-drinking and mating, is to be assumed if we have to visualise and reconstruct the possible birth of the creation rite. For centuries, these feasts must have been held without the element of a ritual or theorising. But continued practice of an activity of a socially significant character soon produces the situation when an *idea* emerges, which, so to say, reflects and epitomises the activity. A *theory* emerges from *practice*.

This theorisation is the distinctive feature of human life. Lower animals or insects may build and multiply their colonies, as the bees do, but they do so blindly and instinctively. They never reflect or deliberate about their own social actions. They do not, therefore, create ideas. It is the prerogative of man to produce ideas, to reflect his own activities and also the 'actions' of beasts, stars, clouds, sun and above all 'gods' whom he himself creates.

14. *The rite emerges from the social reality of assembly.*

We have reconstructed the social background, though as an obvious schematisation, of the ritual, and it is necessary to proceed with the details.

We have seen that the tribal gathering was, in actual experience of the community, a great acquisition of strength. But was this acquisition from an external source? No. The strength was inherently there within the whole tribe. It was only manifest and realisable (*vyakta*) in the gathering, while in the diffused colonies it lay hidden, dormant, and dispersed (*a-vyakta*).

This is the *threshold* of social reality. Stepping out of this real world, the inventor of the rite soared into the ideational, i.e. ritual world.

The inventor, of course hypothetically assumed as a single individual, had thus created something new, the rite. This new creative act was solemn and significant, because while, on the one hand, it was rooted in social reality, on the other hand, it had transgressed the threshold of that reality. This is analogous to an idea that is expressed, in another context though, by a *mantra*-poet, in the following.

> Uṣase svāhā, vyuṣṭyai svāhā ity-āha,
> rātrir-vā uṣaḥ, ahar-vyuṣṭiḥ
> ahorātre eva avarundhe.
>
> T. B. 3. 8. 16.

Out of the night of mere practice the dawn of theory (consciousness) emerged, but the dawn is still the night! Social reality and social consciousness are so dialectically related as expressed in this ancient metaphor.

15. *Prajāpati as collective but decentralised tribal unity.*

The rite now stands related to its true foundation, which is not in the heaven above, but in the *social reality* as reflected in the minds of primitive men. The heaven and 'gods' are born out of Yajña, as even the ancients affirmed. Magic, as a theory or practice, also follows the rite, and is its corollary.

Now the grim drama unfolds itself. It is a *human* drama and hence the main actors must be human.

Let us recapitulate to ourselves the Prajāpati-hymn in the *Aśvamedha* rite. It is our task now to see what the concept of Prajāpati itself stands for, in the context of the tribal assembly and the rite.

A little reflection will show that Prajāpati is the ritual image of the *oneness* of the tribe, which wanes and withers away in the diffusion of its colonies and is resurrected in the tribal feast in which the colonies participate. The 'oneness' had allowed to dissipiate itself voluntraily (*preṇa*) but such dissipation is undesirable for all concerned. The group, which served as the cradle or nucleus, desires the unification as much as do the offspring colonies. There is no relationship of high and low,–all are on par. Then, how is the unification to take place ?

'Who will unite me' is the plaintive call of the Prajāpati, who feels himself powerless to unite by his own effort. What does it mean ? It means the absence of any coercive co-ordinating *centre* which could subordinate the *parts* into a single *whole*. But, this is the very essence of tribal collectivism. The collectivism is based on the *absence* of coersion either within each group or within the federation of sister groups. There is no 'one' to subordinate the 'many'. Sovereign power is held in the assembly, in the '*all*'.

This sovereign power, expressed in a *collective* but *decentralised unity*, is present as *ritually concrete* in the Prajāpati.

The problem before the primitive ritual inventor was, therefore, to *concretise*, in a *ritual* manner, the unification of this tribal unity, i. e., of Prajāpati.

16. *Ritual surrender of all for unification, achieved by sacrifice.*

What happened, now, in the hypothetical group, was the emergence of the idea that a *special* feast, an organised deliberated *unification feast*, should be periodically held. On this *special* occasion, the tribal unification must be deliberately 'made' or concretised. As no external element of unification had any place in social reality so also there was no place in the ritual unification for anything external. The *unity* was to be forged *from itself* !

This sounds enigmatic and rather paradoxical, but nothing could be more in tune with the real. The unification could be made in this manner only, and the primitive man solved the problem, in the manner in which alone it could be solved.

What was it to forge the unity from itself ? How could this process be *concretised* ?

The answer to these questions can best be concretised in a quasi-realistic but imaginary event. Let us suppose that a cradle group had given birth to six colony-groups. The total number of seven groups now live as equal members of a federation of kin-groups. Let us say, there was a war with a hostile tribe and the federatian had to lose in the encounter seven warriors, *one* from *each* group. The funeral ceremony of the seven heroes would then be an event, in which the seven groups will merge into a unity, a *whole* tribe *in mourning*.

If death can serve as such a unifier, so also can the other powerful force of sexual urge. Similarly, rejoicing at the birth af new members in the groups can be an event which would galvanise the hearts of men and women in the seven groups into one big tribal Heart.

This schematic quasi-real account of event must have been really enacted on countless occasions, and this provided the riual-inventor with his *vidhis* or ritual steps, which were to be used as bricks to build the edifice of the prime rite.

He started with a quasi-recapitulation of the various feasts held to celebrate victory, death, birth, harvest, mating, dance and host of other events; but he pressed all these into a *single whole* to which he also gave *rationale*. He asked the seven groups, in our hypothetical tribe, to provide seven couples who would serve as the objects of mourning and rejoicing for the whole tribe. The couples were to enact the drama of battle and victory, of flood and of sex, of birth, death and re-birth. The upsurge of emotions and their confluence into a unity were achieved in this drama. Each member of the assembly was to be freed from his group-shell and individual-shell. His or her mind was to be floated out of its encasement and melted into one bright mass of sublimated mind-convergence. This was facilitated by wine, (*soma-pāna*), music, moon-light and ceremonial colourful dresses.

In this manner of self-surrender by each one of the assembly, the rite could create the unity, which was the Prajāpati. This self-surrender by *all* to create the *whole* was ritually achieved by the actual immolation, after sexual intercourse etc., of the 'seven couples' in our hypothetical tribe.

In the *Aśvamedha* rite, we have an actual corroboration of this concept of "sacrificing *all* to achieve the *whole*" in the following :—

ātmanā' bhijuhoti, sātmānam-evai-
' nam-satanum karoti—sātmā-
' musmil-loke bhavati, ya evam
veda

T. B. 2, 8, 20.

This process of giving an embodiment to the horse or Prajāpati only by making oblations of the horse's or Prajāpati's *ātman* is further indicated in the famous *mantra* :—

Yajñena Yajñamayajanta devāḥ.

T. B. 3, 9, 22.

This may mean, that the gods achieved unification (*ayajanta yajñam*) by making a surrender of the all (*yajñena*).

17. *The rite enlarged into a creation rite.*

We may now proceed from this aspect of the rite, in which the human couples, or a single couple in their place, were sacrificed, to the other aspect, viz. the cosmological aspect. It is needless to say that the rite is primarily a ritual recapitulation of tribal unification, and that its hold and gravity on the primitive mind existed because it is such a unification rite. Its 'power' lies in this social aspect. This made it a great and solemn affair, and an act which, in an understandable manner, funds together a vast amount of energy, and appears, to the primitive mind, a reservoir capable of great unleashment of energy.

At this point, we can fully answer the question: 'why did real and concrete social energy unleashed on the occasion of a tribal gathering, transform itself into ritual energy in the primitive mind?'

This question has loomed large behind the entire course of our investigation. In fact, this is *the* central problem of anthropology. The different hypotheses of animism, magic and collectivism, by such scholars as Taylor, Frazer and Durkheim, are attempts to solve this problem. These theories are based on assumptions that the primitive man had either acquired, through his

dream experience, a belief in 'spirits;' or had discovered the pseudo-science of sympathetic magic; or that the primitive individual had elevated his emotional attitude towards his clan to the level of a spiritual thinking process.[1]

From amongst these various theories, Prof. Durkheim's theory,[2] based on Totemism, comes nearest to the real social clan foundation, but he also bases his entire hypothesis on the emotions, experiences and rationalisation of the *individual in the clan.*

To get at the root of the real solution, however, we must begin with this fact of primitive life that the individual, as such, does not exist. Then alone we shall begin to see the source of that concept of ritual energy which appears to us mystifying.

Why does 'ritual' energy appear mystifying *to us?* The plain answer is: because *to us, social* energy unleashed at a social gathering is comprehensible as an *integration* of *individual* energies. In other words, this social integration is understood by us, in its individualistic banal aspect, because we have already acquired our 'individual' shells.

The primitive individual has no such shell, i. e. has no individualism, and consequently cannot see, or comprehend, the patent fact of this integration; what is patent in fact remains mysterious to him, in his mind. Neither the leaders and wise men of the tribe nor the lay members understand the simple bond that exists between individuals who make up the tribe. Nor does anybody grasp the simple relationship between the environment and the human group. These bonds and relationships are *emotionally* experienced, even as a babe experiences its relation to the mother; but the same are not *rationally* comprehended.

Hence, transformation of social energy into ritual energy becomes not only feasible but absolutely inevitable. Once such energy is conceived and the human sacrifice is invented as the mode of producing that energy, then it is easy to trace, on that ritual basis, the birth and growth of spirits, totems, magic as pseudo-science, cosmic myths and the so-called 'nature'-deities.

[1] Vide, 'Primitive Religion' by Prof. R. Lowie, pp. 99-153.

[2] Ibid, p. 154.

From the rite, which could unify and as if resurrect the tribe, it is only one step to *enlarge* the scope of the efficacy and potency of ths same rite. It is an ambitious step, and it can be attributed to some experienced and highly imaginative group of specialised men who traditionaliy performed the tribal rite. These primitive priests, whose task it was to select and immolate the couples and to supervise the feast, might be supposed, on the one hand, to have acquired abnormally and almost morbidly active imagination through drugs and practices like castration, while, on the other hand, they were the only specialists in the tribe with some rudimentary notions about the cyclic movements of the sun, the moon, the stars, the seasons, the cycle of birth, growth, decay and rebirth in plant and animal life, etc. It is no wonder that they linked up the human rite of tribal unification to the tribal environment. This was easier then than we may now think it to be. Now, the struggle of man with Nature has been overshadowed by the fiercest strife between a group of possessors and the mass of the dispossessd. To the primitive man, however, Nature alone was his constant companion and foe. He, therefore, was held together with Nature in a close embrace, and this is reflected in the fact that the *human* rite was automatically conceived as a *cosmic* rite.

18. *Some Corollaries*

We have seen how it is possible to reconstruct the social background and genesis of the primeval human sacrifice as a creation rite. Taking this as our basis, we can hope to visualise the growth of human concepts and institutions round this nucleus and emanating from it.

We may see the development of these institutions and concepts in the following main directions :—

(1) *Rise of cosmic deities*

We can trace the growth of the sun-myth and moon-myth, alongwith the concepts of earth-mother and sky-father, as ritual creators of the universe. The Sun, the Moon, the Sky, etc. have always been ritual deities and never had the character of 'Nature' deities.

(2) *Evolution of deities*

Rise and evolution of deities can be seen along the evolution of the rite. The early primeval deities like Prajāpati, Yama, Pūṣan, Tvaṣṭṛ, the Sun, the Moon, etc. represent the principles of unification, birth and death. But they were soon superseded by minor deities like Indra, who emphasised mainly the *acquisition* of ritual strength and splendour. This represents the slow deterioration of the collectivism of the tribal assembly and the rising strength of the hymn-makers and special warrior-attendants of the rite. These specialized privileged groups slowly came to attach greater importance to the acquisitive aspect and thus the deities like Indra gained importance. The class of warrior attendants of the rite were the *gaṇas*. Their counter-parts were created in the *gaṇas* of Indra like the *Maruts*, *Vasus*, etc. These divine *gaṇas* accompanied the splendour-god Indra, just as the hundred *Kṣattras* protected the ritual site, the actual *rite*, and the *Aśvamedha* horse.[1]

One peculiar evolution, in this respect, is that while the early deities were *martyas*, like Yama[2] and also Prajāpati, the later deities were now immortals. This signifies the fact that while in the early stages, the rite had the cyclic character of death, birth and again death, in later stages death or diffusion was eliminated. The rise of well-stabilised settlements and towns could create a new situation when the rite could only mean a re-juvenation and acquisition of splendour by the royal *gaṇas* through mere expropriation of weaker neighbours and settlements. The original meaning of the rite as a *tribal* re-union had been completely lost, and there was no social reality corresponding to a re-union or unification. The war-like Indra, therefore, needed no *Saṁbharaṇa*, and he grew in spendour only through war and conquest.

(3) *Growth of Black Magic*

We can trace the growth of popular practices round the original rite degenerating into what may be called black magic. The core of this black magic was, of course, the same aim of getting ritual energy. (There is a striking similarity between the ritual

[1] See T. B. 3. 8. 5.

[2] See "Yama in the Veda", by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Dr. B. C. Law Volume, Part I.

of *Aśvamedha*, which is considered to be a *bhrūṇa-hatyā* and the Malyalee black magic based on using the extracted foetus of a woman). [See "Black Art and Ritual in Ancient Kerala" by M. R. B. Warrier, 9th A. I. Ori. Conf. 1937, Report, p. 1016.]

(4) *Growth of concepts like brahma.*

The growth of such concepts as *brahma*, *karma* and *ātman*, which form the basis of later speculation, must be attributed to a very late period when the primitive stage had already passed and yielded place to the new stage of class society in which the priests and warrior-attendants had already gained in supremacy.

In *brahma*, we see a concept of *growth* isolated from the concept of unification. It is still, however, a very old concept related to the *mithuna* and its role in the creation rite. *Brahma*, usually expressed in neuter gender, is a conceptual form of the *mithuna*, and from its ritual *karma* the whole creation takes its name and shape.

This relation between *brahma*, as *mithuna*, and *karma* is corroborated in the *Gītā* maxim that *karma* is born out of *brahma*, (Gītā-3. 15); also in the close association of *yoga* with *brahma*. In later *darśanas*, *yoga* is linked with the *Yogin* and *Yogamāyā*, who are the divine or deified *Mithuna*. *Karma*, or *māyā*, is supposed to be the energy released in their *yoga* or *līlā*. *Brahman* and *karma* thus become the beginning-less principles of creation. Then, later on even *yajña* was supposed to have grown out of *karma*, (as in *Gītā* 3. 14), but this shows a very late stage when the original meaning of *yajña* was completely lost, though we find even in such a late work as the *Gītā* an echo of the pristine glory of *yajña* in the primitive epoch.

The concept of *karma*, as a ritual creative energy released out of the *yoga* of the divine *mithuna*, must be examined in fuller details.

Firstly, we can see how *karma* is entirely different from Fate, which is a divinity in the heaven of the Greeks. Karma, on the other hand, is a palpable energy. In this respect, the Buddhist and Jain theories of *karma* are very near its original ritualistic basis. In Jain theory, *karma*, for instance, is a viscous substance, which

is cabable of entering into the souls of men, beasts, etc. *Karma* was considered, moreover, an impersonal stream of energy and individual actions, and rewards were considered to be mere eddies or waves in the flow. This concept of *karma* as creative energy, flowing in an impersonal and eternal stream, is the essence of Jain and also Buddhist thought.

The concept of *ātman* can be viewed, in this context, as the focus or nucleus of personality sought to be isolated in the universalised stream of *karma*.

(5) *The Evolution of Ceremonials*:

The evolution of certain ceremonials can also be traced to the primaeval rite. The royal coronation, for instance, was only the old creation ritual so adopted as to confer strength to the king, who played the combined part of the sacrificial host and victim. Instead of being immortalised through immolation the king attained only splendour through the rite.

This shows how through centuries of evolution that part of the rite, which was strength-giving, came to occupy the central place, while the steps (*vidhis*) representing death, re-unification etc. remained merely as ' fossilised ' ritual vestiges.

Along with the coronation, the *Aśvamedha* is a patent metamorphosis of the primitive rite into something quite new. Here the ancient *vidhis* were retained just enough to make the rite ritually effective. In other respects, the new *Yajña* was adopted to the needs of an aggressive monarch.

The thread-ceremony and the marriage ceremony amongst Hindus of all various castes and *panthas* have a common core, and that core is the ancient creation rite.

6. *The growth of marriage taboos* : These fall into two categories, one including the incest taboos, and the other *gotra* taboos.

The incest taboos are explainable in the following way : The *ritual feast* was an occasion on which the human sacrifice took place along with tribal dance and mating. It is possible to suppose that in later stages all *permanent* arrangements about sex were made ritually at this *unification feast*. It was arranged, it seems, that when some *gotras* or groups joined in the feast, the

men of one group were paired with the women of another group This arrangement was conducive to strengthening of blood-ties between the different groups. All ' marriages ' were, in the primitive period, not individual-to-individual marriages like the modern ones, but group-to-group ones, and these were solemnised at the tribal feast.

The best way to arrange the group marriages, in consonance with the urge to unite the groups into a tribal assembly, was the rule that persons of each group were to marry outside their own groups. This galvanisation of tribal unity, on the basis of *deliberate group-exogamy*, was achieved by making it *ritually* obligatory. Once the ritual was placed in the position of a general superintendence over marital life of the groups, group exogamy was the best method of giving that aspect of life a value and operativeness as a unifying factor.

Along with this group-exogamy, however, there was the ritual solemnisation of the ' marriages ' of the *mithunas.*

These were pairs representing each group, and hence the youth and maiden were group-brother and sister, if not actually the offsprings of the same mother. Thus we had two types of marriages simultaneously ; on the one hand, the holy incestuous marriages *within* the ritual enclosure, and, on the other hand, the exogamous marriages *outside* the enclosure : This *dual* practice gave rise to the two taboos, the incest taboo and the *sa-gotra* taboo.

(*Gotra* may thus be considered identical with the federating groups in a tribal assembly).

This explanation of rise of these taboos, in a way, follows the line of thought put forward by Lord Roglan, in so far as he also traces the taboos to the primitive rite ; but he then brings in a ' water-course ' taboo and the ' menstruation taboo, ' to explain exogamy. I think, my explanation based on the exogamous marriages' arranged ritually for strengthening the unification urge and value of the tribal ritual feast is more cogent to the facts and urges of primitive collectivism.

I think, however, that his explanation about incest is correct. What was right within the holy enclosure was to be banned *outside* it : This is the general pattern of the ritual.

There was a rigid and deliberate *separation* of the holy and the unholy. This also explains that while incest was taboo, still it was the hall-mark of creation myths and even penetrated into later literature, e. g., Buddhist myth that Rāma and Sītā were brother and sister.

This desire to keep the holy world separated from the unholy, i. e. routine, world springs from the fear that amaturish tinkering with the ritual may create not the right type of energy but an evil one.

This fear was born out of some observations of biological phenomena such as the birth of malformed babies with monstrous visages.

It was thought that this malformation, and indeed all maladjustment and evil, was due to some half-hearted, incomplete, perverse or profane performance of the ritual. Evil was *vikarma* or evil energy and was born out of *niśiddha* action.

This will now explain how the menstruating woman was looked upon as performing, unconsciously though, an evil thing.

The periodical blood-offering, on her part, was a simulation of the rite, in a not very distant way. It was also thought that a woman was able to conceive because a foetus was formed by the combination of this blood and semen. We see in Āryan medicine the following theory of conception: The semen and the menstrual blood unite, and then *karma* somehow enters the womb, and so the foetus is formed and begins to grow.

So, the menstrual blood was considered not like any other human blood, but was supposed to be *potent*. It had the power (*rajas*) to create the foetus in conjunction with semen and under certain circumstances. So the periodical letting out of this potent blood was looked upon as a profanely carried out quasi-ritual act, and this, it was feared, gave rise to evil *karma*, and, therefore, elaborate isolation of the woman was ordained.

7. Growth of Caste taboos.

The need for isolating the ritual world from the routine world also is at the root of the concept of caste and that of untouchability. Special classes of *Brāhmaṇas*, the hymn-makers, and

Kṣatras, the warrior attendants of the rite, were thus isolated from the rest of the assembly (*viśaḥ*). These classes enjoyed privileges, because they were supposed to create the sustaining energy for the tribe.

Slowly, the offices become hereditary because of the esoteric nature of the hymns and the whole ritual, and soon these two classes usurped for themselves the position of domination over the assembly. The rise of the state of theset two classes, or castes, was a phenomenon which became feasible because there was some very special reason why the armed members of the tribe allowed a few persons to monopolise power to themselves.; this special reason was the *ritual superiority* of these castes and the fact that they held the monopoly of creating the ritual energy. It is possible to assume that the hill-top ritual enclosure had already been converted into the *sanctuary* with bones of the martyred 'gods' preserved in suitable structures. This must have led to the first step towards permanent structures with surrounding walls. The preservation of the precious bones must have been accompanied by preservation and storage of precious stones, metals, seeds, etc., and this must have led to the development of the growth of a caste of warriors who were first guardians of the 'gods' of the assembly and then had become the guardians of its 'wealth.' Thus the rise of castes and the state were facilitated by the emergence of property, which was *holy* storage held and protected by the *holy* castes of warriors and priests.

The evolution of the warrior caste, out of which rose the royal *kulas* or *gaṇas* and the royal dynasties, is thus a *social* emergence which is, however, as much an affair of the *routine* world as of the *ritual* world. Thus alone can it be explained that the hoary collectivism of the armed tribal assembly could be subverted and conquered by the privileged castes only with the help of *dual* sanctions, the *ritual* (ideological) one and the *secular* one, based on superior arms and organisation than the primitive assembly.

This unity of ideology and material strength, of ritual and routine, is instrumental in the rise of the phenomena of the classes, the class struggle and the state as the prime movers of the subsequent civilisation of man. It may be said of modern

society that a new unity of ideology and reality will be instrumental in the final "withering away" of the class state, and mankind will reach new stage of collectivism. This will be, in a way, 'resurrection' of primitive collectivism, with this vital difference, however, that as a result of the efforts of mankind during a period of thousands of years of travail, each man and woman of 'the assembly of the future' would have acquired an *individuality*, a *knowledge of social labour*, of *citizenship* and of Nature. These acquisitions collectively form the new creative energy of mankind, the real, rational and practical substitute for the *primitive* creative energy, the ritual *karma*.

The Rise of Untouchability.

9. The rise of the priest and of the warrior caste can be explained with the help of the ritual and so also the rise of untouchability. Everything is *ritually ordained* about this taboo. It might be that the persons who took part of demons in the ritual drama were supposed to have acquired the evil energy. They were defeated and driven out of the ritual inclosure, and this ritual of defeat and expulsion were, perhaps, concretised in the imposition of a taboo on this class of warriors. How is it that anybody could submit to this degradation? Could some people in the assembly have volunteered themselves to play this evil part?

It is still not clear to me how to account for this phenomenon. There is, however, this thing to be noted that the untouchable castes in most places are *balutedārs* and the *grāma* institution had assigned to them certain honourable tasks in social and ceremonial functions. They are *cut-caste* but *not out* of the assembly. They are given tasks and duties, which have something to do with their close association with the whole tribe and particularly with tribal land.

10. *Certain Festivals.*

On the basis of the rite, we can explain the various festivals held all over India. The present deities in the places of pilgrimage and festival are relatively modern installation on *sites* having *primitive ritual sanctity*. Thus, for instance, the *hill-top* shrines as at Mahābaleshwar, Jejuri, etc. *river-side* shrines as at Pandharpur, Ujjayini, etc., and *sea-side* sites as at Puri etc., are

vastly older than the the present deities or even older than the ancient civilisations which gave rise to the deties.

How can we prove that the river-side, hill-top and sea-side sites are more ancient and holy than the now-presiding deities? This can be done with reference to the fact that the festivals betray a *gulf* between the deity and the rituals supposed to be held in its honour. This is, for instance, the case with the Jagannātha temple. The deity is a 'representation' of *Viṣṇu*. But one look at the idols will tell us that they are *primitive* idols. Do they represent the Sun-god ?

If so, even then, the idols are so primitive as to suggest that they are from a hoary past when the sun, moon, etc., were represented by idols mimicing the foetus. This is shown by the stump-like hands of the three idols. The concept of a foetus like *Aruṇa* may have been concretised at this early stage of sun-worship.

This gulf between modern *Viṣṇu* and the foetus-like idols at Puri is further evidenced by the primitive, so-called obscene, motif of the sculpture on the temple walls and also by the primitive frenzy and obscenity at the time of the *ratha*-drawing. The temple sculpture has remained a puzzle and 'shame' to modern Hindus, but it can be simply explained as the deliberate depiction of *mithunas*. *Mithuna*-sculptures were always and universally considered as necessary and holy on every holy structure and this belief is traceable to the vital role of the *mithuna* in the primaeval rite.

MAHĀBHĀRATA TEXT-TRANSMISSION PROBLEMS

Problem No. 4*

In the Prolegomena to the Ādiparvan, p. xcv, the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar enunciated a principle underlying the constitution of the critical text of the Epic which runs as follows: "All lines belonging to one recension only, and *a fortiori* such as pertain to a combination of MSS. amounting to less than a recension, and which are not absolutely necessary for the context" have to be considered as additions and "placed in the footnotes or the Appendix, pending further inquiry regarding their credentials". The Parvan-editors who collaborated with, or who have followed, the late General Editor have naturally and implicitly accepted the above principle. Now, in an otherwise very flattering review of the Bhīṣmaparvan volume (Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 70, December 1950, pp. 117-119), the question has been raised whether, in admitting into the constituted text about a dozen passages omitted by practically the entire Southern recension, this principle has not been seriously violated. Hence it has become necessary to go into some details.

The critically constituted text of the Bhīṣmaparvan, finally revised in the light of the actual critical apparatus, was submitted by me to the General Editor in the beginning of February 1941, and during the twenty-three months that intervened before Sukthankar's most sudden and tragic death, we had several opportunities of discussing the general principles and the detailed application of the same in my constituted text. And when, subsequently, I was unhappily denied the opportunity of securing Sukthankar's final approval and imprimatur to the pages of the Bhīṣmaparvan as they were passing through the press, I took care to make out elaborate lists of all omissions and additions presented by the individual MSS. used for the Bhīṣma; by groups of MSS.

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* Problem No. 1 appeared in the *Annals*, BORI, Vol. xxv, pp. 82-87; No. 2 in Vol. xxv, pp. 239-243; and No. 3 in Vol. xxvi, pp. 107-119.

that constituted the several Provincial versions; as also by the two main recensions into which (see Introduction, p. cxiii) the text-tradition of the Parvan seemed to divide itself: all with a view to assure myself that no major error of procedure or detail crept unawares into the text as printed. Now the review in question refers to a list of about 34 cases (assembled by me on page lii, bottom, to page liii) where I allowed passages omitted by the Southern recension as a whole (with sporadic exceptions either way) a place into the constituted text; and while the reviewer is prepared to concede that a case could be made in favour of the retention of a number of them on the score of haplography, transposition, disturbance of the context and the like, he singles out twelve cases which, he thinks, ought to have been considered as insertions in accordance with the critical canon for text-constitution enunciated above. Let us consider these cases one by one:

(1) - 10. 52ᶜ - 55ᵇ, om. by S recension: The passage occurs in a long list of names of the fighting peoples gathered on the battlefield. I myself felt this at first to be a good case for omission, so that its eventual acceptance into the constituted text had to be discussed in a note at the end, where it was pointed out that, confronted with long strings of unfamiliar names, scribes often became careless as evidenced by the circumstance that, in the same context, even the ten stanzas from 50 to 60 show five other cases of omission, one of which is *not* due to haplography; so that it became pertinent to inquire (assuming that the lines were absent in the archetype) what motive could have led the 18 odd MSS., including two entire versions, to insert these unfamiliar names (one of which, by the way, is Romāṇaḥ). It may be pointed out that the lines from 52ᶜ to 55ᵇ are *not* absent in the corresponding Padmapurāṇa text, which is a secondary imitation of the Bhīṣmaparvan Cosmography.

(2) - 22. 7ᵇ, om. by S (except M_4): The st. 6 that precedes and the st. 8 that follows have no syntactical connection with the intervening st. which, if 7ᵇ is to be omitted, becomes a three-line Triṣṭubh. The difficulty is seen by M_2, one of the omitting MSS., which inserts 81* as a padding device. M_4, the dissenting MS., is known to have inherited part of the Śāradā tradition, and we will have to suppose that an early descendant of the S archetype suffered an accidental lacuna for 7ᵇ.

(3) - 41. 84^{cd}, om. by S : By dropping 84^{cd}, 84 + 85 become one three-line Anuṣṭubh, to which no objection can be taken. But the economy of a line and the omission of some 'unnecessary' words do not make the passage simpler. Consider the context. The Pāṇḍavas had come into the fighting line of the Kauravas to ask for permission to fight from the elders, of whom Śalya was the last. Karṇa was also an elder, but the Pāṇḍavas had no knowledge of the fact : it was known to Kṛṣṇa, who had attempted unsuccessfully to win Karṇa to the Pāṇḍava side in 5. 138-141. Karṇa had on that occasion replied that his sense of duty and gratitude to Duryodhana prevented his deserting him for the Pāṇḍavas. Then came the incident of Karṇa's taking umbrage at certain words used by Bhīṣma in describing the fighting rank of Karṇa, and his resolution not to fight so long as Bhīṣma remained the Generalissimo. In doing this, Karṇa had lost the best opportunity of serving his friend Duryodhana ; and Kṛṣṇa half feared that the generous Karṇa would be persuaded by Duryodhana to patch up his quarrel with Bhīṣma and deliver a joint attack upon the enemy. The cunning Kṛṣṇa, accordingly, with a view to make the assurance doubly sure, makes to Karṇa the proposal in st. 85-86. In view of this background, the words *Pāṇḍavārthe*, and therefore *abhijagāma* and *uvāca*, are all necessary. The thing probably began by a scribal confusion between *ma* and *da*, which in most scripts look alike, and there was the further circumstance that *ahave abhijagāma* normally means 'attacked in battle' which is not the sense here intended. This brought about the change of *abhijagāma* into *abhijagāda* and the consequent dropping of the following line. '*Pāṇḍavārthe*', it may be noted, does not here mean 'on behalf of the Pāṇḍavas' but rather 'in the interest of the Pāṇḍavas'.

(4) - 44. 30^{ab}, om. by D^{8} S (except M$_{5}$) : As the reviewer has himself noticed, the MSS. that omit the line 30^{ab} (which is repetitious, being = 21^{cd}) themselves add two lines (143*), in the same context. This seems to have been done under the mistaken notion of finding a noun to go with the verb *nipetur*, not perceiving that the noun was already present in the very first word of the omitted line, namely, *aśugāḥ*, which means here 'arrows' and not 'swift-going'.

(5) - 45. 6^{cd}, om. by S : In place of our stanza 6 of two lines, S gives $146^{*} + 6^{ab}$. In other words, it gives two lines (146^{*}) in place of the one line that it omits. Since we cannot omit 6^{ab} which is given by all, if we accept the reviewer's proposal to omit 6^{cd} on the authority of S, we will have also to follow S in taking 146^{*} into the text. Can this be seriously advocated ? On the other hand, to omit 6^{cd} as well as 146^{*} (and 147^{*}) leaves 6^{ab} severely unconnected with everything that goes before and after.

(6) - 48. 57^{ab}, om. by S : The omission in question necessarily involves the reading (according to S) of st. 60, in immediate sequence to 57^{cd}, as a three-line stanza. This change in the order has only the authority of S behind it. The change can be more mechanically explained as due to the wandering of the eye from *na tayor antaraṁ* at the beginning of 57^{ab} to the *same* words beginning 60^{ab} as read by S. There is nothing else to recommend it. On the other hand, the apt ethical simile in 60^{cd} has the appearance of a summing up of the topic, and should hence follow rather then precede st. 58-59.

(7) - 48. 69^{cd}, om. by S (except $M_{1.2}$) : The wavy line placed under 69^{cd} is meant to indicate that the authenticity of the line is not beyond cavil. The important Malayālam version is half divided. This circumstance and the awkwardness, in enumerating the weapons by which the warriors wounded each other, of the non-inclusion of so common a weapon as the arrows (which 69^{cd} alone mentions) induced the editor to retain the line.

(8) - 50. 79^{ab}, om. by D_3 S : The omission of a longer passage by D_1 has no bearing on the argument. The omission in question is clearly by haplography, although not so indicated in the critical apparatus. With the constituted text, the construction is : *vicaratā Bhīmena sammohaḥ samajāyata* ; with the S omission of 79^{ab} and the consequent adoption of the S readings, the construction can be : *vicarataḥ ... ... janāḥ vyasmayanta*, the noun qualified by the several genitives, being lost with the omitted line, has to be specially supplied, as in P. P. S. Sastry's edition, in an extra line.

(9) - 55. 120^{b}, om. by S (except M_4) : The case is analogous to no. (2) discussed above. The omission leaves a three-line Triṣṭubh, which some MSS. apparently sought to rectify by

repeating 119c. The evidence for this is seen in M4 which retains the omitted line and *also* repeats 119c. The omitted line contains the verb in the stanza, *-petur*, which S tries to restore by changing *tūrṇam* in 120a into *petur*; but even in this, S is deserted by M3 which agrees in omitting 120b. The only safe inference would seem to be that one of the earlier ancestors of S had an accidental lacuna for 120b. This 'defect in its title' is sufficiently indicated by the wavy line placed under it.

(10) - 59. 15cd—16ab, om. by S: The large omission in K4 extends over more than three adhyāyas and does not help the argument. The two lines omitted by S are really needed to give a syntactical connection to the instrumentals in 15ab. S gets over the difficulty by reading 17cd after 15ab. But that leaves the genitive in 17ab syntactically unrelated. To avert this, S inserts 240*. Result: economy of one line which can be effected only if we follow S in its transposition and its insertion.

(11) - 60. 43bd, om. by S: While in (2) and (9) the S omissions brought in a three-line Triṣṭubh, in the present case S omisson apparently avoids a three-line Anuṣṭubh, for which, *metri causa*, it has to change by transposition *abhyadhāvata tān sarvān* into *tān sarvān abhyadhāvata*. Under the circumstances, the only logical thing to do would be to retain the two quarters and indicate the defective nature of their title by a wavy line.

(12) - 87. 27-28, om. by S: Here, although both the stanzas are omitted by S, the reviewer would be satisfied if we retain 28cd (which is necessary for the context) and omit the remaining stanza and a half. But if omission by S is the main ground of the argument, we ought to omit 28cd and accept in its place the S insertion of 349*. Secondly, to retain 28cd naturally means that we must read it as it is read by all the retaining MSS., which begin the line with '*antam*' (end). But 'end' of what? The answer is furnished only by 28ab. Are we then to retain that line also in spite of the fact of its omission by S? The question next remains only about st. 27. When therefore valid grounds exist for rejecting half the evidence furnished by S, is it seriously maintained that, *in the self-same passage*, we are to follow the remaining half and reject 27 alone?

So far as regards S omissions that have been allowed a place in the constituted text of the Bhīṣmaparvan which has been called into question. These twelve cases, it will now be clear, do not differ from the other cases listed. Nor does the *reductio ad absurdum* which the reviewer poses become now at all inevitable. It is true that—

Lines omitted by S = Lines given by N only;

just as—

Lines given by N only = Lines omitted by S.

It does not, however, follow that just because some lines omitted by S are accepted by us in the text, therefore other lines given only by N (and now rejected by us as N insertions) should also be accepted. All turns upon whether the specific lines are omitted by accidents like haplography and are, above all, necessary for the context. Such is the case, in my opinion, with the thirty-four S omissions listed by me, including the twelve cases just discussed.

As regards N omissions in the same or similar category, only three cases come up for discussion: 6. 5^{cd}; 12. 20^{cd}; and 94. 9^{cd}, of which the last was an oversight rectified in the Errata. As to 6. 5^{cd} (omitted in Śi Ko.1 D1, besides the entire S), it has been stated in the note to the passage that it chiefly rests upon the authority of 3. 202. 5^{cd}. In successive similarly-worded enumerations like those occurring in the present passage, confusions are apt to occur in MSS. Witness, for example, the omissions and insertions in K3. 8 D2. 8. 6 under 5^{cd}; in B1. 2 D2 under 6^{ab}; and the omission (hapl.) from 6^{b} to 7^{a}. The doubtful authenticity of the passage has been indicated by the wavy line. There was not sufficient evidence to change the word *bhūmiḥ* in 4^{d} into *bhūmeḥ* and consequently 5^{cd} had to be retained. — The last case, 12. 20^{cd}, involves an important question of principle and procedure and merits a more detailed discussion.

The situation is this. Dhṛtarāṣṭra calls for a detailed enumeration of the mountains in the (mythical) Śākadvīpa. Of the mountains to the north, one is named Śyāma (dark), 'from which (*yataḥ*) the dwellers there have acquired *śyāmatā* (darkness)'. On hearing this, Dhṛtarāṣṭra interrupts the narration and demands why the people should have acquired *śyāmatā*. The interruption creates an expectancy which has to be adequately satisfied. This is done by

D_8 alone of the MSS. included in the critical apparatus, which is further supported by one other MS., K_8, occasionally consulted. Here we are told that Lord Kṛṣṇa dwells on the mountain, and the Lord's colour has been communicated both to the mountain and to the inhabitants. It may be incidentally mentioned that exactly similar explanation has been given (13.4) concerning another mountain called Kṛṣṇa in another Dvīpa (= Śālmali, according to the Purāṇas), which is also marked by the (dark) colour of Nārāyaṇa (*Nārāyaṇa-nibhaḥ*). The explanation is thus not unfamiliar to the Epic.

It might of course be argued that the solitary MSS. that give 12. 20^{cd} might have derived their explanation from the passage in the next adhyāya, finding that the 'circular explanation', viz., 'the people are dark because the mountain is called Dark, the mountain is called Dark because the people are dark' was unsatisfactory. This would be thus a purely subjective improvement, which cannot be accepted for its own sake, on such slender authority, in the absence of some *definitely objective datum*. Such a *datum* is furnished, in my opinion, by the variants given in the different MSS. for 20^b. The accepted reading, *tat te vakṣyāmi Bhārata*, is found in twenty MSS., $Ś_1$ $K_{0\text{-}3.5}$ $D_{1\text{-}3.6.\ 7\text{m}}$ TGM $_{8.5}$, as against the fifteen MSS., K_4 BDa DnD$_{4.\ 5.\ 7}$ (marg. as in text). $_8$ M$_{1..2}$, which give the 'circular explanation.' The accepted reading of 20^b promises the wanted explanation, which nevertheless eludes us in the nineteen MSS. that do not give 20^{cd}. The reviewer himself admits that the constituted text of 20^b is better supported, and suggests that the lack of explanation following 20^b might be due to an omission in the archetype. The better procedure, in that case, might have been to leave just a blank for the line in the constituted text, as I was half inclined to do at first. But the experience that I had gained in editorially dealing with two other somewhat puzzling blanks, one in the fifth Act of Bhavabhūti's Uttara-Rāmacarita (published in the Harvard Oriental Series) and the other in the second Act of Kālidāsa's Śākuntala (at which I am now working) came to the rescue. The first I have treated at length in the JAOS for 1915, pp. 428-433, and the second in the *Asia Major*, vol. II, fasc. i, pp. 79-104 (particularly pp. 82-84). These blanks, normally occasioned by such

accidents as the pealing off or breaking of bits of bark or palm-leaf, tend to lengthen out both ways, comprising in consequence a larger number of syllables than at first. Secondly, while careful copyists leave in the successive copies blank spaces approximately equal to the original lacuna, these blank spaces, on grounds of economy, tend to become, in subsequent copies, smaller and smaller. Thirdly, where attempts are made by intelligent students to eliminate the blanks, the substituted letters or words take cue from all the remnants of the lost letters, such as dotts and strokes below and above the line, as closely as possible. First then assume a blank for the first 15 letters of 20^{cd} (excepting the concluding *taḥ*) in the original archetype, from which a number of copies, let us suppose, have become current both in the north and in the south. Next, assume the blank in the original MS. to have extended to the last seven letters of 20^{b} (leaving only the initial *ta* of that pāda. [In a copy of the original archetype showing earlier blank of 15 letters, we will have to postulate a new adjacent blank of seven letters.] In successive copies made in different parts of the country, the space reserved for the now enlarged blank of (15 + 7 =) 22 letters gets less and lesser, so that the student who eventually essays to get rid of the blank thinks that his problem is to invent just six letters to make one pāda of eight syllables, given the *ta* as its initial and *taḥ* as its concluding letter ; and it must be said that '*tasmāt śyāmo giriḥ smṛtaḥ*' is quite a creditable *samasyāpūraṇa* after all, except for the *anyonyāśraya* or the circular reasoning involved. That is why I ventured to admit into the text a line (marked wavy) vouched for by only two MSS., which might be supposed to have, by chance, retained and perpetuated the original reading before the first blank came in, rather than leaving a sheer blank in the constituted text, as I might have otherwise been compelled to do.*

15-3-1951 S. K. Belvalkar

* Towards the end of the review, the reviewer observes : "The facts cited do not prove any 'intimate and genetic' relationship of K_0 and $Ś_1$ "; but I never essayed to prove that, but to prove the intimate and genetic relationship of K_0 with *the Śāradā version*: that surely is something different ! — I am obliged to the reviewer for the three misprints in the constituted text and the one in the Critical Notes that he has pointed out.

"AṄGIRAS IN THE VEDIC LITERATURE"

BY

N. J. SHENDE

I. *Introduction*:

Aṅgiras is a seer of pre-historic period. He is closely connected with the enkindling of Agni and the cult of sacrifice. The vedic seers often refer to him and his descendants, the Āṅgirasas, very respectfully as 'our ancient Fathers.' At the time of the ṚV, they were the seers of antiquity and highly honoured personages. Aṅgiras himself is the seer of a very few hymns of the ṚV. But his descendants figure prominently among the vedic seers.

There are about 90 hymns attributed to the different Āṅgirasas. In the family Maṇḍalas of the ṚV (the oldest portion of the ṚV) even, they are admitted to be the great seers of ancient times. Vasiṣṭha Bhāradvāja, Atri, Vāmadeva, Viśvāmitra and Gṛtsamada glorify the Āṅgirasas. Among the Āṅgirasas, we notice, Aṅgiras as the originator of the family. In his family, Virūpas, Daśagvas and Navagvas are included. Bṛhaspati is the son of Aṅgiras. Bharadvāja is the most inspired seer among the Āṅgirasas. Vāmadeva calls himself an Āṅgirasa. The AV is the special literary work of the Āṅgirasas. It seems that the hymns composed by the Āṅgirasas, the Atharvans and the Bhṛgus regarding the magical employment, were also prevalent among the Vedic Aryans, but were not collected and put together. But at a later period, when the sacrifice had also assumed the nature of magic, when the Brahmanism was in its highest glory and the magical practices were not looked down, it was in the defence of the Brahmanism that the AV was raised to the dignity of the fourth Veda. Hence we find the references to it in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and others. After going through their account in the whole Vedic literature we feel that among the Brahmanical circles the Āṅgirasas were highly respected and considered as standard by all in the sacrificial and later on in the philosophical discussions too. Their antiquity is spoken of in the ŚB when it

says that there were two classes of beings on this world in the beginning viz, the Ādityas and Āṅgirasas. They went to the Svarga, leaving their glorious acts behind and became the Fathers. They, thus, are the seers, the gods and the Pitṛs. In the Mahābhārata also they maintain their same high dignity among the Brāhmaṇas and help in the task of the revival of the Brahmanism.

They belong to the Indo-European stock of the Aryans. In the Indo-Iranian period too, they hold their sway over the people. Their popularity seems to have been due to the fact that they patronised both the magical and sacrificial religion prevalent among the lower and higher circles of the Aryan society, or rather the domestic and public religion of the Aryans.

I have attempted in this paper to trace the history of the Aṅgirasas, in the Vedic Saṁhitās, the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads. I have also attempted elsewhere[1] to trace their activities in the epics and I find that there is a sort of harmony in all their activities. Their leadership of the Brāhmaṇa community, in all different periods was readily acknowledged by all. Their literary activities, viz., some hymns of the ṚV, AV and the Epics are sufficient to prove their greatness. Of course in all these attempts there are their associates, viz, the Atharvans and the Bhṛgus.

Incidentally I have also dealt with their part in the Avestan and the Buddhist literature. Their role in the Avesta is expected to throw light on their activities in the Indo-Iranian period of the Vedic history. I have attempted to explain the reasons, which led to the recognition of the fourth Veda by the Brahmin orthodoxy. Their reference in the Buddhist literature indicates the popularity of and the respect shown to the Āṅgirasas by the kings, with whom they may be connected as their *purohitas* or the officiating priests.

II. *The Aṅgirasas in the Vedic Saṁhitās.*

(i) Aṅgiras in the Ṛgveda :— The word Aṅgiras occurs about 90 times in the ṚV. In the ṚV, Aṅgiras is identified with a number of deities but prominently he is connected with Agni and Indra. The name Aṅgiras in singular stands for the seer Aṅgiras

[1] *The Authorship of the MBh. ABORI* xxiv, pp. 67-83.

and in plural it refers to the family of Aṅgiras. The seer Aṅgiras is associated with the cult of the fire-worship. Agni is called Aṅgiras, who first enkindled him (ṚV, 8. 60, 2, 74. 11, 75. 5, 84. 4, 102-17).[1] He is the first Aṅgiras seer (ṚV, 1. 31. i). The Āṅgirasas found out Agni concealed in the trees in the forest. They then churned him out. Therefore the fire is called Aṅgiras (ṚV, 5. 11. 6). The ṚV thus clearly shows that Agni was first found out and churned by Āṅgiras. Therefore he gets the name Aṅgiras. They are therefore the first priests of Agni. They employed him for the sacrificial purposes. Hiraṇyastūpa Āṅgirasa, the seer of the ṚV, 1. 31, calls Agni as Aṅgiras and invokes him to come to his invocation as he used to come before, to the call of Manu, Aṅgiras and Yayāti (1. 31. 17).

Thus in the family of Aṅgiras, the worship and the priesthood of Agni were preserved. Agni is not only Aṅgiras but is the best of the Āṅgirasas (ṚV, 1. 76. 2). The sacrifices, duly offered are expected to take the sacrificer to Agni the best of the Āṅgirasas (ṚV, 8. 28. 10, 43, 18; 1. 31. 2, 1. 45. 3, 1. 127. 2). He is the first and senior most of the Āṅgirasas. The worship of Agni and the sacrificial ritual were promoted by the Āṅgirasas, hence Agni bears their name. Other seers[2] also remind Agni that he should listen to their invocations, as he did to those of Priyamedha, Virūpa and Aṅgiras (ṚV 1. 45. 3). The succeeding generations of the Vedic seers acknowledged the fact that Agni was produced by Aṅgirasas and that he was the best of the Āṅgirasas. They also have recorded another great achievement of the Āṅgirasas. The Seer Parāśara, calls the Āṅgirasas as 'our Fathers,' and tells further that they, praising Agni burst often the firm mountain, the residence of Vala with roar, made for them a way to reach the high heaven and found out the day, light and beams of rays (ṚV 1. 71. 2). Deep respect was thus preserved for the Āṅgirasas by the seers of the Vedic hymns, who did not belong to the family of Aṅgiras.

All members of the family of Aṅgiras are always referred to with great respect. The achievement of the Āṅgirasas against

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1 ṚV 1.16. Sāyaṇa remarks that Agni is Āṅgirasa because his existence is due to him. Nirukta 3.17 explains Āṅgiras as born of burning.

2 Gautama Rāhugaṇa, the seer of ṚV 1.75; and Praskaṇva of 1.45.

Vala and eventual release of the cows by them are effected also through the favour of Uṣas The Āṅgirasas sing the glory of the stalls of the cows through the favour of Uṣas. Thus they are associated with Uṣas also (ṚV 6. 65. 5). Aṅgiras worshipped Agni at the dawn. Therefore he is also favoured by Uṣas. All Āṅgirasas at the dawning of Uṣas sang the glory of the cows. (ṚV 5. 45. 8).

Along with Agni and Uṣas, Soma also favours the Aṅgiras. Soma is offered to Agni, who is dear to the Aṅgiras. Soma thus invoked to flow forth for the Āṅgirasas (9. 62. 9). In the great feat of the Āṅgirasas in destroying the strong hold of Vala, Soma disclosed the mountain, the place of the residence of Vala, for the sake of the Āṅgirasas (9. 86. 23). Thus the association of Soma with the Āṅgirasas reaches to the extent of saying that Soma is the best of the Āṅgirasas (9. 107-6).

The Āṅgirasas are also favoured by Savitṛ. The ever prompt Āṅgirasas imploring riches, obtained them from Savitṛ (ṚV 7. 52. 3).

The Maruts are like the Āṅgirasas possessing all forms and different Sāmans. Ths Āṅgirasas were adept in singing the Sāmans (ṚV 10. 78. 5). Tvaṣṭṛ is the companion of the Āṅgirasas (ṚV 10, 70. 9).

Yama is increased by Āṅgirasas (ṚV 10. 14. 3). Yama along with Āṅgirasas is invoked at the sacrifice to take a seat on the sacred grass (ṚV 10. 14. 4). Yama is the lord of the departed and is the first of the Pitṛs. He is thus the lord of the Pitṛs, such as the Āṅgirasas, the Navagvas, the Atharvans and the Bhṛgus, who love Soma (10. 14. 6).

The gods in general are praised by Aṅgiras acting as the sacrificial priest. Aṅgiras, who is born first sings the glory of the gods. (ṚV 10. 92. 15). The Āṅgirasas praised the gods with Sāmans (ṚV 1. 107. 2). The gods gave a desire-yielding cow to the Āṅgirasas, who prayed for it for the sacrificial purposes. They could not milk it. So Aryaman milked the cow for them. (ṚV 1. 139. 7).[1]

[1] M. Henry considers the cow to be prayer, see *La Religion Vedique* I. 135; 3.10.

But the association of the Aṅgirasas with the mighty god Indra is of peculiar type. Indra is the best of the Āṅgirasas. He is associated with them (ṚV 1. 100. 4). They worshipped him with their prayers. Indra, accepting their prayers increased their Brahmanical lustre (ṚV 2. 21. 5). The Āṅgirasas long for the friendship with Indra. They implore that they should have his friendship for ever (ṚV 6. 18. 5). Indra is praised by them before he pierced Vala (ṚV 1. 62. 5). He listens to their prayers (ṚV 1. 121. 1). The Āṅgirasas first offered oblations to Indra and then with their Agnis blazing forth, through their good deeds and sacrifices, secured all wealth of the Paṇis (ṚV 1. 83. 4). Nodha, the seer of the ṚV 1. 62 praises Indra in the manner of the Āṅgirasas (ṚV 1. 62. 1). Through Indra, the Āṅgirasas, who are called by the seer as 'our ancient Fathers' found the cows, when they sung his praises (ṚV 1. 62. 2). Indra disclosed the cows for Āṅgirasas (ṚV 8. 63. 3, 1. 51. 3, 132. 4). Then the cows became manifest to the Āṅgirasas (ṚV 8. 14. 8). Indra also desired friendship with Āṅgirasas. With such desire Indra approached the mountains. Aṅgiras then presented himself before Indra, worshipping him (ṚV 3. 31. 7). The Āngirasas accompanied him when he broke open the Vala (ṚV 2. 11. 20). Sometime the credit of piercing the mountain and releasing the cows locked therein goes to the Āṅgirasas themselves (ṚV 4. 3. 11). Both Indra and the Āṅgirasas intended to pierce Vala. At their desire Saramā agreed to go in search of the stolen cows (ṚV 1. 62. 3).[1]

Thus in the act of piercing Vala, a number of things preceded it. Indra and Aṅgirasas, jointly and separately desired to destory Vala. At their instance Saramā was sent out. Both Indra and the Āṅgirasas approached Vala. Aṅgiras praised Indra, who increased his *brahman*. In all this endeavour, both Indra and Aṅgiras desired mutual friendship. Aṅgiras was followed by his

[1] Sāyaṇa refers to a legend according to which Saramā agreed to find out the cows on the condition that the milk of the cows should be given to her young ones. He is of the opinion that the offsprings referred to are the descendants of the Āṅgirasas. Cf. Griffith, *Translation of the AV vol.* I. p. 85.

descendants. At the time of the final assault in the midst of loud shouts and roar with the Navagvas and the seven seers,[1] Indra rent the mountain (ṚV. 1. 62. 4).

Thus Aṅgiras is born first. He first found out and produced Agni. He is the first priest of Agni. Agni is Aṅgirastama. The Āṅgirasas are the priests of fire. They are favoured by Uṣas, and Soma. Soma is Aṅgirastama. Savitṛ bestows jewels on them. Like the Maruts, the Āṅgirasas are possessed of all forms and Sāmans. Tvaṣṭṛ is the companion of the Āṅgirasas. The Āṅgirasas, the Atharvans and the Bhṛgus are all fathers, loving Soma. Yama the lord of the departed is increased by the Āṅgirasas, who come with him to enjoy the offerings made by man. The gods gave a cow to the Aṅgirasas to be used for the sacrificial purpose. Indra and the Āṅgirasas are friends. They long for each other's friendship. Indra was inspired to perform the mighty deed of piercing Vala, owing to the prayers of the Aṅgirasas. In this whole operation they were with him. They obtained the cows, which are the rays. Darkness was over. The sun shone brightly. Then Atharvan first stretched forth the cows by means of sacrifices (ṚV 1. 83. 3.) Thus in this great act of Indra, much of the credit goes to the Aṅgirasas, for whose sake Indra undertook this deed. Indra is indeed the best of the Āṅgirasas.

In short, the great Ṛgvedic deities such as Agni, Indra, Soma, Maruts, Tvaṣṭṛ, Uṣas, Devas and Yama are directly associated with the Aṅgirasas.

(ii) The Aṅgirasas and other sages:–

The Aṅgirasas were the first priests of Agni. They were of pious deeds (ṚV I. 83. 4). They elevated their spiritual height by practising *tapas*. By its means they produced various cows, uniform and multiform (ṚV 10. 169. 2). Bṛhaspati is an

[1] *Sapta vipra* are the seven Āṅgirasas. Sāyaṇa on ṚV 3.31.7 remarks that the Āṅgirasas are seven. This need not mean that there were seven issues of Aṅgiras. Even the seven sages are designated as the Āṅgirasas, owing to the seniority and greatness of the Āṅgirasas. Sāyaṇa on ṚV 1.62.4 points out that the seven seers are Medhātithi and others,

Āṅgirasa (ṚV 2. 32. 8.)[1]. Ayāsya Āṅgirasa, the seer, respectfully refers to Aṅgiras as 'our Father' and mentions that he discovered the holy hymn, sprung from the eternal law (ṚV 10. 67 1). He describes the Āṅgirasas as seers, who think rightly, who praise the enernal law and who are the heroic sons of Dyaus. They hold the position of the inspired seers and were the first who thought of the law of sacrifice (ṚV 10. 67. 2). In the dialogue between Saramā and the Paṇis, Saramā threatens them that the Āṅgirasas, such as Navagvas and Ayāsya, all sharpened by Soma would come to them and share among themselves the stall of the cows. The Paṇis then try to win over Saramā to their side and invite her to be their sister. But she frankly tells that she recognised neither brotherhood nor sisterhood and that Indra and the deadly (*ghora*) Āṅgirasas knew them properly well (ṚV 10. 108. 8 10). The seer Kutsa Āṅgirasa, addressing himself as Aṅgiras praises the Aśvins (ṚV 1. 112. 18.). Virūpa Āṅgirasa invokes Agni in the manner of Aṅgiras, Bhṛgu and Manu (ṚV, 8. 43. 13). The seer Nābhāka invokes Indra and Agni to protect him like Aṅgiras. Thus at the time of the ṚV, Aṅgiras and the Āṅgirasas had already established themselves as the great seers, the Fathers and divine beings, capable of protecting the singers. They were respected by their descendants and the members of the families of other seers. The seer Nābhānediṣṭha Mānava praises the Āṅgirasas (ṚV 10. 62. 1-7). He describes them as those, who by the performance of their sacrifices accompanied by rich gifts, enjoyed friendship with Indra and also immortality. The Āṅgirasas, the Fathers, secured the wealth of the cows and in the course of one year, cleft Vala by means of the eternal law. They raised the sun to the heaven by means of the *ṛta* the everlasting law. They spread out the mother earth on every side. The seer Nābhāka coming to their house sings with pleasant words and prays the Āṅgirasas, who are the *ṛṣis* and the children of the gods, to hear him. The Āṅgirasas are distinguished by their varied form. They are the seers having performed profound deeds. These Virūpas are the sons of Āṅgirasas, born from Agni from

[1] Sāyaṇa on ṚV 10.67.1 narrates *itihāsa*, where it is pointed out that Aṅgiras obtained a son by name Bṛhaspati.

the heaven. Out of these Āṅgirasas, Navagvas and Daśagvas are the best of the Āṅgirasas[1]. The seer Nābhā prays that the Āṅgirasas should be blessed with happiness, long life, wealth of progeny and high Brahmanical splendour. The Āṅgirasas who are the wisest are prayed by him to welcome him among them. They being pleased with him, gave him one thousand cows with their ears branded and gained renown for themselves among the gods. Thus the seer Nābhā, the son of Manu invokes the Āṅgirasas as the nobly born and respectful children of Agni from the heaven, as the friends of Indra, as the immortals and as the wise seers possessed of excellent Brahmanical lustre (ṚV 10. 62. 1-7).

Not only the descendants of the Āṅgirasas praise and respect the Āṅgirasas, but even the great seers like Viśvāmitra, Vāmadeva, Vasiṣṭha and Atri, who are some of the seers of the family Maṇḍalas of the ṚV, praise them.

Vasiṣṭha hopes that the Āṅgirasas should pervade everywhere (ṚV 7, 42. 1). Bharadvāja is the most inspired seer among the Āṅgirasas (ṚV 6. 11. 3.). The Atris praise Agni as Aṅgiras (ṚV 5. 8. 4.). Vāmadeva, the seer of the fourth Maṇḍala calls himself as one of the Āṅgirasas, the sons of the heaven and thereby hoped to prosper. He further points out, " we the seven seers first in rank engender from the Mother Uṣas, men, who would be the ordainers of Law. May we, the Āṅgirasas, the sons of the heaven and radiant, prosper and burst open the mountain containing wealth (ṚV 4. 2. 15 "). Sāyaṇa commenting on this *ṛc* remarks that the *ṛc* is uttered by Vāmadeva and six other Āṅgirasas. Vāmadeva in this *ṛc* calls himself an Āṅgirasa and includes himself in the seven inspired seers (*saptavipras*). Vāmadeva even refers to the Āṅgirasas as " our ancient Fathers, " speeding the work of the holy worship and seeking pure light and devotion (ṚV 4. 2. 16). He calls them godlike and praises them as seers of pious deeds, devout, resplendent

[1] Some Āṅgirasas completed their *satra* sacrifice at the end of the 9th month and some at the end of the 10th month. Hence they are called Navagvas and Daśagvas. Also see B. G. Tilak *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, *pp.* 163-169. He considers that the Āṅgirasas such as these, performed a sacrifice, lasting for 10 months for the release of the sun from darkness.

(ṚV, 4. 2. 17). Viśvāmitra prays Indra in the manner of the Āṅgirasas (ṚV 3. 31. 19). He pays tribute to the Āṅgirasas and points out they gave ample wealth to him in the *sava* sacrifice (*aśvamedha*) and extended his life (ṚV 3 . 53. 7). Gṛtsamada says that he priases Indra with a new prayer like the Āṅgirasas (ṚV 2. 17. 1).

Thus Vasiṣṭha (traditional seer of the 7th Maṇḍala of the ṚV,) Bharadvāja (the seer of the 6th Maṇḍala), Vāmadeva (the seer of the 4th Maṇḍala), Atri (the seer of the 5th Maṇḍala), Viśvāmitra (the seer of the 3rd Maṇḍala), and Gṛtsamada (the seer of the 2nd Maṇḍala), respect and praise the Āṅgirasas. Vāmadeva considers himself one of the seven Āṅgirasas. It is possible to suppose that he understands these six seers of the different Maṇḍalas and Aṅgiras himself as the seven Āṅgirasas, the seven inspired seers. Gṛtsamada according to Sāyaṇa and Anukramaṇikā (on ṚV 2. 1), was first an Āṅgirasa and then a Bhāragava. Bharadvāja is the most inspired seer among the Āṅgirasas (*vepiṣṭatama*). Vāmadeva includes himself among the Āṅgirasas. Thus the seers of the three family Maṇḍalas are the Āṅgirasas. In addition to these we find Aṅgiras to be the seer of five hymns in the ṚV and there are about 90 hymns attributed to the different Āṅgirasas. It may thus appear that Aṅgiras himself started the cult of the worship of fire and the succeeding generations of the Vedic seers admitted his claim to be the first fire worshipper and to be their revered Father.

The Sāmveda also points out that Agni is Aṅgiras (SV 1. 3. 9). The Yajurveda which deals with the sacrificial ritual often refers to the ritual, in connection with Agni, being carried out in the manner of the Āṅgirasas. The Yajurveda Saṁhitā of the Mādhyandinas mentions that the *puriṣyāgni* is deposited with different metres in the manner of the Āṅgirasas (YV 11. 9. 10, 11, 16). The Taittirīya Saṁhihtā admits that the Āṅgirasas are the pastmasters in the technique of the performance of sacrifices. Other sacrificers take the Āṅgirasas as the model before them. In one place it is told that the Āṅgirasas while going to the heaven did not kill the forest animal in the sacrifice. So the other sacrificers also do not kill the forest animals in the sacrifice. All

depositions of Agni in the sacrificial ritual are in the manner of the Āṅgirasas (TS 5. 4. 3). Thus the sacrificers do a thing because the Āṅgirasas did it or do not do it bacause they did not do it. The Āṅgirasas elevated the cult of the worship of Agni. They kept Agni in the forefront of the gods (TS 5. 1. 204). In the TS we meet the story of the Āṅgirasas and Āditya performing sacrifices to reach the heaven. They performed the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifices (TS 3. 5. 1-2). The Āṅgirasas performed Satra, Ahīna and Daśarātra sacrifices and went to the heaven (TS 7. 1. 4. 1). When they went to the heaven they sent down to the earthly sages the fulfilment of sacrifice i. e. gold (TS 5. 4. 2. 3.). The sacrificer aspires to secure greatness by perfoming that act by which the Āṅgirasas obtained greatness (TS 5. 7. 2. 2). Thus the TS keeps before its followers the model of the Āṅgirasas. Their greatness is to be aspired for by the sacrificers. Their performances are to be copied. They performed certain sacrificers and went to the *svarga*. So sacrificers desirous of going to the *svarga* should perform those sacrifices in the manner they performed. They sent down from the heaven gold the fulfilment of the sacrifices. Thus the Saṁhitā makes much capital out of the departure of the Āṅgirasas to the heaven.

The Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā offers testimony to the same effect. Agni is identified with Aṅgiras (KS 22. 12). Agni is the senior-most among the Āṅgirasas (KS 31. 15). The Āṅgirasas found out Agni concealed in the forest (KS 39. 96). The Āṅgirasas are the standard of the sacrificers. They worshipped the *puriṣyāgni* first. Therefore the Agni should be worshipped first like the Āṅgirasas. Thus a man is united with all things (KS 19, 2). Their practice in the performance of the sacrifice is a model before other sacrificers (KS 16. 57-60). They are invoked to protect the sacrificer with the recitation of the chants (KS 4. 14). They are called upon to offer sacrifices (KS 5. 4). Their penance and lustre of their penance were remarkable. The *purodāśa* the sacrificial offering baked on the potsherds are made hot with the *tapas* (penance) Bhṛgvaṅgirasas (KS 31. 6). The sacrificer attains the greatness of the Āṅgirasas and secures a place among the gods by following the vows of the Āṅgirasas (KS 8. 4 22. 10).

The Saṁhitā refers to the rivalry between the Ādityas and the Āṅgirasas for going to the heaven first. The Ādityas offered the *pañcahoṭṛ* sacrifice and went to the heaven. The Āṅgirasas fell down. They asked the Ādityas how to ascend to the heaven. They told them to offer oblations to the different deities with different meters (KS 9. 16). At another place the Ādityas told them to offer thirty-three offerings to different deities to secure the *Svarga* (KS 28. 6. 7). The Saṁhitā considers the attainment of the heaven by the Āṅgirasas as an established fact and instructs its followers to follow the path resorted to by them to secure the *svarga*, the most cherished ideal in the sacrificial literature.

The Āṅgirasas in the AV : The word Aṅgiras in singular occurs five times and in plural about thirty times in the AV. The Āṅgirasas figure in the AV in three differenl aspects, viz. as gods, as Fathers and as seers. As gods, the Āṅgirasas are offered honey mixed with ghee along with the Ādityas (AV 12. 3. 4). They are mentioned along with the Rudras, the Vasus, the gods in the heaven and Atharvan in the invocation for freedom from distress (AV 11. 6. 13). Divine Atharvan and Aṅgiras reside in Kāla or the Eternal Time (AV 19. 54. 5). Skambha, the highest deity, which supports the Universe has the Āṅgirasas as his eyes and the Atharvāṅgiras Veda as his mouth (AV 10. 7. 20. 34). In a battle charm the Aṅgirasas go on killing the armies of the enemy in the very middle of the battlefield, while the Viśvedevas smash them from above (AV 8. 8. 13). Along with the Viśevedvas they are invoked to appease the flesh-eating fire (AV 3. 21. 8).

The Āṅgirasas are the fathers, worthy of the offering of Soma. They are invoked to curse a person, who comes to do wrong (AV 2. 12. 5). Along with the Vasus, the Ādityas and *iṣṭāpūrta* (the merit derived from the gift at the sacrifice and outside), they protect a person against his adversaries (AV 2. 12. 4). They offered the *sava* of *aja* (the sacrifice of goat). On account of the offering of that goat they knew the radiant region of the heaven (AV 9. 5. 16). Thus reaching the heaven they established themselves as the holy Fathers along with their relations, the Navagvas, the Atharvans and the Bhṛgus (AV 18. 1. 58). Along with the Vairūpas (a branch of the Āṅgirasas) they come to the funeral sacrifice on the earth (AV 19. 1. 10). The

departed soul rises on the high ridges of the heaven by the path along which the Āṅgirasas, the conquerors of the earth went up to the heaven (AV 18. 1. 6).

As seers they are connected with sacrifice, magic and magical sacrifice. As medicine men they produced the plant *kuṣṭha*, the healer of every disease (AV 19. 39. 5). The *jaṅgaḍa* amulet gets the name, Aṅgiras, as it was made current by them (AV 19. 34. 6). The snares of Aṅgiras and the Āṅgirasas sit tight round a hateful person by means of their spells and sacrifices (AV 16. 8. 14). Atharvan prepared the amulet of *khadira* and Atharvans tied it on their body. The Āṅgirasas, who are the same as the Atharvans, on account of that amulet, opened the fortress of the Dasyus and conquered them (AV 106. 20). As seers, they had a very close association with Agni Vaiśvānara, who made effective the hymns and charms of Aṅgiras (AV 6 35. 3). Mitra and Varuṇa protect them (AV 4. 29. 3).

The close relation between the Āṅgirasas and the Ādityas is referred to in an incident mentioned in one of the *kuntāpa* hymns, the *khilas* of the AV. The Ādityas brought a sacrificial gift to the Āṅgirasas. They did not accept it. The descendants of the Āṅgirasas later on took the gift, so that the intellectuals and sacrifices should not be without leaders. They were, thus, the leaders in the sacrificial and intellectual activities (AV 20. 135. 7). The Ādityas, the Rudras and the Vasus again offered the sacrificial gift to the Āṅgirasas to please him (AV 20. 135. 9, 10). The Āṅgirasas are the seers of the AV, to whom homage is paid (AV 19. 22. 18).

III. *The Āṅgirasas in the Brāhmaṇas* :—

(1) In the Brāhmaṇas of the ṚV, the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa tells about the birth of Aṅgiras. In the story about Prajāpati's illicit intercourse with his daughter, it is told that his semen fell down. The gods surrounded the seed with Agni. Agni then blazed up. From the embers of the fire Aṅgiras was born (AB 3. 34.). The AB, thus attempts to explain the birth of Aṅgirasas and his connection with Agni. The AB glorifies the Āṅgirasas and make them send the royal throne along with the Maruts, at the coronation ceremony of Indra (AB 8. 12). AB makes the

Āṅgirasas on par with the gods. The Brāhmaṇa also tells the story of the Ādityas and the Āṅgirasas. The Brāhmaṇa further informs us that the Āṅgirasas were responsible for making the earth uneven. In a sacrifice in which they officiated as priests for the Ādityas, the earth was given to them as *dikṣiṇā*. But they threw it away as it was burning. The burning and even state of the earth was turned into the present uneven surface. This explains the unevenness of the earth as due to the Āṅgirasas (AB 6, 34. 35). The AB refers to the seer Śunaḥśepa as a descendant of Aṅgiras. Śunaḥśepa is the seer of some hymns in the ṚV (1. 24–30, 9. 3).

In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa while describing the greatness of the *agnihotra* sacrifice, a story is told, about the relation of the Āṅgirasas with a certain rite mentioned therein. The Āṅgirasas performed a *satra*. They had one white cow with them. They wanted to utilise its milk for the sacrificial purposes. But the cow had no grass to eat owing to the absence of rain. They performed the *karīri* sacrifice and produced rain, consequently there was abundance of grass for the cow to eat. But the Pitṛs besmeared the grass with poison, so the cow eating that grass was about to die. Then the Pitṛs coming to the Āṅgirasas demanded a share in the *agnihotra*. They were given the share in it i. e., the washing of the besmeared things (*lepamārjana*). They then took off the poison (TB 2. 1. 1). In the *cayana* sacrifice the Āṅgirasas are invoked to pile up the brick. The process of piling up brick is henceforth carried on in the manner of the Āṅgirasas (TB 3. 11. 6. 1). The Āṅgiraras get a place in the royal assembly of Indra (TB 2. 211. 5). At another place the Brāhmaṇa tells us a peculiar practice of the Āṅgirasas. The Ādityas having gone to *svarga* told the Āṅgirasas the way of securing heaven. They told them to offer oblations to them in *gāyatrī* and other metres where they remained concealed. Therefore the people born in the family of Aṅgiras recite that meter first, meditate on the Ādityas in them and offer offerings to them (TB 2. 2. 3. 5. 7).

In the Sāmaveda there are number of *sāmans* attributed to the Āṅgirasas. We had already seen in the ṚV, that they used to sing *sāmans*. The Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa points out that the

Āṅgirasas while going to the heaven, were accompanied by the demons. But by means of *harivarṇa sāmans* they defeated them (TMB 8. 9. 5). The same is the case with the story about the origin of the *aurṇayāva sāman*. The Āṅgirasas performed *satra* and aspired for going to the *svarga*. They did not know the path of the gods (*devayāna*). One of them, by name Kalyāṇa went up and saw the Gandharva Ūrṇayu, sporting with a water nymph. The Gandharva gave to him this *sāman*, by means of which they went to the svarga (TMB 12. 11, 10-11). Thus the Sāmaveda and its Brāhmaṇa (there is information in other Brāhmaṇas of the Sāmaveda similar to what has been stated in the Brāhmaṇas of the ṚV and YV) preserve the glory and greatness of the Āṅgirasas and make them an ideal or standard before their followers.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa refers to the claim of the Āṅgirasas that they first enkindled Agni (ŚB, 1. 4. 1-25). It also points out that Āṅgiras was born of burning embers, which was the form of the seed of the gods (ŚB, 4. 5. 1. 8). Thus the Āṅgirasas enkindled Agni and was born of the blazing embers. This explanation of the birth of Aṅgiras is probably due to the desire on the part of the Brāhmaṇas to connect Aṅgiras and *aṅgāra* (embers). The ŚB also regards the Āṅgirasas as the great seers of the past generation and glorifies their actions. Their sacrifices were model before it and the Brāhmaṇa often attributes the origin of some ritualistic functions to them. Their rivalry with the Ādityas and their attainment of the *svarga* are the established facts in this Brāhmaṇa too. Here is an attempt to attribute some ritualistic function to them. In the *agniṣṭoma* sacrifice, the sacrificer puts on the girdle (*mekhalā*). Why does he put it on ? The Brāhmaṇa gives the story. Once upon a time, when the Āṅgirasas were consecrated, they were seized with weakness, for they had prepared no other food but the milk for the fast (*vratāśana*). Then they saw the girdle as the source of strength. They put the girdle round their waist as a source of securing completion. Thereby they attained completion (SB 3. 2. 1. 10). The girdle is the strength of the Āṅgirasas (SB 3. 2. 1. 14). At another place the Brāhmaṇa tells the origin of the *abhiplava* and *pṛṣṭhya* rites. The Ādityas and the Āṅgirasas, both children of Prajāpati

contended to reach the heaven first. The Ādityas by means of the four *stomas*, four *pṛṣṭhas* and light *sāmans* sailed across to the heaven. Since they sailed to it the period of six days in the *agniṣṭoma* sacrifice is called the *pṛṣṭhya* (ŚB, 12. 2. 2. 9-11)[1]. On another occasion the Brāhmaṇa gives the origin of the *sadyaḥkrī* sacrifice. In the beginning there were two kinds of beings in this world viz, the Ādityas and the Āṅgirasas. The Āṅgirasas were the first to perform a sacrifice. They asked Agni to invite the Ādityas to their *soma* sacrifice. At the same time the Ādityas thought of performing a soma sacrifice so that the Āṅgirasas would minister sacrifice to them and not they to the Āṅgirasas. They called Agni to invite the Āṅgirasas at their *soma* sacrifice. On receiving the invitation, the Āṅgirasas got angry with Agni. But Agni pleaded that the blameless ones (the Ādityas) had chosen him in their *soma* sacrifice. Then the Āṅgirasas were ready to officiate for the Ādityas in the *soma* sacrifice. The *soma* was purchased on the same day. As the soma was purchased on that very day the sacrifice was called *sadyaḥkrī* (ŚB, 3. 5. 1. 13-17). After the completion of the sacrifice *Vāk* was brought as fee. The Āṅgirasas did not accept her. They brought Sūrya as their fee. They accepted him. The Āṅgirasas said, " We are fit for the sacrificial offices; even he who burns yonder has been received by us (ŚB. 3. 5. 1. 19.)". This story tells how there were two classes of beings only, on the earth at one time, viz the Ādityas and the Āṅgirasas. All human beings must have been known by the name of Āṅgirasas. The statement of the Āṅgirasas in the story alone also clearly shows how they were conscious of their dignity as the sacrificers, that they received the Sun as their *dakṣiṇā*. The Brāhmaṇa thus recognizes them as the great teachers of the technique of sacrifice. The Brāhmaṇa also refers to the Veda of the Āṅgirasas, a section of which was recited in the *aśvamedha* sacrifice. In this sacrifice after releasing the horse, on the fourth day, while reciting the various narrations, the Adhvaryu says, 'Āṅgirasas are the Veda.' Thus saying he goes over to one section of the Aṅgiras Veda

[1] The AB 4.17.8 points out that the Āṅgirasas reached the *svarga*, 60 years after the Ādityas.

(ŚB 13. 4. 3. 8). The Brāhmaṇa also speaks of the burning lustre of the Atharvaveda, the Veda of the Bhṛgvaṅgirasas. Regarding the heating of the potsherds on which the *puroḍāśa* is baked, it is said that it should be made hot with the lustre of the Bhṛgus and Aṅgirasas. The Brāhmaṇa while explaining this remark points out that the Bhṛgvaṅgirasas are of the brightest lustre (*tejiṣṭhate-jas*). EGGELING considers that here the Bhṛgvaṅgirasas stand for the Atharvaveda[1]. Thus the Brāhmaṇa recognises the power and greatness of the AV, the Veda of the Aṅgirasas (ŚB 1. 2. 1-13). The ŚB considers both the families of Aṅgiras and Bhṛgu as identical. Cyavana is designated as a Bhārgava or an Āṅgirasa. When the Bhṛgus or the Āṅgirasas attained the heavenly world, Cyavana Bhārgava or Āṅgirasa was left behind on the earth, crippled and ghostlike (ŚB 4. 1. 5. 1). The ŚB recognises the claim of the Āṅgirasas to be the first men on this world, the first sacrificers, the masters of the technique of sacrifice and the authors of the Aṅgirasa Veda (the AV) and identical with the Bhṛgus.

The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa informs that Aṅgiras was produced from the liquid which came out from the body of Varuṇa, the lord of the waters, who was made to exert and practise penance by the gods. The liquid of his body is turned into Aṅgiras (*aṅgarasa*). From the religious fervour of Aṅgiras, Varuṇa fashioned the Viṁśino Āṅgirasas, from whom again 10 Āṅgirasas were produced. From the fervour of these 10 Aṅgirasas the Āṅgirasa Veda was produced (GB, 1. 1. 7-8). The Veda of Aṅgiras stood on and occupied these worlds. Hence a person studying the Veda of Aṅgiras stands erect. The Brāhmaṇa further tells that the Veda of Aṅgiras, born of penance is the best of all Vedas and it destroys all *yātus* of Brahman (GB, 1. 1. 9). The Veda of Aṅgiras is called Aṅgiras Veda (GB, 1. 1. 9), or Atharvaveda (GB, 1. 1. 20), Bhṛgvaṅgiras and Atharvāṅgiras (GB, 1. 1. 29). From the waters

[1] The old families of the Bhṛgus and the Āṅgirasas are frequently mentioned together and often also in conjunction with the Atharvans. To these three families, the text and the ritual of the AV is attributed. It is probable that the Bhṛgvaṅgirasas in the formula is intended to refer to the AV. cf. Eggeling, *Translation of the ŚB. SBE.* vol. xii, p. 38, note.

all world was produced. Hence all beings are watery, and they belong to Bhṛgavaṅgirasas. For the AV has its place in the waters. All Vedas are in Bhṛgvaṅgiras Veda. They resort to Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras. Hence Vyāsa formerly said that a person should study other Vedas only when he is purified by the study of the Veda of the Bhṛgvaṅgiras. He who knows the Veda of this Atharvāṅgiras knows everything (GB, 1. 1. 29.). The Brāhmaṇa further adds that at the beginning of the *dvāpara* age, a section of the *ṛṣis* thought that *soma* is to be drunk with the recitation of the three Vedas only. But it so happened that the three Vedas (Ṛc, Sāman, Yajus) lost their splendour. This was a calamity. The sages then ran to Brahmā, who told them that without the person who knows the Bhṛgvaṅgiras (AV: *bhṛgvaṅi-rovid*), *soma* should not be drunk. Otherwise the priests are defeated, sacrificers loose their lustre and the Vedas are destroyed (GB, 1. 1. 28). All Vedas follow the lead of the Bhṛgvaṅgiras Veda (GB, 1. 1. 39). In the secrifice the priest, who knows the Bhṛgvaṅgiras Veda is called Brahmā. He pacifies Aṅgi by means of the hymns of the AV. In the sacrifice Brahmā with a turban on his head, sits to the south; for, it is the formidable quarter (GB, 1. 2. 19). Bhṛgu, Atharvan and Aṅgiras are born of the same source. Āṅgiras is senior to the other two. Hence we get individual names due to the respect to Aṅgiras, such as Bhṛg-vaṅgiras and Atharvāṅgiras. These names often occur in singular and refer to the iudividuals of the families of Aṅgiras. Atharvan and Aṅgiras are mentioned to be the two eyes of Bhṛgu (GB. 1. 2. 22). The sacrifice, in which Brahmā, the knower of AV functions, does not become deficient. It stands on its four feet (GB 1. 3. 1 . With reference to the origin of the AV, it may be observed that the AV, 19. 22, 23 give the contents of the Veda of the Aṅgiras and Atharvan and the GB also narrates the origin of two sets of seers for the composition of the Veda of Aṅgiras and Atharvan (GB, 1. 11, 8). Thus, the extant Saṁhitā of the AV in the Śaunaka and Paippl̥āda Śākhās seems to be firstly the effort of the Āṅgirasas and then of the Atharvans, or it may be a joint work. It may be also noted that according to the Anukramaṇikā, Atharvan is the seer of about 175 hymns in the AV ; Atharvāṅgi-ras of 17 hymns. As Atharvan bears the largest individual shar

the Veda may be called after him. If we include the Atharvans among the Āṅgirasas, this share is 220 hymns, the Bhṛgus 91 hymns and Brahman 96 hymns in the AV of the Śaunaka Śākhā. In the system of the sacrifice, GB notes that all twenty one sacrifices (7 *soma yajñas*, 7 *pāka yajñas*, 7 *havir yajñas*) and all old and new types of sacrifices ultimately reach the Āṅgirasas (GB 1. 4. 25).

IV. *The Aṅgirasas in the Upaniṣads*:—

The Āṅgirasas figure prominently as teachers of philosophy in the Upaniṣadic period. The Taittirīya Upaniṣad (2. 3), having first described the course of evolution from the Ātman through five elements to the human person, points out that the person consists of the essence of food. Further it is maintained that other than and within that one which consists of the essence of food is the self that consists of breath. Within this self there is a self that consists of mind. This has the form of a person. Of the person the Yajurveda is the head, the Ṛgveda is the right side, the Sāma veda is the left side, the teaching (Brāhmaṇas) is the body and the Atharvāṅgirasas form the lower part, the foundation.[1] This will indicate the importance of the Veda of the Āṅgirasas) called by the Upaniṣad, as the Atharvāṅgiras, in the Brāhmaṇa-Upaniṣadic portion of the Upaniṣads.[2] The knowledge of the Veda of the Āṅgirasas is the foundation to secure the most subtle innermost person. In the Upaniṣad of the Sāmaveda, Aṅgiras is said to have reverenced the breath in the mouth as the Udgītha. People thought that the Udgītha is Aṅgiras, because it is the essence of the limbs (Chāndogya Up 1. 2. 10-12). Thus we see that the Udgītha was identified with Aṅgiras, who is the essence of the body (*aṅgānām rasaḥ*). This is another attempt to explain the significance of the word Aṅgiras. In the Brāhmaṇa literature the word Aṅgiras was explained as connected with Agni (from *aṅgāra*) and born of Agni and the worship of Agni was attributed to him. In Upaniṣadic period, there came discussions on the nature of Udgītha, Ātman and Brahman. In this period too, Aṅgiras was given the place of importance, by identifying

[1] Hume : *Translation of the thirteen principal upaniṣads, pp.* 283-285.

[2] **Belvalkar and Ranade** : *History of Indian Philosophy, vol.* II, p. 135.

him with Udgītha. This portion of the Upaniṣad falls in the Brahmaṇic period.[1] Bṛhaspati and Ayāsya Āṅgirasas revered him as Udgītha.[2] At Chāndogya Up 3. 16-17, a person's entire life is symoblically represented as a Soma sacrifice; for, a person is a sacrifice. Mahīdāśa Aitareya knowing this, lived for a hundred and sixteen years. In this metaphorical sacrifice, death is the ceremonial bath. When Ghora Āṅgirasa explained this doctrine to Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devakī, he also explained to him that he should take refuge, on the final hour in these three thoughts, viz; "You are the indestructible: you are the unshaken, you are the very essence of the life.[3]" It seems that Ghora Āṅgirasa preached here in crude form the essence of philosophy which Kṛṣṇa preached in the Bhagavadgītā. The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (2.5) explains the famous Madhuvidyā. In the list of the teachers of this doctine a number of Āṅgirasa teachers are found, such as Gautama, Agniveśya, Bharadvāja and Ayāsya (BU 2.6). Thus in the old upaniṣads, we notice that the Āṅgirasas enjoyed the same privilege, as they used to enjoy in the Brahmanic period. In the Praśna Upaniṣad (2.8) the *prāṇa* glorified as Atharvan is an Aṅgirasa. Aṅgiras is a teacher in the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad. A student aspiring for the Brahma Vidyā is expected to undergo, the Atharvaṇic vow of carrying the sacrificial fire on the head, (*śirovrata*) to qualify himself for it. Aṅgiras imparts instructions to Śaunaka regarding monism (3.2.8), qualified monism (3.1.3) and dualism (3.1.1). The speculations of Aṅgiras on immortality (8. 2) have supplied many ideas and expressions to the Bhagavadgītā. A comparison of the second section of this Upaniṣad with the 11th chapter of the Bhagavadgītā will bear out this point. In the cosmogony advanced in this Upaniṣad, both Sāṅkhya and Vedantic conceptions are found. In the metaphysical attitude of this Upaniṣad, the teacher Aṅgiras has a reconciling interest in his heart and tries to harmonise the different claims of pluralism, qualified monism

[1] Belvalkar and Ranade, ibid.

[2] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 1.3.7.

[3] Belvalkar and Ranade, *ibid*, pp. 220, 396; and Bhandarkar *Vaiṣṇavism* etc. p. 15.

and monism. On the side of mysticism, the teacher draws a distinction between the higher and lower knowledge. Aṅgiras informs us here that the disciple must be inspired with the devotion for the goal, which is the Brahman. In the higher knowledge, he advocates the meditation on the phonetic symbol *Om.* (2. 3. 4. 5.). Aṅgiras figures as a teacher in the Ātmopaniṣad. He points out three types of Puruṣas, viz., the Ātman (the body), the Antarātman (the soul) and the Paramātman (the Brahman or the cosmic soul). The Paramātman is one, eternal and the only reality. The knowledge of the Brahman leads a man to liberation (Ātmopaniṣad 1. 1. 4). Pippalāda Āṅgirasa is the prominent philosopher of the Praśna Upaniṣad. Six students of the Brahma-philosophy approach Pippalāda and ask him different questions of varying interest. The Garbha Upaniṣad contains the *mokṣa-śāstra* of Pippalāda. In the Parabrahma Upaniṣad he teaches the practice of Yoga and meditation on *Om.* He also instructs the ideal life of a real *saṁnyāsin* (1. 18).

Such are in brief the activities of the Āṅgirasas in the Upaniṣads.

V. *General*—

The Āṅgirasas thus form the ancient family of the priests of Agni. They found out Agni, churned him out and employed for the sacrificial purposes. Agni is Aṅgiras or Aṅgiras is from the *aṅgāra*, the burning embers. They must have first started the worship of Agni. This is acknowledged by all seers of the ṚV and the Brāhmaṇas. They were respected as respectable, godlike, Fathers of noble deeds, who performing sacrifices went to the heaven. In the Brāhmaṇa literature, they were taken to be the models before all other sacrifices, who should copy their practices, and reach the heaven. They were the ideal before the sacrificers. In the Upaniṣadic period they are acknowledged to be the prominent teachers of philosophy.

Looking to their constant praise and leadership in the whole range of the Vedic literature one can easily concede that they, along with the Bhṛgus and the Atharvans form the common

ancestors of the Indo-Aryans.[1] B. G. TILAK considers that the word Aṅgiras is etymologically connected with the Greek *aggilos* and concludes that Aṅgiras and Atharvan must have been the ancient sacrificers of the whole Aryan race and not merely of the Vedic people. He further points out that there can be no doubt that they represent the families of priests who conduct if not originate, the sacrifices in primeval times, that is, before the Aryan seperation, and who, for this reason, seem to have attained almost divine character in the eyes of the poets of the Ṛgveda.[2]

Dr. HAUG writing about the pre-zoroaster form of the Parsi religion remarks, 'Zoroaster exhorts his party to respect and worship the Angra, i. e. the Aṅgiras of the Vedic hymns, who formed one of the most ancient and celebrated priestly families of the ancient Aryans, and who seem to have been connected with the pre-zoroasterian form of Parsi religion than any other of the later Brahmanical families. Then Āṅgirasas are often mentioned together with the Atharvans and both are regarded in the Vedic literature as the authors of the Atharva Veda, which is called the Veda of the Atharvāṅgiras, or the Atharvaṇa or Āṅgirasa Veda i. e., the Veda of the Atharvaṇa or Aṅgirasa. On comparing its contents with some passage in the Yashts and the Vendidad, we discover a great similarity. Although a close connection, between the ante-zoroastrianism and the Atharvāṅgiras religion can be hardly doubted, yet the relation refers to the magical part, which was believed by the ancient Greeks to be the very substance and nature of the Zoroastrian religion,[3]

The word which appears to be related to Aṅgiras is *angra* in the Avesta. The term *angra* is used more than once in the ordinary meaning 'evil' and as a designation of wicked man. DHALLA and MILLS do not take *angra* te refer to Āṅgiras, but to the evil spirit.[4]

[1] Weber : *The History of Indian Literature*, p. 148.

[2] *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, pp. 160-61. Also for the explanation of the Āṅgirasām ayana sacrifice.

[3] Cited by J. M. Chatterjee in *the Ethical conception of the Gathas*, p. 197 and by S. K. Hodivala in *Zarathushtra and his contemporaries*, p. 21.

Yasna, 43.15, 44 12, 48.10. Also see Dhalla, *History of Zoroastrianism* p. 89 ; and Mills, the *Zend-Avesta*, *SBE vol.* xxxi, p. 105.

Some other scholars find similarity in words and ideas between the Vedas and the Avesta.[1] The word Āṅgiras is an instance to the point. The word Āṅgiras, connected with *aṅgāra* comes nearer to *angra* in the Avesta, like *atharvan* in Sanskrit and *athravan* in the Avesta. The word which is common in the Avesta is not merely *angra* but Angra Mainyu. Angra Mainyu is the leader of the diabolic spirits called the Daevas (Devas, gods in Sanskrit). The Daevas spread their mischief over all seven zones.[2] The Daevas instigate the enemies of the settled life to give the cattle to the followers of violence.[3]

It will thus be seen that Angra Mainya is the worst devil in the Avesta. He is the leader of the Daevas and the Daevaworshippers. It is thus possible that Zoroaster might be referring to the Aṅgirasas in the conception of Angra Mainya. But he cannot be speaking of the Aṅgirasas with respect. Thus Yasna 43.15 says "Oh Ahrsnazda, then indeed I regarded thee as beautiful, when that angel came to me with good mind and informed me with wisdom that neither the harmful intellected Vasiṣṭha, nor Puru is dear to us; indeed they have regarded all the Angras (Aṅgirasas) as righteous.[4]" Zarathushtra thus condemns the Angras. He cannot speak respectfully of them. The Aṅgirasas seem to be the champions of the *deva*-wosshipers and hence Zarathushtra turned them into archdemons, leading the Daevas (the Deva-worshippers).

It can be easily conceded, that the Aṅgirasas were the prominent members of the Vedic community before and in the Indo-Iranian period. As we have seen before in the Saṁhitā and the Brāhmaṇa period, they were highly respected as the priests of fire. The Brāhmaṇas always refer to their going to the heaven, by the performance of sacrifices. But in the sacrificial religion of the Brāhmaṇas, the Aṅgirasas, like the Atharvans are not seen taking active part. They are referred to as our ancient Fathers and the gods. It is possible that the religion of the Āṅgirasas like that of the Atharvans mostly consisting of simple

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1 Bilimoria *Zoroastrianism in the light of theosophy* p. 65.

2 Yasna 32.3. 3 Yasna 44.20 and also Dhalla, *ibid* p. 90.

4 Hodivala *supra*, p. 24.

magical practices, healing rites and royal priesthood, had failed to attract the attention of the people in the presence of the more pompus and dignified sacrificical religion. But when this sacrificical religion was on its decline, the religion of Āṅgiras, which was restricted to the domestic affairs come into prominence and was recognised as one of the Vedas. The SB considers the Aṅgiras Veda distinct from the Ātharvaṇa Veda. Thus there were two sections of the Veda. Both of them were recognised as Átharvāṅgiras Veda. As we have seen above, the Āṅgirasas were hated by the Avestan people, yet they admitted the priesthood of the Atharvans, Zarathushtra was called an Athravan. Athrevans form the first of the four divisions of the Avestic society.[1] It thus seems that the Atharvans and the Āṅgirasas though staying together in the prehistoric Vedic times and were considered to be the priests of fire, their religion mostly was restricted more or less to the domestic rites (*gṛhyadharma*) as we can see from the nature and the contents of the AV. Though Zarathushtra accepted the term Athravan, he did not incorporate in his religion completely the religion of the Athrvans. The Vedic Atharvans must have joined with the Āṅgirasas, after coming in contact with prodecessors of Magis, from whom they must have mastered the technique of magic.[2] The Āṅgirasas, being their associates must have also learnt the magical practices. When the Aryans came in India, th. sacrificial religion came up in new and dignified form. The Atharvāṅgirasas,, practising the domestic rites with magical practices must have been the priests seeking the individual householder's patronage and royal favour. They had no place in the sacrificial system. Till quite late, in the decline of the sacrificial religion, they were given the status of the fourth Veda. Their association with the kings (being the Purohitas) and their practices of magic, must have kept them away from the general public in the days of the sacrificial religion. But when the orthodox Brahmanism admitted in practice the magical religion of the Atharvāṅgirasas, there was felt a great need for the systematic use of magical hymns. Thus the Atharva Veda

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[1] Dhalla, *ibid pp.* 129–130.

[2] Dhalla, *supra*, p. 136 and Jackson, Zoroaster pp. 138–14.

Saṁhitā came up, when the traditional magical hymns were collected together.

They were the Purohitas of the kings. The Kṣatriya kings took their names as their family names.[1] In the Buddhist literature thus we find the name Āṅgirasa applied to the Buddha several times.[2] Aṅgirasa was the personal name given by the father of the Buddha in addition to Siddhārtha. Āngirasa, in the Pali literature, stands beside Vassamitto (Viśvāmitra), Yamataggi (Jamadgni) and Bharadvāja.[3] Siddhartha is referred to as Āṅgirasa Kumāra. According to the Vedic tradition Gautamas belong to the Āngirasa family.[4] Vinayapiṭaka 1.245 mentions the Aṅgirasas as one of the ten ancient seers, who conducted the great sacrifices and were versed in Vedic lore. The same ten are mentioned as being the composers and reciters of the Veda. These ten are: Aṅgiras, Atthaka, Vāmaka, Vāmadeva, Vessamitta, Yamataggii, Bharadvaja, Vasattha, Kassapa and Bhagu.[5] The Milindapañha (272) refers to Āṅgiras as a celebrated physician. It is due to his connections with the AV, he is so called. Thus in the Buddhist literature we find that the Aṅgirasas were known as the Vedic seers and the authors of the AV. The name Āṅgirasa given to the Lord Buddha suggest that the Āṅgirasas were intimately connected with the royal families and that they had tremendous influence over them. We can also appreciate the popularity and prestige of the Aṅgirasas among the royal families.

In the epics, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, the Aṅgirasas play a very important part. In fact it is suggested by me elsewhere[6] that the present version of the Mbh and Rāmāyaṇa is due to the direct influence of the Aṅgirasas and the Bhṛgus.

1 R. Fick, *ERE*. Vol. VI, p. 353 ff. Also Thomas, *Life and Legends of the Buddha* pp. 22-23.

2 Malalaskara, *Dictionary of Pāli proper names vol.* I, p. 20.

3 Hillebrandt, *Vedische mythologie vol.* II, pp. 156-157.

4 *Vedic Index*, vol. I, p. 235.

5 *Dictionary of Pāli proper names* loc. cit.

6 See my papers (i) *ABORI* vol. xxiv p. 67-82; (ii) *Bombay University Journal vol.* xii, part II Sept. 1943.

BHAGAVADGĪTĀ XVI. 8

(असत्यमप्रतिष्ठं ते ... ...)

BY

R. D. KARMARKAR

In XVI. 6, (द्वौ भूतसर्गौ लोकेऽस्मिन्दैव आसुर एव च । दैवो विस्तरशः प्रोक्त आसुरं पार्थ मे शृणु ॥) Śrīkṛṣṇa tells Arjuna that he would describe to him the Āsura Bhūtasarga, and in verses 7–20, Śrīkṛṣṇa winds up by saying that those who had secured the Āsurī yoni, ultimately are destined to go to the worst state, without even having a chance to be one with him (आसुरीं योनिमापन्ना मूढा जन्मनि जन्मनि । मामप्राप्यैव कौन्तेय ततो यान्त्यधमां गतिम ॥ XVI. 20). Śrīkṛṣṇa condemns these Āsurayonis in no uncertain terms, calling them नष्टात्मानः, अल्पबुद्धयः, अहिताः (XVI. 9), अज्ञानविमोहिताः (XVI. 15), मोहजालसमावृताः (XVI. 16), क्रूरान्, नराधमान (XVI. 19) etc. The description of the Āsurayonis is however a general one and it is not clear from the text, against what particular rival theorists, the wrath of Śrīkṛṣṇa is directed. It is proposed to discuss the verse

असत्यमप्रतिष्ठं ते जगदाहुरनीश्वरम् ।
अपरस्परसंभूतं किमन्यत्कामहैतुकम् ॥ (XVI. 8)

in this paper, to find out whether some definite information can be had from it, which would furnish some clue to the persons Śrīkṛṣṇa had in his mind.

Let us first see what the old commentators have to say in the matter. The Gujrati Printing Press edition of the Bhagavadgīta contains as many as nineteen commentaries. Out of these, only two, शाङ्करभाष्य and मधुसूदनटीका (... लोकायतिकदृष्टिरियम्) definitely say that the लोकायतिकs or materialists are referred to here; the परमार्थप्रपा says that either the लोकायतिकs or the असुरs are meant; तत्त्वदीपिका of Vallabha refers to सहजासुरs. Other commentators content themselves with explaining the various expressions in the verse, which leaves no doubt that they also agree in believing that the लोकायतिकs are referred to. Thus :—

असत्यम् — यथा वयमनृतप्रायास्तथेदं जगत्सर्वमसत्यम् । (शां.)

जगदेतत्सत्यशब्दनिर्दिष्टब्रह्मकार्यतया ब्रह्मात्मकम् न । (रा.)

जगतः सत्यं... विष्णुस्तद्व्यैपरीत्येनाहुः । (आ. भा.)

धर्माधर्मौ यस्य न विद्येते । (ह. पै. भा.)

न विद्यते सत्यं वेदशास्त्रप्रमाणं यस्य तदसत्यम् । (वे. ब्र.)

सत्यवर्जितम् । (नी.)

कालत्रयेऽपि सत्ताशून्यम् । (त. टी.)

अप्रतिष्ठम् — नास्य धर्माधर्मौ प्रतिष्ठातोऽप्रतिष्ठं । (शां.)

— ब्रह्मणि प्रतिष्ठितं न । (रा.)

— प्रतिष्ठा विष्णुस्तद्व्यैपरीत्येन । (आ. भा.)

— न यतोऽस्य प्रतिष्ठा तदप्रतिष्ठम् । (ह. पै. भा.)

— वेदशास्त्रप्रामाण्याभावादप्रतिष्ठम् । (वे. ब्र.)

— ब्रह्मणि न प्रतिष्ठा यस्य तथेति । (व. त. टी.)

— धर्माधर्माख्या प्रतिष्ठा आश्रयस्तच्छून्यम् । (नी.)

अपरस्परसंभूतम् — कामप्रयुक्तयोः स्त्रीपुरुषयोरन्योन्यकामहेतुकम्, संयोगाज्जगत्सर्वं संभूतम् । कामहेतुरेव कामहैतुकम्... न किंचिददृष्टं धर्माधर्मादि कारणान्तरं विद्यते जगतः । (शां.)

योषित्पुरुषयोः परस्परसंबन्धेन जातम... सर्वमिदं जगत् कामहेतुकमिति । (रा. भा.)

परस्परसंभवो ह्युक्तः ' अन्नाद्भवन्ति भूतानि ' इत्यादिना । (आ. भा.)

परस्परसंभूतं न भवतीत्याहुः । ' अपरस्परसंभूतं ' इत्यस्यापरं परमात संभूतामिति व्याख्यानमसत् । (ज. प्र. दी.)

कामप्रयुक्तयोः स्त्रीपुरुषयोरन्योन्यसङ्गादुत्पन्नं जगत् अतः कामहेतुकं कामहेतुकमेव... यद्वा मनुष्यपश्वादिकं सर्वमपि स्त्रीपुंसयोः परस्परसंबन्धेनैव जातमुपलभ्यते, अपरस्परसंभूतं तु किमन्यदुपलभ्यते... इति योजना । (वै. ब्र. गि.)

बीजाङ्कुरवत् परस्परकारणीभूतानां धर्माधर्मतद्वासनानां यस्मात्यं तस्मात्संभूतं ... न किंचिदपि धर्माद्यपेक्षया उत्पद्यते ... स्वभावादेव जन्तुर्जायते न त्वदृष्टादिति भावः । (नी.)

It would be seen from the above that though the commentators differ here and there as regards the explanation of certain words, they take the verse to refer to the Cārvākas who do not believe in any Controller of the Universe, regard sensual pleasures as the summum bonum of life, and acknowledge no other authority but the Pratyakṣapramāṇa. We however think that the Cārvākas could not have been referred to here. The expression अमत्यं is a pointer in this connection. As far as the Cārvākas are concerned, the world is to them, not only not असत्य, but the only सत्य they can think of. That is why Śaṅkara has to put forward the lame explanation of अमत्य as 'The world is as full of untruth as the Cārvākas themselves are'. Similarly others take सत्य and प्रतिष्ठा to mean 'Viṣṇu'. नीलकण्ठ takes अपरस्परसंभूतं to mean 'not produced from the ceaseless cycle of Dharma and Adharma, but from its own nature,' because, even the Vedāntin can hardly challenge the creation from the union of male and female generally.

Modern editors likewise explain the verse in question as containing the views of materialists. We give below a few typical explanations:—

Telang:— They say the Universe is devoid of truth (that is, contains nothing that is entitled to belief, as the Vedas etc.), devoid of fixed principle (no principle based on virtue and vice in the government of the world), and devoid of a ruler, produced by union (of male and female) caused by lust (they do not believe in any unseen cause, but say the lust of mankind is the cause of the universe) and nothing else.

Davies:— "The Universe", say they "has in it neither truth, nor order, nor a ruler, is not produced by a succession (of causes), and is only designed for lusts."

[Davies says that atheists of a coarse sensuous type seem to be chiefly assailed ... Materialists like the Cārvākas, who admitted only one source of knowledge, our sense-perceptions, and therefore refused to admit the truth or reality of any person or thing that is not cognisable by the senses, are here denounced.

असत्यम ... They do not believe that the word is a real creation, but only a fortuitous concourse of atoms.

अपरिक्षितम् ... They deny that there is any moral government of the world, and therefore that it has a Supreme Lord.

अपरस्परसंभूतम् :— " Not proceeding from one to another by way of succession " (Lassen). They deny such a succession in the order of development or creation as the Sāṅkhya or Yoga system of thought.]

Barnett :— They say the universe is without truth, without foundation, without Sovran, arising in no serial order, with nothing but desire for its motive force.

[This is a description, no doubt grossly exaggerated, of the Hindu sceptics (Cārvākas or Lokāyatas) who are mixed up, doubtless unfairly, with carnal sinners and persecutors of the faithful].

There thus seems to be general unanimity amongst commentators, both ancient and modern, regarding the subject-matter of the verse in question. The views of the materialists are said to be attacked here. Looking to the general trend of the whole description of the Āsurayonis as found in (XVI. 7-20), we think that the vehement, almost fanatical hatred (तानहं द्विषतः क्रूरान् संसारेषु नराधमान् । क्षिपाम्यजस्रमशुभानासुरीष्वेव योनिषु ॥ १९ ॥ आसुरीं योनिमापन्ना मूढा जन्मनि जन्मनि । मामप्राप्यैव कौन्तेय ततो यान्त्यधमां गतिम् ॥ २० ॥) entertained by the Lord, against these Āsurayonis, points to some rival philosophic creed which seeks deliberately to pervert the minds of peoples and tries to wean them away from the worship of Vāsudeva or Kṛṣṇa. Actually, the Cārvākas or Lokāyatikas have never been taken very seriously at any period by philosophers and there was hardly any need for such downright denuciation of them. Again, as has been pointed out above, no Cārvāka would ever call the world असत्य, nor can the explanation of अपरस्परसंभूतं as ' produced by the union of male and female ' be called fantastic or absurd.

We must therefore look to some other philosophical creed as being the target of the Lord's condemnation. We think that it is the Buddhists and their creed that are attacked here, in close conformity with the line of attack taken by the Brahmasūtras in II. 2. 18-32. Thus,

असत्यम् — The meaning of this expression is ' produced or coming from असत् '. The Bauddhas believe that the उत्तरक्षण is produced from the destruction of the पूर्वक्षण. This is refuted

by the Sūtra नासतोऽदृष्टत्वात् (II. 2. 26) on which Śaṅkara says, इतश्चानुपपन्नो वैनाशिकसमयः, यतः स्थिरमनुयायिकारणमनभ्युपगच्छतामभावाद्भावोत्पत्तिरित्येतदापद्येत । दर्शयन्ति चाभावाद्भावोत्पत्तिम् 'नानुपमृद्य प्रादुर्भावात्' इति ।).

अप्रतिष्ठम् —' Having no permanent basis '. The Vedāntins claim Brahman as the प्रतिष्ठा (ब्रह्म पुच्छं प्रतिष्ठा) for the जगत् ; but the आलयविज्ञान or the प्रवृत्तिविज्ञान of the Bauddhas, being क्षणिक, cannot be the प्रतिष्ठा. (Sūtra क्षणिकत्वाच्च II. 2. 32, on which Śaṅkara says, यदप्यालयविज्ञानं वासनाश्रयत्वेन परिकल्पितं तदपि क्षणिकत्वाभ्युपगमादनवस्थितस्वरूपं सत्प्रवृत्तिविज्ञानवन्न वासनानामधिकरणं भवितुमर्हति । न हि कालत्रयसंबन्धिन्येकस्मिन्नन्वयिन्यसति कूटस्थे वा सर्वार्थदर्शिनि देशकालनिमित्तापेक्षवासनाधीनस्मृतिप्रतिसंधानादिव्यवहारः संभवति ।)

अपरस्परसंभूतम् —' Produced by a causal chain '. This is the प्रतीत्यसमुत्पाद doctrine of the Bauddhas, refuted in the Sūtra इतरेतरप्रत्ययत्वादिति चेन्नोत्पत्तिमात्रनिमित्तत्वात् (II. 2. 19) on which Śaṅkara says तदेवमविद्यादिकलापे (ते चाविद्यादयोऽविद्या संस्काराः विज्ञानं नामरूपं षडायतनं स्पर्शो वेदना तृष्णा उपादानं भवो जातिर्जरा मरणं शोकः परिदेवना दुःखं दुर्मनस्त्वेत्येवंजातीयकाः) परस्परनिमित्तनैमित्तिकभावेन घटीयन्त्रवदनिशमावर्तमानेऽर्थाक्षिप्त उपपद्यः संघात इति चेत् तन्न । कस्मात् । उत्पत्तिमात्रनिमित्तत्वात् । ... इतरेतरप्रत्ययत्वेऽप्यविद्यादीनां पूर्वपूर्वमुत्तरोत्तरस्योत्पत्तिमात्रनिमित्तं भवद्भवेन्न तु संघातोत्पत्तेः किंचिन्निमित्तं संभवति ।)

अनीश्वरम् —' Having no controller '. As the जगत् can be accounted for, as having been produced by the causal chain, Bauddhas do not admit any other agency like ईश्वर. This is refuted in the Sūtra, समुदाय उभयहेतुकेऽपि तदप्राप्तिः (II. 2. 18) on which Śaṅkara says समुदायभावानुपपत्तिरित्यर्थः । कुतः । समुदायिनामचेतनत्वात् । चित्ताभिज्वलनस्य समुदायसिद्धयधीनत्वात् । अन्यस्य च कस्यचिच्चेतनस्य भोक्तुः प्रशासितुर्वा स्थिरस्य महन्तुरनभ्युपगमात् ।)

कामहेतुकम्—' Having वासना for its cause '. According to the विज्ञानवादि Bauddhas, बाह्यार्थ does not exist ; the प्रत्ययवैचित्र्य in the जगत् is due to वासनावैचित्र्य (This is refuted in the Sūtra नाभावोऽनुपलब्धेः II. 2. 30 on which Śaṅkara says न भावो वासनानामुपपद्यते त्वत्पक्षेऽनुपलब्धेर्बाह्यानामर्थानाम् । ..... अनादित्वेऽप्यन्धपरंपरान्यायेनाप्रतिष्ठैवानवस्थाव्यवहारलोपिनी स्यान्नाभिप्रायसिद्धिः ।)

We take असत्य as असत् + य and *not* as अ + सत्य ; similarly अपरस्पर is अपर + पर, and not न + पर + पर. The compound अपरस्पर (अपरश्च परश्च अपरस्परौ) is regarded as ungrammatical by some. But there are many ungrammatical or un-Pāṇinīya forms in the Gītā, so the

objection based upon grammatical irregularity has no force. Besides, अपरस्पर can be shown as formed in accordance with the sūtra "अपरस्परा: क्रियासातत्ये" (अष्टा० ६।१।१४४). The verse असत्यम-प्रतिष्ठम् ... thus appears to contain a summary of the points taken by the Brahmasūtras for the refutation of the Buddhists. If our interpretation of the verse, given above is accepted, it would appear that the Gītā in its present form is both Post-Brahmasūtras and Post-Buddhistic.

The Sāṅkhyas also are atheists and regard the जगत् as the outcome of the union of Puruṣa and Prakṛti, and meant for the भोग of the पुरुष; but for them who are सत्कार्यवादिन्s, the जगत् is certainly neither असत्य nor अप्रतिष्ठ. Besides, the Gītā (as also the Brahmasūtras) has borrowed so much from the Sāṅkhya philosophy and looks upon it with such a great respect that it is impossible to believe that the Sāṅkhyas are the object of such violent denunciation in the Gītā.

The Vaiśeṣikas regard the जगत् as अनीश्वर and परस्परसंभूत (produced out of the union of the atoms), but they also do not regard it as असत्य (even though they are असत्कार्यवादिन्s) or अप्रतिष्ठ, as according to them the Paramāṇus are eternal. So, the Gītā cannot be referring to them either in the verse असत्यं etc.

Taking all these facts into consideration, we think it very probable that the Gītā refers to the Buddhists and roundly denounces them in XVI. 6. The translation in that case, should be :—

They (the Buddhists) speak of the world as having come out of Asat (non-existence), having no stable basis, having no Controller, being produced in succession (the preceding one producing the succeeding one in a causal chain, the last one producing the first), and in short, having Vāsanā as the producing agent.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF TĀMBŪLA — HISTORY OF THE VERSE ABOUT THE THIRTEEN QUALITIES OF TĀMBŪLA — BETWEEN A. D. 1200 AND 1900

BY

P. K. GODE

During the course of my study of the history of *tāmbūla* I have often been told by ladies and gentlemen about a *tāmbūla* with 13 *guṇas* or qualities. I propose in this article to record literary evidence about such a *tāmbūla* with 13 qualities in particular.

(1) The belief in the numerous good qualities of *tāmbūla* is reflected in the following *subhāṣita*[1] which actually refers to 1000 qualities of *tāmbūla* in a hyperbolical style :—

" तांबूलस्य गुणाः संति सखे शतसहस्रशः ।
एकोऽपि च महान्दोषो यस्य दानाद्विसर्जनम् ॥ ८ ॥ "

Translation :— " O friend, there are a thousand good qualities of a *tāmbūla* ; there is, however, one great bad quality associated with it viz. the sending away (of guests) after its bestowal. "

(2) The anonymous medical compendium called the *Yoga-ratnākara* (Ānandāśrama, Poona, 1900) composed before A.D. 1746 contains the following verse mentioning the *13 qualities* of *tāmbūla* :—

Page 57—" ताम्बूलं कटुतिक्तमुष्णमधुरं क्षारं कषायान्वितं
वातघ्नं कृमिनाशनं कफहरं दुर्गंधिनिर्णाशनम् ।
वक्त्रस्याभरणं विशुद्धिकरणं कामाग्निसंदीपनम्
तांबूलस्य सखे त्रयोदशगुणाः स्वर्गेऽपि ते दुर्लभाः ॥ ६२ ॥ "

[1] See p. 242 of *Subhāṣita-Ratnākara* (Collection of Witty and Epigrammatic Sayings in Sanskrit) ed. by Krishna Shastri Bhatawadekar, Bombay, 1872. The Index of the first lines of verses given at the end of this book indicates, wherever possible, the sources from which the verses have been taken. The verse about *tāmbūla* is, however, indicated in the Index as a miscellaneous verse (without a definite source).

In view of this verse the belief about the *13 qualities of tāmbūla* appears to have been current in India more than 250 years ago. We must, therefore, try to trace the above verse in sources earlier than A. D. 1700.

(3) In a MS of a work called *Prastāvaratnākara* (No. 320 of 1884-86 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona) the above verse is quoted on *folio* 7[a] as follows :—

" ताम्बूलं कटुतिक्तमुष्णमधुरं क्षारं कषायान्वितं
वातघ्नं कृमिनाशनं कफहरं दुर्गंधनिर्णाशनं ।
वक्त्रस्याभरणं विशुधिकरणं कामाग्निसंदीपनं
तांबूलस्य सखे त्रयोदस गुणाः स्वर्गेपि ते दुर्लभाः ॥ "

The *Prastāvaratnākara* is a poem treating of various subjects. It was composed by Haridāsa son of Puruṣottama in *A. D. 1557* (see *Cata. Catalogorum* by Aufrecht, Part I, p. 360).

It is clear from the above evidence that the verse about the 13 qualities of *tāmbūla* is earlier than *A. D. 1557*.

(4) In a MS of *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu* (No. 923 of 1884-87) in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute the verse about the 13 qualities of *tāmbūla* reads as follows :—

Folio 28 — " तांबूलवल्लीगुणाः ॥
तांबूलं कटुतिक्तमुष्णमधुरं क्षारं कषायान्वितं
वातघ्नं कफनाशनं कृमिहरं दुर्गंधिनिर्णाशनं ।
वक्त्रस्याभरणं विशुधिकरणं कामाग्निसंदीपनं
तांबूलस्य सखे त्रयोदशगुणाः स्वर्गेऽपि ते दुर्लभाः ॥ "

This MS is dated *Śaka 1605* (= *A. D. 1683*). It contains the text of the *Dravyāvalī* or the *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu* followed by the text of the *Rājanighaṇṭu*. This verse is found in the text of the *Rājanighaṇṭu*, which is called in the colophon as " *Nighaṇṭa-śāstra* ".

(5) The *Rājanighaṇṭu* of Narahari (*C. A. D. 1450*) as printed by the Anandāśrama, Poona, 1896, also contains the verse in question. It reads as follows :—

Page 131 -- "ताम्बूलं कटु तिक्तमुष्णमधुरं क्षारं कषायान्वितं
वातघ्नं कफनाशनं कृमिहरं दुर्गन्धिनिर्णाशनम् ।
वक्त्रस्याभरणं विशुद्धिकरणं कामाग्निसंदीपनं
ताम्बूलस्य सखे ! त्रयोदश गुणाः स्वर्गेऽपि ते दुर्लभाः ॥
॥ ४ ॥"

It would be clear from this quotation that the verse about the 13 qualities of *tāmbūla* is earlier than about A. D. 1450.

(6) A work on *dharmaśāstra* called the *Jyotirnibandha* by Śivarāja or Śivadāsa, published by Ānandāśrama, Poona, 1919, also contains the verse under reference among the 24 verses on *tāmbūla* recorded in this work, which is *earlier than A. D. 1524* according to S. B. Dikshit (vide p. 476 of *History of Indian Astronomy*, Poona, 1896). The verse reads as follows in this work :—

Page 235 —"ताम्बूलं कटुतिक्तमुष्णमधुरं क्षारं कषायान्वितं
वातघ्नं कृमिनाशनं कफहरं कामाग्निसंदीपनम् ।
वक्त्रस्याभरणं विशुद्धिकरणं दुर्गन्धिनिर्नाशनं
ताम्बूलस्य सखे त्रयोदशगुणाः स्वर्गेऽपि ते दुर्लभाः ॥ २२ ॥'

This evidence corroborates the quotation of the verse in the *Rājanighaṇṭu* (c. A. D. 1450).

(7) The Sanskrit anthology called the *Sūktimuktāvalī* by Jalhaṇa composed in *A. D. 1258* for Kṛṣṇa, the Yādava King of Devagiri (Vide p. 12 of Introduction to *Sūktimuktāvalī*, Gaikwar Ori. Series, Baroda, 1938). In this anthology some verses are recorded under the topic *bhojana* (dinner). Among these verses we find *two* verses on *tāmbūla* from Varāhamihira (c. A. D. 500) and three anonymous verses on *tāmbūla* including the verse about the 13 qualities of *tāmbūla* which reads as follows :—

Page 402—"ताम्बूलं कटुतिक्तमुष्णमधुरं क्षारं कषायान्वितं
वातघ्नं कफनाशनं कृमिहरं दुर्गन्धानिर्णाशकम् ।
स्त्रीसंभाषणभूषणं रुचिकरं शोकस्य विच्छेदकं
ताम्बूलस्य सखे त्रयोदशगुणाः स्वर्गेऽपि ते दुर्लभाः ॥ १३५ ॥"

The text of the verse shows some variations in this anthology. The expression "कामाग्निसंदीपनं" in line 2 is dropped

altogether and in its place the expression "दुर्गन्धिनिर्नाशनं" from line 3 is pushed up. The 3rd line viz. "स्त्रीसंभाषणभूषणं वाचिकरं शोकस्य विच्छेदकं" is altogether new, ousting out the two epithets of *tāmbūla* viz. "वक्त्रस्याभरणं, विशुद्धिकरणं" occurring in subsequent quotations of this verse. Perhaps the text of the verse as quoted by Jalhaṇa is in the oldest form.

It would appear from the evidence recorded so far that the idea about the *13 qualities of tāmbūla* was current in India about A. D. 1200, if not earlier. At this stage of my inquiry about the history of the verse under reference I may raise the following questions for investigation :—

(1) Is Jalhaṇa the author of the verse ?

(2) Can we trace the verse in sources earlier than A. D. 1200 ?

(3) What other texts, excluding those recorded in this paper, quote the verse subsequent to A. D. 1200 ?

In the *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāram* (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1911) I find the following anonymous verses about *Snāna* and *tāmbūla* :—

Page 150 –स्नानम् (Bath)

"स्नानं नाम मनःप्रसादजननं दुःस्वप्नविध्वंसनं
शौचस्यायतनं मलापहरणं संवर्धनं तेजसः ।
रूपोद्योतकरं गदप्रशमनं कामाग्निसंदीपनं
नारीणां च मनोहरं श्रमहरं स्नानं दशैते गुणाः ॥ १०३ ॥"

ताम्बूलम्—"तांबूलं मुखरोगनाशि निपुणं संवर्धनं तेजसो
नित्यं जाठरवह्निवृद्धिजननं दुर्गन्धदोषापहम् ।
वक्त्रालंकरणं प्रहर्षजननं विद्वन्नृपाग्रे रणे
कामस्यायतन समुद्भवकरं लक्ष्म्याः सुखस्यास्पदम् ॥ १०४ ॥"

The verse about *tāmbūla* in the above extract is similar to the verse about the 13 qualities of *tāmbūla* which I have traced back upto about A. D. 1250.

In the *Triennial Report* (for 1893-94) by Sheshgiri Shastri MS No. 51 is called चारुचर्या which is ascribed to Bhojarāja. The following lines giving the qualities of *tāmbūla* are found in this MS :—

" तदुक्तं चारुचर्यायाम्—

मनसो हर्षणं श्रेष्ठं रतिदं मदकारणम् ।
मुखरोगहरं हृद्यं दीपनं बस्तिशोधनम् ॥
मुखशुद्धि कृमिहरं ताम्बूलं श्रीकरं परम् । "

One of the best and perhaps the earliest stanza describing the good qualities of *tāmbūla* is the following, found among the three stanzas on *tāmbūla* in chapter 77 of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira (C. *A. D. 500*) which describes the preparation of perfumes (*gandha-yukti*) :—

" कामं प्रदीपयति रूपमभिव्यनक्ति
सौभाग्यमावहति वक्त्रसुगंधिता च ।
ऊर्जं करोति कफजांश्च निहन्ति रोगान्
ताम्बूलमेवमपरांश्च गुणान् करोति ॥ ३५ ॥ "

V. Subrahmanya Sastri in his edition of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (Bangalore, 197) Vol. II, p. 4612 translates the above stanza as follows :—

" Betel stimulates love, sets off the physical charm, creates popularity, gives good smell to the mouth, strengthens the body and dispels diseases arising from the phlegm. It also bestows many other benefits "—*Śloka 35*

The above verse contains a major number of the good qualities of *tāmbūla* out of the number recorded in the verse about 13 qualities of *tāmbūla*. I cannot, however, say if the verse of Varāhamihira about *tāmbūla* quoted above has influenced subsequent verses about the *guṇas* of *tāmbūla*, some of which have been recorded by me in this paper.

ANANDAVARDHANA'S TREATMENT OF PRATIBHĀ IN RELATION TO DHVANI

(With an appendix on 'Poets who show open recognition of the theory of *Dhvani*')

BY

K. KRISHNAMOORTHY

After discussing the theory of *Dhvani* in all its bearings, Ānandavardhana proceeds to demonstrate how poetry is enriched remarkably as a result of conforming to this principle. Endless variety of *Pratibhā* (Creative Imagination) in poets is said to be brought about by the agency of *Dhvani*.[1] In other words, *Dhvani* might be characterised as the touchstone of poetic genius. If there is sufficient genius in the poet, he will succeed in infusing variety and fresh charm into his poem even while handling such subjects as have become hackneyed and trite. What has been already said by an ancient poet may yet be made to look new and interesting provided there is the gift of *Pratibhā* in the poet. And in such cases, *Pratibhā* invariably takes the form of *Dhvani* in some shape or the other.[2] *Rasa* especially contributes a great deal to the ever-fresh charm in literature. It endows a new lease of charm even to dullest themes : and the poet should direct his special attention towards achieving beauty of *Rasa* though there are other varieties of *Dhvani*.[3] So long as poetic

[1] ध्वनेर्यः स गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यस्याध्वा प्रदर्शितः । अनेनानन्त्यमायाति कवीनां प्रतिभागुणः ॥
— *Dhv.* IV. 1

(*Dhv.* = abbreviation used for *Dhvanyāloka*; page references are to the Kashi Sanskrit Series Edn. with *Locana* and *Bāla-priyā*, 1940).

[2] अतो ह्यन्यतमेनापि प्रकारेण विभूषिता ।
वाणी नवत्वमायाति पूर्वार्थान्वयवत्यपि ॥ — *Dhv.* IV. 2

[3] युक्तवानयानुसर्तव्यो रसादिर्बन्धविस्तरः ।
मिथोऽप्यत्यन्ततां प्राप्तः काव्यमार्गो यदाश्रयात् ॥
दृष्टपूर्वा अपि ह्यर्थाः काव्ये रसपरिग्रहात् ।
सर्वे नवा इवाभान्ति मधुमास इव द्रुमाः ॥
व्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकभावेऽस्मिन्विविधे सम्भवत्यपि ।
रसादिमय एकस्मिन् कविः स्यादवधानवान् ॥ — *Dhv.* IV. 3-5.

imagination functions with the support of the various types of *Dhvani* and *Guṇibhūta-vyaṅgya*, there is no fear of the province of poetry being exhausted.[1] In the absence of *Pratibhā*, of course nothing can serve as a theme for a poem. Some might say that more than *Pratibhā*, it is *bandha-cchāyā* or dexterity in employing a sweet and pleasant style that makes for a poem. This cannot be true as no pleasant style can emanate in the absence of *Pratibhā*. Style is related not only to words but also to the meanings; and to say that style depends exclusively on the beauty of words and not on the beauty of meanings is unwarranted. At that rate, even sweet-sounding nonsense would deserve the designation of poetry. But as a matter of fact, true poetry arises out of the fusion of beauty in words as well as ideas. Compositions having beauty of style alone are also loosely called poems just in the same way as compositions which bodily reproduce ideas of others are regarded as poems. But they do not merit that designation.[2]

Before bringing the book to a close, Ānandavardhana offers some hints to the aspiring poet. In his anxiety to achieve novelty and variety, such an aspirant should not entirely sacrifice truth in Nature. Fidelity to natural truth does not mean absence of poetry. Nature herself, says Ānandavardhana, admits of endless variety and striking novelty. Time, place and circumstance contribute to this natural variety and thus the scope of primary meaning also is unlimited.[3]

In this connection Ānandavardhana notes a plausible objection about the variety that *Pratibhā* is capable of contributing to

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[1] ध्वनेरित्थं गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यस्य च समाश्रयात् ।
न काव्यार्थविरामोऽस्ति यदि स्यात्प्रतिभागुणः ॥ — *Dhv.* IV. 6

[2] बन्धच्छायाव्यर्थद्वयानुरूपशब्दसन्निवेशोऽर्थप्रतिभानाभावे कथमुपपद्यते ? अनपेक्षितार्थविशेषाक्षररचनेव बन्धच्छायेति नेदं नेदीयः सहृदयानाम् । एवं हि सत्यर्थानपेक्षचतुरमधुरवचनरचनायामपि काव्यव्यपदेशः प्रवर्तेत । शब्दार्थयोः साह्लि न काव्यत्वे कथं तथाविधे विषये काव्यव्यवस्थेति चेत्–परोपनिबद्धार्थविरचने यथा तत्काव्यत्वव्यवहारस्तथा तथाविधानां काव्यसन्दर्भाणाम् । — *Dhv.* pp. 537–8

[3] अवस्थादेशकालादिविशेषैरपि जायते ।
आनन्त्यमेव वाच्यस्य शुद्धस्यापि स्वभावतः ॥ — *Dhv.* IV. 7.

poetry. The objection is that as a matter of fact no such variety is possible due to *Pratibhā*. Poets universalise on the basis of their limited experience only and they cannot be expected to have visions into the past, the present and the future like the Yogins. Such universalised experience of laymen is but restricted in scope and the first poets like Vālmīki have certainly exhausted the field. What variety, then, can be left to later poets? At the most, the variety may be supposed to exist in the manner of re-presenting the older ideas, not in the matter presented. [1]

Ānandavardhana meets the objection by pointing to the undisputable variety of poetic charm instanced in different master-poets. If the objection were true, there would be no possibility at all for a second poet to be rightly so regarded after Vālmīki, the first poet, since there would be no matter for poetry except the universalised phenomena, already exhausted by Vālmīki. But it is not so. The critic himself says that the seeming novelty in poets is due to *ukti-vaicitrya* or variety in the manner of presentation. And since matter is always inextricably connected with manner, novelty in manner necessarily implies novelty in matter too. The idea of novelty in manner does not go against the theory of *Dhvani* either. On the other hand, it reinforces the possibility of limitless variety in poetry due to *Pratibhā*. [2]

Primary meaning, rendered manifold owing to differences in time, place, circumstance, etc., is pressed into the service of poetry quite often as is seen in a number of instances; but its

[1] अत्र केचिदाचक्षीरन्–यथा सामान्यात्मना वस्तूनि वाच्यतां प्रतिपद्यन्ते न विशेषात्मना। तानि हि स्वयमनुभूतानां सुखादीनां तन्निमित्तानां च स्वरूपमन्यत्रारोपयद्भिः स्वपरानुभूतरूपसामान्यमात्राश्रयेणोपनिबध्यन्ते कविभिः। न हि तैरतीतमनागतं वर्तमानं च परिचितादिस्वलक्षणं योगिभिरिव प्रत्यक्षीक्रियते। तच्चानुभव्यानुभवसामान्यं सर्वप्रतिपत्तृसाधारणं पारिमितत्वात्पुरातनानामेव गोचरीभूतम्, तस्या विषयत्वानुपपत्तेः। अत एव स प्रकारविशेषो वैरस्य नैरभिनवत्वेन प्रतीयते तेषामभिमानमात्रमेव भणितिरुक्तं वैचित्र्यमात्रमत्रास्तीति। — *Dhv.* pp. 541-2

[2] वाल्मीकिव्यतिरिक्तस्य यद्येकस्यापि कस्यचित्।
इष्यते प्रतिभार्थेषु तत्तदानन्त्यमक्षयम्॥ — *Dhv.* p. 543

beauty is made all the more striking by the mingling of *Rasas.* [1] The infinite possibilities of poetry are thus due to the clever use of the various shades of primary and suggested senses with a touch of *Rasa.* Like the resources of Mother Nature, the infinite possibilities of poetic themes can never be drained off even by a million Vācaspatis working together with all their might. Provided the poet is careful in incorporating *Rasa, Bhāva,* etc. in harmony with *Aucitya,* into his themes which are rendered manifold by the agency of time, place, context, etc., far form exhausting the poetic field, such attempts will contribute new shades of charm which will increase the province of poetry immeasurably. [2]

In spite of all this, there are bound to be some coincidences amongst poets since all great men think alike. But they should not be always regarded as deliberate plagiarisms. [3] There are indeed three distinct types of coincidence: The first is like that of a reflected image; the second is like that of a painted picture; and the third is like that of persons bearing resemblance in bodily features. The first kind of coincidence should be avoided by an aspiring poet as it contains no life or body of its own. The second kind also deserves to be eschewed lacking as it does the essential life of poetry. The third, however, can be utilized freely; for when there is a different body as well as soul, there is no fear of mistaking the one for the other. [4] That is to say, if the poet can clothe the idea in a different garb and can infuse new life into it

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[1] अवस्थादिविभिन्नानां वाच्यानां विनिबन्धनम् ।
भूम्नेव दृश्यते लक्ष्ये **तत्तु भाति रसाश्रयात्** ॥ — *Dhv.* IV. 8

[2] रसभावादिसम्बद्धा यद्यौचित्यानुसारिणी ।
अन्वीयते वस्तुगतिर्देशकालादिभेदिनी ॥
वाचस्पतिसहस्राणां सहस्रैरपि यत्नतः ।
निबद्धा सा क्षयं नैति प्रकृतिर्जगतामिव ॥ — *Dhv.* IV. 9-10

[3] संवादास्तु भवन्त्येव बाहुल्येन सुमेधसाम् ।
नैकरूपतया सर्वे ते मन्तव्या विपश्चिता ॥ — *Dhv.* IV. 11

[4] संवादो ह्यन्यसादृश्यं तत्पुनः प्रतिबिम्बवत् ।
आलेख्याकारवत्तुल्यदेहिवच्च शरीरिणाम् ॥
तत्र पूर्वमनन्यात्म तुच्छात्म तदनन्तरम् ॥
तृतीयं तु प्रसिद्ध्यात्म नान्यसाम्यं त्यजेत्कविः ॥ — *Dhv.* IV. 12-13

by introducing *Rasas*, he need not be afraid of handling themes even worked upon by other poets. Provided there is the presence of *Dhvani*, the soul of poetry, even themes modelled upon earlier ones will acquire new beauty just as the delightful face of a woman will appear charming in its own way in spite of strong resemblance with the moon.[1] In other words, no theme will become trite or outworn when it is handled with due regard to Suggestion.

So much about sentences which echo earlier utterances. But so far as letters and words are concerned, it is practically impossible that there should be any originality. The same letters and words in the language have to be employed perforce by every poet. Once there is the touch of Suggestion, these do not act as blemishes at all in poetry.[2] Well-known paranomastic words can thus be utilized by poets without any hesitation. In short, anything, including even those that smack of earlier influence, can be turned into good account as a subject for a new poetic composition; only, true connoisseurs must be able to feel a flash of aesthetic pleasure about it.[3] If they cannot feel it, then the composition falls short of the water-mark of poetry.

Ānandavardhana concludes with an exhortation addressed to poets to ply their profession without any misgivings, to compose more and more poems abounding in manifold ideas and nectar-like *Rasas*; and the poets are reassured that Goddess Sarasvatī herself will fulfil their desire for being original and that they need not be worried by the prospect of appropriating the wares of others.[4]

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[1] आत्मनोऽन्यस्य सद्भावे पूर्वोस्त्यनुयादपि ।
वस्तु भातितरां तन्व्याः शशिच्छायमिवाननम् ॥ — *Dhv.* IV. 14

[2] अक्षरादिरचनेव योज्यते यत्र वस्तुरचना पुरातनी ।
सूक्ष्मने स्फुरति काव्यवस्तुनि व्यक्तमेव खलु सा न दुष्यति ॥ — *Dhv.* IV. 15

[3] यद्पि तदपि रम्यं यत्र लोकस्य किञ्चित्स्फुरितमिदमितीयं बुद्धिरभ्युज्जिहीते ।
अनुगतमपि पूर्वच्छायया वस्तु तादृक्सुकविरुपनिबध्नन्निन्द्यतां नोपयाति ॥
— *Dhv.* IV. 16

[4] प्रतायन्तां वाचो निमितविविधार्थामृतरसा
न सादः कर्तव्यः कविभिरनवद्ये स्वविषये ।
परस्वादानेच्छाविरतमनसो वस्तु सुकवेः
सरस्वत्येवैषा घटयति यथेष्टं भगवती ॥ — *Dhv.* IV. 17

APPENDIX

POETS WHO SHOW OPEN RECOGNITION OF THE THEORY OF 'DHVANI'

Ānandavardhana's *Dhvani*-theory obtained universal acceptance at the hands of later writers on Sanskrit Poetics, though in the beginning there was fierce opposition. It would be of some interest to note how far poets were influenced by the theory. Since we have to rely only upon the express mention of their attitude towards *Dhvani* on the part of the poets, the number of such poets will have necessarily to be small and restricted. A large number of poets who might possibly have held the theory in high esteem and yet do not openly acknowledge it in so many words, will have to be excluded from consideration. As a rule, we can expect no poet to go off at a tangent and indicate his preferences for this or that literary theory. It is not normal. Exceptionally, we find some authors who do so and here an attempt is made to bring together the remarks of such poets who bestow high praise on the greatness of *Dhvani* in Poetry.

1. *Bilhaṇa* (11th Century) finds an occasion to bestow praise on the greatness of poetry in the first canto of his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*. In this connection he eulogises *Dhvani* as follows:—

Rasadhvaneradhvani ye caranti
Saṅkrāntavakroktirahasyamudrāḥ ।
te'smat prabandhānavadhārayantu
Kurvantu śeṣāḥ śukavākyapāṭhaṁ ॥ [1]

2. Maṅkha(ka) (12th Century), the author of *Śrikaṇṭhacarita*, devotes the whole of the second canto for a poetic consideration of the meritorious function of poets and a censure of captious critics. The nature of good poetry also comes in for consideration. The following verses will serve to show Maṅkha's sincere admiration to the theory of *Rasa-dhvani*:-

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[1] Op. Cit. I. 22 (The Princess of Wales Sarasvati Bhavana Texts Series, No. 62).

artho'sti cenna padaśuddhirathāsti sūpi
no rītirasti yadi sā ghaṭanā kutastyā ।
Sāpyasti cenna navavakragatisladetad
vyarthaṁ vinā Rasamako gahanaṁ kavitvaṁ[1] ॥
Taistairalaṅkṛtiśatairavataṁsito'pi
rūḍhā mahatyapi pade dhṛtasauṣṭhavo'pi ।
nūnaṁ vinā ghanarasaprasarābhiśekaṁ
Kāvyādhirājapadamarhati na prabandhaḥ[2] ॥

3. *Vedānta-Deśika* who was a great exponent of the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* system in the sixteenth century was also a poet of no mean order. He is the author of *Yādavābhyudaya*, a *Mahākāvya* in twentyfour cantos, of *Haṁsa-sandeśa*, a lyric, of *Saṁkalpasūryodaya*, a drama in ten acts and of *Subhāṣitanīvī* a collection of his own memorable verses. In the last named work we come across the following tribute paid to *Dhvani* in Poetry :—

Apaṅkiladhiyaḥ śuddhāḥ
sādhumānasavṛttayaḥ ।
vamanti śrutijīvātuṁ
Dhvaniṁ navarasāspadaṁ ॥[3]

In the *Yādavābhyudaya* also we read :—

Sa kaviḥ, kathyate sraṣṭā
ramate yatra bhāratī ।
Rasabhāvaguṇībhūtai-
ralaṁkārairguṇodayaiḥ ॥[4]

4. *Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣita* is a great poet of the seventeeth century who has written several poems such as *Śivalīlārṇava* (a *Mahākāvya* in 22 cantos), *Gaṅgāvataraṇa*, *Nalacaritanāṭaka*, *Kaliviḍambana*, *Sabhārañjana-śataka*, *Anyāpadeśaśataka*, *Śānti-vilāsa* and *Vairāgyaśataka*. In the first canto of the *Śivalīlārṇava* [5] we come across an unqualified praise of *dhvani* in more stanzas than one. Some of them are noted below :—

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1 *Śrikaṇṭhacarita*, II. 30 (Kāvyamālā Edn.).
2 *Ibid.* II. 32.
3 *Sukavipaddhati*, first verse.
4 *Op. Cit.* I. 5.
5 Sri Vani Vilas Press, Edn.

Sāhityavidyājayaghaṇṭayaiva
saṁvedayante kavayo yaśāṁsi ।
yathā yathāsyāṁ dhvanirujjhīte
tathā tathā sūrhati mūlyabhedān ॥ I. 8

yāvatkavermārdavamuktibandhe
yāvaddhiyaḥ śrotari komalatvaṁ ।
tāvaddhvanau tadvyatibhedamūle
tāratvamālaṁkṛtikā vadanti ॥ I. 9

asminmahatyastamitānyavedye
viśṛtvare vīcitaraṅgarītyā ।
kāvyadhvanau jāgrati dehabhājāṁ
karṇaṁ viśeyuḥ kathamanyaśabdāḥ ॥ I. 10

Vakroktayo yatra vibhūṣaṇāni
vākyārthabādhaḥ, paramaḥ prakarṣaḥ ।
artheṣu bodhyeṣvabhidhaiva doṣaḥ
sā kācidanyā saraṇiḥ kavīnāṁ ॥ I. 19

kvārthāḥ kva śabdāḥ kva rasāḥ kva bhāvāḥ
kva vyaṅgyabhedāḥ kva ca vākyarītiḥ ।
kiyatsu dṛṣṭiḥ kavinā na deyā
kimasti rājñāmiyatīha cinta ॥ I. 30

anyonyasaṁsargaviśeṣaramyā-
pyalaṁkṛtiḥ pratyuta śocanīyā ।
nirvyaṅgyasāre kavisūktibandhe
niṣkrāntajīve vapuṣīva dattā ॥ I. 36

vidvatpriyaṁ vyaṅgyapathaṁ vyatītya
śabdārthacitreṣu kalervilāsāt ।
prāpto'nurāgo nigamānupekṣya
bhāṣāprabandheṣviva pāmarāṇāṁ ॥ I. 37

Kṛte yuge vyañjanayāvatīrṇaṁ
Tretāyuge saiva guṇībabhūva ।
āsīttṛtīye tu yuge' rthacitraṁ
Yuge turīye yamakaprapañcaḥ ॥ I. 38

Vācaṁ vipañcīmiva vādayanto
karṇāmṛtena dhvaninā kavīndrāḥ । I. 57

Anandathurbrahmavidāṁ yadeka-
ste vyaṅgyalābheṣu satāṁ kavīnāṁ ॥ I. 63

labheya nindāmapi satkavīnāṁ
sarvaṅgyasaurabhyarasairvacobhiḥ ।
na tu praśaṁsāmapi duṣkarīṇāṁ
durgandhibhirvitarasairamībhiḥ ॥ I. 44

apyantikasthairaribhāvanīyaḥ
sūkṣmaḥ prakṛtyā mṛdusūktijanmā ।
kutarkavidyāvyasanopajātaiḥ
kolāhalairna dhvanireṣa vedyaḥ ॥ I. 72

5. In *anthologies* like the *Subhāṣitāvalī* we get some stray verses of poets who regard *Dhvani* with high esteem. Some of them are noted below :—

kaverabhiprāyamaśabdagocaraṁ
sphurantamārdreṣu padeṣu kevalaṁ ।
radadbhiraṅgaiḥ kṛtaromavikriyair-
janasya tūṣṇīṁbhavato' yamañjaliḥ ॥

—Vijjikā

(*Subhāṣitāvalī*, 158)

anudhghuṣṭaḥ śabdairatha ghaṭanataśca sphuṭatarāḥ
padānāmarthātmā sukhayati na tūttānitarasaḥ ।
yathā kiṁcitkiṁcitpavanacalacīnāṁśukatayā
kucābhogaḥ strīṇāṁ sukhayati na tūdghāṭitamuraḥ ॥

—Dharmāśoka

(*Sūkti-muktāvalī*, IV. 36)

yadetadvāgarthavyatikaramayaṁ kiṁcidamṛtaṁ
tadānandasyandaiḥ sahṛdayamanāṁsi snapayati ।
idaṁ kāvyaṁ tattvaṁ sphurati tu yadatrānuparamaṁ
tadantarbuddhīnāṁ sphuṭamatha ca vācāmaviṣayaḥ ॥

—Hṛṣīkeśa

(*Sadukti-karṇāmṛtaṁ*, V. 32. 1)

Dhvaninātigabhīreṇa kāvyatattvaniveśinā ।
Ānandavardhanaḥ kasya nāsīdānandavardhanaḥ ॥

—Rājaśekhara

(*Sūktimuktāvalī*, IV. 28)

SOURCES OF ŚRĪ KUMĀRA'S ŚILPARATNA*

BY

HANS LOSCH

More than one hundred years ago Ram Raz in his " Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus " (London 1834) gave for the first time an introduction into the Śilpaśāstra as far as it was known to him and limited to his subject. He described the wretched condition of the manuscripts at his disposal and the difficulties of understanding. His reports were so discouraging that many decades passed away without proving any interest in that field of studies. It was only B. Laufer with his excellent edition and translation of the " Citralakṣaṇa " contained in the Tibetan Tanjur who initiated a new era.[1] A vivid interest turns towards the study and publication of Śilpaśāstras. Gaṇapati Śāstri publishes some important texts (Maya, Śrī Kumāra, Bhoja's Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra), Kṛṣṇa Vināyak Vajhe edited the famous Kāśyapaśilpa although he only disposed of badly corrupted manuscripts. Pioneer work was done in the interpretation of Śilpaśāstras by the late Gopinath Rao with his " Elements of Hindu Iconography " and finally by the fundamental publication of Kumāra Ācārya's "Encyclopaedia of Indian Architecture " comprising also an edition and translation of the Mānasāra. It will remain the special merit of these two scholars to have created for the first time a solid basis for further studies of Indian Śilpaśāstras and for the commenting of Indian works of art. Nevertheless we are far from a clear thorough understanding of all details and it will need a lot of intensive work to reach the desired and necessary aim. We cannot expect to solve all problems because the whole matter is too complicated by the

* This paper is dedicated to my teacher Prof. Dr. Kirfel in honour of his 65th birthday.

[1] Dokumente der indischen Kunst. Erstes Heft; Malerei. Das Citralakṣaṇa nach d. tibetischen Tandjur herausg. and übers. v. B. Laufer. Leipzig 1913.

desperate condition of most of the manuscripts. Any hope that new manuscripts might help solving the various difficulties has proved an error, so that we are seldom in a position to fix a clear grammatical formulation. This fact may find his explanation in the clumsy language developed among the artists who lived in their vocational circle in the usual isolation which was built up by caste and profession. They used the Śilpaśāstras only to perform their work while other people were not or only superficially interested in the matter. It is obvious that in this way a highly technical language developed just as in other professional circles. Such a language is only accessible with the commentary of an expert, a śilpin, after eager studies. But in explaining the wretched condition of śilpa-manuscripts we have to bear in mind that many of them were written by śilpins who better knew to handle their instruments than to write. Many mistakes have their origin in the unfamiliarity of the writer with orthography. The śilpa-manuscript containing the indispensable theoretical and practical prescriptions for an artist's work was for every śilpin a treasure which was bequeathed by the father to the son from generation to generation. It was a kind of esoteric work the understanding of which was only necessary for the proprietor. For him it was indispensable that the instructions of the manuscript were absolutely correct while an accuracy of grammar, phrase and orthography was of subordinate importance. Beside this source of corruption we have to realize that often some material of the traditional śāstra grew obsolete and outmoded by the development of ideas and working-methods. It is clear that such a material was in a higher degree exposed to misunderstandings and mistakes because it became gradually unintelligible. So we can understand that the modern manuscripts display so many mistakes a lot of which can no more be repaired. Another reason for the present condition of the śilpa-literature is the lack of learned tradition in many cases.

The Śilpaśāstra has not yet lost its importance for modern India. In his "History of Indian and Indonesian Art"[1]

[1] P. 139-140.

Coomaraswamy describes the employment of Śilpins and we hear that they depend in their work on the Śilpaśāstras in their hands. From this fact we may conclude that the knowledge of the Śilpaśāstra is indispensable for the correct and just interpretation of works of Indian art. On the other side we have to realize that the Śilpaśāstra, according to its practical importance, was always exposed to additions or alterations which had to bring them "up to date". So it is very difficult to find out the correct date of a Śilpaśāstra in its ancient form and to distinguish the original kernel from later additions because the language lacks all special and personal characteristics and there are seldom some hints for chronological conclusions.[1] As to the age of the Śilpaśāstra we know that already in the period of the later Guptas there existed a Śilpa-vidyā according to Hsüan Tsang. To approximately the same period belongs the Bṛhat Saṃhitā which contains some chapters dealing with the same subject (53 ff.). The same date may be assigned to the Matsyapurāṇa which teaches vāstu vidyā and pratimālakṣaṇa in the chapters 252 ff. and displays here some affinity in its teachings with the afore-said Bṛhat Saṃhitā. But for compendiums like Maya, Kaśyapa etc. it is nearly impossible to find such characteristics as to settle a certain date. We only possess two works which can be dated fairly well: the Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra of Bhoja, the famous king of Dhārā in the 11th century, and the Śilparatna of Śrī Kumāra of the latter part of the 16th century. This last work calls itself a compilation from detailed former teachings.[2] We have tried to find out some of the sources, so that we can learn which kind of works had the necessary authority and importance to feed the compilation. We shall only consider the second part of the Śilparatna dealing with iconography and some other subjects. We discovered that most of this part can be reduced to 3 sources which enable us sometimes to correct faulty readings.

[1] An exception is Bhoja's work, but it is doubtful if it was practically followed by śilpins. I believe that it has in view to give informations to educated people who are interested in the subject.

[2] Śilparatna I. 1, 7.

In the Matsyapurāṇa we find an enumeration of 18 Śilpa-teachers [1]. It contains the name of Maya whose tractate has been published by Gaṇapati Śāstri, as well as the name of Bhṛgu who, according to Vajhe belongs to the 3 authorities whose prescriptions are followed up to this day [2]. But we shall search in vain for the names of Kaśyapa [3] or Agastya who was known as the author of the Sakalādhikāra [4]. Vajhe's statement that Kaśyapa was an authority followed especially between Himālaya and Vindhya appears only correct for modern times. Śrī Kumāra in his Śilparatna proves that the work of Kaśyapa was highly appreciated in his lifetime also in the south, because it has been chosen as one of the main sources of Śrī Kumāra's compilation. It would be desirable to examine the southern Indian art of the 16th century and their correspondence to the prescriptions given in the Kāśyapaśilpa.

Another source for the Śilparatna is the 4th part of the Īśānaśivagurupaddhati (kriyāpāda) by Īśānaśivagurudevamiśra. This work has been published by Gaṇapati Śāstri in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (No. 69, 72, 77 and 83). It "embodies the teachings of a long line of Śiva Yogins who were very influential all over India during the 9th, 10th & 11th centuries" [5]. The fact that the work cites often Bhoja assigns it to a date not earlier than 1060 a. Ch. The author uses many citations from other

[1] Matsyap. 252, 2–3. This enumeration is by no means authoritative. Nevertheless we find there some names generally connected with śilpa. So Nagnajit appears as author and partly as source of the Citralakṣaṇa ed. by Laufer side by side with Prahlāda and Viśvakarman. This latter is also known to Ram Raz (l. c. p. 8). Śukra is only known in connection with the Śukranītisāra which contains some chapters on vāstu and pratimā. The other names do not appear connected with śilpa-works as far as I know. But in the other literature we find names of ṛṣis connnected with śilpa. We may remember the Parāśara sometimes cited in Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary on the śilpa-chapters in the Bṛhat Saṃhitā and Agastya. I do not know if Garga deals also with śilpa in his famous Saṃhitā.

[2] Preface to edition of Kāśyapaśilpa p. 7. The Bhṛgu-saṃhitā has not yet been printed.

[3] l. c. p. 7. The Kaśyapa-saṃhitā enjoys authority in the area between Himālaya and Vindhya, the Bhṛgusaṃhitā is followed between Kṛṣṇā and Tuṅgabhadrā and the south of the Tuṅgabhadrā there reigns the Mayamata.

[4] Ram Raz, l. c. p. 8.

[5] Haraprasad Sastri in Vol. II, introduction.

authorities. Some of these citations occur also in the Śilparatna in combination with passages borrowed apparently from the Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati[1]. We find a Piṅgalmata (once), Bṛhattantra (once), Maya (4 times), Yogaśivlya (thrice), Parāśara (once) and Yogaśivapaddhati (once, probably identical with the aforesaid Yogaśivlya).

Finally we have a third important source for the Śilparatna the Prapañcasāratantra. This work (published by Avalon in the Tantrik Texts Vol. XVIII-XIX) is attributed to Śaṁkarācārya, but his authorship is at least very doubtful. With Avalon we will leave the decision of this question to the experts. For it is sufficient to know that the work belongs to a fairly old age. From this text the Śilparatna has borrowed a lot of dhyāna-verses. These verses have to create in the believer's mind an image which must be a correct copy of the real idol with all its characteristics. It is obvious that every verse of this kind is a unity of its own. If we said that these verses have been borrowed from the Prapañcasāratantra, that may ônly mean that we do not know if they come from another source from which also the Prapañcasāratantra has borrowed them. For us they only can be traced in the Prapañcasāratantra.

It is not our purpose to give some analysis of the similarities between the Śilparatna and the three sources. We want ônly to give here an accurate list of the correspondences. In this list **a** = means full correspondence apart from the usual differences of readings. A *s.* means a far-reaching similarity, while **a** *d. s.* means an only distant similarity.

[1] Just the fact that Īśānaśivagurudevamiśra announces his citations, accurately indicating the name of the author or the work, entitles us to the supposition that everything not characterized in this way is the work of Īśanaśivagurudevamiśra or of one of his predecessors.

LIST:

Abbr.: ŚR = Śilparatna; Īś. = Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati; KŚ. = Kāśyapaśilpa; PrT. = Prapañcasāratantra.

	ŚR. II.		ĪŚ. IV.
1,	6-20[a]	=	36, 32-46[a]
	22[b]-24[a]	=	36, 4-5
	28-29[a]	=	„ 78-79[a]
	31-33	=	„ 6-8
	35-36[a]	=	„ 9-10[a]
	38[b]-42[a]	=	„ 10[b]-14[a]
	42[b]-50	=	„ 14[b]-22
	53[b]-58	=	„ 23-29[a]
2,	11[b]-12[a]	=	41, 2-3[a]
	13-14[b]	=	„ 5[b]-6
	17-18[a]	=	„ 8-9[a]
	22[b]-24[b]	=	37, 17[b]-19[b]
	25[a]	s.	„ „ 20[a] & 21[b 2]
	27[a]	=	40, 28[b]
	28-30	=	„ 29-31
	31	=	„ 32
	54-58	=	„ 33-37
	59[b]-60[a]	=	„ 41, 15[b]-16[a]
	60[b]-63[a]	=	37, 24[b]-27[a]
	63[b]-66[a]	=	„ 29[b]-32[a]
	74-76[a]	=	„ 34-35
	80	=	37, 39
	81[a]	=	„ (p. 369, cit. from Piṅgalamata)
	81[b]-83[b]	=	37, 40-42[a]
	84-101[b]	=	„ 43-60[a] (containing cit. from Bṛhattantra)
	103[a]	=	„ 60[b]
	103[b]-106	=	„ 62-65[a]
	107	=	„ after 65a (from Maya?)
	108-109	=	„ 65[b]-67[a]
	110-113[a]	=	„ 68[b]-71
	116	=	„ 72[b]-73[a]
	117[b]-122[a]	=	„ 77-82[a]
	123	=	„ after 82-1-2 (Maya 33, 100 1-2)
	124-125	=	38, 1-2
	126[b]-133[b]	=	„ 3-10[a]
	134-135[a]	=	„ 10[b]-11
	135[b]-139[a]	=	„ after 11 (from "Yogaśivlya")
	139[b 1] & 140[a 2]	=	„ p. 374 (from "Yogaśivlya")
3,	2-3	=	38, p. 374-5 (from "Yogaśivlya")
	4-8[a]	=	„ 12-16[a]
	11-15	=	„ p. 376 (Maya 33, 109 1-2[b]-114 1-2[a])
	16-31[a]	=	„ 25[b]-40[b]
	31[b]-35[b]	=	„ 46[b]-50
	37-39	=	40, 1-3
	40-41[a]	=	„ p. 389 (from "Parāśara")
	41[b]-42[a]	=	„ p. 390 (from "Yogaśivapaddhati")

ŚR. II.		Īś. IV
42^{b}–44^{a}	=	„ 15^{b}–17^{a}
44^{b}–46^{a}	=	„ p. 390 (Maya 33, 147^{b}–149, $150^{a\,1}$–$^{b\,2}$, 151a)
53–55	=	41, 22–24
56	=	„ 35^{b}–36^{a}
57^{a}	s.	„ $25^{a\,1}$ & $23a^{2}$
58	=	„ 36^{b}

ŚR. II.		KŚ. IV.
4, 2	=	50, 28
3^{a}	s.	„ 29^{a}
5–9	=	„ 29^{b}–34^{a}
10^{a}	s.	„ 34^{b}
11^{b}–12	=	„ 85–36^{a}
13^{a}	s.	„ $37^{b\,1}$
13^{b}–14^{a}	s.	„ 39
19–20^{a}	=	„ 40^{b}–41
20^{b}	=	„ ($40^{b\,1}$)–$42^{b\,2}$
21–22	=	„ 43–44
23–24^{a}	s.	„ 45–46
24^{b}–25^{b}	d. s.	„ 55–57^{a}
26^{a}	=	„ 50, 58^{a}
$26^{b\,1}$ $27^{a\,2}$	=	„ 58^{b}
27	s.	„ 59
28	=	„ 60
37^{a}	=	„ 77^{a}
37^{b}	s.	„ 77^{b}
38^{a}	=	„ 78^{a} (transposed pādas)
38^{b}	=	„ 80^{a}
39^{b}	=	„ 80^{b}
40	=	„ 81
$41^{b\,1}$	=	„ $83^{b\,1}$

ŚR. II.		KŚ IV
$41^{b\,2}$	=	„ $82^{b\,1}$
$42^{a\,2}$	=	„ $83^{a\,2}$
$43^{a\,2}$	=	„ $84^{a\,2}$
$45^{a\,1}$ & $44^{b\,2}$	=	„ 85^{a}
45^{b}	=	„ 85^{b}
46^{a}	=	„ 86^{a}
46^{b}	=	„ 87^{a}
47^{a}	s.	„ 87^{b}
48^{a}	s.	„ 88^{a}
48^{b}	s.	„ 88^{b}
$49^{a\,1}$	=	„ $89^{a\,1}$
$49^{a\,2}$–^{b}	s.	„ $89^{a\,2}$–^{b}
50^{a}	=	„ Īś. IV. 41, 47
5, 1–5	=	50, 92^{b}–97^{a}
6,	s.	„ 98
7–8	=	„ 99–100
9	=	„ 101
10^{b}–11^{a}	=	„ 102
11^{b}–15^{a}	=	„ 103–106
16	=	„ 107^{a}–108^{1}
17^{a}	s.	„ 109^{a}
19^{a}	s.	„ 109^{b}
22^{b}	s.	„ 110^{a}
23–25	=	„ 111–113
26^{b}–33^{a}	=	„ 114–120
33^{b}–34^{a}	s.	„ 121^{b}–122^{a}
34^{b}	=	„ $122^{a\,2}$ & b^{1}
35^{a}	s.	„ 123^{a}
35^{b}	s.	„ $122^{b\,2}$–$123^{a\,1}$
36	=	„ 123^{b}–124^{a}
37^{a}	s.	„ 125^{a}
37^{b}	s.	„ 124^{b}
38–40^{a}	=	„ 125^{b}–127
41^{a}	s.	„ 129^{a}

ŚR. II.		KŚ IV.
41[b]	d. s. „	130[b]
42[b]-44	= „	131-133[a]
45-59	= „	134-148
60	= „	150
61	= „	151[a] & 152[a]
62[a]	s. „	152[b]
62[b]	s. „	153[a]
65[a]-78[a]	= „	153[b]-166
78[b]-87[a]	= „	167[b]-176
89[b]-92	= „	177-180[a]
93[a]	= „	181[a]
93[b]-99	= „	181[b]-187
100	s. „	188-[illegible]
101-103[a]	= „	189-191[a]
103[b]	= „	193[a]
104-107	= „	193[b]-197[a]
108-114 1-2	= „	197[b]-204[b]
6, 1	= 51,	1[a] & 11[b]
2-4	= „	12-14
5[b]	s. „	15[a]
9[a]	= „	22[a]
9[b]	= „	23[a 1] & [b 1]
10[a]	s. „	23[a 2] & [b 2]
10[b]	= „	27[b 1] & 28[a 1]
11[a]	s. „	28[b]
11[b]	= „	39[b]
7, 1-2[a]	= 52,	3[b]-4
2[b]	s. „	5[a]
3-4	= „	6-7
5	= „	8
6[a]	= „	9[a]
7[a]	= „	9[b]
8-11[a]	= „	10-13[a]
11[b]-18	= „	14-21[a]
19-23[a]	= „	21[b]-25
23[b]	s. „	27

ŚR. II.		KŚ IV.
24-25[a]	= „	28-29[a]
26[a]	s. „	29[b]
27[a 1] & 26[b 2]	= „	30[a]
27[b]	= „	30[b]
28-29	= „	31-32
30-31[a]	= „	33-34[a]
34[b 1] & 35[a 2]	= „	34[b]
35[b]-37[a]	= „	35-36
37[b]	= „	37[b]
38-40	= „	38-40
41[b]	= „	41[a]
42[a]	= „	41[b]
8, 1-4	= 53,	3-6
10, 1-2	= 53,	3-4
4[b]	s. 55,	5[a]
5[b]-6	= „	5[b]-6
11, 1[b 2], 2[a 2], 3[a],	56,	2[a 2]-[b], 3[b 2],
4[a 2], 5[b]	s.	4[a 1], 5[a 2], 6[b 1]
12, 1-5	= 57,	2-6
17, 4[a]	= 80,	2[a]
5-11	= „	3-9
13[b]	= „	10[b]
14[b]-19	= „	12[b]-19
20-21[a]	= „	21-25[a]
22	= „	22[b]-23[a]
24[b]	= „	24[a]
25	= „	25
26	= „	26[b]-27[a]
27-28[a]	= „	27[b]-28
28[b]	= „	29[a]
29[b]-35	= „	30[b]-36
36[a]	= „	37[a 1] & [b 2]
36[b]-41[a]	= „	38-42
41[b]	= „	43[a]
18, 8	= 82,	1[b]-2[a]
9-11	= „	3[b]-6[a]

ŚR. II.		KŚ IV.
	12^{b}-13^{a}	= „ 23
	14-16^{a}	= „ 6^{b}-8
	23-25	= „ 9-11
	27^{b}-31^{a}	= „ 15-18
	31^{b}-32^{a}	s. „ 19
	32^{b}	= „ 20^{b}
	33	= „ 21^{b}-22^{a}
	34^{a}	s. „ 22^{b}
	34^{b}-37	= „ 24-27^{a}
19,	1^{b}-2^{a}	= 83, 2
	3	= „ 3^{b}-4^{a}
	4^{a}	= „ 4^{b}
	8^{b}-9^{a}	= „ 6^{b}-7^{a}
	9^{b}-10	= „ 9-10^{a}
	11^{b}-14	= „ 10-13
	15^{b}-16	= „ 14-15^{a}
	18^{b}-19^{a}	s. „ 17
	20^{b}	= „ 19^{a}
	21-22	= „ 19^{b}-20
	25^{a}	= „ 23^{b}
20,	1	= „ 62, 11
21,	1-2	= „ 46, 36-37
	3	s. „ 38-39^{a}
	4-6	= „ 39^{b}-42^{a}
	7^{b}	= „ 42^{b}
	9	= „ 43
	10	= „ 44^{b}-45^{a}
	10 1-2	= „ 45^{b}
22,	1	s. Īś. IV. 43, 2
	2-3^{a}	= KŚ. 61, 18-19
	3^{b}-4^{a}	= „ 20^{b}-21^{a}
	4^{b}	= „ 23^{b}
	5^{a}	s. „ 24
	5^{b}	= „ 25^{a}
	$6^{a\,1}$	= „ $27^{a\,1}$
	$6^{b\,1}$	= „ $51^{a\,1}$

SB. II		KŚ IV.
22	7^{b}-9^{a}	= „ 62, 1-2
	9^{b}	= „ 4^{b}
	10	= „ 6
	11^{a}	= „ 7^{b}
	11^{b}	= „ 8^{a}
	12^{a}	= „ 12^{b}
	12^{b}	= „ 27^{b}
	13	= „ 28
	14^{b}	= „ $29^{a\,1}$ & ^{b}
	15^{a}	= 62 30
	15^{b}	s. „ 33^{a}
	16^{a}	= „ 35^{a}
	17^{a}	= 63 1^{b}
	17^{b}	= „ 3^{b}
	18^{a}	= „ 43^{a}
	18^{b}	= „ 52^{a}
	19-22^{a}	= „ 53-56^{a}
	22^{b} 26^{a}	= „ 57^{b} 61^{a}
	27^{a}	= 64, 2^{a}
	27^{b}	= „ 7^{a}
	28^{b}-29^{a}	= „ 13^{b}-14^{a}
	30	= „ 15^{b}-16^{a}
	31-32	= „ 16^{b}-18^{a}
	33^{a}	= 65, 4^{a}
	34-35	s. „ 13-14
	36^{a}	s. „ 24^{b}
	36^{b}	= „ 26^{b}
	37^{b}	s. „ 32^{b}
	38-39^{a}	d. s. „ 46-47^{a}
	40^{a}	= „ 48^{a}
	40^{b1}	s. „ 48^{b1}
	40^{b2}	= „ 50^{a1}
	41^{a}	= „ 53^{b}
	42	s. „ 60^{a}-61^{a}
	43	= „ 61^{b}-62^{a}
	52	= „ 78^{b}-79^{a}

ŚR. II.		KŚ. IV
22 53[a]	=	„ 81[a]
53[b]	s.	„ 81[b]
55[a]	s.	„ 82[a]
56	s.	„ 83[a]
57[a1]	=	„ 83[b1]
58	=	„ 85
59[a]	=	„ 86[b]
59[b]	=	„ 87[b]
60[a]	=	„ 88[a]
60[b]	s.	„ 88[b]-89[a]
61[a]	=	„ 91[a1]-& [b1]
61-62	=	„ 92-93[a]
64-66[a]	=	„ 93[b]-95[b]
66[b]-67[a]	=	66[1]
68[a1]	=	„ 6[a1]
68[b2]	=	„ 6[b2]
69	s.	„ 7
70	=	„ 8
71[a]	=	„ 9[b]
71[b]-72[a]	=	„ 11
73-74[a]	=	67, 15[b]-16
74[b]	=	„ 19[a]
75-76	=	„ 24[b]-26[a]
77[b]	=	„ 27[a]
78[a]	s.	„ 27[b]
78[b]	=	„ 28[a]
79[a]	=	„ 28[b1]-29[a2]
79[b]	=	„ 29[b]
80-81	=	„ 34[b]-36[a]
82[a]	s.	„ 36[b]
82[b1]	=	„ 37[a1]
83[a]	s.	„ 38[b]
84[a]	=	„ 40[a]
84[b]-85[a]	s.	„ 67, 41
87[b]-88	=	„ 43[b]-44
89	=	„ 45

ŚR. II.		KŚ IV.
22 90[b]-97[a]	=	„ 68, 4-10
97[b]-100[b]	=	„ 12[b]-15[b]
101	=	„ 17[b]-18
102[a2]-[b1]	=	69, 2[b]
104-105[a]	=	„ 3-4[a]
105[b]	d. s.	„ 4[b]-5[a]
106[b]	s.	70, 5[a]
107[a]	s.	„ 5[b]
108[a]	s.	„ 7[a]
108[b]-110[a]	=	„ 8-9
107[b]-108[a]	s.	„ 10
111[b]-112[a]	=	„ 12
114[b]	s.	71, 1[b]
115[a]	=	„ 2[a]
115[b]	s.	„ 2[b]
116[a]	=	„ 3[b1]-4[a1]
123[a]	=	72, 38[a]
123[b]-126	=	„ 39-41
127	s.	„ 42
128	=	„ 65[b]-66[a]
129[b]-130[a]	=	73 2
131[a]	s.	„ 3[b]
131[b]-132[a]	=	„ 4
132[b]-135	=	„ 5[b] 8
136[b]-137[a]	=	„ 9
137[b2]-138[a1]	=	74, 1[b]
138[b]	=	„ 5[b]
139[b]	=	„ 6[b]
140-141[b1]	=	„ 7-8[b1]
141[b2]-142	=	„ 10[a]
142[a1]-142[b1]	=	„ 10[b]
142[b2]-143[a]	s.	„ 11
144[a]	=	75 1[b2]-2[a1]
145[a]	s.	„ 2[b]
145[b]-146[a]	=	„ 3
147	=	76 1[b]-2[a]
148[a]	s.	„ 4[b]

SR. II.		KS. IV.
22	149[a]	= „ 5[a]
	149[b]	= „ 6[a]
	150[a]	s. „ 6[b]
	150[b]	= „ 7[b]
	151–152[a]	s. „ 8
	152[b]	= „ 9[a]
	153[a]	= „ 11[a]
	153[b]	= „ 10[b]
	154	= „ 11[b]–12[a]
	155	= „ 12[b]–13[b]
	156–157[a]	= „ 15–16[a]
	157[b]–158[b]	= „ 17–18[a]
	159–160	= „ 19–20
	161[b]	= „ 21[b]
	162[b]–163	= „ 23–24[a]
	164[b]–167[a]	= „ 25–27
	169[a]	s. „ 77 6[a]
	169[b]–171	= „ 7–9[a]
	172[a]	= „ 10[b]
	172[b]	= „ 11[b]
	173[a]	= „ 13[a]
	175	s. „ 14
	177[a]	= 78, 2[a]
	178	= „ 2[b]–3[a]
	179[a]	= „ 4[a 1] & [b 1]

ŚR. II.		Prt. KŚ
22	180	= 27, 41
	186	= „ 4
	187	= „ 71
	188	= 28, 8
	189	= „ 18
	190	= „ 45
	191	= 29, 3
	192	= „ 4
	193	= 33, 8

SR. II.		KS. Prt
22	194	= „ 46
	196	= 27, 68
	202–203	= 27, 15–16
23,	1	= 20, 7
	4	= 24, 4
	5	= 22, 20
	7	= 25, 7
	8	= 25, 8
	9	= „ 44
	10	= 24, 18
	11	= „ 19
	27	= 18, 43
	37	= „ 47
	38–39	= 18, 48–49
	40–41	= 19, 8–9
	42–43	= 21, 9–10
	44	= 24, 20
	45	= 26, 21
	46	= 24, 23–28
24,	1	= 14, 4
	4	= 10, 10
	23 1–3	= 14, 24
	31	= 14, 23
	54	= 35, 7
	58–59	= 13, 70–71
	63	= 12, 42
	64–65	= 13, 3–4
	66	= 13, 5
	67	= 9, 8
	69	= 14, 70
	70	= 30, 60
	73	= 15, 3
	74	= 34, 53
	75	= „ 56

ŚR. II.	KŚ. Prt.
25, 16	= 6, 89
17	= 33, 49
23–28[a]	= 48, 38–43[a]
29–30[a]	= „ 46[a]–47
30[b]–82[a]	= „ 53–54[a]
32[b]–33	= 48, 60–61[a]
35	= 16, 4
37–38	= 48, 84–85
39–51	= 17, 5–21
52	= 17, 49
53–54	= „ 66, 63
77	= 7, 23
78	= 15, 24
81	= 15, 40
82	= 18, 4
91–92[a]	= 48, 26[b]–27
92[b]–93	= „ 28[b]–29
94–95[a]	s. „ 34[a 1, b 2] & 36[a]
95–97[a]	= „ 50–51
97[b]–100	= „ 54[b]–57
101	= „ 62
102[a]	= „ 64[a]
102[b]	= „ 68[b]
103[a]	= „ 69[b]
103[b]–106[a]	= „ 71–73[b]
107–109[a]	= „ 74[b]–76[b]
153–155	= „ 15, 44–46
156	= „ 40

ŚR. II.	Īś. IV.
27, 5–10	= 39, 4[b]–10[a]
12–15[a]	= 13[b]–16[b]
15[b]–16[a]	= „ 17[b]–18[a]
17[b]–22[b]	= „ 22[b]–27[b]
23–45	= „ 30–52
46[a]	= „ 22[a]
47–48	= „ 59–60[a]
51–52[a]	= „ 53–54[a]
54–57	= „ 55–58
58–59	= „ 85–86
60[b]–62[a]	= „ 86–87 (86 erroneously twice)
66–67[a]	= „ 90[b]–92[a]
67[b]–68[a]	= „ 93
68[b]–69	= „ 99[b]–100
70–73	= „ 101–104
74–76	= „ 94–96[a]
77[a]	s. „ 96[b]
77[b]–79[b]	= „ 97[a]–99[a]

This list makes it clear that a great portion of the Śilparatna has been borrowed from the aforesaid three sources. I am sorry that these investigations could not be pursued on a more extensive scale. But it was impossible to get the indispensable texts so that I had to restrict myself to the few cited works and some former collections of mine. I hope to find soon an opportunity to complete this report so that it may become a report on *the* sources of Śilparatna.

It appears not at all surprising to find in different śāstras on account of the homogeneous subject, similar or also verbally

corresponding passages. In our case the technical character of the śilpa intensifies the temptation to borrow from one another. We also know that the idea of intellectual property never existed in ancient India. Nevertheless it is unusual that Śrī Kumāra has not followed the general usage to introduce each citation with the name of the author or the work. We also search in vain for a hint of general character about the authors and works from which he borrowed.

It would be an interesting task to examine the method followed by Śrī Kumāra in comosing his compilation, and to inquire the different borrowings in detail, but that would be beyond our purpose. We shall return to these problems later. Here we only wanted to give some hints about some sources of the Śilparatna.

A PROBLEM PRESENTED BY THE WORD ŚVA-GHN-ÍN IN THE ṚGVEDA

By

V. M. Apte

1. The word śva-ghn-in occurs six times, in all, in the Ṛgveda : I. 92. 8 ; II. 12.4 ; IV. 20.3 ; VIII. 45.38 ; X. 42.9 and 43.5. It looks like a compound-formation and is apparently constituted of two members, the first of which is *śvan*, 'dog' and the second of which is evidently a derivative from the root *han* 'to strike', 'to slay' made with the secondary suffix *in*, which often assumes a primary aspect and use. The accent is also perfectly regular on this supposition, as compounds of the Dependent Determinative type with a derivative in *in* as final member have (as in all other cases) the accent on the *in*. Folk-etymology at least, would be perfectly justified in interpreting the compound as a Dependent (Tatpuruṣa) Determinative, where the first member has either (i) the sense of the Accusative giving to the compound the meaning, 'One who slays dogs' or (ii) the sense of the Instrumental, the compound then meaning, 'one who slays *with* dogs' i. e. 'a hunter'. Let us now turn to the interpretations of the word proposed by Sāyaṇa and later Vedic Scholars.

2. For the first three (out of the six) passages of the occurrence of the word, enumerated above, namely, I. 92.8 ; II. 12.4 ; IV. 20.3, the Sāyaṇa-*bhāṣya* gives the explanation : *vyādha* or *mṛgayu*, 'a hunter', the full comment (as for example, in connection with II. 12.4) being : *śvabhir mṛgān hanti iti śvaghnī vyādhaḥ*, 'one who hunts game with dogs' i. e. 'a hunter'. This is (it will be noted) nothing but the second of the two possible explanations of the compound with its two members, as remarked above, in paragraph one. This meaning is, unfortunately not quite as appropriate as the other meaning 'a gambler', proposed by Sāyaṇa himself, for the same word, in the other three passages of its occurrence in the ṚV. and has therefore naturally not found much favour with Indologists. Weber alone thinks that the word may

have *originally* denoted 'a hunter'. It must be said in favour of this meaning, that it has the merit of being connected with the radical elements of which the word seems to be composed.

3. The rendering of the word in the remaining three passages by Sāyaṇa is 'a professional gambler'. *Kitavaḥ* [VIII. 45.38 ; X. 42.9] and *parasvānām hantā kitāvaḥ* [X. 43.5] 'one who destroys or usurps the possessions of others ; (in other words), 'a gamester'. It is interesting to note that this very explanation of Sāyaṇa is accepted by the vast majority of Indologists such as Roth, Aufrecht, Grassmann, Oldenberg, Geldner, and Macdonell for *all the passages* where the word occurs, whereas Sāyaṇa offers it in his comment *on these three passages only* !

4. While it may be granted that this meaning : 'gamester', or 'professional gambler' suits the context in all the (six) passages, it is a puzzle that there should be no apparent link between this meaning and the two constituents of the word : *Śvan* ('a dog') and *han* ('to kill) ! The other meaning; 'a hunter' has a clear link with the two elements of the word but is not quite appropriate in the six contexts of the occurrences of the word in the ṚV. Very far-fetched would be the attempt to get over the difficulty, by deriving *somehow* the meaning 'a gambler' from the other one 'a hunter', on the strength of an isolated passage like X. 34.11 cd in the ṚV. where the gambler is described as 'yoking the brown horses (the brown dice) in the morning.' It is unfortunate that the problem of this missing link in the semantic history of the word has not excited the attention it deserves. To Sāyaṇa alone goes the credit of making a valiant attempt to connect (may be, somehow) the meaning *Kitavaḥ* 'a gambler' with one of the constituents of the word namely '*han*' ('to kill') by explaining the word as *parasvānām hantā*, (lit. 'one who kills or destroys the belongings of others in dice play').

5. In the opinion of the writer a very singular rite in the Domestic Ritual may supply such a link. The Hiraṇyakeśin and Pāraskara Gṛhya-sūtras, for example, have an *expiatory* or *curative* rite called the *śva-graha-prāyaścitta*, for relief from epilepsy — *apasmāra or Kumāra* — a much-dreaded malady to which boys were particularly prone. As the name of the rite indicates, the epileptic

fit was supposed to be due to a 'seizure' (*graha*) by a dog (-demon).[2] Let us now carefully consider the detailed procedure of the *śvagraha-prāyaścitta* prescribed in the Gṛhya-sūtras for the cure of epilepsy, taking the descrption in the Hiraṇyakeśin and Pāraskara Gṛhya-sūtras as typical :— The father of the affected boy or any one else who goes through the ritual, on his behalf, first of all, practises austerities like fasting etc., puts on the sacrificial cord over the left shoulder and does the *ācamana* — the purificatory sipping of water. He next fetches water in an unused cup and pours it over the boy. The boy is then swathed in a corded piece of cloth or upper garment and at the beating of a gong or bell is taken to a *gambling-hall*. But he is not carried inside through the door proper but is lowered into it through an opening made in the thatched roof of the hall! In the centre of the gaming-place i. e. in the depression made in the ground, on which the dice are thrown, the earth is raised and besprinkled with water. The dice are next cast, then scattered in all directions, gathered up into a heap and are finally spread out carefully. The boy is thereafter, laid on his back on the dice and besprinkled by the performer of the rite with a mixture of curds and salt, poured out from his joined (or 'folded') hands, while Mantras are recited to the accompaniment of a gong that is beaten on the south side. The substance of these Mantras[1] is extremely interesting and relevant from our point of view. "Thou, O *Kukkura*, who holdest fast children in thy grip! *Chet* (begone)! *Chet*! Thou O *Śunaka* (doggy)! Set him free! May be, the gods have given thee a boon. Shouldst thou therefore, choose just this boy (for a victim)? *Chat*! Doggy! Set him free!" This treatment (or ritual procedure) should be gone through, three times in a day — in the morning, noon and afternoon — while the epileptic fit is on and also when it has subsided and the boy is normal. When the cure is complete, the boy is touched, by the performer of the rite, while the following mantra is recited : "The boy is not under the influence now; he does not cry; he is not stiff. When we speak to him, and touch him, he does not look like a sick person."

6. The part played in the cure of epilepsy by the gambling-hall, the throwing, the scattering, the gathering up of the dice into

[1] As given for example, in the Pāraskara Gṛhya-Sūtra.

a heap and the careful spreading of them so that the patient is laid on them and the belief that epileptic seizures are caused by a *dog-demon* offer (in the view of the writer) a solution of the semantic riddle presented by the compound-word *Śvaghnin*, which means ' a gambler ' although its constituent members point to the sense ' a dog-killer ' ! In other words, the ritual magic of the *Śva-graha-prayaścitta* presents the *gambler in a new light, as a dog (- demon -) - killer* ! The writer further suggests that the respiratory effort evoked by the gambler's throw, which expresses itself in an imitative sound similar to the sound of the usual prohibitory interjections for warning off dogs, *may have* something to do with the idea of a ' gambler ' being a ' dog-killer ', from the point of view of ritual magic. It may be pointed out finally, that in order to understand the belief that epileptic fits were due to seizure by a dog (- demon), the following symptoms among others may be considered : " The epileptic fit is often preceded by a *loud cry* ... Sometimes, the first spasm twists the head round so that the sufferer appears to be trying to look over his shoulder. The teeth are clenched and foam issues from the mouth[1]. " No wonder that these symptoms which made the epileptic resemble a mad dog were attributed in the popular imagination to seizure by a dog-demon. Since the ' demon ' or ' ghost ' could be laid only by being taken to a gambling-hall, the gambler became in popular imagination a ' dog-killer ' !

[1] This description is taken from " *A manual of Family Medicine and hygiene* " by Sir William Moore, (London 1903), page 193.

SOME ASPECTS OF CIVILIZATION OF THE "COPPER AND BRONZE AGE" IN INDIA *

BY

S. K. DIKSHIT

Discovery and Extent of the Indus Civilization

The third decade of this century has proved to be the most remarkable period in the annals of Indian archæology. The discovery of Mohenjo-daṛo by an Indian savant, Prof. Rākhāldās Bānerji, in 1922, and the evaluation of the civilization found there made by Prof. A. H. Sayce, Prof. Langdon, and others, who compared it successfully with the so-called "chalcolithic" civilization of Mesopotamia, provided a material support to the claims of some Indian savants about the antiquity of the culture of this land. It was at once perceived that this civilization was far flung. Mohenjo-daro, in the Larkāna District of Sindh, was only one of the most important cities that characterised this civilization.[1] Harappa, in the Montgomerry District of the Punjab, was another. What is more, this latter centre was discovered long previously, though its importance was not recognized until the discovery of Mohenjo-daro ; it was bigger than Mohenjo-daro ; and lastly, it lay at a distance of about 400 miles from the latter city.[2] As Prof. V. Gordon Childe points out, the total area, where the vestiges of this civilization have been found, exceeds the area of both the Mesopotamian (or Sumero-Babylonian) civilization and the Egyptian civilization. Other important centres of this "Indus civilization" include the ancient cities of Chānhu-daṛo (in the Nawābshāh District, Sindh[3]), Āmrī[4] and

* This essay was read at the Bombay Session of the All India Oriental Conference, (Archæological Section), 1949.

[1] Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, Vols. I-III; Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, Vols. I-II.

[2] M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, Vols. I-II; R. E. M. Wheeler, *Harappa 1946; the Defence and Cemetery R 37*. (*Ancient India*, No. 3, January, 1947).

[3] N. G. Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind* (Memoirs of the Arch. Sur. India, No. 46), p.35f; Ernest J.H. Mackay, *Chanhu-daro Excavations: 1935-36* (American Oriental Series, Vol. 20) (1943).

[4] Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind*, p. 24f.

Ali Murād[1] (both in the Dādu District, Sindh), Nāl (beyond the Khirthar, in Baluchistan),[2] etc. The extent of this civilization may be briefly indicated by drawing attention to the relics found thereof at Rangpur in the State of Limdi in Kāthiāwār, and at Koṭlā Nihāng, near Rūpaṛ or Ropaṛ, in the Ambāla District,— this latter site being at a distance of about 220 miles east of Harappa.

Speciality of the Indus Civilization

With all the subsequent discoveries, the feeling, that was originally created in the minds of the enlightened public with the discovery of Mohenjo-daro, has not yet been chiselled and chasened into a historical conception that would show clearly the beginning and the disappearance of this ancient culture of the Indus Valley; and even to-day, the famous words in the Bhagavad-gītā, referring to the birth or rise of an entity out of "Avyakta" and its disappearance into "Avyakta," appear (in a different sense, of course) to be applicable to this culture. The excavations, carried out at Mohenjo-daro during the first decade after the discovery of this site, revealed a culture, which is summed up by Sir John Marshall in the following words:—

"They exhibit the Indus peoples of the fourth and third (correctly third and second) millenia B. C., in possession of a highly developed culture in which no vestige of Indo-Āryan influence is to be found. Like the rest of Western Asia, the Indus country is still in the Chalcolithic Age,[3]— that age in which arms and utensils of stone continue to be used side by side with those of copper or bronze. Their society is organized in cities; their wealth derived mainly from agriculture and trade, which appears to have extended far and wide in all directions. They cultivate wheat and barley as well as the date palm. They have domesticated

[1] Ibid., p. 89f.

[2] H. Hargreaves, *Excavations in Baluchistan: 1925.* (Mem. Arch. Sur. Ind., No. 35). Sir Aurel Stein, *An Archæological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan* (Mem. Arch. Sur. Ind., No. 37, 1929), and *An Archæological Tour in Gedrosia* (Mem. Arch. Sur. Ind, No. 43, 1931). Also Stein, The Indo-Iranian Borderlands (The Huxley Memorial Lecture for 1934) (J. Royal Anthrop. Inst. LXIV, 1934).

[3] In view of the criticism of this term, given elsewhere, we should replace it by the term "Bronze Age."

the humped zebu, buffalo, and short-horned bull, besides the sheep, pig, dog, elephant, and camel; but the cat and probably the horse are unknown to them.[1] For transport they have wheeled vehicles, to which oxen doubtless were yoked. They are skilful metal workers, with a plentiful supply of gold, silver, and copper. Lead, too, and tin are in use, but the latter only as an alloy in the making of bronze. With spinning and weaving they are thoroughly conversant. Their weapons of war and of the chase are the bow and arrow, spear, axe, dagger, and mace. The sword they have not evolved[2]; nor is there any evidence of defensive body armour. Among other implements, hatchets, sickles, saws, chisels, and razors are made of both copper and bronze; knives and celts sometimes of these metals, sometimes of chert or other hard stones. For the crushing of grain they have the muller and saddle-quern, but not the circular grind-stone. Their domestic vessels are commonly of earthenware, turned on the wheel and not infrequently painted with encaustic designs; more rarely they are of copper, bronze, or silver. The ornaments of the rich are made of the precious metals or of copper, sometimes overlaid with gold, of faience, ivory, carnelian, and other stones; for the poor, they are usually of shell or terra-cotta. Figurines and toys, for which there is a wide vogue, are of terra-cotta[3], and shell and faience are freely used, as they are in Sumer and the West generally, not only for personal ornaments but for inlay work and other purposes. With the invention of writing the Indus peoples are also familiar, and employ for this purpose a form of script which, though peculiar to India, is evidently analogous to other contemporary scripts of Western Asia and the Nearer East.[4] "

Not "Chalcolithic" but "Bronze Age" Civilization

We have shown elsewhere how tradition dies hard,— or rather, how difficult it is to discard it: We have shown there how diffi-

[1] Representations of the so-called "Unicorn" are a direct evidence, that proves that the authors of the Indus civilization were familiar with either the ass or some ass-like animal, possibly the horse. Vide also C. R. Roy's article in the *Science and Culture*, XI (1945-46), p. 408f.

[2] Vide infra, p. 198.

[3] The reference here is to the figurines of the mother goddess, and the representations of bulls and other animals, which were not actually "toys," but icons, embodying the religious ideas of the Indus Valley people.

[4] Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* (Preface), p. v-vi.

cult it was for man to equip himself with the new implements of copper, bronze or iron, and to discard those of stone, even long after he had come to realise the importance of the former. The truth is that in ancient times, scientific planning on a mass scale and for the benefit of the masses, which enables us to discard old-fashioned implements within a few decades, could not be even dreamt of: Ideological level, which makes possible thinking in terms of conscious scientific planning for the benefit of the whole society, was naturally far beyond the reach of the men of the early metal age. The policy of drift, with the profit motive supplying the main impetus for progress, governed, not only in those days, but up to the end of the first quarter of this century, the main current of progress in life. The result was that the "poorer" folk had to content themselves with older and out-of-date implements, —with those of stone,—throughout the 'Copper and Bronze Age,' when the "richer" sections of the populace gradually equipped themselves with those of copper or bronze. Elsewhere, by clarifying the significance of the "ages" in archaeology,[1] we have shown how erroneous it is to call the Indus Valley civilization a "chalcolithic civilization," when it did not belong either to the "Stone Age" or to the "Copper Age," and when it had already entered the Bronze Age. The observation of Sir John Marshall (quoted at the beginning), — which, defining the "chalcolithic age" as "that age in which arms and utensils of stone continue to be used side by side with those of copper or bronze," contains for the layman the most authoritative characterization of that period,—would, indeed, bring out clearly the vagueness, with which the term "chalcolithic" was first used in India, as nothing else would, perhaps, do. He would have us believe that throughout the long period of the "Harappa Culture" (or the civilization of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa), the culture remained in the same "chalcolithic" stage, that all the comparable strata in Mesopotamia, etc., are called "chalcolithic," that they are to be dated in the fourth and the third millenia B. C., that the arms

[1] See our article, entitled "Badalate Yuga āṇi Purātattva" (in a Marathi Magazine, called "Sahyādri," Divāḷī Aṅka, 1949), and a paper, entitled "The Meaning of "Ages" in Archæology," read at the Poona Session, Indian Science Congress, (1950).

and utensils of stone continued to be in vogue in the Indus Valley during the whole period, and lastly that it is sufficient for a culture to be known as "chalcolithic," if it uses arms and utensils of stone even if that be along with the use of copper and bronze implements, arms and utensils. Indeed, the inappropriateness of the term "chalcolithic" appears to have been at least partially apprehended even by Sir John Marshall, when he himself observes at another place :— "A few stone celts, it is true, that have been found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa and the flint implements (possibly ploughshares) ... are typical stone artefacts, but, surprising as it may seem, these objects signify little or nothing as to actual age, since they continued in use, albeit perhaps among jungle folk only, right down to mediæval times."[1] But perhaps the credit of first pointing out clearly the inappropriateness of the term "chalcolithic" with reference to this civilization belongs to the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, who observes :— "... ... but except scrapers of the ribbon flake variety and the cores of chert from which these were chipped off, there are few other examples of stone implements (at Mohenjo-daro). The continued use of stone scrapers (which may indicate a survival from a far earlier neolithic stage, adopted owing to its convenience or for some ritual significance) does not warrant the assumption of a chalcolithic or 'copper-stone' age.[2]"

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[1] Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro etc.*, p. 30.

[2] Dikshit, *Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley* (Sir William Meyer's Lectures) (Madras, 1935), p. 53. Cf. Mackay, *Early Indian Civilization*, p. 7:— "The writer also considers it a mistake to term the ancient civilization of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa chalcolithic, in spite of the fact that stone implements have been unearthed in both places. These stone implements are simple ribbon-flakes of flint which served as knives, and specimens, together with the cores from which they were struck, have been found in most of the houses. Another kind of stone implement discovered is rectangular in cross-section and not unlike a celt in form; it was probably a plough-share, but these are very rare."

Note that Sir John Marshall also states:- "Copper has already to a large extent taken the place of stone for the manufacture of weapons, implements, and domestic utensils, such as lance-heads, daggers, knives, axes, chisels, and vessels," etc. (*Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, I, p. 30). Again, he states elsewhere:- "Just as copper and bronze had already superseded stone for weapons of war and the chase, so, too, they had superseded stone

(*continued on the following page*)

This is not to deny the very existence of an earlier Copper Age in India. Indeed, such an age appears to be, perhaps, proved by the existence of a large number of copper implements, found over a dozen sites, in the riparine plains of northern India; and these implements contain but little or no admixture of tin, lead or other impurities. There are, however, others found in the same plains, that show an admixture of tin in varying percentage, e. g., 4, 7, 8, or 12,[1] —a fact, which shows that the ancient inhabitants of India had also learnt the art of, and experimented with, making bronze. Thus, one can visualize the introduction of the Bronze Age civilization in ancient India after the introduction of the Copper Age. But there is no certainty, *inter alia*, about all the copper objects, found in the Gangetic plain and elsewhere in northern India, being anterior to the known weapons of the Indus Valley civilization. There is also no certainty about any of these weapons, or those of the earliest known strata at Mohenjo-daro and other sites of the 'Harappa Culture,' having at all belonged to the Copper Age, *properly so called*. It must be remembered that some of the bronze objects, containing a high percentage of tin, were unearthed at Mohenjo-daro at considerable depths, just as many others, containing only a little or no admixture of that metal, were unearthed in upper layers:—"For instance, bronze containing no less than 22.2 per cent. of tin was found at the level 30.4 feet below datum, and another piece with 8.3 per cent. of tin 33.4 feet below datum.[2]" Such a high proportion of tin in some of the earliest objects found here shows

(*continued from the previous page*)

for ordinary household implements and utensils." (Ibid., p. 36). And elsewhere:- "Bronze was used in preference to copper for the manufacture of weapons and implements requiring an extra sharp cutting-edge and for ornaments, figurines, and other such articles in which a specially fine finish was desired." (Ibid., p. 30; also cf. p. 34-35).

1 - Ind. Ant., XXXIV (1905), 240f. Even the Mohenjo-daro bronze contained about 4.5 to 13 per cent. tin, according to an early examination of a number of finds, which is given in Marshall's *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. II, p. 461.

2 Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, Vol. I, p. 441. Elsewhere, the same authority states:- "Bronze was however almost as common as copper in the lowest levels of Mohenjo-daro, and there is every reason to believe that at Chanhu-daro the same proportion will hold good," (*Chanhu-daro Excavations: 1935-36*, p. 174).

that at the time of the earliest strata, so far unearthed at Mohenjo-daro, the Bronze Age had definitely started, or was even firmly established. Nonetheless, the exact percentage in the alloy might have been in all probability accidental, rather than deliberately conceived or contrived. After a careful examination of a number of objects unearthed at Mohenjo-daro and other Indus Valley sites, Dr. Desch and Mr. Carey have come to the conclusion that the proportion of tin in the bronze objects varies from a mere trace to as much as 26.9 per cent.[1] Dr. Mackay has pointed out that as in India, so in contemporary Sumer, bronze was known widely, having come in vogue there as early as 3,000 B. C.[2] Is it not preposterous, then, to continue to call this civilization of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro "chalcolithic," when it appears to fall wholly in the Bronze Age, when we can even witness the growing popularity of the bronze implements and their steady ousting of those of copper, in the later layers as contrasted with the earlier ones, where copper is much more dominant than bronze?

Sources of Copper

The nearest copper deposits in the West were probably those found in the mountainous tracts of Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and Persia, where,—in all these countries,—copper ore is abundant even now. On the East, the nearest deposits lay at a much greater distance,—in the erstwhile states of central and eastern Rajputana, so that it may be legitimate to assume that the copper ore, utilized by the authors of the Indus civilization to fashion

[1] The archæological chemist, Muhammad Sana Ullah, after examining six specimens of bronze, found at Mohenjo-daro, and numbered by him as Nos. 8 to 13, reported:- "Specimens Nos. 9 to 11 represent the various qualities of bronze in use. The percentage of tin is 4.51. in No. 8; 8.22 in No. 9; but in the last four varies between 11.9 and 13.21. It is obvious that 11-13 per cent tin alloy was popular and had come into general use, during the period under review, although lower grades were also employed to some extent." (*Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, II, p. 485.) Also of, Mackay, Chanhu-daro Excavations, p. 174:— "Alloys from Mohenjo-daro have been found to contain as much as 26.9 % tin, and, when 31 fragments of bronze from that site yielding 2 % and upward of the metal were examined, the average proportions of tin to copper was found to be as high as 11.91 %".

[2] Mackay, *Early Indian Civilization*, (1948, London), p. 7.

their implements, did not come *mainly* from that direction, but rather from the opposite. But Dr. Desch has pointed out the presence of an appreciable amount of nickel in the bronze and copper objects found in both the Indus Valley and Sumer. Mr. Peake, therefore, tried to locate the source of Sumerian copper at Oman, which yields similar copper ore. The ancient towns and cities of the Indus valley are also supposed to have received their ore from the same locality, for the same reason. Further light is still wanting as to the presence of nickel in the countries of Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Persia, etc.; but we are told that the presence of nickel has "also been detected in the copper from the old, but still worked, mines of Chhota Nagpur in India.[1]" Finally, whatever the original source of the ore, it is certain that the smelting thereof often took place in the Indus Valley sites like Mohenjo-daro, Chanhu-daro, etc. We learn that a quantity of ore and a number of ingots were unearthed in Mohenjo-daro.[2] At Chanhu-daro, too, which must have been a great centre of copper-smiths, a mass of very clean bronze castings was exhumed. Thus, it would appear that excepting the miner, who unearthed the ore, all others that were connected with the fashioning of tools and weapons, e. g., the primitive metallurgist, who purified the ore and cast it into ingots, the smith, who fashioned the implements, etc., preferred to live in the towns of the riparine plains, rather than in the hilly mining area.[3]

The Period and chief known 'Cultures' of the Indus Civilization

The typical 'Indus Civilization,' better known to the professional archaeologists as the 'Harappa Culture,' is already a a stereotyped *Indian* culture, as is indicated by the representations of the elephant and the humped bull (*Bos indicus*), as well as by numerous other factors. But this culture was a part and parcel of a wider civilization, the extent and continuance of which it is very difficult to determine, because of the complexity of the problems, connected with it. This wider civilization comprises the following types, known to archaeologists as

[1] Mackay, *Indus Civilization*, (1927), p. 122.
[2] Dikshit, *Pre-historic Civilization of the Indus Valley*, p. 52.
[3] Contra Mackay, *Chanhu-daro Excavations*, p. 175.

"cultures," that are marked by different types of pottery, and that signify different chronological eras, and, at times, different geographical areas, wherein they prevailed :—

(1) Āmrī Culture, with sub-types: Kullī-Mehī Culture, and Zhob Culture;

(2) Harappā Culture, divided into sub-types, and contemporaneous with

(3) Nāl-Nundāra Culture;

(4) Jhukar-Lohunjo-daro Culture; and finally,

(5) Jhangar Culture.

The sequence of these "Cultures" is determined mainly by the efforts of Mr. N. G. Mujumdar, Dr. Mackay, Sir Aurel Stein, etc., who have also shown its connections with the cultures of Mesopotamia and Persia, on the basis of pottery-types, etc. Dr. Frankfort, Prof. V. Gordon Childe, Col. Stuart Piggot,[1] and others have added a number of interesting and exact parallels to the study of this sequence, which we find evolving in a number of localities in the West almost simultaneously with the Indus Valley.

Culture-contact betrayed by Pottery of different "Cultures"

It is none of our purpose here to deal with the similarity, shown by the pottery of these various "cultures", and that of the various sites like Tell Halaf, al'Ubaid, Erech or Warka (Uruk), Jamdet Nasr, and others, or that of the periods (or cultures) named after such sites. But one must not forget that it is the pottery that most graphically illustrates the cultural contact between the valley of the Indus and that of the Euphrates. Therefore, we may only indicate briefly the nature of such similarity as is manifest in the pottery of various Indus Valley cultures mentioned above :—

(1) The typical Amri pottery is a thin-walled ware of buff or reddish clay, with a plain, reddish-brown band at the neck, and a chocolate band on the inside of the lip,— which is in many respects similar to that of Tell Halaf, Arpachiyah,

[1] *Ancient India*, No. 3, p. 131 f. His "Prehistoric India" was received too late for any additions or alterations in this article, since it was already sent to the press.

Samarra, and other sites of the Halafian period. The Amri ware is decorated with geometric patterns in black or chocolate on pink or cream-coloured surface, and it is found at Amri, Lohri, Pandi Wahi, Damb Buthi and other sites.[1] "Among the abundant painted pottery,...frequent use made of such animal motifs, as rows of horned mountain sheep, is a striking feature[2]". Some motifs betray a close similarity with the ware found at Musyan (W. Persia), Shahr-i-sokhta (Sistan), and even al'Ubaid.[3] Dr. V. Gordon Childe appears to be inclined to put the date even later, when he remarks:— "And two colours are normally employed — a warm, often purplish black and a deep plum red often identical in tint with that preferred at Jamdet Nasr in Akkad.....On the other hand, in technique, in the use of polychromy and in several of its motives, Amri ware approximates to that encountered at Jamdet Nasr....."[4] The culture of the sites, Kulli, Mehi and others, explored by Sir Aurel Stein,[5] belongs, according to the available ceramic evidence, to almost the same category as the Amri Culture. Similarity in pottery designs and pottery types enables one to connect the ceramic culture of such sites of the Zhob valley, as Periano-Ghundai, Moghul-Ghundai, etc., with the Amri pottery. Mr. N. G. Majumdar characterizes the Amri pottery as a "bichrome" ware,—although due to the method of colouring, it appears to have in effect more than two colours,—in order to distinguish it from the real "polychrome" ware of Nal, Nundara, etc.

(2) The typical Harappa Culture which succeeded the Amri-Kulli-Mehi Culture in the Indus Valley is found to be superimposing the latter in a number of localities including Amri, etc. It is marked by a thick-walled, red ware of bright terracotta colour, with decorations painted in black on a polished, dark red slip. Prof. V. Gordon Childe compares its fabric to that of the Uruk ware of Mesopotamian sites. We find in the Harappa ware plant

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[1] N. G. Majumdar, Explorations in Sind, (Archaeological Survey of India, Memoir No. 48), p. 25f.; 147f.; 150f.; etc.

[2] Stein, Indo-Iranian Borderlands, p. 193.

[3] N. G. Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind*, p. 27f.

[4] Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, p. 226.

[5] Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro etc.*, I, p. 98f.

and animal motifs gradually supplanting the geometric patterns, with which they are found in combination or otherwise during this period. This Harappa ware is found among other sites, at Harappa, Mohenjo-daro, Ali Murad, in the upper layers at Amri and other sites, the lower layers at Chanhu-daro, Ghazi Shah, and other sites (as far as they have been unearthed), 'Suktgen-dor' (correctly Sutkagen-dor), Karchat, etc.[1] Quite a number of the cities of this period, as well as others of the late proto-historical and early historical epochs, that were situated on the banks of the Indus in their own days, are now removed from her by a measurable distance,—thereby illustrating the changes in her ancient course. To the former of these two groups of cities belongs Chanhu-daro, just as to the latter belongs the city of al-Mansura or Brāhmaṇābād, that was already pronounced in the days Bilādhura as a city of antiquity.[2] For the future explorers, these cities along the old bed of the Indus, that can still be marked out in many places in Sindh, may be said to hold a substantial promise.

A few general characteristics of the pottery of Harappa Culture could be summarised in the following words of Sir John Marshall :— "Most of the Indus pottery was wheel-made, well fired and plain, but painted ware was by no means uncommon. As a rule, the designs were executed in blank on a dark red slip, and consisted ordinarily of foliate and geometrical devices, among which the "interlocking circle," "vase," "bangle," "comb," and "scale" motifs..... are the most striking. Animal motifs are very rare, and the few pieces on which they do occur were probably imports from Baluchistan."[3] Among the commonest motifs, we may include geometrical and allied ones, such as intersecting circles, chess-board patterns, triangle motifs, double-axe motifs, comb motifs, etc. Among the zoomorphic designs may be included those of the fish, the snake, the deer, the ibex, the peacock, the cock, etc. Ibex is a common motif on the earliest pottery of Iran and Baluchistan, whereas it is rather rare in

1 Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind*, p. 25f.; 149f.; etc.

2 S. N. Majumdar's ed.of Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* (1924) p. 691.

3 Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, p. 37-38.

the pottery of Harappa Culture. Further, this animal is found on the hills of Iran, Baluchistan and Western Sindh, and it is never found in regions to the east of the Indus. This leaves little doubt that the authors of the Harappa Culture borrowed a number of cultural elements from their Western neighbours, even when they settled in the plains of the Indus.

No detailed study of the pottery of the Harappa Culture is intended here; yet we may note here a few interesting aspects thereof, so as to bring out the commercial and cultural connections of the authors of the Harappa Culture with the ancient civilized world. Some aspects, like the use of the brilliant red slip, which is found on the pottery of Mohenjo-daro, and which is so common in number of countries in the ancient civilized world, may just serve to emphasize in a general way [1] (despite the opinion of Dr. Mackay) trade connections of the ancient world of the "Copper and Bronze Age.[2]" But there are other aspects that would speak with a greater certainty, if studied with a critical care. We shall select only a few of such aspects at random, that would just suffice to bring out these connections rather than "prove it" with a learned elaboration.

It may be, in general, said that the patterns on the pottery of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa "are not nearly so interesting as those of the vases of Sumer and Elam.[3]" Some of them, e. g., the Sun-motif and the comb-motif, are common to the Tell Halaf strata in Mesopotamia and the Indus Culture sites. The bird-motif is rare in the valleys of both the Indus and the Euphrates, though one finds it quite popular in Egypt and Elam. On the other hand, the plant-motif is more popular at Mohenjo-daro, etc. than in the Mesopotamian sites. In Mesopotamia and elsewhere in the West, the geometric designs appear to have been supplanted by those from the animal world about the beginning of the

[1] Compare the opinion expressed by the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, in his *Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley*, p. 50 f.:- "A vast majority of the vessels consist of well burnt vessels to which red slip made from ochre has been applied, which have been brought then, as at the present day, from the island of Ormuz. The surface finish in most cases is very fine." But it may be remembered that ochre is common in the Vindhyas, etc. in India.

[2] Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, I, p. 189.

[3] Ibid., p. 215.

Copper Age. In the Indus Valley, the former appear to have yielded place to the latter only gradually, at a time when the Bronze Age appears to have become already stabilized; and the latter, in comparison with the former, are rather rare. One possible way of interpreting this fact is that the new type of ornamentation on pottery became popular in the Indus Valley only gradually through commercial channels, i. e., that after it had attained a great popularity in the Euphrates Valley, it was either exported to, or was copied in, the Indus Valley. Whatever that be, scholars have noted that the Indus Valley people had specialized in some other decorations, that were not so popular elsewhere:—"Perhaps on no ancient pottery do plant and tree motifs appear so frequently as at Mohenjo-daro. They are always to be found associated with the representations of animals.[1]" By these, they may have contributed to other peoples' styles, embellishing and enriching them.

The general resemblance between various peculiar shapes and patterns of pottery, of the Indus civilization and of the Mesopotamian and other Western cultures, has been noticed long ago by a number of scholars. For instance, Prof. V. Gordon Childe observed long ago:—"The Indus and Sumerian beakers have an unmistakable family likeness."[2] Such things betray a commercial and cultural exchange, which must have been both ways; and if, at times one country borrowed from the other, that, too, appears to be indicated, *inter alia*, by the evidence of pottery, as by seals, and other things. "Frankfort has found at Tell Asmar fragments of pottery, whose surface was ornamented with knobs of clay, a type that has not yet been discovered at any other site in Mesopotamia, and which is certainly foreign to that country. This knobbed ware also occurs at Mohenjo-daro and is certainly the work of a local potter; one of the vessels unearthed is a small replica of a type of storage jar in general use in the city. There is, therefore, strong reason to believe that the Tell Asmar specimens were imported from India."[3] In some similar cases, the evidence that

[1] Ibid., p. 220. [2] Childe, *The Most Ancient East*, p. 211.

[3] Mackay, *Early Indian Civilization*, (1948), p. 47; cf. Dikshit, *Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley*, p. 52.

is available at present is not altogether decisive. Thus, the 'intersecting circle patterns' so common in the "Harappa Culture" sites, are rare in Mesopotamia and other early civilized nations of the West. They are, however, found in levels much earlier than those so far exhumed in the "Harappa Culture" sites. It is quite possible that this device was also borrowed from the Indus Valley where it was originally developed, and where, therefore, it continued to be popular, and that it disappeared in the countries, where the pottery, containing it, was imported.

An opposite conclusion also can be drawn from the evidence of a different type of vessels. Speaking of the "Reserved Slip Ware," Dr. Ernest Mackay observes:—"At Mohenjo-daro several pottery sherds were found, which could be compared with certain wares from Kish and Ur in the treatment of their slips.... The great rarity of this reserved slip ware suggests that it was imported from other countries. Sir Leonard Woolley has stated that some specimens found by him in the lowest levels at Ur may have come from Anatolia.[1]" Some kidney-shaped motifs, that are frequently found in Sumer and Elam, are rare in the Harappa pottery.[2]

In fields other than pottery also we obtain undeniable evidence of cultural and commercial contact. As Prof. Childe points out, the "cylindrical vase of silver from Mohenjo-daro invites comparison with the alabaster vessels of the same shape from Ur and Susa."[3] But if the evidence in this case is not decisive as to who borrowed from the other, it is so in a number of other instances:—"Another interesting piece of evidence is a fragment of a vessel of light-green steatite from an early level at Mohenjo-daro. This has carved on it an unusual mat-pattern, which occurs on Sumerian vessels unearthed at Tell Asmar, Kish, and further east, at Susa in Persia and as the stone and its colour also correspond, it seems certain that the Indian specimen

[1] Mackay, *Chanhu-daro Excavations: 1935-36* (1943), p. 72. Also cf. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, I, p. 45; 184f.; 652.

[2] Ibid., I, p. 224.

[3] Childe, *The Most Ancient East*, p. 211.

is an importation from either Sumer or Elam."[1] Also the evidence of certain decorated or etched beads, that are rare in the Indus Valley and common in Sumer, or of certain models of theriomorphic vases, that are similarly rare in the Indus Valley, but quite common in Sumer, Elam, Egypt, Anatolia and other countries of the West, may be taken to prove commercial intercourse, and also the influence of the civilization of the West on the Indus civilization.[2]

There is a certain difference that is perceptible to a discerning eye between the designs found on the domestic pottery of the Indus Valley people (especially those of the Harappa Culture), and those found on the funerary pottery of the same. Most of the domestic vessels were no doubt, kept alongside the remains of the dead; but on the whole the funerary pottery was much more decorated than that meant merely for domestic usage. The motifs found on the former had often a sacred significance, that may not be always easily intelligible now, but that was certainly connected with the primitive cults of such funerary divinities as Mahākāla and Kālī, or their more primitive equivalents.

(3) The pottery, found at Nal, Nundara, and other localities, is mostly "pale or dark buff, straw-coloured or of greenish hue, with designs applied in brown or sepia or black and filled in *after firing* with blue, green, red, yellow, or white, certain of its linear decoration showing a marked resemblance to that of the Susa I pottery. When first discovered, this Nal ware was thought to be exclusively a funerary ware, because of its archaistic patterns, but more especially because its evanescent

[1] Mackay, Early Indian Civilization (1948), p, 148. Cf. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, I, p. 321f. :- "This fragment ... is of especial interest, because the design upon it is exactly the same as that upon one part of the double vessel found at Susa ... ... which is dated to c. 2, 800 B. C. Mr. Henry Field now reports that similar fragments with the same pattern have lately been unearthed at Kish, where also they are dated ... ... to c. 2, 800 B. C. The fragment from Mohenjo-daro ... ... was found in a very early stratum." (See also ibid., p. 639). This would prove that the Indus civilization owed its inspiration in its earlier days at least partly to Mesopotamia. It may further be remembered that the views, giving the absolute dates mentioned here, have to be modified in the light of more recent researches alluded to in succeeding pages.

[2] Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, I, p. 640.

colours and unusually delicate fabric were ill-suited to ordinary domestic usage."[1] But subsequent researches have shown it to be both household and funerary ware. The geometric patterns found on it are akin to those of the pale ware of Sīstān, etc., and "some of the patterns at any rate appearing on the Kulli-Mehī ware, e. g., the bulls, fishes, and the *Pipal* leaf representations, have become more stylized at Nal."[2] "That this (Nal-Nundara) ware is later than the ceramic prevalent at the chief chalcolithic sites of Baluchistan and Makran appears to be proved by stratigraphic evidence," which Sir Aurel Stein's "excavation at the Shahi-tump mound in Kej has disclosed."[3] There are also other indications, which prove the priority of the Amri-Kulli-Mehi ware to the Nal-Nundara ware; but "the available evidence is not enough to determine the relative chronological position of Nal and Mohenjo-daro."[4] While it is possible that the Nal-Nundara pottery is chronologically somewhat anterior to the pottery of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, definite evidence is still lacking; and it is equally possible that the Nal ware and the Harappa ware are contemporaneous, and that they belonged to different geographical areas.

(4) The Jhukar ware illustrates a degenerate continuance of the black-on-red technique together with the reappearance of the "bichrome style" in a new form. The motifs include 'sloping ovals', 'balls in compartments', 'the spirals', etc. This typical ware is found in the upper strata at Jhukar, Lohunjo-daro, etc., and the "style can be further studied at the lake-site of Trihni, in its characteristic schematized rosettes."[5]

(5) The Jhangar pottery, which appears to have superseded at different places some of the afore-mentioned wares, including the typical Harappa and Jhukar wares, undoubtedly inherits certain aspects of the older painted wares; but it presents on the

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[1] Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, I, p. 99-100.

[2] Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind*, (Mem. Arch. Sur. Ind., No. 48.), p. 150-151.

[3] Stein, *The Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, p. 189.

[4] Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind*, p. 151.

[5] Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind*, (Mem. Arch. Sur. Ind. No. 48), p. 154.

whole a distinctly new technique of manufacture and treatment. Mr. N. G. Majumdar notes in connection with this pottery the following:— "The incised black pottery (found at Jhangar) has many points of resemblance with that recently discovered at Huṭṭanhaḷḷi near Bangalore in the Madras Presidency, which dates from the Early Iron Age. The characteristic type of the black pottery of Jhangar was the 'bell-beaker', like that of the Danubian civilization of Europe."[1]

Identification of the "Āryans"

In the fore-going account of the sequence of 'Copper and Bronze Age' pottery, it will be noticed, we have mainly followed the authority of the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar, whose pioneer efforts in this subject do not appear in the least to have been rendered obsolete by the works of his successors in that field even to this day. In a number of cases, however, these successors have added to the evidence at our disposal, and in some cases, modified his description, classification and conclusions.

An important problem, tackled by some of these scholars, including in the first instance Dr. Ernest Mackay, relates to the annihilating conquest of the Indus Valley by the so-called "Āryans", for which archaeological evidence is naturally sought for in the field of pottery. Such evidence can, indeed, be decisive under certain conditions; but, to our dismay, those conditions have yet remained unfulfilled or, at any rate, not thoroughly explored. For want of adequate facilities, we ourselves are unable at the present moment to deal with this subject except in the way of calling the attention of the reader to two tentative conclusions, one drawn by Dr. Mackay, and the other, by ourselves. In the present state of our knowledge, both these theories have their drawbacks, and both appear to us to be almost equally plausible. Dr. Mackay would identify the "Āryans" with the authors of the Jhukar ware, whereas in our view (based on the archaeological data given by Mr. N. G. Majumdar), they are to be identified with the authors of the Jhangar ware. If the Jhukar ware continued,

[1] Ibid., p. 154. For the elaboration and details of these points, vide ibid., p. 68–70. Cf. Mackay, *Chanhu-daro Excavations*, p. 189, for the find of an iron arrow-head of the Jhangar period, found at Jhukar.

as Mr. N. G. Majumdar observes it did, the general style of the painted ware of the Harappa Culture, the authors of the former may *not* be identified with the "Āryans," who appear to have almost totally changed the whole face of the culture, they met in the Indus Valley and the Punjab. We have shown elsewhere that the "Āryans" initiated the Iron Age civilization into different parts of the ancient world, dominated by the despots of the Bronze Age. The evidence at our disposal gives us no indication as to whether the authors of the Jhukar Culture at all knew the use of that metal. On the other hand, there appears to be sufficient evidence to prove that the authors of the Jhangar Culture were aware of it, as will be clear from the quotation from Mr. Majumdar given above. The same quotation will also make it clear that in the field of pottery we can trace certain affinities of the "Indo-Āryans" to their counterparts in Europe. Mackay, however, holds that "The differences, between these two (viz. Harappa and Jhukar) wares considerably outweigh the resemblances, for, as already stated, there is a marked dissimilarity, between the fabric, the style of decoration, and most of the motifs and patterns used. Yet it appears possible that a certain amount of borrowing did take place.[1]" In his *Early Indian Civilization*, he states:— "There is an astonishing cleavage, however, between the cultural make-up of the successive peoples, Harappā and Jhukar, most striking, perhaps, in their pottery wares and seals. Indeed, there is a curious feeling of distant kinship between the Jhukar seals of Chanhu-daro, with their lack of any written characters and their shapes, — either button-seals or stamp-seals with handles, —and the seals of Cappadocia of semewhat earlier date. The possibility of the Jhukar people being forerunners of the Āryan invaders has to be considered.[2]" Elsewhere in the same work, his daughter clarifies some points in relation to the chronology of the Indus civilization *vis-a-vis* the invasion of the

[1] Mackay, *Chanhu-daro Excavations*, p. 127f. He, then, proceeds to give some examples of similarity. That Dr. Mackay is not altogether sure of his own opinion about the authors of the Jhukar Culture *vis-a-vis* the Harappa people will be noticed from his remarks about these two in his *Chanhu-daro Excavations*, p. 102.

[2] Mackay, *Early Indian Civilization*, p. 4–5.

"Āryans." :— 'In 1940, in his *Alalalakh and Chronology*, Professor Sidney Smith, after a further study of the Venus cycle sought to bring down the date of the accession of Khammurabi, a key point in Mesopotamian history, to shortly after 1800 B. C. This in its turn meant bringing down the dating of the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon, and the abandonment of the ancient Indian cities, to some time towards the end of the seventeenth century B. C. More recently, however, Albright, on evidence of the King List found at Khorsabad by the Iraq Expedition of the Oriental Institute, Chicago, and publishd by Poebel, would date the accession of the great Babylonian monarch to shortly before 1700 B. C.—a shift of date that would bring the end of the Harappa cities to well into the sixteenth century B. C. This latter dating would, it might be pointed out, bring the Jhukar Culture, which succeeded that of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, into close proximity in time to the coming of the Āryan-speaking peoples to North-West India.[1]"

Without indulging in the criticism of either of these views or in pointing out their merits, both for want of adequate reference-books at our disposal, and for the sake of the limits we have put on this article, we shall presently proceed to other aspects of the "Copper and Bronze Age civilization in India." Another reason for leaving this subject in the middle is that some aspects of it have been already treated by us elsewhere.

Before leaving this question about the identification of the "Āryans" with the authors of either of the post-Harappa Cultures, mentioned above, we shall note a well-known fact that with the passing away of the Harappa Culture also passed away the pictographic letters, that are mostly known from the seals characteristic of this culture. Until the days of the Mauryas, the "Āryans" in India appear to have almost studiously refused to leave any documentary vestiges of a lasting or even a semi-lasting character. In the post-Harappa period, this dearth of documentary vestiges becomes noticeable for the first time in the days of the Jhukar Culture. This fact can be explained as a coincidence; but, be it admitted, it furnishes us with an

1 Ibid., p. 156-157.

important argument in support of Dr. Mackay's theory about the identification of the authors of the Jhukar Culture with the "Indo-Āryans". Anybody, who is aware of the great precision in pronunciation and intonation in Vedic Sanskrit, and who has seen the hundreds of "characters" on the Indus seals, will agree that these "characters" appear to be totally inadequate to give the exact pronunciation of the words and syllables of the Vedic tongue. This would supply us the reason as to why the script of the Indus seals was discarded by their successors, if the latter were identical with the "Āryans". A new script, that was in conformity with the genius of the tongue and that was akin on the one hand to that used by the original "Āryans" in their homeland before they began migrating, and on the other to the Brāhmī script, found in the earliest decipherable inscriptions in India, must have come into vogue. It is only with such a proto-type of the Brāhmī script that the different syllables in the Vedic Sanskrit could at all be written adequately. It is, however, a question as to when the use of such a script did first take place in India, whether at the beginning of the Jhukar period, or at that of the Jhangar period. Nor is it an isolated question, but one which is to be studied along with other problems, such as the use of iron, etc.

Town-planning and Defence-arrangements of the City-State

We have spoken above of the cultural and commercial contact, and even the measure of likeness that is observable between the Bronze Age civilization of the Indus Valley and the 'Copper and Bronze Age' cultures that prevailed in Mesopotamia and other regions of the West. But despite this contact and the general likeness, we must remember that it is with the 'Copper and Bronze Age' that we find for the first time cultural differences cropping up in different countries. Each of these different cultures is rooted in its own soils, so that each of them presents some peculiar interesting features. Thus, looking at these cities of the Indian Bronze Age, one could at once recognize a number of interesting features, that mark out the Indus civilization as being in a class by itself, --not to be compared with the contemporary cultures of the West. In comparison with the puny

hamlets of the West, here we find magnificet cities. But speaking from the point of view of a modern man, it is not altogether the grandeur and magnificence of the cities of the Indus Valley, by which we are charmed or attracted, but rather by the neatness that is manifest in the town-planning, and the tidiness that is visible in the sanitary measures of these cities. In these respects, the Indus Valley people betray a marked advance over their contemporaries, by such arrangements as the regular lay-out of streets, the sewage system, the use of well-burnt bricks, the excellent brick-lined wells, the provision of a good bath-room in almost in each and every house, and, above all, the good size of an average house.

The last of these betrays a prosperous community of "middle class" people, that, from all evidence, appears to have comprised mainly of the traders, priests, scribes, officials, etc., besides, perhaps, master-artisans, and the like. Undoubtedly, Mohenjo-daro, Chanhu-daro, and other cities along the ancient Indus, and also Harappa and other cities along her tributaries, were great commercial marts, which carried on trade with distant countries in numerous wares, artifacts, and products. They were real cities, the like of which could not have been imagined in any neolithic society. And even in the contemporary Bronze Age world, they were certainly among the largest. The business of the farmer, considerably aided by the implements of copper and bronze, and, above all, by the metal-tipped wooden plough carried by the the draft-animal, enabled the accumulation of considerble surplus (formerly unheard-of) in the hands of the land-lords of the Indus Valley. And they shared this surplus, - - either converted in money or otherwise, - -with the traders, who brought a quantity of wares and other articles from afar.

This accumulation of agricultural surplus and of other type of wealth must have undoubtedly necessitated the undertaking of defensive measures and the building up of armaments by the leaders of these localities. Undoubtedly their economy had enabled them to become powerful enough to purchase sufficient weapons (or to make them) and to be able to protect themselves, so that (to quote Dr. Mackay) " no evidence exists, as in Sumer,

of the cities being repeatedly sacked and burnt.[1]" But this latter is no sufficient ground to assume with Dr. Mackay that the "inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa seem to have led more or less peaceful lives, instead of continually fighting for their existence.[2]" Though this last sentence is carefully worded, so that as it stands, there is little to wrangle about it, the suggestion is that the people of the Indus Valley were "entirely non-militant, at peace with all the world, and, therefore, not fortified"[3] adequately. At any rate, this was the opinion, that was prevalent in many quarters; and this opinion made them a rich, commercial people, who did not think of defending their wealth from pillage and plunder in a comparatively poorer world that surrounded them, by means of adequate fortification or by weapons! If there was no evidence of pillage and arson, this should not have suggested a mere "peaceful living," but rather full provision of adequate military protection. And, if there was no fighting inside these towns, there is nothing to warrant that there was none in the fields outside them, or in other people's lands. And even if the Indus Valley people might have been peaceful, there is nothing to suggest that their neighbours were equally so; indeed, whatever evidence there is, points to an opposite temperament of these neighbours. And with bellicose neighbours, no country can afford the luxury of remaining defenceless.

But while we may thus controvert the views originally held by Dr. Mackay, we must not fail to note the following supplementary observations made by him in the same work :—"A chain of small mounds immediately north of the *stūpa* mound at Mohenjo-daro reveals traces of an exceptionally thick wall and what appears to be a gateway ..... It now seems certain that Mohenjo-daro was attacked by enemies during one period at least of its later history.[4]" If this last observation is correct, it is quite in keeping with decadence of the Indus Valley civilization during its

[1] Mackay, *Indus Civilization*, p. 141f.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Mackay, *Early Indian Civilization*: Preface (by Dorothy Mackay), p. xii. Cf. ibid., p. 12, where the original runs as :— "The inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa have been assumed to have lived in tranquility instead of having to fight for their existence."

[4] Mackay, *Indus Civilization*, p. 14f.

later history. If in the early Bronze Age of the Indus Valley the new equipment of the peasant enabled him to produce for the society a good deal of additional surplus, and also enabled quite a large section of the "town-folk" to prosper in non-productive vocations like trading, warring and worshipping, when the limits of the productive capacity of the Bronze Age implements were reached in this valley, when no better or more productive equipment for the peasant could be produced, or when small technical improvements could not solve the growing contradictions of the Bronze Age economy, these contradictions stared everybody in the face: Production could not keep pace with the population; the towns and their non-productive, growing population became an ever-increasing burden on the economy, resulting in growing empoverishment of the populace; and a greater squeezing and even naked loot and plunder by them of the peasantry became the order of the day. Simultaneously with the growing weakness in the economic sphere, there was a growth of military. No wonder that speaking of the history of a building of the Harappa Period, the archaeologist observes a general decadence during the last days of the Bronze Age:—"Comparison of the plans of the successive occupations through which this building (in Mohenjo-daro) survived will show how at the end it deteriorated in importance. In fact, the whole city was reduced to a closely packed mass of small and insignificant dwellings by the constant subdivision of dignified houses of earlier days. Simultaneously, the close municipal control that was so marked a feature of the city's best days seems to have been relaxed; potters' kilns were even established in important thoroughfares instead of being kept rigorously outside the boundaries of the city, and lines of roughly built stalls lined the main streets."[1]

[1] Mackay, *Early Indian Civilization* p. 47-48. Cf. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, p. 6:- "Towards the end of the Late Period, the whole of the southern portion of the G Section of the DK mound became an artisans' quarter, many of whose inhabitants were potters, for no less than six kilns, including one in the middle of Central Street, were found in this comparatively small area, and others have probably been destroyed by denudation. This quarter of Mohenjo-daro, if not the whole of the city, must by this time have declined greatly in social standing and organization, for it is difficult to imagine that the city authorities—if they still wielded any authority—would have allowed potters to practise their craft within the confines of the city."

It is legitimate to suppose that with the decline of the prosperity of Mohenjo-daro and other cities in the Indus Valley, due to the fulfilment of the possibilities of the implements of the Bronze Age, there was also a decline in the civic control and also military administration of the people of this locality. The ostensible military strength may have been increased during the last days of the Bronze Age in the Indus Valley; yet, in the final analysis, their capacity to resist foreign aggressions must have declined. We have already quoted Dr. Mackay's opinion that Mohenjo-daro was attacked at least once in its "later history". There appears to be sufficient evidence to prove that the civilization of the Indus Valley was swamped wholesale by a ruthless and very powerful enemy, whom many of our predecessors are perhaps correctly inclined to identify with the so-called "Āryans". As stated above they may be, in our opinion, either the "Āryans" or their predecessors, probably the latter, whom the "Āryans" drove before them. The depradations caused by these foreign invaders, whether Āryan or non-Āryan, must have accentuated the decline of all culture, not only in the Indus Valley, but in Baluchistan, etc. An additional factor must have been a shift in the direction of the monsoons, which is known to be responsible in all these localities for the growing desiccation of the land, — a fact that is noted by Sir John Marshall, Sir Aurel Stein, and others for the respective regions.[1] The evidence about Mohenjo-daro being attacked by some enemy in its later history includes that furnished by several groups of skeletal remains, one of fourteen skeletons, another of half a dozen of skeletons, and so on. "All the remains ... lay in very contorted attitudes, and the people had evidently died a violent death."[2] In another group, the remains lay mostly at the bottom of a staircase in a well, but apparently one woman "had nearly climbed up to the level of the street, but had succumbed on the top step. It was thought at first that epidemic disease must have been responsible for these deaths, but this theory was refuted later by the the discovery of two more groups, each containing the remains of

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[1] Stein, Mem. Arch. Sur. Ind., No. 37, p. 90; etc.

[2] Mackay, *Early Indian Civilization*, p. 12.

at least one decapitatd person."[1] Elsewhere the same authority, Dr. E. J. H. Mackay, states:—"The slaughter of children—and there were no less than five in the group of nine—suggests that the raiders nursed a consistent hatred of the people of Mohenjo-daro as a whole, and total extermination appears to have been their endeavour."[2] All this evidnce, be it admitted, is not altogether incompatible with the invasion of the Indus Valley by the "Aryans" of the Vedas, who speak so contemptuously about their enemies, and whose priests speak rarely of anything but the victory of the arms their gods (i. e., of their chieftains), after the manner that is so familiar to the epigraphists of Mesopotamia.

Even the evidence from the buildings of Mohenjo-daro, supplied by Sir John Marshall and his colleagues, is not altogether lacking in details that would prove that the people of the Indus Valley at least knew how to protect their wealth; nor is it lacking in proof about arson. Their carefulness in matters of guarding their own wealth can be measured by the fact that the entrances to most of the houses in Mohenjo-daro, great and small, lie not in the direction of the main streets, but in that of the side-streets or bylanes. Secondly, even Sir John's report speaks of the "fire which consumed many of the Mohenjo-daro buildings."[3] His evidence also included different weapons of copper and bronze, e. g., axe-heads or 'celts', daggers, knives, 'lance-heads', arrow-heads, maces etc.[4] True, some of these weapons were comparatively weak; for instance, the lance-heads had retained their primitive form, and had not yet developed the mid rib, that gives it a strength and that is already found in the contemporary levels in Mesopotamia and Egypt.[5] But, then, the Indian bow-man must have, as in later times, more than made up for the deficiency in the so-called "lance-heads,"—which, it is admitted, may after all have been, not lance-heads, but daggers or knives, or arrow-heads themselves.[6] What

[1] Ibid., p. 12–13.
[2] Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, I, p. 648.
[3] Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*. Vol. I, 15; cf. p. 19.
[4] See Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro etc.*, I, p. 35; II, p. 494 f.
[5] Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, I, p. 35; cf. 482.
[6] Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, I, p. 459.

have been definitely recognized as "arrow-heads," are "thin, flat, pieces of copper with long narrow barbs and no tang."[1] They are quite similar to the so-called "spear-head" or "lance-heads," and they differ from the latter only in their size, resembling them in having no mid-ribs. But what is noteworthy is that no similar weapons were in vogue in the valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile. Dr. Mackay states:- "No metal arrow-heads of the type found at Mohenjo-daro have as yet appeared in Egypt; nor do I know of this pattern from any Sumerian or Elamite site. Practically identical heads are, however, well known at Minoan and Mycenean sites, though of comparatively late date."[2] We know from the accounts, left by Herodotus and the historians of Alexander, that the Indian bow-men had developed and used arrows that were as much as 12 feet long; and it is natural to suppose that such arrows must have had big arrow-heads. Therefore, it is not altogether illegitimate to suggest the possibility that the so-called "lance-heads," that have been so named, because they are now deemed unwieldy for being arrow-heads, may in reality have served as arrow-heads. Be that as it may, that the Indus Valley people of the Bronze Age were ahead of their contemporaries in at least some spheres of technological development, appears to have been proved by the existence of such objects as an axe-adze,[3] which is unknown to the latter.

Again, it is long since the explorations of the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar have established that the Indus Valley people were mindful of an adequate defence, by erecting stone fortifications. Examples of such fortifications were found by him at Kohtras and Ali Murad,—of which the former site had twin walls, one behind the other.[4] Finally, excavational operations, recently undertaken by the Archaeological Survey of India at Harappa, have revealed defensive constructions of no less than three different periods, the earliest one of baked brick and especially brickbats, being in later, more prosperous times thickened and strengthened by additional

[1] Ibid., p. 461.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., p. 457 f.
[4] N. G. Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind* (1934) (Memoirs, Archaeological Survey of India, No. 48), p. 147.

constructions of complete bricks, and the latest one being represented by works that wholly or partially blocked the gate-ways, showing the Harappans "on the defensive." (Ancient India, No. 3, p. 58f.)

Eastward Spread and Decadence of the Bronze Age Civilization in India

In the fore-going remarks, the present author does not intend to exclude the possibility of this or that Indian (i. e., Indus Valley) chieftain trying to establish his hold over a wide territory, that included some big cities in the fertile valley as well as some mining districts in Afghanistan, Baluchistan or Persia, that supplied him with the copper ore. But such an "empire" does not appear to have been the general rule in the Indus Valley during the Bronze Age, as far as one can make out from the available evidence. One can also visualize the spread of the "Copper and Bronze Age culture" in one river valley after another,—in the valley of the Nile, the Euphrates, the Indus, and thereafter, even in the valley of the Ganges. If it is possible to visualize almost simultaneous or successive development of the 'Copper and Bronze Age' culture in some of these valleys, it is also true that this development resulted in a rapid growth of population, which, in its turn, must have also been responsible for an ever-increasing "land-hunger," and consequently for the occupation of newer valleys in the neighbourhood. Thus, "fresh fields and pastures new" had to be hunted, and since the western countries were teeming with population, the only opening lay in the eastern direction, i. e., in the direction of the valleys of the Ganges and the Jamuna. One can thus visualize that the "Copper and Bronze Age civilization" must have spread in that direction in all probability after the occupation of the Indus Valley, or at any rate after the population had increased up to a point, when fresh lands were needed. In this way, the cycle went on, until all the valleys were occupied, when the inherent contradictions of this "Copper and Bronze Age" society were made manifest by an ultimate stalemate in the total productivity of it, resulting on the one hand in the empoverishment of the commoners, and on the other in the increase of armaments, and in the administrative system

of the day turning into a police-state. Such a state of decadence of the "Copper and Bronze Age" civilization appears to be well-attested by the famous hoard of Gungeria about which Sir John Evans declared in 1870 that "The most important discovery of instruments of copper as yet recorded in the old world is that which was made at Gungeria in Central India." [1] About this hoard, Dr. Vincent A. Smith states:- "The treasure, which was found carefully packed in a pit near Gungeria, a village in the Balaghat District of the Central Province (about N. Lat. 22°), consisted of 424 copper implements, weighing 629 lb., and 102 thin silver plates, weighing 6 lb. The copper articles include 'bar-celts' more than 2ft. long, and 'flat-celts' of a very primitive form. Twenty-one of these implements are in the British Museum, and no two of them identical in shape." [2] The 'flat celts' or 'blade-axes' (as is amplified later) connect these finds of Gungeria with those of the Indus Valley civilization, and speak of the continuity of the "Copper and Bronze Age" culture throughout northern India. Elsewhere, the same authority states, in relation to the same Gungeria implements, that they were hammered ones, consisting of pure copper, and that "There are (among them) also many long crow-bar-like instruments, with an expanded lunette-shaped chisel edge at the lower end, which may be designed as 'bar-celts'." [3] These are probably of post-Harappa period.

To explain: The dating of this Gungeria hoard presents a difficult problem; nor is the chronological problem easy in the case of other important finds of copper and bronze implements, that were obtained at various sites in the Gangetic Valley. Most of these finds were of copper, and only a few of bronze; but despite

[1] *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1909), II, p. 97.

[2] Ibid. The 'thin silver plates,' referred to here, may well be prototypes of the silver punch-marked coins.

[3] I. A., XXXIV (1905), p. 233. It must be clarified here that this hoard is also said to have contained a large number of implements for domestic and agricultural purposes. As pointed out by Dr. Smith, this hoard is mainly of copper,—so that he is inclined to treat them as belonging to the Copper Age of India. But at that time, the Indus civilization was not recognised; and the typological arguments, like those stated above, that would make the Gangetic "Copper or Bronze Age civilization" contemporaneous with, or even later than, the Indus civilization, cannot be very easily dismissed.

this, it appears quite likely that most of these implements, etc., are posterior in date to the copper and bronze objects of the Bronze Age civilization of the Indus Valley; that is, that these copper implements and utensils of the Gangetic Valley do not necessarily prove that the Indian Copper Age developed in the Gangetic Valley rather than in the Indus Valley. The reason for the lack of use of bronze appears to lie rather in the fact that tin is a rare metal in the Gangetic plain.[1] Flat copper celts have been found, as hinted above, not only at Gungeria, but also in a number of places in the Gangetic Valley, including Rajpur (near Chandpur, Bijnor District, U. P.), Mathura, Mainpuri, Tamajuri (Midnapur District, Bengal), etc. Sir John Marshall points out that of all the celts found in the Gangetic Valley and at Gungeria, some short ones "with splayed crescentic cutting-edge are not unlike certain specimens from Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, but the type is too common and widely diffused for any conclusions to be drawn from it,"[2] and that the long bar celts are quite peculiar to the Gangetic Valley. Elsewhere, speaking of "seven copper axes or celts" found in the House XXX of the Block 5 of VS Area, Sir John states that probably their "edges were hammered out after the plain blades had been cast. Copper axes of this kind have been found at several places in northern India, and one collection of them which was unearthed in 1870 at Gungeria in the Balaghat district of the Central Provinces, exhibits a striking resemblance with those found at Mohenjo-daro.[3]" According to Pandit Madhao Sarup Vats, some of the celts found at Harappa "resemble those from the famous Gungeria hoard ... and some others are similar to those from Bithur in the Cawnpore District, Pariar (... Parihar) in the Unao District, and Chandpur in the Bijnor District of the United Provinces."[4] All this evidence not only testifies to the spread of the "Copper and Bronze Age" civilization to the Gangetic Valley, but, probably, also to its debt to the Indus civilization, and to a comparatively late phase of the civilization, rather than the earliest. If the proportion of

[1] Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, p. 481; 483f. (Vol. II)
[2] Ibid. (Vol. I), p. 106.
[3] Ibid., p. 230.
[4] Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, p. 90.

tin to copper in some of the bronze implements and utensils found in the Gangetic Valley and elsewhere in northern India varies, evincing probably a stage, in which experimentation was carried out, it is just possible that such a stage of experimentation continued throughout the Bronze Age, represented by the Indus Valley civilization, and that what was imported in the Gangetic Valley belonged to the early phase of that civilization, so that further experimentation had to be carried out. Indeed, except in China, nowhere in the whole of the world was the exact proportion of tin and copper, that goes to make the *real* bronze, was achieved or nearly achieved, until the eighteenth century A. D.

Besides such arguments, there is a positive one, that allows us to look upon the "Copper and Bronze Age" civilization of the Gangetic Valley as being, on the whole, later than the Indus Civilization. It is in respect of the existence of copper swords found in the Gangetic plain. Sir John notes in this connection that "most of the other objects, viz., the long bar celts, swords, and barbed harpoon-heads, are quite peculiar to the Jumna-Ganges basin and different from anything known to us either from the Indus Valley or anywhere else."[1] He further offers a brilliant suggestion, which, however, may or may not be accepted:— "Possibly these objects give us our first glimpse of Indo-Aryan culture in the upper Gangetic Valley." In any case, it is well-known that the swords were a rarity in the Indus Valley civilization. We know of only a couple of swords, found at Mohenjo-daro, both of which "are considerably thickened down the middle for strength, and were probably used for slashing rather than for thrusting. The larger of the two Mohenjo-daro swords measures a little over one and half feet. One of the earliest swords was unearthed by Prof. Flinders Petrie at Tell el-Ajjul in Palestine, and that was assigned by him to the period of the Old Kingdom of Egypt."[2] But such examples are quite exceptional; and the finds at Fatehgarh and other sites in the Gangetic Valley of heavy copper swords betray a rather late date for all the associated objects though they be of pure copper. Besides, these Fatehgarh swords appear to be more akin to the

[1] Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, p. 106f.
[2] Mackay, *Indus Civilization*, p. 127.

Indus Valley swords in style, than to the Palestinian sword. Harpoon-heads, spoken of by Sir John Marshall, were found in the districts of Kanpur, Unao, Mathura, etc., and they would also signify a later culture, since it is difficult to imagine that having once attained popularity in the Gangetic Valley and in India generally, they should have been later discarded by the authors of the Indus civilization. Among the copper axes of northern India, some of the most intriguing ones are included among the finds of the Mayurbhanj State; — these are of the shape of "double axes," that are so rare in India, but that are so common in Cretan civilization of the Bronze Age. Less interesting are the spear heads (or arrow-heads?), found in the districts of Kanpur, Etawah, Shahjahanpur, etc. that resemble in many respects those from the Indus Valley.

Thus it is possible to hold that the large hoard of weapons found at Gungeria, like some others found in northern India represents a late phase of the "Copper and Bronze Age" civilization in India, when increasing social production was diverted from the sphere of consumption to that of preservation, from the sphere of social use to that of protection of the useful wealth in the hand of the few.

A Speciality of the Indus Civilization

The "Copper and Bronze Age" is the age of the first big monuments of the world, apart from the funerary megaliths: It is the age not only of the pyramids, which were in a sense a continuation of such megalithic monuments, but also of the ziggurats and the palaces of the priest-kings. Since such leaders of the "tribal" or "civic" states combined in themselves—as in China, Mesopotamia, and Crete,—the offices of both the chief priests and the kings, and led the people in military and religious matters, they were naturally in a position to gather an excessive surplus, which enabled them to build for themselves in course of time big temples and huge palaces.

What was the actual state of affairs in the Indus Valley during the so-called "Chalcolithic Age" (or the Bronze Age), cannot be stated for certain, until we are able to decipher the script of this locality. Unfortunately the latter defies so far any

satisfactory solution, despite the claims of a number of savants. Or, it may be deemed for the present, to have been deciphered by some savants, to the satisfaction of none else but themselves! When it be deciphered to the satisfaction of the scholarly world, it may be, perhaps, found to reveal the existence of a mighty potentate, who was also a priest, or it may reveal the existence of both a king and a royal priest. Yet before we turn to consider such possibilities, we may urge some other possibilities. The state of affairs in the Indus Valley appears to have been somewhat different from that of any other country of the "Copper and Bronze Age" mentioned above. In those countries, we find a very vast difference between the economic condition of the kings of the 'tribal' or 'civic' states and that of the masses, that are extremely poor. Even the "middle classes," that themselves exploited (by means of trade, etc.,) the real producers of wealth, viz., the peasants, the miners, the petty smiths, etc., or else sided with their chieftains or kings in their exploitation (either by the sword or by the pen), did not thrive either in numbers or in wealth. Thus there was a concentration of wealth in the hands of an infinitisimal fraction of the populace in the case of those countries, which gave rise to a few, very big monuments, together with a general dearth of small buildings. The poor folk lived in some huts, or in some small despicable dwellings, that did not survive, or else, left remains that bespeak of the poverty of their occupants. In India, on the other hand, we witness quite a large number of well built, spacious houses which, as said above, betray the existence of "a prosperous community of "middle class" people."[1] "The ground-floor of a small house averaged 27×30 feet, measured outside, and a large one was about double this size."[2] Indeed, in the determination of the nucleus of the administration in the cities of the Indus Valley, the difficulties, arising out of these new factors, are enormous; and there is a substantial element of truth in what Prof. Gordon Childe observes:—"It is even uncertain what was the nucleus of capital accumulation. We have indications of a division into classes of rich and poor, but whether a king or a god (—correct

[1] Supra, p. 189.

[2] Mackay, *Early Indian Civilization*, p. 25.

this to 'a priest') stood at the head of the hierarchy is uncertain. Both temples and palaces are so inconspicuous among the ruins that their very existence is dubious."[1]

Oligarchy in the Indus Valley?

Under these circumstances, we are led to believe in the existence of an oligarchical system in the place of the institution of the "priest-kings," or "tribal" or "civic" heads, in the Valley of the Indus. Literary tradition, as embodied in the great Grammar of Pāṇini and the accounts of the Greek writers, bears out the existence of such an oligarchical institution,—rather its developed form, known as the *gaṇa-rājyas*—during the latter half of the first millenium B. C., in almost the same region (comprising the Vāhīka and Sindhu-Sauvīra countries, together with Afghanistan, Baluchistan, etc.), where the Indus civilization flourished.[2]

It is also legitimate to conjecture that the existence of the large "middle class" is incompatible with the rule of an all-powerful "priest-king," and that it is only under such an oligarchical system that a large number of prosperous families, and a few wealthy "great households" could flourish in those days. The "great households" obviously belonged to the oligarchical heads of tribes or cities, that were known in the early non-Vedic literature (that belongs to a much later date) as the *gaṇa-mukhyas*. Other houses belonged to the traders, or smiths,—larger ones to the heads of various guilds,—or else to the warriors, or scribes, or priests. The existence of a great and rich trading community in the Indus Valley is borne out, not only by archæological considerations, but also by all the known subsequent history of this region;—we have in our mind, the Paṇis of the Vedas, and the traders of the Jātakas and of the Muslim chronicles. Since this bespeaks of a continuity of tradition, the oligarchies of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa could well be regarded as the prototypes of the *gaṇa-rājyas* of later days.

Though we have no means of knowing exactly what cultural advance they made the Indus Valley people appear to have been

[1] Childe, *Man Makes Himself*, p. 168.

[2] See S. K. Dikshit, *Sindhu-nadī-varil Saṁskṛti* (in Marathi, 1946, Poona).

the cleanliest folk among their contemporaries. This is borne out by a number of considerations, including the sewage-system and the bath-rooms. The former, which is so well demonstrated at Mohenjo-daro, Chanhu-daro and other localities, "is certainly the most complete ancient system as yet discovered. Every street had its brick-lined drainage channel—sometimes two—and so had even quite small lanes; and into these main drains ran smaller tributary drains from the houses on either side.[1]" As to the bath-rooms, we learn that "Practically every house had its bath-room, which was always placed on the street side of the building for the convenient disposal of water.[2]" Such a thing, again, is not found anywhere else in the ancient world, and at least in the Bronze Age it is unique. During the Bronze Age in Crete, and during the early Iron Age in Greece and some other countries, we undoubtedly come across arrangements of bath-rooms, and especially allusions (inscriptional or pictographic) to ceremonial baths, that the commoners occasionally took, or to purificatory baths, that were in vogue in sacerdotal classes. If the latter may have taken one or more baths daily, the commoners appear to have washed themselves rather rarely. But in the ancient cities of the Indus Valley, even the commoners probably bathed frequently. Here we find well-built bath-rooms, that "are invariably well-paved, and usually connected with the street drainage system.[3]" In the opinion of Sir John Marshall, the wells, bath-rooms, and sewage-system of Mohenjo-daro "evidence that the ordinary townspeople enjoyed here a degree of comfort and luxury unexampled in other parts of the then civilized world.[4]" But one may point out that with greater technical equipment or a higher technological development, a number of other countries could, no doubt, produce greater material "comfort and luxury," though they failed, for social and other reasons to produce such a sense of sanitary arrangements, or a hygenic sense that accompanies a daily bath,—for which the social system prevailing among the ancient inhabitants of the Indus Valley,

1 Mackay, *Early Indian Civilization*, p. 35.
2 Ibid., p. 31.
3 Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, I, p. 16.
4 Ibid., I. Preface, p. vi.

as well as their philosophical and religious outlook, must have been, for the most part, responsible. Undoubtedly, material comforts and luxurious amenities were factors, that helped, together with the climate, the habit of the daily bath among the well-housed population of the great cities of the Indus Valley. But they, by themselves, cannot explain the custom of bathing, that appears to have been popular with all and sundry among the dwellers of these houses. It is quite possible that the peculiarly Indian popularity of the bath-rooms, that is met with here, was due to the existence of a large number of people, belonging to some leisured class like that of the priests, as well as to the fact that such a class probably made its influence and the influence of its ideology felt among other sections of the populace.

The Origin of the Caste-System

Thus, we confess, we are inclined to see in the Bronze Age population of the Indus Valley a nascent form of the caste-system,—which is peculiar to India, which replaced the slave-system of the Western countries, and which, we already find clearly, though, perhaps, in a somewhat flexible form, among the "Āryans," that produced the Ṛk-saṁhitā and other Vedic literature. It is, perhaps, the rich fertility of the Indus Valley and the precautious development of the Bronze Age civilization in its towns that obviated the necessity of such ruthless exploitation of man by man as is entailed in the slave-system. Not that the caste-system was taken up as a humane measure, or was even encouraged by the priesthood of this valley consciously, because of their humanitarian outlook. No society is ever formed consciously out of mere humanitarian outlook of any priesthood, against the current of history. It is for us to find out the historical conditions, that conspired to replace the slave-system of the western world by the caste-system in India. It is also for us to find out how ancient the latter system is.

We know now the historical, socio-economic causes, that gave rise to the slave-system, in the western world; we know that it arose out of an inevitable division of the society, that came into being with the commencement of the Copper Age. We do not find a shred of evidence about the prevalence of the slave-system

in India, so that it is natural to conclude that the caste-system originated here with the beginning of the Copper Age. The Vedic priesthood that we already find in such an almost full-fledged form in the earliest of the Vedic works, did not evolve (— indeed, it could not have evolved, —) all of a sudden, and out of nothing. According to our view, its roots are to be found in the priesthood of the Indus civilization. The existence of the elementary form of the caste-system in this civilization appears to be vouchsafed for not only by such factors as prove the existence of a large number of priests, but also by such as prove the existence of the street-scavangers. If the seals containing religious motifs, the bath-rooms, etc., testify to the existence of the former, that of the latter is attested by what we learn from the following observation of Sir John Marshall :- " Rubbish chutes or flues descending from the upper storeys were also constructed in the thickness of walls and were sometimes provided on the outside with a bin, which could be cleared by scavangers from the streets. "[1] When once the existence of scavangers is granted,— and it has to be for explaining this archaeological datum,— the conclusion is inescapable that the caste-system existed at least in an elementary form already in the Bronze Age culture of the Indus valley. It may also be granted that the scavangers represented the lowest stratum of the populace, and that the so-called " menials' quarters " that we find in Block 5 of the Section B in Area marked HR, and that " have no more than two rooms " [2] each, do not belong to this " scum, " but to some others, that had a somewhat higher social status than these " lowliest of the low. " What a great difference there must have existed between them and the members of the ruling classes or the chieftains, that regulated and controlled the civic life of such large cities as Harappa, Mohenjo-daro, Chanhu-daro, Ali Murad, etc. ! It is, then, not the " Āryans " (or the " Indo-Europeans "), that were responsible for introducing the caste-system into a " non-caste " social structure of India, as is sometimes supposed, but it is the people of the Indus Civilization (who are to be distinguished from the " Āryans " according to

[1] Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*. I, p. 16.
[2] Ibid., p. 17.

the arguments given below), that must be held responsible for this " social sin. " Again, it is out of real, historical or material causes that they evolved the elementary form of the caste-system, which could not be planted on this soil from abroad, by any ingenious devices of an enlightened, foreign priesthood, or by the sword of a foreign conqueror. If the " Āryans " did anything, it was to accentuate the historical process already in action in this soil. Their inability of introducing it elsewhere shows that this system was foreign to the " Āryans " themselves.

Nature of Political Organization

Yet, as stressed above, for want of decipherment, we cannot accurately describe either the social structure or the central political organization with any amount of certainty ; i. e., we cannot know the names of the various castes and sub-castes of of this period, nor can we ascertain for certain whether it was a "theocratic" rule, or a secular kingship, or an oligarchy. Speculations are rife among the archaeologists as to the nature of the body politic of this time, of course, on account of the inadequacy of material, and a want of thorough-going investigations, but these support partially each of these hypotheses, about the nature of the central political organization.

Miss Dorothy Mackay says:— " Dr. Wheeler has recently investigated ... a central mass of buildings among the ruins of Harappa, which he regards as a citadel and stronghold of a bureaucratic or priest-king regime. At Mohenjo-daro, there is some evidence that the regime was a theocracy, very similar in type to the contemporary theocracies of Sumer. " [1] Dr. Mackay himself, however, urged that " a large, straggling building has been discovered which *may have been a palace.* It is possible, however, that this was not a royal residence, for the city, being smaller than Harappa, may have been ruled by a governor. A governor could have carried on the administration from this building besides living in it, as there is ample accommodation, in addition to guard-room, servants ' quarters and a number of commodious storerooms. Other large and important buildings may also have been

[1] Mackay, *Early Indian Civilization*, p. xii-xiii. (Preface).

administrative centres."[1] This theory about governorship assumes the existence of an imperial authority, which through its army could exercise its control over distant towns,— a state of affairs, similar to that of Egypt and Mesopotamia, where powerful city-states, having conquered weaker ones and made them pay tributes, tried as far as possible to never allow them to grow big or to assert themselves. It is doubtful, in our opinion, if the same could be practised in respect of a big city like Mohenjo-daro, having quite a large number of wealthy noblemen in it,—as will be shown presently,—by a ruler living at such a distant place as, for instance, Harappa, although the latter may be bigger than the former. We must take into account the fact that Mohenjo-daro must not have been the only big city to be tackled by the potentate at Harappa or any other metropolis, and also another that the means of communications must not have been very well developed at that time, to enable him to put down immediately and with a strong hand any insurrection or attempt to assert their freedom by any of the powerful nobles living at such distant places.

We must also remember that it is easy for such a large and well-provisioned city as Mohenjo-daro, with the ability to purchase a sufficient number of bronze weapons, to resist the invasion of another bronze-equipped army, coming from afar. Harappa is, indeed, far removed from other prosperous and powerful cities like Mohenjo-daro, so that it would have been well-nigh impossible for a governor, equipped with a few battalions, to keep any of these latter cities under subjugation for a long time; and, there was also another danger if these governors were themselves allowed to possess big battalions, and to rule over such wealthy cities! The most natural hypotheses would, therefore, be those that envisage an independent local rule in each of these cities; and of these, the most satisfying would be those that are compatible with the evidence, unearthed by the archaeologist's spade at Mohenjo-daro, etc. and also with the evidence, left by later literary material, that can be mainly gather-

[1] Ibid., p. 14; also Mackay, *Indus Civilization*, p. 12. (Italics in the quotation, ours,) see below, p. 207.

ed from the Vedas, the grammatical work of Pāṇini, the information in the Pali texts and the accounts left by early Grecian and Roman writers, about the countries, known to the indigenous literature as the Sindhu-Sauvīras and the Vāhīkas.

It may be noted that what has been called "a palace" by Dr. Mackay is only one of the two most important buildings in the city (i. e., outside the area of the *stūpa*), that have so far come to light in the city of Mohenjo-daro, when we find it at its most prosperous, flourishing period. Indeed, archaeological evidence points to the so-called "palace" being the smaller of these two adjacent buildings, the other being declared to have been larger even "than either the Collegiate or Great Bath building," which may be described later. We learn that in the north of the city, on the northern side of the so-called Central Street, there is "a particularly imposing building," which "calls for further excavation before its nature can be established. This structure, which is about 242 feet by 112 feet, has outer walls over 5 feet thick. It seems not improbable that deeper excavation may reveal a building of even greater extent, for its northern and eastern walls reach the slope of the mound.... and it seems likely that this important building ... was erected at the zenith of the city's prosperity, and possibly upon a lofty mud-brick platform."[1] We are told further that only a "short distance south of it is *what was apparently a palace*, ... this was a large and important building of excellent masonry, arranged round two spacious courtyards, with servants' quarters, a number of storerooms, and in its earlier days, accommodation for metal workers as well. It is about 220 feet long and 115 feet wide, with walls in some places over 5 feet thick."[2]

Thus it is quite possible that these two most important buildings may have belonged to two of the wealthiest families, the "great households" of Mohenjo-daro, that also provided two chieftains to this oligarchical city-state. But then we must also take into account the *stūpa* area and the adjacent "Collegiate." What Dr. Mackay describes as the "most imposing of the great

[1] Mackay, *Early Indian Civilization*, p. 46-47.
[2] Ibid., 47. (Italics ours). See above p. 205-206.

buildings of Mohenjo-daro " lies unfortunately hidden beneath the *stūpa*. The existence of the *stūpa*, as also of an elevation of about 20 feet, on which this building appears to have been erected, and the close affinity between the Indus Valley civilisation and the Sumerian culture,—all these conspire to prove the existence of a sacred ziggurat-like structure at this place, that sanctified that place much prior to the erection of the *stūpa*. Indeed, " excavation has in fact already laid bare a number of buildings round about the *stūpa* mound, which can hardly be interpreted otherwise than as belonging to a great priestly corporation,[1] namely, a building of great size, measuring some 230 feet by 78 feet, immediately west of the *stūpa* mound, the rather smaller Great Bath building ... ... the curious series of (eight) bath-rooms to the north of the latter, and ... ... the remains of a large court north of the supposed temple ... ... The position of this court in relation to the supposed temple beneath the Buddhist *stūpa* recalls to mind the similar great court at Ur, between the quays and the House of Nannar. In that great khan-like court at Ur, it is thought, payments in kind were collected for the temple revenues. The same might be true of the great enclosure in this part of Mohenjo-daro.[2] " Again we learn that " Some distance to the south of the *Stūpa* mound in the L Area was a large building which was probably a feature of the commercial life of the city. This was a spacious hall, some 85 feet square, with a roof supported by twenty rectangular brick piers, set with great accuracy in four rows of five piers each...[3] " All this shows the great importance of the *Stūpa* area and of the *Ziggurat*-like structure, that in all likelihood lies hidden beneath the *Stūpa*. All this further makes clear that the various possibilities suggested above may each be supported by this or that argument, and that we can hardly arrive at any agreed conclusion, unless and until the script is satisfactorily deciphered.[4]

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[1] Apparently, the priests had a separate locality assigned to them.

[2] Ibid., p. 40f.

[3] Ibid., p. 45.

[4] Throughout all this discussion, it is taken for granted — primarily on account of our own ignorance — that Prof. B. Rhozny's attempt at deciphering this proto-Indic script is not satisfactory, despite what we urged in the Mother Goddess (See Preface to M. G.).

Typical of another class of important structures are two buildings, that are at once considerably smaller than those described above, but much bigger than the most ordinary ones, found in the city of Mohenjo-daro. These, indeed, appear to represent the households of the secondary rank of leadership in the town, whether it be military or commercial. One of these is Building No. VIII of HR Area, Section A, Block 3, which has a frontage of 85 feet and a depth of 97 feet, and has its outer walls from 4 to 5 feet in thickness. The other of these, Building No. XIII in the VS Area, has a frontage of 67 feet and a depth of about 80 feet. In this context, the following observations and conclusions of Prof. V. Gordon Childe, supplementing his observations given above (at the beginning of this discussion), become at least interesting:— "At Mohenjo-daro a building, occupying a whole block, provided with bath rooms and a porter's lodge and covering as much as 97 feet by 83 feet, may be contrasted with monotonous rows of mud-brick tenements, each consisting of only two rooms and a court, and not exceeding 56 feet by 30 feet in overall area. The contrast doubtless reflects a division of society into classes, but it would seem only into merchants or "business men," and labourers or artizans. A surprising wealth of ornaments of gold, silver, precious stones and faience, of vessels of beaten copper and of metal implements and weapons, has been collected from the ruins. Most appear to come from the houses ascribed to "rich merchants". (— These might as well have belonged to a powerful landed gentry or Sardārs of old. —S. K. D.). But a hoard of copper tools and gold bangles turned up in the "workmen's quarters" at Harappa. None are suggestive of royal treasures."[1] In this quotation, Prof. Childe omits any reference to either of the three biggest structures of Mohenjo-daro, mentioned above, and also to the smallest ones, of 30′ by 27′—which (as suggested above) could hardly have been the dwellings of the scavangers, and may not have been even of potters. The contrast presented by the lowest and the uppermost classes, therefore, does not merely reflect a common two-fold division of society between the 'rich' and the 'poor,' but a different type of division of society,—a four-fold one, with at least a few subdivisions,—that was

[1] Childe, *What Happened in History*, p. 113.

apparently created gradually in the peculiar conditions of India with the beginning of the working of the Copper Age economy. That the guildmen or families, belonging to different castes or professions, were made to dwell in different localities, in the caste-ridden society of India, is made clear by the Kauṭilīya Artha-śāstra, the work of Megasthenes, the Pāli texts, etc. And the Harappa Culture has apparently the same pattern.

The Indus Script

The pictographic script, found on the seals of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, is one of most noteworthy and at the same time intriguing features of the Bronze Age civilization of the Indus Valley. It is known to bear a close resemblance on the one hand to the early Sumerian and proto-Elamite scripts, and on the other hand to the pictographic scripts of the Easter Island (in the south Pacific Ocean) and the Lo-los (of the Yün-nan and Sze-ch'uan provinces of South China). On the basis of the former fact, a popular theory about racial connections between the Sumerians and the proto-Elamites on the one hand, and the authors of the Indus civilization on the other, has been put forth. This theory is, no doubt, supported by a good deal of archaeological evidence as well as anthropometrical data, that may not be detailed here. Nonetheless, a student of history must also bear in mind other possibilities, including those arising from the connection of the script of the Shang dynasty of the Bronze Age of China, and the Indus script, and also the fact that the Lo-los of China have been identified with the people who gave their name to the country of Lāla or Lāṭa, that is roughly identical with modern Gujarat excepting Kathiawar. Nor, indeed, should one forget, despite historical arguments to the contrary, the possibility of the derivation of the Brāhmī alphabet from the Indus script, which was long ago suggested by Prof. Langdon, and which has apparently served as the basis of the work of Prof. Pran Nath of Banaras and also, perhaps, of the distinguished efforts of Prof. Rhozny of Prague.

In this context certain observations, perhaps of no more worth than those of many of our predecessors, may be made here. In the "Sign List of the Indus Script," given in Marshall's

Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization, p. 434 f., occurs as No. 61, the figure of a "bow and arrow," and the "bow" is known as "dhanus" in Sanskrit, and the figure of the "bow" (as given in that simple pictograph) signifies in the Brāhmī script the letter "dha." Again, No. 59 of the same "Sign List" represents the figure of a "peacock," which is called "mayūra" in Sanskrit, and this figure is classified by the author of that list along with a number of others (Nos. 47 to 60), — quite rightly, we believe,—that with a change of position could be easily read as Brāhmī "ma," or a derivative thereof. Nos. 70, 72, 75, 76, 77 and 88[b] to 92 appear to form a single group representing variant forms of (or evolving out of) the same letter, which reminds one of the Brāhmī "ya"; of these signs, No. 70 and even Nos. 75, 76 and others, would show the union of two parts, or would represent a "twin"; and in Sanskrit, "yama," "yamaka," "yamala," etc. signify a "twin". Even if this is fanciful, it would be interesting to note that both the main types of Aśokan Brāhmī "ya" (with two limbs at the bottom or with only one limb), can be thus derived from the different forms of this sign in the Indus script. However that be, any serious attempt to multiply such instances is likely to land us in the realm of conjecture rather than of historical reality.

Quite a vast majority of the seals, that were unearthed at Mohenjo-daro and other sites were of steatite, but a number of them were of fâience, and a few others of pottery. Apart from the fact that writing originated as a result of commerce, or that the seals of Susa and some other localities are known to conform in weight to the Babylonian and other weight systems, there are some weighty considerations to prove that the seals had no mere amuletic significance, but that they represented authentic emblems of commercial transactions. Many similar seals in Mesopotamia are known to contain accounts of commercial dealing. The animals on these seals as well as other representations on them undoubtedly bore a sacred significance, connected with the cults of the Sky Father and the Earth Mother (or the Mother Goddess); and they may have vouchsafed the quantity and quality of the goods to which those seals were attached,

Dr. Hutton points out the probability that these seals were "primarily used for commerce, as cotton fabric bearing a seal impressed with an Indus Valley stamp has been recovered from a prehistoric site in Iraq."[1] Some of the seals, unearthed at Harappa, "have been considered by Hunter as receipts."[2]

Looking at the seals, it will be seen that many of them contain at the beginning of their inscriptions (as read from right to left) simple vertical strokes, that may be taken to represent numbers;—such strokes being in number: one, two, three, four or even more, and when more, being often placed in groups of twos or fours, one above the other. (In Kharoṣṭhī and in ancient Chinese such vertical strokes signify the numerals; and the same must be the case also in the Indus Valley script). Or, often, one may find at the beginning of an inscription what has been considered above as the proto-type of the Brāhmī letter "ya," i. e., the sign for two; or a wheel-like symbol, representing, perhaps, a cycle of four or five—this wheel-like symbol, of course, taking a number of forms, including an oval with a campartment at the top, and so forth. (See Nos. 219 to 234 in the "Sign List of the Indus Script"). It appears possible to derive the Brāhmī "cha" from this wheel-like symbol; and again the Sanskrit word for a "wheel" is "chakra". The "Sign List" would also show, as Nos. 219 to 220[b], symbols, which are of the same oval form, but without the inner compartment. The late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit has observed that "From a study of the hundreds of specimens discovered, it has been found that the system was binary and decimal, inasmuch as the weights rise generally in multiples of two and occasionally of five, the aberrant weights being few and far between."[3] On the basis of this weight-system, it is possible to assume that the 'chakra' symbolized the number *five* and not *four*. Further, as seen above, we find the number four represented by four straight vertical lines; so that it is natural to assume that it is number 5 rather than 4 that is represented by this symbol. We often find two empty ovals juxtaposed or joined together, or these or a wheel-like symbol

[1] Hutton, *Caste in India*, p. 135. *Early Indian Civilization*, p. 158.

[2] Dikshit, *Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley*, p. 43.

[3] Dikshit, *Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley*, p. 30

followed by one or more vertical strokes. All this appears to be in conformity with the idea of taking the " wheel-like symbol " for the number *five*. In Sanskrit literature, the words " śūnya " (cipher or zero) and " pūrṇa " (the whole, a cycle) appear to have conveyed the same sense, especially in philosophical discussions. It is well-known that the system of decimal numeration originated in India. In the light of the suggestions given above, the fact that the numeral system at Susa II " is exclusively decimal, never sexagesimal as in Sumer " [1] acquires an added significance. Further, it would thus be possible to trace the ancestry of the decimal system to the system of enumeration in the Indus civilization, and to trace the origin of the idea of a cipher to the " wheel-like symbol " found on the Indus seals.

Indus Seals

It is legitimate to suppose that the letters that follow these " numbers " contain some sort of accounts, or mention weights, prices, etc., or some other details of transactions. But all this fore-going discussion must be looked upon for the present more or less as speculative. Nonetheless, there is even otherwise sufficient evidence to prove that these seals were used for some commercial purpose. Engraving of sacred animals, symbols, and pictographic letters seems to have become an important art in the Indus Valley, that was practised there with a great distinction. Some such typical seals of undoubted " Indian workmanship " were found at various sites in Mesopotamia, including Kish, Ur, Umma, Tello, etc., and at Susa in Iran (or Persia). [2] Dr. Frankfort discovered at Tell Asmar an important seal of such a type, containing representation of some Indian animals, such as elephant, rhinoceros, crocodile (*makara* or *gharial*), etc., " none of which (it was at one time alleged) ever appears on Sumerian or Akkadian seals. " [3] Recently, however, another like seal is found at Ashnunak, which depicts the figure of a rhinoceros. Prof. C. J. Gadd has published another seal, round

[1] Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, p. 243.

[2] Mackay, *Early Indian Civilization*, p. 146f.

[3] Ibid., p. 147. Frankfort, *Archaeology and the Sumerian Problem*. (Ori. Inst. of the Univ. of Chicago: Studies in Anc. Ori. Civilization, No. 4).

in shape and found in the pre-dynastic cemetery at Ur of the Chaldees, which contains the representation of a humped, short-horned bull, that betrays its Indian origin.[1]

A few other seals, that also appear to be of Indian workmanship, and that contain the peculiar pictographs and other devices, etc., found on the Indus seals, are known from other localities in Mesopotamia and elsewhere. Some of these, like the Tell Asmar seal of Dr. Frankfort, are known to have been accompanied by "other objects apparently Indian in origin," like the "pieces of bone inlay of peculiar shape."[2] The commercial and cultural contact, between the Indus Valley and other countries of the Bronze Age, could be visualized also from another type of evidence, made available by the seals. Writing about the peculiar "rayed Sun motif," Prof. Mackay says:—"It has been said that this solar sign does not occur on pottery from Mohenjo-daro, but something akin to it has been found there carved on a seal. This is a six-rayed object with one ray terminating at the head of a horned animal..... No examples of this radiant form of the sun-disc appear on Sumerian or Elamite pottery though it is known on Sumerian seals, from Tell Asmar and Kish, and again on seals from Susa."[3] Again, we learn that a motif of concentric square, that may have been regarded as magical and that is found at Tell Asmar by Prof. Frankfort, is "duplicated on the ancient Indus seals."[4]

Similarity in Arts and Crafts in Sumer and the Indus Valley

We may now turn our attention to the general similarity between the arts and crafts of the Indus Valley and those of the Euphrates Valley. For this purpose, we shall only juxtapose the observations of various authorities about their respective fields, which bring out briefly the richness and diversity attained by the arts and crafts of both these countries, probably in close cultural contact or co-operation with each other.:—

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[1] "Seals of Ancient Indian Style found at Ur." (*Proc. British Academy*, XVIII)

[2] Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, p. 7.

[3] Mackay, *Chanhu-daro Excavations*, p. 95f.

[4] Mackay, *Early Indian Civilization*, p. 150.

Prof. E. A. Gardner observes :—" The finest examples of handicraft come from the royal tombs (of Mesopotamia) ..... But they show the highest skill in design and technique, both in metal, mostly gold and silver, and in inlaid work in various materials.[1]" Another aspect of that civilization is stressed by Prof. V. Gordon Childe in the following :—" Among the Sumerians, vessels of gold, electrum, silver, copper, alabaster, obsidian, lapis lazuli, and ostrich-shell, had ousted fine pottery from the tables of the wealthy, while the friezes of animals painted on the prediluvian clay vases have been replaced by the processions carved in low relief in the stone vessels. Sumerian pottery was a thorough factory product, but technically of good quality, hard-burnt, drab in colour and turned on the wheel.[2]" Again, the " ear-rings, necklaces, diadems, pendants illustrate better than anything else the supreme skill of the Sumerian goldsmiths and so give a welcome indication of the level of civilization attained.[3] "

We have already spoken of the pottery of the Indus Valley, that is well comparable to that of the Sumerians. As to the other aspects noted in the afore-quoted observations, especially those noted by Prof. Childe, they may be aptly compared with those referred to in the following remarks of the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit about the culture of the inhabitants of the Indus Valley :- " The love of bedecking the body with ornaments, to which the women of India have always shown considerable weakness, is amply illustrated by the variety and richness of the jewellery and beads found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Every known variety of semi-precious stone was pressed into service, and all known metals, such as gold, silver, electrum, copper and bronze, besides faience, shell, and terracotta, were utilized for satisfying the needs of the different classes of people. Several hoards of jewellery, placed in vessels of silver, copper and bronze have been discovered besides a number of isolated finds.....This (one such hoard) contained, besides gold pins, large silver ear-rings and other ornaments, two fine girdles of carnelian beads.....The way in which the carnelian beads have been polished and perforated

[1] *An Outline of Modern Knowledge*, p. 538. Cf. supra, p. 171.
[2] Childe, *The Most Ancient East*, 181.
[3] Ibid. p., 190.

bespeaks great technical advance.....Bracelets must have been rather common, one of the finest examples consisting of six strings of gold beads with semi-circular gold terminals at each end.....Bangles have been manufactured in a variety of materials including gold, silver, copper, faience, shell, and terracotta.[1]"

The music of the Sumerian courts is made known to us by the buried treasures of the royal graves at Ur. We find there the royal harpist as well as the entertaining girls of the harem, accompanied by their harps even in their "life after death." The origin of stringed instruments like the harp must undoubtedly have been suggested by the bow. The harp was a popular instrument in the Bronze Age, and it can be traced among the Egyptians, the Sumerians, the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Elamites, the Persians, etc. In respect of the popularity of music among the Sumerians, considerable light is thrown by Prof. Francis W. Galpin in his *The Music of the Sumerians, etc.* (Cambridge, 1937), wherein a number of Sumerian musical instruments, including harps, are treated. The results of his investigations have been touched upon briefly by many scholars. According to Prof. V. Gordon Childe, the Sumerians had in their temples "a regular orchestra of drums, rattles, flutes, horns, trumpets and harps."[2] Prof. R. Campbell Thompson also says:— "To the temple (of the Sumerians) were attached many musicians and singers, who formed choirs to play on lyres, tambourines, reed-pipes, cymbals and perhaps bag-pipes, and chant in unison."[3] Music has ever been the pride of Indian civilization, and even in the Bronze Age, the Indians appear to have been as much fond of this art as the Sumerians. In this connection, the following observation of the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, who was himself an authority in the difficult art of modern Indian music, is worthy of citation:— "... it seems probable that the earliest stringed instruments and drums (with which to keep rhythm in accompaniment with the music), are to be traced to the Indus civilization. In one of the terracotta figures, a kind of

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[1] Dikshit, *Prehistoric Civilization etc.* p. 26-27. Note the use of electrum here as in Sumer.

[2] *Childe, What happened in History*, p. 124.

[3] Cambridge Ancient History, vol., I, p. 533.

drum is to be seen hanging from the neck, and on two seals we find a precursor of the modern *mṛdaṅga* with skins at either end. Some of the pictographs appear to be representations of a crude stringed instrument, prototype of the modern *bīnā*; while a pair of castanets, like the modern *karatāla*, have also been found. "[1]

All such details would only strengthen the hypothesis that there was an intense culture-contact between the countries, Indus Valley and Mesopotamia, or even that the culture of these two regions was largely the same,—whether this was due to their authors belonging to the same racial stock, or to the Sumerians being an important section of the population of the Indus Valley, or to mere trading. Both the Sumerians and the Indus Valley people were great commercial nations. And if the Sumerians were the precursors of the Phoenicians, the successors of the Indus Valley people (if not the latter themselves), appear to have been connected with the Paṇis, whom a number of writers, including the present author,[2] have sought to identify with the Phoenicians. We shall refrain here from touching upon the problem of racial connections between the people of the valleys of the two rivers, the Indus and the Euphrates, except for drawing attention to the conclusions of the two authorities, Col. Sewell and Dr. Guha, who have sought to prove that the Proto-Australoids and the Mediterraneans comprised the vast majority of the populace of the metropolis of Mohenjo-daro. They were both dolichocephalic, and, according to Dr. Mackay, "they agree in many ways with skulls found by Woolley at al-'Ubaid, by the writer at Kish, and also at Anau, Nal, and other sites.[3] "

It is unnecessary to dilate here upon the commercial contact, that was built up and maintained by the people of the two valleys, after the evidence of the pottery forms and motifs and the seal-amulets has been cited. But we may briefly indicate the evidence from other spheres of life also. In his *Hibbert Lectures*, Prof. Sayce pointed out long ago that Indian teak was exhumed in the ruins of Ur of the Chaldees, and that it belonged to a very

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[1] Dikshit, *Pre-historic Civilization etc.*, p. 30.

[2] Read *The Mother Goddess* (1943, Poona) (See "Paṇis" and "Phoenicians" in the Index).

[3] Mackay, *Early Indian Civilization*, p. 153.

early date. Again the word *Synthos* (*Sindhu*) is found mentioned, according to him, in an old Accadian list of articles brought from afar ; and it evidently signifies, in the context, cotton cloth, apparently brought from the valley of the river Sindhu (or Indus).[1] The debt, that the Mesopotamians owed to the Indus people in matters of architecture, is emphasised by the researches of Sir John Marshall and others :—" At Ur ... Mr. Woolley has unearthed a group of moderate-sized houses of burnt brick, which constitute a notable exception to the general rule ; but these disclose such a striking similarity to the small and rather loosely built structures of the latest levels at Mohenjo-daro, that there can be little doubt as to the influence under which they were erected.[2] " It is, indeed, more logical to suppose that the highly developed architecture of the Indus Valley cities influenced that of the Mesopotamian cities, rather than that the opposite took place.

Such influence is, indeed, seen in ideological sphere also. Prof. Childe has recently stated :— " So a scene carved by a local Sumerian artist on a vase, recovered from a ruined city on the Diyala, depicts an Indian cult being celebrated apparently in a local shrine in Akkad. If cults were thus transmitted useful arts and crafts could be diffused just as easily. " [3] Corroborating this is the fact, noted by us above about the find of typical Indus seals at Tell Asmar, Ur, and other sites of the West. They would betray not only considerable import of commercial product in that region, but, perhaps, even religious influence of the authors of the Indus civilization. The authentic nature of the transactions, made under the auspices of the sacred divinities found in animal forms on the seals, was in all probability recognized without hesitation by the traders of the West. It is, we believe, made amply clear in our work, *The Mother Goddess*, that there was essentially little difference between the forms of religion prevalent in different countries of the Copper and Bronze Age, or between the divinities worshipped in different lands in those days. This factor must have made it not very difficult for local elements of any country in the Near East to accept slightly

[1] *Hibbert Lectures* (1887, published in 1909), p. 137, ; I. H. Q., I, p. 696.
[2] Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, I, preface, p. vi.
[3] Childe, *What Happened in History*, p. 86-87.

different religious ideas and creeds from the trading elements and their spiritual guides of India. That India must have also imbibed a number of religious ideas and mythical tales about divinities through a similar process is also equally certain. Thus, if we find that India contributed some new or advanced ideas in the field of religion and mythology in the ancient civilized world, it is also true that India borrowed others from that world.

Another intriguing feature of the civilization is presented by what is known as "the Great Granary of Harappa," which consists of two large buildings, that are separated from each other by a distance of 17 feet. Each of these buildings contains half a dozen large halls,—each hall, being separated from the adjacent ones by a distance of about 5½ feet. Each of these large halls is 17 feet broad, and about thrice as much long. Since the upper portions of these buildings have totally disappeared, the existing portions near the base have the appearance of "parallel walls"[1] so that these buildings themselves are often described by archæologists as the "Parallel Walls". Since their construction resembles that of some large granaries in Crete and other countries, they have been also described as the "Great Granaries" or the "Great Granary" of Harappa,—undoubtedly, with a number of arguments in favour of this description. This Great Granary, which measures *in toto* about 150 feet by 56 feet, need not necessarily be a Royal Granary, and it may have well belonged to an oligarchical institute, such as the one envisaged above. It may have been a store-house of an oligarchical state, from which the civil and military officials of the state received their payment in kind, and the surplus in which was used in times of scarcity and famine, even for the use of the general populace and the workers. Indeed, it is dfficult to imagine that it could have served the needs only of the Royal Family, or even of the oligarchical "great households." It is more probable that this represents something like a state granary, on which depended the administrative and executive staff of that state, including the warriors, the scribes, the priests, etc.

[1] S. K. Dikshit, *Sindhu-nadī-varil Saṁskṛiti* (in Marathi, 1946, March), p. 24.

Disposal of the Dead : Cremation

Another important aspect witnessed at Harappa concerns the systems of the disposal of the dead, prevalent in that locality. Since cremation forms the most important of these systems, and since this form of the disposal of the dead became the most current in the "Hindu" India,—that is, since we obtain here the earliest example of cremation in a country, where it became the most popular method of the disposal of the dead, the question of cremation in Harappa assumes somewhat of an unusual importance, so that it needs be treated at some length, and in its proper context. Since cremation was current not only among the people of India, speaking Sanskritic tongues, but also among the Homeric Greeks, the question, whether this is in origin an "Āryan" (correctly, "Indo-European") institution or not, becomes very interesting. The answer to it, if clear, may have a bearing on another question as to whether these "Indo-Europeans" had anything to do with the authors of the Indus civilization or not.

There is also a much-mooted question (—or, perhaps, a question not so much mooted to-day as it was formerly), as to whether it was in the late Neolithic Age, or it was in the beginning of the 'Copper or Bronze Age,' that the practice of cremation came into existence.[1] It is well-known that the megalithic monuments of Great Britain and Denmark point to a highly developed state of neolithic economy. A look at those monuments will probably convince the spectator that the neolithic man, obsessed as he was by his "spiritual" notion about the life after death, could not have continued building such monuments for funerary purposes in all countries, including those where tremendous growth of agricultural production had enabled him to grow his race to an enormous proportion (— of course, *vis-a-vis* the potentialities of neolithic economy). It is just possible, therefore,—and this is supported by archaeological evidence,—that it is in the Neolithic Age itself, that in some countries he found it advisable to discontinue the practice of building up megalithic monuments, at least in later days, if for nothing else, then at any rate for the

[1] En. Brit. (14), II. pg 251.

sake of preserving himself. It is authoritatively stated that "Cremated remains have recently been found in Belgium in a neolithic settlement.[1]" It is also stated that "it (= cremation) appears almost (though not quite) at the beginning of the lake-dwelling occupation of the Alpine region, and is also characteristic of the painted-ware culture in Ukraine.[2]"

A recent authoritative pronouncement on this subject has been made by Prof. Gordon Childe in the following words:— "Meanwhile, a third method of disposal of the dead,—cremation—had enjoyed a wide vogue, at least in Europe. Practised already by neolithic societies in the British Isles, Brittany, Switzerland, and Central Germany, and perhaps also in Greece, Syria and Palestine, cremation became the favourite burial method in the Middle-Late Bronze Age (from 1400 B. C.), and in Spain and Upper Italy, too, by the Early Iron Age (from 1000 B. C.): It was practised also at Troy on the Dardanelles, Carchemish on the Euphrates, and occasionally in Crete and Greece, between 1400 and 1100 B. C. In the first millenium B. C. both cremation and inhumation were practised in most Greek and Italic cities; the Celts in Western Europe were generally inhumed, while the Teutons in the north still cremated.[3]" That author then goes on to prove how it was not an "Āryan" rite,—neither confined to the "Āryans," nor prevalent among all, or even most of the "Āryans." (By his "Āryans," we are to understand the "Indo-Europeans" and not their eastern branch, the "Indo-Iranians)."

Whatever that be, the practice of cremation, or of burial of cremated remains, etc., appears to have been current in a number of countries, at least in the 'Copper and Bronze Age.' What could not be preserved had to be ceremoniously, sanctimoniously, or sacrificially destroyed. And yet, the system of burial could not often be totally discarded. Thus, often there was a compromise between the two systems of burial and cremation. They buried the cremated remains of the dead. And as custom dies hard, in many countries, especially those in the back-waters of civiliza-

[1] Ibid.

[2] Cambridge Ancient History, I, p. 110.
Childe, *Progress and Archaeology*, p. 81-82.

tion, the system of burial and even of erecting magalithic monuments continued during the Bronze Age. What this system of burial, with sacredness attached to it, has meant in the long run in some populous countries like China is too well-known to expatiate upon.

In India, we see the existence of numerous practices in matters of burial, especially in the South. We also see that in the North, —i. e., at Harappa, etc., — more than one practice was current in the field of cremation. At Harappa, for instance, Pt. M. S. Vats unearthed "more than 120 burial-pots from the upper stratum, and beneath them a series of entirely different earth-burials," from a "culvert-like structure" and other places in the cemetery. The excavator goes on to inform us that in the case of the earth-burials, "the corpses, entire or fractional, were laid in graves in the ground accompanied as a rule but not invariably by funeral pottery consisting of water-pots, bowls, offerings' dishes (offering-dishes), or plates, saucers, flat covers, flasks, round vases, etc.[1]" In the pot-burials, the pots contained human remains, placed directly at the bottom, and usually filling no more than the lower half thereof. These pots were of various shapes and sizes, ranging in height from about 10 inches to about 2 feet. "All burial pots were originally covered or stoppered with inverted bowls, vases, handled lids, pot-sherds or bricks, and occasionally the lid was further secured by covering it with a sherd."[2] Here we possess clear evidence as to the "complete burials" being gradually supplanted by "fractional (or partial) burials." At Nal, both the practices,— of "complete" and "fractional" (or partial) burials,— were current in one and the same period.[3] Thus, it would be permissible to hold that in the ancient civilized regions, in and about the Indus Valley, the beginning of the system of cremation is to be placed in the Bronze Age,— or in the so-called "Chalcolithic Age,"—rather than in the Neolithic Age.

Lastly, we may note that it is characteristic of the Indus Valley civilization that cemeteries here do not yield that sort of rich material, which is to be found in the Bronze Age cemeteries of

1 M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa* (1940), I. p. 204.
Ibid., p. 204f.
2 Revealing India's Past, p. 103.

other countries. Gold and silver have been found in the Indus Valley sites in " living quarters, " and not in the cemeteries, and this may not be *altogether* due to the fact noticed above that probably here there were no all-powerful sovereigns of the Bronze Age. This custom rather bespeaks a different system of philosophy,—a philosophy of rebirth or regeneration (*punar-janma*), that is inseparably connected with that of *karma* : This philosophy made it not only unnecessary, but even preposterous or improper in the eyes of its adherents to preserve intact the life-less remains of flesh and bones, or to enrich the cemeteries with rich furniture. This philosophy was, moreover, quite in keeping with the social structure of the Indus Valley, based on the caste-system. The philosophy of regeneration and *karma* is, indeed, a peculiar product of the caste-system. It is peculiar to India.

Similarities and Distinctions in Bronze Age Culture Types

We have indicated above how the ' Copper and Bronze Age ' civilization spread in all probability from the Indus Valley to the Gaṅgā-Jamunā doab. In this connection, we also noticed the similarity betrayed by the copper axes found in these regions on the one hand, and those found in the Gungeria hoard on the other. Archaeologists are at times wont to overmphasize similarities existing between various products of the same age, belonging to various localities; but even in such cases, their typographical likeness cannot be denied. In the case of the Gungaria hoard, one savant goes as far as to state that the " specimens with the most widely splayed edge (in that hoard), closely resembles an Irish bronze in the National Museum of Ireland ; while other examples recall Babylonian, Egyptian, and even Peruvian patterns. On the whole, they resemble Irish specimens more closely than those of any other country.[1] " But if we must guard ourselves against drawing from such similarities any erroneous conclusions, regarding the exact dates of the objects in question, or regarding anything like a direct intercourse, etc., between two very distant regions like India and Ireland, there is little that should stand against further research in the direction of finding

[1] *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1909), II. 97.

out connecting links between such culture-types. Indeed, it has already been noticed by a number of scholars that over vast areas, where Bronze Age culture existed, a striking similarity is to be observed between various culture-products, implements, weapons, or utensils. And yet it is to be admitted that never before, neither in the Palaeolithic Age, nor in the Neolithic Age, were so many different types and varieties in their products observable. Indeed, the following observation by an eminent authority may not be an exaggerated statement, in the case of certain orthodox weapons, though at first sight it is likely to appear as such :— "As regards tools and weapons, the bronze age exhibits far more types than are met with during the much longer period in which iron and steel have been in use. This is especially true for axes, spearheads, daggers, and swords.[1] "

[1] Encyclopaedia Brit. (14), II. p. 247f.

MIA. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS WITH UNASSIMILATED *R* AS PRESERVED IN GUJARATI

BY

H. C. BHAYANI

1 Besides the more prevalent MIA. phonetic tendency of assimilating groups of the type < consonant + *r* >, there obtains, from the earliest stages of MIA., a parallel though minor tendency of preserving *r* in such groups. The dialect of the Aśokan inscription at Girnar provides some instances of retaining such an *-r-*. Later on, in the Classical Prakrit stage, though quite rarely do we come across such vocables in literature, all the Pk. grammarians make the preservation of the specific group *-dr-* optional in general, but obligatory in particular words. Similarly for the Late Prakrit or Apabhraṁśa stage retention of the vowel *ṛ* and groups like < consonant + *r* >, and interpolation of an inorganic *-r-* are said to be its general or dialectal characteristics by the grammarians. Over and above the cases illustrative of these phenomena occurring in the stanzas cited by the grammarians, Puspadanta's Apabhraṁśa epic Mahāpurāṇa[1] (*C.* 954 A. C.) contains numerous such instances. Some of its Mss., which, according to the editor, preserve the oldest text tradition, show vocables with *ṛ* and conjuncts having *r* as a latter member. It is the first Apabhraṁśa text so far discovered to bear out substantially the statements of grammarians on this point.

2 Dr. Ghatage has studied this MIA. phonetic peculiarity at length in a paper[2] which he contributed to the Twelfth Session of the All India Oriental Conference. There he has considered the views of Jacobi, Alsdorf and Upadhye on the significance of this MIA. trait; has distinguished between two varieties of Apabhraṁśa conjuncts with *r* — one that does not render the

[1] Ed. P. L. Vaidya, MJDG, 1937-1941.

[2] A. M. Ghatage, *An unassimilated group in Apabhraṁśa*, Report of the 12th Session of All India Oriental Conference, Prakrit and Jainism Section (1943-44), pp. 444-463.

preceding vowel metrically heavy, the other that does so —, and has come to the following conclusion: 'The light conjuncts of the normal Apabhraṁśa cannot be taken as a dialectal feature and may or may not represent an earlier stage of growth with reference to the assimilated forms of Apabhraṁśa itself and the Prakrits. Their relation to the other Apabhraṁśa forms may be that of archaic survival among the current usage and in their limited sense, they may be earlier, but their priority to the Prakrit forms remains doubtful. It is however possible that *r*-groups of the heavy type were a dialectal feature of Vrācaḍa Apabhraṁśa'.

3 The purpose of the present discussion is to see whether any of Dr. Ghatage's conclusions is borne out or modified in some way in the light of the evidence supplied by one of the NIA. language — an evidence that has remained unutilized by him.

4 Gujarati-Rajasthani and Western Hindi above all other NIA. languages are known to have been very intimately related with Apabhraṁśa. They have inherited a substantial part of the language — material that is characteristic of Apabhraṁśa. As such they can prove of inestimable value for solving many problems connected with Apabhraṁśa. Let us take for instance the interpolation of an inorganic *r*, which is mentioned by Prakrit grammarians as a peculiar trait of Apabhraṁśa phonology. The *Mahāpurāṇa* contains several instances of this sort:

vruha- (for *vuha-* = *budha-*) 16, 11, 7[a]
Vrāsa- (for *Vāsa-* = *Vyāsa-*) 98, 8, 6[a].
vrahiya- (for *vahiya-* = *vadhita-*) 99, 3, 5[b], etc.

Gujarati has a number of such words, either loans or derived from Sanskrit, with an inorganic *r* inserted in them. As can be gathered from Table 1 below, such an *r* appears in the initial as well as non-initial syllable.

Table 1

Sanskrit Loans:

ṭ(r)aṭ(h)	for	Sk.	*taṭa-*
cātruk-	„	„	*cātaka-*
jaditr[a]	„	?	*jadita-*

d(r)uṣṭ^{a}	for	Sk.	*duṣṭa-*
Kālindri	,,	,,	*Kālindī*
gandhrap	,,	,,	*gandhaka-*
śrāp	,,	,,	*śāpa-*
ś(r)imant^{a}	,,	,,	*sīmanta-*
sarāṇ (fem.) cf.		,,	*śāṇa-*

Tadbhavas :

karoḍ	from	Sk.	*koṭi-*
ṭ(r)ãbũ	,,	,,	*tāmra-*
ṭ(r)uṭh^{a}*vũ*	,,	,,	*tuṣṭa-*
dh(r)uj^{a}*vũ*	,,	,,	*dhūyate*
sãdhruk^{a}*vũ*	,,	,,	*sam+dhukṣ-*
[1]*bharakh*^{a}*vũ*	,,	,,	*bhakṣ-*

As indicated by putting *r* in brackets, some of the vocables in Table 1 are also having a doublet without *r*.

5 The occurrence of these words in Gujarati is indicative of the fact that Gujarati phonetic system can tolerate *r*-conjuncts. This can be further supported by a comparison of certain cognate vocables of Gujarati and Hindi. Table 2 below shows that the Gujarati vocables have preserved the *r* from an original conjunct, while the corresponding Hindi vocables have assimilated it.

Table 2

Sans.	Guj.	W. Hindi
kṣetra-	*khetar* or *khet*	*khet*
khātra-	*khātar*	*khāt*
chatra-	*chat*^{a}*ri*	*chātā*

[1] The phonetic process involved in this is well-known as hyperurbanization. The popular idea of Sk. has been that it is a language abounding in *r*-conjuncts and nasalized sounds. For imitating Sk., therefore, one has just to rhotacize and nasalize some vocables of his vernacular. Further since an *r*-conjunct of Sk. mostly underwent assimilation in Sanskrit-derived languages, not only some Tadbhavas but even some correct Sk. vocables without any *r*-conjunct were looked upon as having lost their *r* by vulgarisation and they were improved upon or hypersankritized by insertion of an *r* in one of their consonants. The vocables in Table 1 are the result of such a process. They are hyper forms (loans) and partial back-formations (*tadbhavas*).

patra-	*pāt^{a}rũ*	*pattā*
dātra-	*dātar^{a}-dũ*	*dāṭī*
bhrātrīyaka-	*bhat^{a}rijo*	*bhatījā*
∨ *mūtr-*	*mutar^{a}vũ*	*mut^{a}nā*
sūtra-	*sutar*	*sūt*
[1]*trīṇi*	*traṇ*	*tīn*
drākṣā-	*d(h)arākh*	*dākh*
Bhādrapada-	*bhādar^{a}ro*	*bhādō*
kodrava-	*kod^{a}rā*	*kodō*
dūrvā- (Apa. *dova-*)	*d(h)aro*	*dūb*
haridrā	*haḷ^{a}dar* or *haḷad*	*halad*
∨ *dru+aḍa-*	*d(h)rod^{a}vũ*	*dauṛanā*
prasveda-	*par^{a}sevo*	*pasev*
prāghūrṇaka-	*prāhuṇo, paroṇo*	*pāhunā*
?	*nisar^{a}ṇi*	*nisenī*
?	*candar^{a}vo*	*cand^{a}rvā*

The list of *r*-preserving Gujarati vocables can be swelled by including the following :—

Table 3

Guj.	Skt.
tar^{a}ṇũ	*tṛṇa-* (enlarged with *'kaḥ svārthe*)
[2]*tar^{a}bhāṇũ*	*tri+bhājana-* (enlarged)
citar^{a}vũ	∨ *citr-*
truṭ^{a}vũ	∨ *truṭ-*
-ot^{a}rī in vocables like *lilot^{a}rī, janmot^{a}rī etc.*	*-patrikā*
par^{a}nāḷ	*praṇāti-*
par^{a}vāḷũ	*pravāla-* (enlarged)

[1] Sk. *tri-* preserves its *r*-element in most of the Gujarati cardinals, ordinals and other compound words containing it in a derivative form.

[2] There are numerous Guj. compounds containing the element *tar-*.

par^{a}māṇũ	*pramāṇa-* (**enlarged**)
prī (Apa. *priu*)	*priya*
āś^{a}ro	*āśraya-*
dhru (Apa. *dhrub*)	*dhruva*

7 If we go into the history of this type of Gujarati words, it will become clear that they fall into two different groups according as (1) they have been borrowed from Sanskrit in the post-Apabhraṁśa stage and then partially modified under the influence of the then prevalent pronunciation, or (2) they have come down following the regular course of evolution (from OIA., through MIA., down to NIA.). Of these two groups, the first will have no probative value in deciding the question of the significance of *r*–conjuncts in Apabhraṁśa, because being post-Apabhraṁśa *ardha-tatsama* loans they have nothing to do with the MIA. stage. So we shall consider the other group whose evolution necessarily presupposes the activity of MIA. phonetic tendencies.

1 *varu* wolf

The course of evolution would be something like *vṛkaḥ* : **vruo* : **vruu* : *virū* : *varu*.

2 *taruũ* (Old Guj.) tin-sheet

Sk. *trapu-* changes its *-p-* to *-v-* in MIA. (which is dropped altogether in the NIA. stage), gets extended and becomes *taruũ*.

3 *trījũ* third

Its *-j-* and loss of *-t-* presupposes an intervening stage wherein *-y-* of Sk. *tṛtīyaka-* has changed to *-j-* and *-t-* is elided.

trij (Sk. *tṛtīyā-*) and *traṇ* (Sk. *trīṇi*) are to be explained on the same lines.

4 *bhatrījo* nephew.

Sk. *bhrātṛīyakaḥ*. *-y-* > *-j-* is characteristic of the MIA. stage.

5 *haḷ^{a}dar* turmeric

Sk. *haridrā-*. cf. Pk. *haladdā-*.

6 *par^{a}sevo* perspiration

Sk. *prasveda-*. The *v* in the Guj. word represents the *va-śruti* of the Apabhraṁśa stage.

7 *bhādar*^{a}*vo* the month of Bhādrapada

Sk. *Bhādrapadaḥ*. The change *-p-* > *-v-* is characteristic of the MIA. stage.

8 *jotar*^{a}*vũ* to yoke

Denominative from Sk. *yoktra-*. *-ktra-* > *-tra-* presupposes the MIA. stage.

9 *ãtar*^{a}*ḍī* small entrail

Ap. has *antraḍī* which is derived from Sk. *antra-* enlarged in MIA. with *-dī*.

10 *tãtar*^{a}*vũ* to subdue

Sk. √ *tantr-*.

11 *notar*^{a}*vũ* to invite

Sk. *ni* + < *mantr-*. Old. Guj. *nihũtrai*.

12 *parāṇo* stick

Probably from Sk. *prājana-* enlarged with *-ka-*. Old. Guj. records *pirāṇau*. Elision of *-j-* and the transformation *-n-* > *-ṇ-* are associated with the MIA. stage.

13 *d(h)roḍ*^{a}*vũ* to run

Sk. ∨ *dru*, *drav-*, enlarged in MIA. as **drauḍa-*, would become *drauḍa* in Old Guj. and *droḍa* or *dhroḍa* in Mod. Guj.

14 *dharo* pool of water

Sk. *hrada-*, Pk. *draha-*, Ap. *drahu-*.

15 *d(h)aro* panic grass

Sk. *dūrvā-* appears as *dova-* in Apa. A doublet *drova-* should be assumed which would give Old. Guj. **dro*, Mod., Guj. *daro*, *dharo*.

16 *triyā* woman

A loan word from Apa., derived from Sk. *strī-* enlarged in MIA.

pādar (Sk. *padra-*) outskirts of a village, *paroṇo* (Sk. *prāghūrṇaka-*) guest, *praśnorā* (Sk. *prasannapura-kaḥ*) a Nāgar subcaste, etc. can be further cited to swell the list. But the material described so far is sufficient for our purpose.

8 These vocables have a conjunct with *r* in their source-form; they have preserved that *r* in their current form; and looking to the phonetic transformation they have undergone as a whole, it is necessaay to assume their passing through the MIA. stage during their course of evolution. Now the specimen of the earliest phase of the MIA. that is available to us in the language of Aśokan Inscriptions is seen to retain dialectally some unassimilated *r*-conjuncts; for Classical Prakrits also grammarians have recorded some cases of such a retention of *r*; and Late MIA. or Apabhraṁśa is characteristically associated with *r*-conjuncts as can be gathered from the statements of Prakrit grammarians and from some Apabhraṁśa texts. In all these stages including the Modern Gujarati, cases of assimilation of such an *r* (even in one and the same word) occur side by side with those of preservation of the *r*. Considering all this the conclusion is obvious that this tendency of preserving groups of consonants with *r* as a latter member was a dialectal trait—a regional characteristic—of Apabhraṁśa.

9 One more point. As mentioned at the outset, from the evidence supplied by Apabhraṁśa texts and by Rudraṭa and other authorities, Dr. Ghatage has concluded that the *r*-conjuncts of Apabhraṁśa had two different phonetic values. In some cases these conjuncts were light, that is to say, they were so pronounced as not to render the preceding vowel metrically heavy. The conjuncts of the other sort were just like Sanskrit conjuncts, making the vowel preceding them metrically heavy. The light conjuncts could tolerate a long vowel before them. The heavy conjuncts shortened it. Now consider the Guj. words like *pāt^{a}rũ*, *pādar* and *bhatrījo*. *patra-* and *padra-* are respectively the Skt. originals of Guj. *pāt^{a}rũ* and *pādar*. If the latter were post-Apabhraṁśa loans, their forms would be *pat^{a}rũ* and **padar*. The long vowel of the Guj. derivatives can be explained only on the assumption that it is the result of the simplification of the MIA. conjunct and the

compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel in the NIA. Accordingly Sk. *patra-* enlarged in the MIA. would give **patram*, **patraũ̯* which if pronounced as **pattraũ̯* would yield **pātraũ̯* and ultimately *pātarũ*. Similarly *padra-*, **padro*, **padru* i. e. **paddru*, *pādru* and *pādar*. The shortening of the original long vowel in Guj. *bhatrījo* as compared with Skt. *bhrātrīyaka-* can be explained only on the ground of the heavy pronunciation of *-tr-* in the MIA. stage *tãtar^{a}vũ* (∨ *tantr-*) also belongs here.

In the light of this analysis we can conclude that the unassimilated MIA. group of consonants with *r* which some of the *r*-preserving words of Gujarati presuppose were pronounced in a heavy fashion, which possibly was, as Dr. Ghatage has stated, a characteristic of Vrācaḍa Apabhraṁśa.

NĀGĀNANDA AND ITS SOCIAL BACKGROUND

By

N. Aiyaswami Sastri

King Harṣa is credited with having composed three well-known dramas of which the Nāgānanda ranks very high among best compositons of Indian theatre. The Nāgānanda is a Nāṭaka type of drama and its theme is a welknown one chosen from the ancient Buddhist-Jātaka stories. The chief emotion (*Rasa*) is according to Ānandavardhana Śānta, while, it is Śṛngāra for those who do not accept Śānta as one of the main emotions.[1]

The following is the plot of the play. The hero, Jīmūtavāhana, a Vidyādhara-Prince who is also a Bodhisattva, deeply swayed by sentiments of serving others' needs and of universal love, relinquishes his kingdom to serve his aged parents who retired in the forest of Malaya mountain. There he falls in love with and marries the daughter of the ruler of Siddhas. Roaming out by chance he heard that the King of the Serpents made peace with Garuḍa and stipulated to offer a Serpent each day to him. The Prince being moved at heart resolves to save the life of that day's victim even at the risk of his own. This intention he manages to carry out without being known to the rescued serpent himself, who crying out to Garuḍa to save the hero leads the parents and wife of the prince to where he is in the pangs of death. Garuḍa finding out his mistake from unusual behaviour of the victim is overpowered with grief for the sin he has committed, repents and learns from the Prince-victim that abstaining from cruelty as the highest virtue on earth. The play ends with appearance of the Goddess, *Gauri* who revives the prince. Those serpents departed in the past also come back to life by a shower of nectar caused by Garuḍa from the heaven. Thus all the serpents are let to enjoy their joyful life on earth.

The centre of the dramatic activities is said to be the Malaya mountain. It is also stated that there is in the vicinity of the

[1] See some discussion on this topic by Śivarāma in his comment on the Nāgānanda, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. L IX. pp. 16–17.

mountain the *Dakṣina Gokarṇam* (T. S. edn. p. 221) which is again referred to in the veres : गोकर्णमर्णवतटे त्वरितं प्रणम्य ... etc. (V.7) and which appears that it is no other than Mahābaleśvara on the Malbabar Coast near Karwar. So the Malaya Mountain of the play must be the same as the Malabor Mountain on the Malabor Coast.

This theme of the play, the poet says, has been selected from a Jātaka-Story of a Viddyādhara Bodhisattva which is very attractive in the world : लोके हारि च बोधिसत्त्वचरितम्[1] ... (I. 3) ;

अपूर्ववस्तुरचनालंकृतं विद्याधरजातकप्रतिबद्धं नागानन्दं नाम नाटकम् ...
(T. S. edn. p. 7)

The poet, rightly at the outset invokes the Buddha in two benedictory verses in order to indicate that the hero of the drama is devout follower of Buddha, even though the poet himself is not a Buddhist in a strict sense of the term and yet he did it in accordance with the conventional principles of dramaturgy which demand that a clever poet should hint at the very beginning the nature of his chosen theme. Śrī Harṣa has manipulated to manage the plot in such a splendid manner which would unmistakably indicate that professions of different religious faiths are not at all a barrier in social and family ties of blood-relationship and friendship. Let me explain this point in detail. Jīmūtavāhana who is known as Bodhisattva[2] is depicted throughout the play as obsessed with one dominating idea, the idea of serving the others' needs (परार्थसंपादन) which ideal overshadowed other ideals of Buddhahood, especially in Mahāyāna Buddhism. The wealth of fulfilling others' interest is the sole aim of Buddhahood, and the other aims including Buddhahood even can be declared so only figuratively, says a Mahāyānic text.[3]

It will not be out of place and without interest if we cite some statements uttered by the hero to make clear how far he is vigilant to keep up Buddhist ideals before his mind's eye.

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[1] . This reading accepted by the commentator Śivarāma. Some other Mss read : सिद्धराजचरितम् which will have to be explained in a roundabout way.

[2] In the words of Garuḍa : बोधिसत्त्व एवायं मया व्यापादितः । T. S. edn. p. 268

[3] Namely Subhāṣitasaṃgraha, fol. 15. परार्थसंपद्बुद्धानां फलं मुख्यतमं मतम् । बहुत्वादि तदन्यत्तु तादर्थ्यात्फलमुच्यते ॥

नायकः— यद्येवं ततः किम् । ननु स्वशरीरतः प्रभृति परार्थमेव सर्वं मया परिकल्प्यते । यच्च स्वयं न दीयते तत्तातानुरोधात् । तत्किमनेन राज्यवस्तुना चिन्तितेन । वरं तताज्ञैवानुष्ठिता । आज्ञप्तोऽस्मि तातेन ... ...।
(P. 32, T. S. edn.)

This passage points out that Jīmutavāhana is prepared to sacrifice even his own body to serve others' purpose and that he has not done so only for the sake of his father's desire. When Mitravasu informs that some portion of the hero's kingdom was occupied by his enemy Mātaṅga and that he himself is going to crush the enemy, the hero says :

स्वशरीरमपि परार्थे यः खलु दद्यामयाचितः कृपया ।
राज्यस्य कृते स कथं प्राणिवधक्रौर्यमनुमनुते ॥ (III. 17).

This verse fully demonstrates the hero's attitude to the war. He pleads to avoid it for the fear of causing destruction to the enemy and others. Aśoka is said to have maintained the same attitude, of course, after Kaliṅga Campaign which sated his pleasure for the battle. The royal poet appears to hint in the passage at the historical incident. On another occasion the hero finds only one defect in the forest that he is beyond the reach of any needy person. Vide the verse IV. 2 : शय्याशाद्वलम्, etc. When the serpent, Śaṅkhacuḍa that day's victim does not allow himself to be saved at the risk of hero's life, the hero pleads :

कुमार, शङ्खचूड, न मे चिरालब्धावसरस्य परार्थसंपादनामनोरथस्य अन्तरायं कर्तुमर्हसि । तदलं विकल्पेन । दीयतां वध्यचिह्नम (p. 215).

Having received per chance a pair of red cloths from the Kañcukin, Jīmūtavāhana utters the following :

वासोयुगमिदं रक्तं प्राप्ते काले समागतम् ।
करोति महतीं प्रीतिं परार्थैकदृशो मम ॥ (IV. 20).

At the sight of Garuḍa he again says :

संरक्षता पन्नगमद्यपुण्यं मयार्जितं यत् स्वशरीरदानात् । भवे भवे तेन ममैव भूयात् परोपकाराय शरीरलाभः ॥ (IV, 25).

This verse sets out beautifully as a cherished purpose of Jīmūtavāhana's life, the Buddhist idea of serving others' interest not only in this life but in every subsequent life also. When his aged mother finding his son's body half-eaten up, rebukes again Garuḍa, the hero tells the true nature of the body :

मेदोऽस्थिमांसमज्जासृक्संघातेऽस्मिन् त्वचावृते ।
शरीरे खलु का शोभा सदा बीभत्सदर्शने ॥ (V. 24)

The hero' s mental attitude is also noted by the other dramatic personages, Mitrāvasu and Jīmūtaketu. The former weighing the merits of choosing Jimūtavāhana bridegroom murmurs : यच्चासूनपि संत्यजेत्करुणया सत्त्वार्थमभ्युद्यतः, etc. II. 10 ; while the latter circumastantially recognises his son by his characteristics :

(जीमूतवाहनात्) कोऽन्य एवं परहितव्यसनी । (T. S. edn. p. 250).

What he taught to Garuḍa in order to exonerate the latter from his sins is exactly the Buddha's genuine message in a nut-shell, viz. " to refrain in all moods from the attempt to kill, to confess and feel repentant for all the past misdeeds, and to require all the merits by serving the people's needs and a small sin, if any, will be sunk in the ocean of good deeds and never read the fruits just like a small quantity of salt dissolved in the ocean.

नित्यं प्राणातिपातात् प्रतिविरम कुरु प्राक्कृते चानुतापं, यत्नात्पुण्यप्रवाहं समुपचिनु दिशन् सर्वसत्त्वेष्वभीतिम् । मग्नं येनाऋ नैनः फलति परिमितप्राणिहिंसोत्तमेतत्, दुर्गाधापारवारेर्लवणपलमिव क्षिप्तमन्तर्ह्रदस्य ॥ (V. 25.).

This is called *pratipakṣa* (antidote for the past misbehaviour) in the Buddhist terminology and also used in the drama.

Now, turning to the heroine, we find that she is ardent worshipper of the Goddess Gaurī by whose good grace she gains Jīmūtavāhana as husband. Note the stanza sung by her in the presence of the Goddess Gaurī :

उत्फुल्लकमलकेसरपरागगौरद्युते मम हि गौरि ।
अभिवाञ्छितं प्रसिध्यतु भगवति युष्मत्प्रसादेन ॥ (I. 14).

The same Goddess Gaurī, out of ardent devotion of the heroine comes to rescue the life of Jīmūtavāhana when he ultimately becomes expired. Thus to Goddess Gaurī is depicted as *Iṣṭadevatā* for the heroine.

The hero's parents are Vedic fire-worshippers and conducting the forest life (वानप्रस्थाश्रम)

Their adherence to the Vedic rites of the *Agnihotra*, etc. is well-proved from the several statements, e. g. the aged father says :

किन्तु आहिताग्नेर्नान्येनाग्निना संस्कारो विहितः । अतोऽग्निशरणादग्नीनादायात्मानमुद्दीपयामः । (p. 254 T. S. edn.)

The forest-place, *Tapovana,* which is named *Gauryāśrama,* where the aged parents of the hero have their hermitage is described as fully influenced by Brahmanic studies and culture. Read the verse 10 of the act I which paints the Āśrama picture on the background of Brahmanic culture, under whose influence even the birds sing Vedic songs. Then the aged parents are a typical *Vanaprasthāśramin* with limited sacrificial rites as enjoined in the Brahmanic texts of the Dharmasūtras. Jīmūtavāhana is also serving them even in the forest as an ideal son according to the Buddhistic principles. It is welknown teaching in Buddhism that the parents must be first honoured by their sons by serving their needs. Note Buddha's reply in the Sigalovāda Sutta of the Dighanikāya, Vol. III. A real follower of the Buddha does not dishonour other deities. He also may have some *Iṣṭadevatā* other than Buddha according to Mahāyānic teachings.[1] Accordingly Jīmūtavāhana is represented to utter : वन्द्याः खलु देवताः and to bow before the Goddess Gaurī who is a family deity of the Vidyādharas[2] in the verse V. 35.

Thus we have seen that the poet very dexterously manages to achieve desired object of the dramatic composition, that is the spirit of tolerance toward others' faiths and professions is a benign virtue of humanity and a factor *sine qua non* for the progress of social system of the world. It is not at all improbable that the royal poet Śrī Harṣa tries to portray in the drama through this happy specimen of that spirit from Jīmūtavāhana's life-story some events connected with his own family and life. If we pause to study the events of the poet's family and of his own, we at once can discover some similarity between the two affairs. The Bankhera Inscription issued by Śrī Harṣa in the year 22 of his reign with his own autograph gives a complete genealogical and other details of the King's family. It is stated there that the three ancestors of the family, viz. his father, Prabhākaravardhana; grand-father, Ādityavardhana and great-grand-father, Rājyavardhana I, are devout worshippers of the Sun, but his immediate predecessor and brother, Rājyavardhana II is convinced Buddhist and the King Śrī Harṣavardhana himself is a

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[1] See e. g. Bhavaviveka's Karatalaratna, Visva-Bharati Memoir II, p. 65.

[2] Vidyādharas are also known as Gandharvas, Cf. Vidūṣaka's statement : गन्धर्वराजमित्रं ब्राह्मणो भूत्वा ... III, od. 3.

Śaiva, a follower of the God Śiva. Expressions used in regard to the personal faiths of these brothers are noteworthy and quite appreciable in the light of the present drama. The Inscription reads :

श्रीयशोमत्यामुत्पन्नः परसौगतः सुगतः इव पराहितैकरतः ... तस्यानुजः तत्पादानुध्यातः परममाहेश्वरो महेश्वर इव सर्व सत्त्वानुकम्पी परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराजश्रीहर्षः ... ।

11. 4-7 Ep. Indica Vol. IV, pp. 210-11. The same detail is contained in the Madhuban plate also ; V. Ibid, Vol. VII. p. 158. This statement brings into prominence the characteristic marks of these two religions, one is *parahitarati* and the other *sarvasattvanukampa*. Now it is evident why the poet employs almost similar expressions in describing the life-aim of Jimūtavāhana such as **परार्थैकदृश्** ; **परार्थ** ; **पराहितव्यसनी** ; etc. The other historical record tells us that the King's brother Rājyavardhana lost his life in the enemy's camp while engaged in rescuing his sister's life (V. smith, History. p. 350). So it appears that he followed the example of Jimutavāhana and lost his life. It is thus likely that the self-sacrificing episode of Jimutavāhana must have caught the King's poetic fancy. Śrī harṣa being a devout worshipper of Maheśvara, does not fail to delineate in the drama his predilection for Śaivism ; for, the hero is shown at the end of the play to be revived by good grace of the goddess Gauri, the divine spouse of the lord Maheśvara. Though Śrī Harṣa was at heart a Maheśvara, he was well-known for his generous and magnificent donations and charities to the Buddhists and Buddhist Institutes in those days and then he has set up a marvellous example for religious tolerations and such other social virtues. This example has, it appears, been quite afresh in the memory of, and followed by the rulers of Kanauj till as late period as the 12th century A. D. During this period we find that one Govindacandra of the Gaharwar dynasty, subsequently known of Rothors[1] of Kanauj, although personally he was a Śaivaite, is also known to have given a liberal grant to a Buddhist Vihāra at Śrāvasti (V. Ep. Indiac. Vol. XI. p. 20, seq.)

In the light of the above discussion it becomes now evident that no unwarranted postulation is needed with regard to the authorship of the Drama on the ground of religious and social environment of the plot.

[1] See V. A. Smith, History of India. 1924, pp. 399-400.

THE FIRST GREEK CONQUEROR OF INDIA*

BY

R. D. KARMARKAR

The Greek tradition is emphatic in declaring that the Greeks were the only people who had ever conquered India, and that too not once, but twice, before the time of Alexander. The records of early Greek writers give us a fairly trustworthy account in this matter. Thus, Megasthenes, as quoted by Strabo, declares that 'the Indians had never engaged in foreign warfare, nor had they ever been invaded and conquered by a foreign power, except by Hercules and Dionysus, and lately by the Macedonians'. Arrian also makes the statement that according to the Indians, no one before Alexander, with the exception of Dionysus and Hercules had invaded their country. In the course of his invasion, Alexander had come upon a place called Nysa in the Hindukush, whose inhabitants claimed that they were descendants of the western people who had come into those parts with their god Dionysus (who, according to the Greeks, had gone conquering Asia). Alexander is also reputed to have the desire to emulate the exploits of the two ancient heroes, when he planned his invasion of India. There is no doubt that in the eyes of the Greeks, the two outstanding events in their past history were the invasions of India by Dionysus and Heracles (Hercules).

It is also known that Megasthenes was given at the court of Pāṭaliputra, a list of 153 kings who preceded Candragupta, covering a period of six thousand years, the line beginning with Spatembas whom Dionysus left behind as King of India, when he retired.[1]

Fragment L. C. (Pliny. Hist. Nat.) tells us 'From the days of Father Bacchus to Alexander the Great, their (Indian) Kings are reckoned at 154 whose reigns extended over 6451 years and 3 months.'

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* Read at the 15th Oriental Conference, Bombay, and published here with the permission of the Secretary of the Conference.

[1] Megasthenes, Frag. 23.

Solin is even more precise: 'Father Bachhus was the first who invaded India and was the first of all who triumphed over the vanquished Indians. From him to Alexander the Great 6451 years are reckoned with 3 months additional, the calculation being made by counting the kings who reigned in the intermediate period to the number of 153'.

Of the two, Dionysus and Heracles, the latter can be easily identified with Kṛṣṇa or Harikṛṣṇa or Harikeśa or Hṛṣīkeśa. 'This' Heracles', according to Megasthenes, 'was especially worshipped by the Suraseni, an Indian people (the Śūrasenas), where there are two great cities Methora (Mathurā, Muttra) and Clisobora (Kṛṣṇapura), and a navigable river, the Jobanes (Jumna), flows through their country.' (certain details mentioned by Megasthenes, such as Heracles had one daughter named Pandora whom, although only seven years old, he himself married, when he knew that his end was near, so that a line of Indian kings might be left of their issue, do not fit in with the story of Kṛṣṇa as given in the Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa etc. Some of the Greek writers themselves regard these details as fantastic and unhistorical). On the whole, however, the identification of Heracles and Kṛṣṇa may be regarded as fairly certain. It is also generally conceded that Heracles came long after Dionysus, who thus according to Greek historical tradition, claims the honour of having been the First Greek Conqueror of India living about 6776 B. C. (6451 + 325 Alexander's time).

The next question is then to find out whether there is some ancient Indian tradition which describes some one corresponding to Dionysus. So far, there have been at least four suggestions in this behalf:—

(1) Dionysus is Śiva.

The Cambridge History of India (p. 408 Vol. 1) says in this connection as follows:— Greek mythology told of the wine-god

[1] Cam. Hist. of India, Vol. 1, p. 408, where the writer remarks 'In what they say of the earlier history of India, the Greeks were concerned to fit in what their Indian informants told them with their own mythology and historical tradition.

... It was an accidental variation that the Greek legend represented him (Kṛṣṇa) as having been born in Thebes and the Indians claimed him as sprung from the Indian earth'.

Dionysus as some one who had led about Asia wandering army of revellers, garlanded with vine and ivy, to the accompaniment of drums and cymbals, and in India the religious processions in honour of Śiva, the royal progresses with drum and cymbals, especially characteristic of certain tribes, seem to have struck them as Bacchic in character. Evidently Śiva was India's memory of the conquering god, and these usages had been learnt from him long ago' and also 'About the Indian 'philosophers' Megasthenes had a good deal to say. They might be divided on one principle according as they dwelt in the mountains and worshipped Dionysus (Śiva) or in the plains and worshipped Heracles (Kṛṣṇa), but the more significant division was that into Brāhmaṇas, and Śramaṇas' (p. 419, *ibid*).

(2) Dionysus (or Bacchus) is Dakṣa.

Bacchus was another name for Dionysus, and it is equated by some with Dakṣa prajāpati in the Purāṇas, who was the father-in-law of Śiva. The only ground on which this equation is made, seems to be that Bacchus can be phonetically the same to Dakṣa.

(3) Dionysus is Vaivasvata Manu.[1]

D. R. Mankad puts forth the view that Dionysus is Vaivasvata Manu on the ground that 'all our post-diluvian chronology starts with Vaivasvta Manu.'

(4) Dionysus is Soma (wrongly identified with the Moon, from whom the Lunar Dynasty has arisen, as described by the Purāṇas).

K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya[2] thinks that the conquest of India by Dionysus can be explained on the theory 'that we have here some vague tradition about the conquest of India by the Soma-pressing Vedic Aryans'. He further points out that when Soma being confused with Indu (moon) came to mean the Moon, the writers of the Purāṇas regarded the North India Royal families as having come from the Moon. The Purāṇic genealogy says that Budha was the son of Candra; Arrian says that Boudyas was the son of Spatembas, a companion of Dionysus. Mr. Chaṭṭopādhyāya

[1] P. 284, B. O. R. I. Silver Jubilee Volume.

[2] Pp. 261-268. Proceedings, Third Oriental Conference, Madras, 1925, 'Dionysus in Megasthenes: Who was he?'

has no hesitation in identifying Spatembas and Dionysus, and Budha and Boudyas, and ultimately Dionysus and Soma (or Soma-cult).

It appears to us that all the four views given above are unsatisfactory as they are not capable of explaining the main points involved in the Greek tradition, which are that India had been conquered by some one coming from outside, and that he founded a dynasty of kings that ruled after him. Śiva is the lord of mountains and Dakṣa was one of the earliest prajāpatis (patriarchs), but both of them could hardly be considered to have *conquered* India at any time. The cult of Śiva is certainly as old as the hills, but there is no evidence to hold that the devotees of Śiva indulged in the same kind of revelry to which the devotees of Bacchus were accustomed. Vaivasvata Manu was the first King after the Flood, but in his case there was no question of throwing out any reigning king and usurping his throne, which is implicit in the idea of conquering. Similarly the Soma-cult theory tries to identify the Soma-pressing Aryans with one individual Dionysus, without any reasonable grounds. That Dionysus must refer to some individual and not to any horde or tribe, seems to be well-nigh clear.

We think that it is possible to come to some definite conclusion in the matter, if we take the aid of the Purāṇic traditions. It is well known that Megasthenes was supplied with lists of Egyptian kings, which have been now found to be quite reliable. The lists of Indian kings (153 or 154) have been unfortunately lost, but the recorded fact that these kings covered the period of more than six thousand years before Alexander, cannot be brushed aside as having no value. The Purāṇas do give us some lists of kings since the time of Vaivasvata Manu, though they are neither complete nor properly arranged. It would be wrong to damn them as utterly worthless on that account. We are aware of the obiter dicta of Dr. A. B. Keith on this point:-[1] ' We have not the slightest reason to suppose that the Purāṇas had any really reliable traditions upon which to fall back, and we do know that they leave us hopelessly at a loss to find genuine history in times which should

[1] P. 156, Woolner Commemoration Volume.

have come reasonably within their ken ... Nor does the epic supply us with more reliable information. It is not, nor does it claim to be, history.' It is time that this high-brow attitude towards the Purāṇas should be completely changed. That there are many contradictions, omissions, gaps etc. in the historical part of the various Purāṇas may be easily admitted, but that hardly proves anything. There is an amazing degree of unanimity underlying the different versions in the Purāṇas; the writers of the Purāṇas clearly indicate the parts they have added to what was current before their times; whatever information they had, they have honestly placed before their readers—these facts cannot be disputed, and lastly it must be remembered that the writers of epics and Purāṇas had no axe to grind, and so did not suppress any material facts, which fact is blazoned forth by the narration of many a disreputable incident concerning the heroes and the heroines in the Purāṇas.

We are therefore not prepared to condemn Indian Purāṇic traditions as entirely unreliable, nor do we want to take everything that the Greek historians have said at its face value. A proper evaluation of both the Purāṇic and Greek traditions is bound to give us an inkling of true historical facts. As has been already said above, the basic fact of the Greek tradition is the conquest of India by an out-sider; we shall have therefore to look into the Purāṇas to ascertain whether there is any evidence to show that India had been under the rule of some one other than the normal ruler for some time, in the very remote past, and if so, whether that ruler could be shown to have been Dionysus. Fortunately, a scrutiny of the Purāṇas does point out to such a state of things.

The Purāṇas, the Mahābhārata etc. describe how Indra after having killed Triśiras, and so having incurred the sin of Brahmahatyā had to leave his office and remain incognito for a long time. The gods and Ṛṣis met together when they found that the whole world was suffering terribly in the absence of a king, and decided to offer the post of Indra to Nahuṣa (it is not made clear in any version of the text where Nahuṣa was at the time). Nahuṣa ruled wisely for a time, but later on insisted upon Indrāṇī becoming his wife. Indrāṇī, on the advice of

Bṛhaspati asked for time to consider the matter and through the favour of the Goddess Upaśrutī located Indra's hiding place. As directed by Indra she told Nahuṣa that she would gratify his desire if he came to her, seated in an Apūrva or avāhya vāhana.[1] Nahuṣa apparently went to Śacī in a palanquin to which were yoked the Saptarṣis (Agastya though not one of the seven sages, was also yoked). Nahuṣa insulted the sages on the way and kicked Agastya while urging him to move more quickly saying Sarpa, sarpa (Move on, move on). Agastya promptly cursed Nahuṣa that he would be a sarpa (serpent) for a period of ten thousand years. On being propitiated, Agastya fixed the duration of the curse to the time when Yudhiṣṭhira would meet Nahuṣa. This Nahuṣa episode is described in several Purāṇas, and the details vary, but the main story is the same. It is clear also that Indrāṇī had no real objection to unite with Nahuṣa, and that Indra himself would have expected Indrāṇī to serve whosoever would be Indra. (This is described in Adh. 18, Kedārakhaṇḍa, Māheśavarkhaṇḍa, Skandapurāṇa, where one Kitava was made Indra for a period of three ghaṭikās on account of his devotion to Śiva. Nārada asked the Kitava to order Indrāṇī to serve him, but he being a virtuous man refused to do so. When Indra came back, the first question he asked Indrāṇī was whether she had been enjoyed by the Kitava).[2]

The Skandapurāṇa also gives the additional information that after Nahuṣa was transformed into a serpent, Nārada advised the gods to make Yayāti Indra, but as Yayāti began to boast of his holy deeds, he fell down from heaven (as advertising one's own puṇya makes it fruitless), and again the world was without any Indra ; then the gods arranged to give the Brahmahatyā an abode to stay in (earth, trees, water and women), and then Indra was restored to his position.

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[1] तामिन्द्र उवाच गच्छ नहुषस्त्वया वाच्योऽपूर्वेण मामृषियुक्तेन यानेन त्वत्प्रधिरूढ उद्वहस्वेति । MBH. XII. cccli, 49.

According to the Skandapurāṇa, Śacī says: अवाह्यवाहनेनैव अत्रागत्य लभते माम् ।

[2] शचीमुवाच दुर्मेधाः कितवेनासि भामिनि । भुक्ता ह्यस्यैव कथय याथातथ्येन शोभने ॥ तदा प्रहस्य चोवाच पुरंदरमकल्मषा । आत्मौपम्येन सर्वत्र पश्यसि त्वं पुरन्दर ॥ असौ महात्मा कितवस्वरूपी शिवप्रसादात्परमार्थविज्ञः । etc.

The chief points in the Nahuṣa episode are :—

(1) India had been without any ruler for some time.

(2) Nahuṣa, son of Āyus of the Soma dynasty, took the place of Indra.

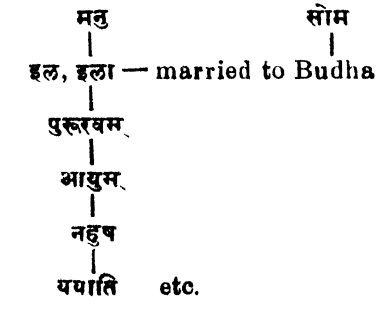
(3) Nahuṣa used an apūrva conveyance to meet Indrāṇī, and

(4) The dynasty of Nahuṣa continued to provide kings, (though not for the post of Indra) in India.

(Besides Nahuṣa, there were seven persons who had become Indra some time or other, according to the Purāṇas :— Kitava, (referred to above in the Skandapurāṇa) Jālandhara, Tāraka, Hiraṇyakaśipu, Prahlāda, Bali and Raji. According to the MBh. Raji is the son of Āyus and Prabhā, daughter of Svarbhānu (a daitya) and thus a brother to Nahuṣa. He is said to have helped Indra to defeat the Asuras, on condition that he was made Indra. Later on Indra wrested the world from him, when he and his hundreds of sons became a nuisance. But as none of them above are known in the Purāṇas to have founded a line which continued to rule in India, they need not be considered here).

We think that it is not unreasonable to connect the Nahuṣa episode with the Greek tradition of the conquest of India by Dionysus. Thus :—

Dionysus is presumably the Greek way of pronouncing Deva Nahuṣa ; Dionysus was also, according to the Greek tradition itself, not indigenous in Greece, but came from Thrace or some outside region. According to the Vāyupurāṇa, Nahuṣa was one of the sons of Vaivasvata Manu himself. When Manu divided the world among his ten sons, no portion was assigned to Nahuṣa who apparently left India and established himself beyond in the Western region. The usual genealogy about Nahuṣa given in the Purāṇas is as follows :—



There is nothing improbable about Nahuṣa ruling over the region between India and Greece (it would be remembered that both Āyus and Purūravas had married Non-Indian women, Prabhā and Urvaśī, living beyond India). When the throne of Indra had temporarily fallen vacant, the gods and the sages requested Nahuṣa who was, in a sense, of them, and who had proved his valour by establishing a kingdom for himself, and this fact was construed by the Greeks as the conquest of India by their hero. It is also possible that the conquest of India by Nahuṣa was described euphemistically by the Purāṇas, as an offer to Nahuṣa to rule over India. A vehicle to which human beings are yoked is known to have been a common feature in Greece, but was apparently an 'apūrva' thing in India. The description that Nahuṣa visited Indrāṇī, seated in a palanquin manned by sages, thus could be easily explained.

Nahuṣa or Nahus is referred to in the Ṛgveda several times.[1] In X. 63, Yayāti is spoken of as the son of Nahuṣa, and in VII. 95, the Sarasvatī river is said to have poured forth her milk for Nāhuṣa (Nahuṣa's tribe) who wanted to perform a thousand-year sacrifice. The word Nahus, as Roth has pointed out, seems to mean 'neighbour' in some passages. In VIII. 6, Indra is asked to grant the wealth of fleet steeds belonging to the tribes of Nahuṣa (this seems to suggest that the Indians were sometimes waging war against the neighbouring Nahuṣa tribe, perhaps for retaliating upon them for having usurped Indra's throne, as described in the Purāṇas). In any case, we would not be wrong in asserting that in the Ṛgvedic times, the name of Nahuṣa or the Nahuṣa tribe was sufficiently well-known and that this tribe lived in regions bordering upon India proper, and where good horses were bred. There is nothing in the Ṛgveda that might militate against the theory of Nahuṣa belonging to Thrace or Greece.

Fergusson[2] has pointed out that there are according to the Purāṇas, 145 or 146 reigns from Manu to Alexander :—

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[1] Vedic Index : P. 438.

[2] P. 712, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.

Tretāyuga :	62	reigns from Ikṣvāku to Rāma
Dvāpara	35	Kuśa to Bṛhadbala
(3 Solar lists)	33	Diṣṭa to Janamejaya
	34	Śīradhvaja to Mahābasī
Kaliyuga	52	Jarāsandha to the last Nanda
(Lunar lists)		

Total 145 or 146 reigns.

D. R. Mankad[1] says that Fergusson had made an error in the calculation and so the total should have been 136. Citrāva Śāstrin[2] gives a list of 155 reigns between Nahuṣa and Candragupta (this list actually gives the *names* of 136 or 137 kings). The Purāṇas have not properly preserved the names of kings in the Lunar dynasty, as they have done in the case of the solar dynasty. Taking all this into consideration, the discrepancy between the lists known to Megasthenes and those known from the Purāṇas cannot be regarded as material enough to vitiate the conclusion that the Greek Dionysus is the Purāṇic Deva Nahuṣa.

It is argued by some that the period of six thousand years for 154 kings, recorded by the Greek historians is too long. The usual average, in the case of modern kingly reigns is said to be about twenty years. It must be pointed out that the earlier (mythical) kings have been described in the mythologies of all nations as having lived very long lives (presumably to cover up any want of knowledge about some unimportant individuals), and secondly the Greek historians have remarked upon the longevity of the Indians 'The people of Sind, Onesicritus said, sometimes reached 130 years. The intellectual powers which they displayed in the arts and crafts were attributed, like their health and longevity, to the purity of the air and the rarified quality of the water, but their health was also attributed to the simplicity of their diet and their abstinence from wine.[3]'

Dionysus is described by the Greeks as being fond of dancing etc; the same appears to be the case with Nahuṣa, as corroborated by the Nāṭyaśāstra. In Adh. XXXVI, we are told, how the actors (Bharatatanayāḥ) once staged a performance in which certain

[1] P. 284, B. O. R. I. Silver Jubilee Volume.
[2] Prāchīna Caritra Kośa.
[3] Pp. 407-408, Cambridge History of India Vol. I.

indecorus things were exhibited, with the result that the sages cursed them that the actors and their descendants would forever be Śūdras and Śūdrācāras. The gods thus decided not to have anything to do with the Nāṭyaveda. But as luck would have it, Nahuṣa came to be installed as Indra and he requested the gods to allow the Nāṭya to be performed on the earth, if not in heaven. The Apsarases and the actors, under the patronage of Nahuṣa promulgated the Nāṭya on the earth.[1]

Thus, thanks to the gay Nahuṣa, Nāṭyaśāstra survived and came to be established on the face of the earth. As Nāṭya includes singing, dancing etc. one can easily imagine what must have been the revels in which the actors indulged under the distinguished patronage of Nahuṣa. This trait of Nahuṣa confirms his identification with Dionysus.

The lists of human or semi-divine kings given in the Purāṇas, date from the beginning of the Tretāyuga, for the Kṛtayuga is taken to be a yuga of the gods. The first kings are credited with

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[1] Nāṭyaśāstra: Adh. XXXVI

अग्राह्यं सुदुराचारं ग्राम्यधर्मप्रवर्तनम् ।
निष्ठुरं चाप्रशस्तं च काव्यं संसदि योजितम् ॥ ३१ ॥
तच्छ्रुत्वा मुनयः सर्वे भीमरोषाः प्रकोपिताः ।
ऊचुस्ते भरतान्सर्वान् निर्दहन्त इवाग्नयः ॥ ३२ ॥
... ...
निर्ब्रह्माचरणा भूत्वा ब्रह्माचारा भविष्यथ ॥ ३५ ॥
... ...
यश्च वो भवतां वंशः स च शूद्रो भविष्यति ॥ ३६ ॥
कस्यचित्त्वथ कालस्य नहुषो नाम पार्थिवः ।
प्राप्तवान्देवराज्यं च नयबुद्धिपराक्रमैः ॥ ५८ ॥
... ...
प्राक्तनांश्च ततो मां तु नृपतिः स कृताञ्जलिः ।
इदमिच्छामि भगवन् नाट्यमुर्व्यां प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥ ५४ ॥
... ...
ततस्ते वसुधां गत्वा नहुषस्य गृहे द्विजाः ।
स्त्रीणां प्रयोगं बहुधा सृष्टवन्तो यथाक्रमम् ॥ ६७ ॥
एवमुर्वीतले नाट्यं शापान्तमवधारितम् ॥ ७० ॥

long lives and no reliance can be placed on accounts dealing with them. Bearing this in mind, we can fix Nahuṣa's time with tolerable accuracy. Taking only round numbers, if the traditional date of the commencement of the Kaliyuga, be taken as 3000 B. C; then Dvāpara must have preceded the Kaliyuga by 2000 years, and the beginning of the Tretāyuga, 3000 years prior to the Dvāpara yuga (for the four yugas, Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali, extend to 4000, 3000, 2000 and 1000 yeers respectively, the Saṅdhyāṁśas between the yugas being ignored). Alexander lived after 2600 years of Kaliyuga had passed away, so that the Tretāyuga may be taken to have commenced about 7500 B. C. Nahuṣa is the fifth in descent from Manu ; hence his date must have been about 7000 B. C. The date of Dionysus, according to the Greeks comes to about the same time.

It is well-nigh impossible to adduce any completely convincing evidence when one is dealing with events in very remote times. At best we have to rely upon a number of circumstantial probabilities. The Greek tradition of a conquest of India by a Greek hero may be accepted as a fact, and when that is corroborated in a general way by the accounts in the Purāṇas, we shall have to think twice before rejecting the same as not genuine. All traditions are certainly not worthless, and if the Greek tradition and the Indian tradition are shown to agree in a number of important details, as in the present case, the chances are that both the traditions are referring to a historical fact. We therefore have come to the conclusion that the First Greek Conqueror of India was Dionysus alias Deva Nahuṣa of the Purāṇas, and that this event happened about 7000 B. C.

"THE GURJARA-PRATĪHĀRAS IN BHṚGUKACCHA" (BROACH)

BY

V. B. MISHRA

The Gurjara-Pratīhāras, who came into prominence for the first time within the pale of Gurjaratrā, had ambitious designs from the very beginning of their power and they soon bore fruit. One of their branches advanced towards, and seized Bhṛgukaccha under the command of Dadda I. The inscriptions in general, with the single exception of the Nausārī plate, depose that he was the progenitor of the Bhṛgukaccha dynasty. The Nausārī plate, on the other hand, traces their descent from Karṇa.[1] Who this Karṇa was is shrouded in mystery. Whether he was real historical figure, or the elder half-brother of the five Pāṇḍavas cannot be exactly determined with the scanty information available. The name Śāntanu cited for the sake of comparison in line 15[2] of the plate may indicate that both of them were epic heroes. Indeed the practice of tracing pedigree from some epic hero was very common in this period. But they were mostly concoctions of panegyrists.

It cannot be ascertained when Dadda I took the reins of the government. The earliest date of the third chief of the dynasty is the year 380 (kalacuri era).[3] Allowing fifty years for the two generations that preceded him, it may be reasonably supposed that the line was founded in 330 (K. E), A. D. 580. The Umetā, Bagumrā and Ilāo grants dated in Ś. S. 400, 415 and 417 respectively open the chapter of their history a century earlier. But their very genuineness is doubted. Their characters, wording of the formal parts and the method in which the dates are expressed entirely differ from the genuine grants of the dynasty.

[1] Mahārāja-Karṇṇānvayē Ind. Ant, vol. XIII, p. 77.

[2] Ibid., p. 78.

[3] Scholars in general hold that the unspecified era in which the grants of the dynasty are dated should be taken to be the Kalacuri era. (Ind. Ant, XIII, pp 75-76).

Over and above this, the Ilāo grant purports to be written by the same Rēva who wrote the two Kaira grants of 380 (K. E.), 629 A. D., and 385 (K. E.), 634 A. D. [1] These glaring discrepancies coupled with the fact that we hear of the Gurjaras for the first time in the last two decades of the sixth century A. D. when they are said to have been harassed by Prabhākara Vardhana, [2] lend weight to the contention that they are forgeries and it was only in the last quarter of the sixth century A. D. that Bhṛgukaccha came in their possession.

Since then, Bhṛgukaccha as their advance post in the south became the centre of gravity. Pt. Bhagwanlal Indraji, on the mere expression " Nāndīpurītaḥ " or from the city of Nāndīpurī in the Kaira grants, avers that Nāndīpurī was their capital. [3] But most of the villages referred to in their grants are in the present Broach District. Thus, on the ground that the Kaira grants were issued from Nāndīpurī, we can hardly assume that it was their capital. Bhṛgukaccha, since remote times, has been an important place and it would perhaps be not wide of the mark if we take it as the seat of their power.

Their domain with Bhṛgukaccha as its nucleus included the whole of central Gujrat and the northern part of southern Gujrat which may roughly comprise the present Broach District, the Tālukās of Olpād, Chōrāsi and Bārdōlī of the Surat District, as well as the adjoining parts of the Barōdā State, of the Rēvākāṇṭhā and of Sachīn. The river Māhī probably formed its northern frontier and the river Ambikā the Southern one. [4] Hiuen Tsiang's delineation that Po-lu-Kie-ch'e-p'o was 2400-2500 li or about 400 miles in circuit seems to be very vague. [5]

Within this compass they displayed their superb statecraft and the art of manoeuvring forces to yield the desired effect. With all the royal paraphernalia they were but feudatories. [6] To whom they owed allegiance is not apparent. The date

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[1] Ibid., p. 72; see however, the opinion of Dr. Bühler Ibid., xvii, pp. 186-91.
[2] Harṣa Carita, N. S. Edn. 1937, p 120.
[3] I. A., XIII, p. 72.
[4] Ibid. XVII, p. 193 Bomb-Gaz., vol. 1, pt. II, p. 315, Ibid. pt. 1 p. 115.
[5] Siyuki vol. II, p. 239 (beal).
[6] I. A., XIII, p.-81-87 ; p. 88-91 ; Ibid., p. 77.

580 A. D. assigned to Dadda I so corresponds with that of Daddā, the youngest son of Haricandra—the founder of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, that the two can be identified. The statement in the grants [1] that their forefather saw light in the lineage of the Gurjara kings — 'Gurjararṛpativaṁśa' lends further weight to the proposed identification, for we know of no other Gurjara kings in this period except those of Māṇḍavyapur. Probably Rajjila [2] created a feudatory principality in the south under his younger brother Dadda, evidently as a bulwark against the waxing strength of the Valabhis and the Cālukyas. [3] It is just possible that after being subdued by the prowess of Pulikeśi II [4] they acknowledged his suzerainty. It cannot, however, be asserted definitely for in Ancient India the vanquished were sometimes suffered to continue ruling their territories after defraying the war indemnity. [5]

INDIVIDUAL KINGS AND THEIR RELATION WITH CONTEMPORARY POWERS

Dadda I (580) A. D.: These feudatories played unique role in the history of Bhṛgukaccha. Dadda I uprooted the hostile family of the Nāgas who were probably the members of the jungle tribes ruled by Nirihullaka, [6] and nipped in the bud some of the family jealousies and quarrels which were gaining ground during his regime. [7] His sway might have extended upto the foot of the Vindhyas, for the lands lying around it are represented as his pleasure resorts. [8]

We lack a detailed account of this interesting figure, nor do we get any information which led to the foundation of a branch line. The later inscriptions of his family describe him as a

[1] Ibid., p. 82, 88.

[2] One of the sons Hariścandra of Māṇḍavyapur Ep. Ind., xviii, p. 95.

[3] Journal of the Department of Letters (Cal. University), 1923, vol. X, p. 16.

[4] Ind. Ant., VIII, p. 242.

[5] Bomb. Gaz., vol, 1, pt. II, p. 315; Ind. Ant., XVII, p. 194; Ibid. XIII, 173.

[6] Bomb. Gaz, vol. i, pt. 1, p. 115; Ind Ant. XVII, p. 195.

[7] Ibid, XIII, p. 83, 89.

[8] Ibid. Dr. Bühler opines that as the Vindhya hills end in the neighbouring Mālvā, Dadda probably added a piece of this country for a time to the dominions of the Gurjaras. Ibid, XVII p. 195.

'Sāmanta'[1] (feudatory). He was a devout worshipper of the sun.[2] The fragmentary grant of the year 346 (A. D. 595-96) may be ascribed to him.[3]

Jayabhaṭa alias Śrīvītarāga (A.D. 605-628 A. D.)

His son, Jayabhaṭa I, was an asset to the family. Like his predecessor, he frustrated the disruptive devices of his opponents. The Kaira grants[4] attribute to him a sweeping victory over the enemies. The latter are not specifically mentioned. The spurious inscriptions, Umetā, Bagumrā and Ilāo, may, however, give us a clue. They aver that Jayabhaṭa "made expeditions in the jungles on both the shores (of the gulf of Kambay), just as the elephants roam in the forests growing both on the shores of the western and eastern oceans".[5] It alludes in all probability to wars in Gujrat and Kathiawad waged against the Valabhis who might have been the enemies put to rout by the superior forces of Jayabhaṭa I.[6]

He was also instrumental in extending his kingdom. Like an indefatigable warrior, he measured swords with the Kaṭachchuris, which resulted in the overthrow of the latter and the extension of the Gurjara principality south of the Māhī.

Dadda II alias Praśāntarāga (A. D. 629, 641 A. D.)

He was succeeded by his son, Dadda II, whose first known date is 629 A. D. (K. E. 380). These were the palmy days of the Cālukyas, whose king, Pulikeśi II, had struck terror far and wide by the force of his arm. There was none to dispute his might. Like others, the Gurjaras also succumbed to the prowess of Pulikeśī.[7] Perhaps, it

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1 Ind. Ant, p. 82, 88.

2 ..... dinakara-caraṇa kamala-praṇāma Ibid.

3 Ep. Ind. vol. II, p. 19.

4 bhiru (rū) pa. Vadanaḥ Śaklo vadānyaḥ prabala-ripu-bal ānīka-Samara-Samavāpta Vijaya-Śrīḥ Śrī-Vītarāga.....Ind. Ant. vol. XIII p. 83, 89.

5 Ibid, VII, p, 65, Ibid., XVII, p. 199-200; Ibid; XIII, p, 116-117; see also the different readings and translations of the lines:- "Payonidhi-kṛta-Ubhaya-taṭa-prarūḍhadha(va)na-lēkh(ā)Viprahṛta-niramikuśa-dana-pravaha-niramikuśa-dāna-pravāha-pravṛta-digdanti-vibhrama-guṇa Samūhaḥ" J. B. B. R. A. S. X, p. 25.

6 Ind. Ant, XVII, p. 194.

7 "Pratāp-ōpanata yasya lāṭa-Mālava-Gūrjjaraḥ daṇḍōpanata Sāmanta caryyā varyyāivābhavan II Ind. Ant., XVIII, p. 242.

(*continued on the following page*)

was the first setback for Dadda II in the very beginning of his reign. He bore the ingominy of defeat. But nothing daunted he began to bide his time. He gave protection to the lord of Valabhi,[1] Dhruvasena II or Dharasena IV,[2] who was discomfited by the great lord, the illustrious Harṣadeva.[3] As this event is not recorded in the Kaira grant of the year 385 (K. E.) (634 A. D.), it must have taken place some time after 634-635 A. D. How far did this diplomatic gesture cement the friendly tie? Dharasena IV issued grants in 648 A. D. from the victorious camp situated at Bhṛgukaccha. It may indicate a war between the Gurjara king and Dharasena IV and the severance of cordial relations.[4] It can also mean, as suggested by Dr. Fleet,[5] that the grants were issued while Dharasena IV was residing at Bhṛgukaccha, enjoying the hospitality of the Gurjara king, for the villages that were granted lay not in the Gurjara country but in the Khēṭakāhāra Viṣaya.

Dadda dexterously handled the situation and faced the political vicissitudes. The indigenous forces were not the only eyesore for him. The Arab hostility had set in. Hakam des-

(*continued from the previous page*)

Dr. R. C. Majumdar identifies the Gurjaras with those of Bhillamāla (Ep. Ind. vol. XVIII, p 92.) We have nothing positive to show that Pulikeśī led expeditions in northern India as far as Gurjaratrā. The word stands for the Gurjaras of Bhṛgukaccha.

Dr. V. A. Smith's assertion that "Brahmagupta's patron, vyāghramukha, apparently must be identical with the unnamed Gurjara, king, who was defeated by the Cālukya monarch Pulikeśi II" is also untenable. J. R. A. S., 1907, p. 926.

[1] Nausāri copper plate:- "Parāmēśvara-Śrī Harṣadevābhibhūta-Valabhī pati-pati (ri) trān-ōpajāta bhramad-adabhra-Śubhr-ābhra Vibhrama yaśo-Vitānaḥ Śrī Daddas ....." Ind Ant., XIII, p. 77.

Daḍda I of this plate should be indentified with Dadda II of the Kaira grants. Jayabhaṭa III's first known date is 456 and calculating backwards at the rate of twenty five years to a generation, we arrive at 381 as the date of the first Dadda of Nausāri copper plate. This date corresponds with that of Dadda II of the Kaira grants, and the two may, therefore, be identified. Ibid., XIII, p. 72.

[2] See Dr. Bühler's identification Ibid., XVII, p. 196.

[3] Ibid., 196, Ibid, XVII, p. 74.

[4] Ind. Ant, XVII, p. 196.

[5] Fleet, Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 316.

patched a fleet to Bārāuz or Broach.[1] We do not know how Dadda averted the calamity. He maintained the integrity of his principality and administered it judiciously. A feudatory, like his predecessors, he acquired the five great titles (Pañcamahāśabda).[2] Being a man of learning "he illumined the world of the living by his pure precepts."[3]

He had a special predilection for the sunworship. Both he and his brother, Raṇagraha, sign their grants as devout worsippers of the sun.[4]

Jayabhaṭa II (A. D. 655)

We do not get much information regarding his son, Jayabhaṭa II, who is described as a warlike prince in the Nausāri copper plate of Jayabhaṭa III.[5] Probably it was during his period of rule that the Cālukya Jayasiṁha-varman took south Gujrat and drove away the Gurjaras north of the Tāptī.

Dadda III alias Bahusahāya

Jayabhaṭa II was succeeded by his son Dadda III, whose status virtually remained the same, for he also attained the five great titles (Samadhigatapañcamahāśabda)[6] like his grandfather. But he owed spiritual allegiance to a different God. He became an avowed worshipper of Śiva (Paramamāheśvara)[7]. It was to his credit indeed that "the Society was properly regulated according to varṇāśramadharma during his regime."[8]

He popularised his name Bāhusahāya by displaying his strength in the wars waged against the kings of the east and the

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[1] Elliot: History of India, Vol. 1, p. 513.

[2] Ind. Ant. vol. XIII, p. 83-89-90; Ep, Ind, V, p. 39; The Umetā, Bagumrā and Ilāo grants address him as "Mahārājādhirāja" (Ind. Ant. vol. VII, p. 63; Ibid., XVII, p. 200; Ibid., XIII, p. 117). They also mention his another title "Samadhigatapañcamahāśabda," which indicates that he was a feudatory. (For the explanation of pañcamahāśabdas. See J. R. A. S. (G. B.) 1864, p. 280, fn. 1, J of the American Oriental Society, vol. VI, p. 540.

[3] Tātamōvṛtviradhikaguru snēha saṁpatakavimaladiśodbhasitajīvalokaḥ paramabōdha-samānugatō Vipulagurjjaranṛpanmaya Pradīpaōmupagatah Ind. Ant., XVII, p. 200.

[4] Ep. Ind, II, p. 20-21.

[5] Ind. Ant., XIII, p. 77.

[6] Ibid., p. 78.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

west[1], who were the Cālukya sovereign of Bādāmi or some ruler of Mālava and the lord of Valabhi respectively[2]. This shows that the scramble for supremacy had overcast the political world and the harmony of relations drowned in the vortex of self-aggrandisement. This animosity was becoming hereditary.

Jayabhaṭa III (705-706 A. D.-735-736) A. D.

Dadda's son, Jayabhaṭa III, "quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhi[3], who was either Śilāditya V or Śilāditya VI. It is just probable that he allied himself with the Gujrāt Cālukya Mangalaras to seize the continental districts from the Valabhi king.[4]

Jayabhaṭa elevated his position and came to be known as Sāmantādhipati - lord of barons[5]. But his acquisition of the five great titles[6], like his predecessors, testifies delete the fact that he was also a feudatory. His love of art and patronage to Pandits[7] shed lustre on court. He was a devotee of Śiva.[8]

In his reign fell the great invasion of the Arabs. Junaid, the general of Khalif Hasham, sent his officers to Marmad, Mandal, Barus (Broach), and other places, and conquered Bailman and Jurz,[9] As Hasham's reign period ranges from 724 A. D. to 743 A. D., it is reasonable to surmise that the expeditions were made sometime after 724 A. D. and prior to 743 A. D. This incursion proved disastrous to the Gurjaras and probably accelerated their downfall.

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1 Prācya-pratīcy-adhirāja-Vijṛmbhita-mahā-saṁgrāma-narapati-Sahasra-Parivāti (ri) tānēka-gaja-ghaṭa-vighaṭana-prakaṭita-bhuja-vīryya-vikhyāta-Bāhusahāy-āpara-nāma. Ibid., pp. 77-78.

2 Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. II, p. 316; Ind. Ant., XVII, p. 198.

3 Kritosti asidhārājalēna śamita prāsabham valabhipatēr yude- Ind. Ant., V, p. 113.

4 Dr. A. S. Altekar: "The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times," p. 32r

5 Ind. Ant. V, p. 114.

6 Pañcamahāśabda-Ibid; Ibid., XIII, p. 78.

7 Ibid., V, pp. 113-114.

8 Parama-māhēśvaraḥ-Ibid., XIII, p. 78.

9 Elliot: Hist. of India, vol. I., p. 126; Tran. of the Vienna Ori. Congress, Oriental Section, p. 231.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE[1]

Dadda I A. D. 580

Jayabhaṭa alias Vītarāga (A. D. 605)

Dadda II alias Praśāntarāga (A. D. 629, 641-642 A. D.) — Raṇagraha[2]

Jayabhaṭa II (A. D. 655)

Dadda III alias Bāhusahāya (A. D. 680)

Jayabhaṭa III (A. D. 705-706 ; A. D. 735-736)

[1] Kaira Grants. Ind. Ant., XIII, p. 81-87; 88-91, Nausāri Copper Plate, Ibid., pp. 70-81.

[2] Sānkhedā Copper plate, Ep. Ind., vol. II p. 20-21.

ON A MARXIST APPROACH TO INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

By

D. D. Kosambi

The Late D. A. Suleikin's note on the periodization of Indian history contains just criticism of our historians, along with some dangerously misleading statements. These last force me to repeat briefly some of my own conclusions published elsewhere over the last ten years.

1. Only the fullest agreement can be expressed with the main principle, namely that historical periods must be demarcated according to the means and relations of production, not by fortuitous changes of dynasty or battles. Even here, it can be recognized that major wars, great changes in rulers, significant religious upheavals do often signalize fundamental changes in the productive relations of the people. That such critical changes manifest themselves through wars or reformation in religion is due to the undeveloped stage of society with its attendant concealment of the true social forces guiding or forcing historical development. That history as written by most bourgeois scholars confines itself to these superficial manifestations is due in part to archaic tradition, but in still greater measure to the bourgeois author's denial of the class struggle within his own society. A critical approach to the class basis of former periods implies a similar approach to the author's own period, which would lead to unpleasant truths.

When all this is said, we come to the objections that must be raised. These are:

(A) India is not a mathematical point but a very large country, a sub-continent with the utmost diversity of natural environment, language, historical course of development. Neither in the means of production nor in the stages of social development was there overall homogeneity in the oldest times. Centuries must be allowed to pass before comparable stages of productive and social relationships may be established between the Indus valley, Bengal, and Malabar. Even then, important differences

remain which makes periodization for India as a whole almost impossible, except with the broadest margins.

(B) A given ancient document may in general imply a certain form of production, but it is rarely possible to date it (as Suleikin himself noted) and often impossible to determine its locality. Thus Suleikin's quoting from the latest additions to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, and from the *Jātakas* (which are on the same level as fairy stories, but composed long after king Aśoka) is particularly unfortunate. No such work can apply – even when its statements are not fabulous or purely imaginary – to the whole country. Often, the work indicates nothing more than the false expansion and generalization of a narrow local tradition which has been merged with others but given special weight because of the class or sectarian bias of the redactor. This is a concomitant of the hierophantic tradition and approach; for to the priesthood, only the lunar month and day are of importance for ritual; only in Jain records are the years at all reliably kept, simply because that community had a large proportion of traders to whom the succession of years meant something. The best that can be done with Brahmin records is to group them into broad chronological strata, before analysis of each layer upon its own merits. Otherwise, like Suleikin, one has to flit lightly from century to century and across thousands of kilometers.

(C) The disastrous consequences of combining and universalizing local traditions are manifested in several ways. The first is that simultaneous events are arranged in a fictitious sequence, thus cracking the very foundations of a chronological structure. Only a Pargiter can look into Puranic king-lists with aplomb and pass smoothly over contradictions. A second difficulty is that the meaning of crucial terms is apt to change, or be lost altogether. This is made peculiarly easy by the priestly control of the Sanskrit language which led to secrecy (as with the Druids of Gaul), to reliance upon memory rather than writing, hence to versification and ambiguity; contrast the difficulty of getting any clear meaning out of a Sanskrit passage, with the comparative lucidity of Greek or Latin prose.

2. What, then, are the actual possibilities of a scientific Indian chronology? Beginnings have been made by noting the cita-

tions in each author, whereby a sequence may be found. This has to be done on a vast scale before location of the material as well as chronology become satisfactory. Restricting ourselves to the handful of published scriptures will not suffice; only the citation method followed on a large scale can tell us something reliable about time and place. A further step is tracing the first mention of social customs, first use of specific techniques, first appearance of particular foodstuffs. Both these methods have been initiated by Prof. P. K. Gode's systematic work, but need powerful extension. For example, the cocoanut so basic today in almost every Brahmin ritual has no scriptural authority, being in fact an import from the south-east (probably Malaya) not earlier than the Christian era, and certainly little cultivated before the 4th century A. D. The sacred animal is the cow, but without the water-buffalo the swampy lands of the Gangetic basin could not have been made productive; this most important animal was not generally tamed till the age of the Buddha, if that early. There is no direct record of such important additions to the Indian means of production.

Only primary archaeological work can help us to evaluate the content, to fix the meaning of our written sources. It was not so long ago that European scholars, relying solely upon records, dismissed the Buddha as a sun-myth. We know that though particular episodes of the Iliad may be fictitious, Troy did exist, and there is evidence for its having been sacked by the Achaeans. Was there actually a Mahābhārata war? What does Rāma's legendary invasion of Laṅkā represent? No answer will be forthcoming unless someone digs at the right places. Indian archaeology is still at the bourgeois-colonial stage of digging for museum exhibits that look impressive to foreigners. The recent attempts at a reasoned stratigraphy have yet to be extended systematically to the whole country. Our chronology cannot begin till carbon-14 analysis of wood and charcoal, dendrochronology, and other such techniques are widely employed.

3. On the position of slavery, it is necessary to deny flatly the general stand taken by Suleikin, who seems to have been carried away by European parallels. Debt-slavery still exists in parts of Gujarat and Sind. My grandparents on both sides held

family slaves of low birth, the *bande* of Goa. But these slaves were not to be bought or sold, none of these types ever having performed any indispensable function in the relations of production [1]; their total number was negligible.

It is very surprising that Suleikin dismisses so lightly the statement of Megasthenes that there was no slavery in India (cf. *Arthaśāstra* 3.13=65, with Megasthenes in Strabo xv. 1.59, Diodoros Siculus ii. 39 and Arrian *Indika* x, end). Our Soviet writer goes so far as to state "It is true that ancient India knew of no large slave-owning enterprises, but the the essence of the matter does not change because of this." Apparently, the essence of the matter is a fixed opinion that no amount of negative evidence can change.

Clearly, Indian slavery was not recognizable as such by the Greeks and Romans. Chattel slavery can never have had any significant role in Indian production. Human beings traded like cattle for heavy labour in the mines and fields is a feature of classical European economy, never of the Indian. Caesar's account of the Gallic wars and Xenophon's *Anabasis* tell us that slaves were a regular part of even the common soldier's booty. Neither inscriptions nor literature mention the numbers of slaves taken after a battle in India. There is no trace of slave marts, or caravans of slave traders. The *dāsa* is a house-servant, or bondsman. So far from slaves being property like gold, jewels, cattle, Jaimini (*Pūrvamīmāṁsā-darśana*: vi. 7.5.6) expressly separates them from all other forms of property. But note that to him *dāsa* and *śūdra* are virtually synonymous, as to so many other writers.

Thus the Indian method for expropriation of a whole class of labour made no use of slavery after the Graeco-Roman model. Before the Aryans, we had a considerable urban civilization, comparable to the early Sumerian, in the Indus valley. It would be incredible that this had been built up without class divisions, without a large, surplus-producing, agrarian population. The Aryans destroyed this culture down to its foundations; the Rgveda

[1] D. R. Banaji: *Slavery in British India* (Bombay, 1933) deals with major forms of slavery that remained between 1772 and 1843.

sings of Indra's having destroyed the cities, shattered the dams of the Dasyus or Dāsas, but never of building either, or digging canals for agriculture. I have shown elsewhere that some of these pre-Aryans were absorbed into the Aryans, the Brahman priesthood being due at least in part to this admixture. Ample traces exist in the Ṛgveda of progressive recombination, aryanization of indigenous peoples, constant warfare among these newly developed tribes. This is not merely conquest but a fundamental change such as the Battle-axe people brought to cruder Mesolithic cultures in Europe : comparable, though on a higher level, to the decline of the Erösd and Tripolye matriarchal cultures. But what happened to the vast majority of surplus producers, who found no place among the reorganized Aryans ?

The word for caste, *varṇa*, means colour. In the Ṛgveda, there are only two human varṇas, that of the Aryans and that of their *dāsa* opponents. But the later *dāsa* not only means slave but denotes also the *Śūdra* caste : a class of people defined generally by birth, not eligible for initiation, barred from reading scriptures, wielding weapons, owning property – one whose function is to serve the three Aryan castes. In a word, a *helot*, not a slave. Slavery did not develop in India because at the time of the invasion (which Suleikin virtually ignores) the conquerors had tribal property, not private property. The Śūdra caste therefore begins as slaves of the community as a whole, only later tied to the soil or to patriarchal households for menial labour. The initial position is nearest to that in Sparta, where the richest male Spartans formed a permanent armed camp to suppress the helots with the help of the marginal allies, the *Perioikoi*. The Indian caste system and religion performed the function of naked violence. Observe that the very passage of Nārada cited by Sulèikin goes on to give circumstances under which the various types of slaves could be manumitted, for that slavery amounts to contract labour; but there is no method except monkhood whereby a Śūdra loses his caste, and monastic orders were usually closed to the Śūdra in practice ; particularly and explicitly to a runaway bondsman. Lastly, whereas a code like that of Hammurabi deals with existing relationships, one can never be certain with works like Nārada just how much is traditional or even purely imaginary.

Naturally, the non-priestly and non-fighting portion of the recombined "Aryans" sank to an inferior status, the Vaiśya *varṇa*. The internal development of caste-classes is the inevitable consequence of the external. The Vaiśya's lowered position is neatly reflected, even in the Ṛgveda, by the lowered status of the Maruts. Originally group-gods and clan-gods, they become companions of Indra, subordinate to him, exploited by him. The Agastya hymns at the end of the first Ṛgveda book show this decline. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa says quite bluntly that the Maruts are the common peasants, the clan-people (albeit above the Śūdras) and the peasants are food for the warrior class (Ś. B. v. 2. 1. 17, v. 1. 3. 3, v. 3. 1, 6, ix. 3. 1. 13, xiv. 1. 3.27). Conquest followed by constant warfare had its inevitable effect upon conquerors as well as conquered. But we must not forget, in our disgust at the backwardness and human degradation imposed upon India by the caste system, that the system at its beginning advanced production, being so eminently suited to local conditions that it had to develop. It opened up the wilderness to the east of the Punjab for the new type of settlement; it prevented the formation of large-scale chattel slavery, real slavery in the Greek or Roman sense; it permitted the enrolment of newer tribes, later also of guilds, in the artificial Manusmṛti scheme of mixed castes. This was done on the basis of religion which minimized the need for internal violence, thereby leading all social manifestations of the class-struggle in India into religio-philosophical channels of expression. In this sense, caste is the negation of history, so that it is not in the least surprising to find that Indian literary tradition has virtually no historical sense or content. What is surprising is that a supposedly Marxist writer should have ignored all this.

4. To recapitulate: just as the word *slave* is derived from the low Latin *sclavus* which denotes a particular people from whom a large number of slaves were recruited, the Indian *dāsa* in Ṛgvedic times means a set of tribes hostile to and generally beaten by the Aryans. The word *dāsa* early went through a development parallel to that of Latin *servus* which started by meaning slave, to end as servant, retainer, serf. The older Roman patrician would have been puzzled by the idea of a

menial who was not a chattel slave while his Indian counterpart would have found it impossible to comprehend how parsimonious Cato could sell off superannuated dāsas indiscriminately. The Near East had other simultaneous types of slavery nearer to the kinds mentioned in our smṛtis. The famous Gadates inscription of Darius at Branchidae shows that the Babylonian *qallu* could be equated to the Persian *bandaka* and Greek *doulos*; yet the context proves that some temple slave labourers could be supported in idleness, while a powerful satrap was addressed by his master the king as a slave without losing his nobility. Neither of these would be possible for the Greek *doulos*.

There were two main reasons why the Greeks could not recognize Indian servitude as being within their concept of slavery. First, leading Greeks, Romans, Ionians, Phoenicians, Carthaginians could and did take part in trade and finance, having advanced the manufacture and exchange of commodities to the stage of taking minted money as the principal measure of value, means of exchange, symbol of wealth. On the other hand, those Indians who would deal most with visiting Greeks, the Indians who lived mainly by commodity exchange or cash transactions, were a small fraction of the Vaiśya class and caste, having virtually no control over the state mechanism, and little over the general means[1] of production; hence none over religion, literature and drama. The slave trade as such did not exist in India, whence slavery could not possibly mean the same thing to them as to the Greeks. The second reason comes directly from the caste system: the great Indian source of expropriable labour was the *śūdra*, who was the *dāsa* in general throughout the post-vedic period down through the classical age and even later. The śūdra could not be manumitted. Manusmṛti 8.414 tells us explicitly

[1] Marx comments specially upon the main characteristic of primitive Indian production: "In the primitive communities of India there is social division of labour, but the products of this community production do not become commodities." (Capital I. i. 2). A little earlier we have a passage inserted by Engels as clarification: "The medieval peasant produced cense-corn for the seigneur and tithe-corn for the priest; but the fact that they were produced for others did not make commodities of cense-corn and tithe-corn. To become a commodity, a product must pass by way of *exchange* into the hands of the other person for whom it is a use-value."

" Even if released by his master, the śūdra is not freed from servitude; it (servitude) is his lot by nature, who can remove that from him ? ". Every European slave of the classical period could be manumitted, bought, or sold. The inferior position of the European freedman arose from the fact that as a slave he had lost his *gens* while manumission did not mean adoption into any *gens*; hence the peculiarly uncertain status of a *libertinus* in a gentilic society. For the śūdra, there was no escape. The śūdras are in some ways paralleled by the Babylonian *širqūtu*, or Palestinian *netînîm*, two classes of near-Eastern temple slaves.[1] There is the strong possibility that the formation of the caste was helped by the pre-existence of such temple-slaves at Harappā-an institution for which there is some archaeological support in the barrack-like quarters found.

It is interesting to compare the earliest, perhaps the only, recorded Indian impression of Greek slavery (*Majjhimanikāya* 93, the *Assalāyanasutta*): "*sutaṃ te, yona-kaṃbojesu aññesu ca paccantimesu janapadesu dve'va vaṇṇā: ayyo ca dāso ca; ayyo hutvā dāso hoti, dāso hutvā ayyo hoti*". The Buddha is reported as saying to the young Brahmin Assalāyana, "Thou hast heard that in Yona, Kamboja, and other (adjacent) frontier regions, there are only two castes: Ārya and Dāsa. One having been an Ārya may become a Dāsa, one having been a Dāsa may become an Ārya". Of course this could not be a sentence of the Buddha, for it must date after the time when the Macedonian invasion had spread the Ionian name as well as Greek slave trade to Afghanistan. The discourse is directed against Brahmin claims to be the pre-eminent caste by birth; therefore if *vaṇṇa* meant only class (as Suleikin would have it) and not caste, the whole point of the *sutta* would be lost altogether. However, the most interesting thing here is that the Indian could best grasp Greek slavery as the equivalent of a caste, being surprised that such 'caste' could be changed about at times with the other, the caste of free men-who had no rigid barriers among themselves to marriage and free social intercourse such as caste divisions would have entailed

[1] I. Mendelsohn: *Slavery in the Ancient Near East* (New York 1949), R. P. Dougherty *The Shirkutu of Babylonian Deities* (Yale Oriental Research Series 5/2).

and such as existed between slave and free. He could no more imagine a society without caste than the Greek could without chattel slavery, just as the bourgeois cannot envisage a classless society except as wild, lawless anarchy.

When commodity production is not of prime importance, human labour cannot become an essential commodity, whence human beings will not be needed as chattel slaves. If the main production be agrarian, it suffices to tie the worker to the land. Slave labour always tends to be standardized by its lowest, cheapest, and least productive form, that of the drudge whose muscular energy is the source of crude power. As soon as commodity production by power-driven machinery comes into its own, the discovery has inevitably to be made that the prime surplus-producing commodity is not the human being but only his labour. This is most efficiently productive when the human labourer is 'free' to sell his labour, unfettered by tribal, guild, feudal, or religious bonds—and also unhindered by such distractions as ownership of the land or means of production. The new social theory then regards class divisions as just, as part of the very order of nature, precisely as caste, slavery, or serfdom had been at earlier levels.

MISCELLANEA

TIME OF ŚRĪDHARĀCĀRYA

BY

SABAL SINGH

Dates of different ancient Hindu mathematicians have been fixed either from the contents of the books they have written or from the books written by their contemporaries. Names of some of them are given below in the chronological order with their dates mentioned against each in brackets :—

Āryabhaṭa I (499 A. D.), Varāhamihar (505 A. D.), Brahmagupta (628 A. D.), Mahāvīrācārya (850 A. D.), Āryabhaṭa II (950 A. D.), Śrīpati (1039 A. D.) and Bhāskara II (1150 A. D.).

The definite period of Śrīdharācārya is not available in any of the ancient Hindu printed books or manuscripts. The works of Śrīdharācārya available at present and the commentaries on them do not mention at all his place of birth and age. Several mathematicians have tried to fix the age of Śrīdhara, but there is no unanimity among them. I am giving below their opinions about the date along with my own comments in each case.

Pt. Sudhākara Dvivedi, in his 'Gaṇakataraṅgiṇī' a book giving the life histories of different ancient Hindu mathematicians writes that Śrīdhara wrote a book "Nyāyakandalī" and flourished in 991 A. D., and that his father was Baladeva and mother was Abboka and he hailed from Bengal from the village Bhurishraishtika on the west coast of the Ganges in the Radhi province. Thus Pt. Sudhākara Dvivedi has fixed the date on the presumption that Śrīdhara who wrote "Nyāyakandalī" is the same Śrīdhara who wrote "Pāṭīgaṇita". Unless the above presumption is rigidly proved, which he has not even attempted, his conclusion about the date cannot be accepted as correct, as there can be many authors of the same name as Śrīdhara. There is one Śrīdhara who wrote "Śrīdharai Jyotish" and another who wrote "Jātakapadhatti". One Śrīdhara ruled in the neighbourhood of

Annegeri in 1157 [1] Miss C. Mabel Duff too has distinguished Śrīdhara [2] who wrote "Nyāyakandalī" from Śrīdhara, [3] the astronomer, by giving the dates 991 A. D. to the former and 691 A. D. to the latter.

Shankar Balkrisha Dikshit, in his "Bhartiya Jyotish Shastra" [4] writes:—

"It appears from the work of Mahāvīra that a writer named Śrīdhara preceded him and it was on the latter's book on arithmetic that Bhāskara II based his "Līlāvatī". Colebrooke had found a work called "Gaṇitasāra" by this writer, which treated of arithmetic and areas. From this it appears that this Śrīdhara and the one mentioned by Mahāvīra are identical. Judging from the time at which Mahāvīra is said to have flourished Śrīdhara could not have been more modern than Śaka 775 (the date of Mahāvīra). Bhāskara II has also mentioned an algebraist named Śrīdhara and there is no doubt that he should be the same author mentioned by Mahāvīra.

Dikshit discovered a reference to Śrīdhara by name[5] together with the quotation वृत्तं घनर्णयोर्वर्गो मूले स्वर्णे तयोः क्रमात् in a very old and worn out manuscript of Mahāvīra's "Gaṇitasārasaṁgraha". He could not find the above quotation in any of the known manuscripts of Sudhākara's "Triśatikā," and also because of its metre being Anuṣṭup different from that (Āryā) of "Triśatikā," so he concluded that the quotation must be from "Pāṭīgaṇita" or "Bījagaṇita" of Śrīdhara. He has on the basis of the above quotation found in his copy of the manuscript of "Gaṇitasārasaṁgraha" which contains reference to Śrīdhara by name, concluded that Śrīdhara lived before Mahāvīra.

In support of the above conclusion of Dikshit, I found another Manuscript No. 230 of "Gaṇitasārasaṁgraha".[6] which ends in

क्रमाविद्युक्तं श्रीधराचार्यैरिति भद्रं भूयात् । पाठकलेखकयोश्च ।

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1 cf. Chronology of India by C. Mabel Duff, P. 155

2 cf. ,, ,, ,, ,, P. 58

3 cf. ,, ,, ,, ,, P. 101

4 cf. Pages 229-30

5 cf. Shanker Balkrishna Dikshit, History of India Astronomy, Page 311.

6 Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts, vol. I. 1926 in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Soc.

Dikshit has on the basis of only one quotation, and that too not yet found in any of the available works of Śrīdhara, concluded that Mahāvīra has borrowed from Śrīdhara, without going into a careful scrutiny and comparison of the works of two authors and then deducing whether Mahāvīra has copied from Śrīdhara or Śrīdhara from Mahāvīra, or both of them have borrowed from a third source.

G. R. Kaye,[1] who has always taken up the position of denying the antiquity of Hindu mathematics and astronomy[2], supported Dvivedi's views and rejected the conclusion of Dikshit that Śrīdhara was anterior to Mahāvīra on the following three grounds:—

1. The inadvertence in the quotation of Dikshit.
2. Its absence from "Triśatikā" as available at present.
3. Its (quotation's) absence from Raṅgācārya's "Gaṇitasāra-saṁgraha".

The first objection of Kaye does not seem to be at all material, for a distinguished algebraist like Śrīdhara, whose authority has been freely admitted even by the celebrated Bhāskara II was certainly acquainted with the rules of sign and must have stated 'धनं' instead of 'ऋणं' in his algebra.

The second objection of Kaye has no force as he has not consulted the other two books of Śrīdhara.

The third objection of Kaye is not tenable since the quotation in question actually occurs in Raṅgācārya's[3] edition of "Gaṇita-sārasaṁgraha". But, in this connection, it should be noted that it is not noted as having been taken from Śrīdhara, as it is mentioned in that manuscript which was consulted by Dikshit. Indeed there is no mention of Śrīdhara or any other writer by name in the printed edition of the "Gaṇitasārasaṁgraha".

Dr. B. Datta, after comparing the "Gaṇitasārasaṁgraha" of Mahāvīra with "Triśatikā" of Śrīdhara as edited by Sudhākara Dvivedi, says, "It now appears on careful scrutiny and compa-

[1] cf. Bibl. Math., vol. XIII (3), Page 295.
[2] cf. Dutta & Singh, History of Hindu Maths., Part I, p. 44-45.
[3] cf. Ch. I, P. 6. Verse 52.

rison that the relation of Mahāvīrācārya to Śrīdharācārya was much closer than has hitherto been suspected. Mahāvīra was not only well acquainted with but was also greatly influenced by writings of Śrīdhara.[1] He has supported the above idea by referring chiefly to the (i) range of topics discussed by both these writers, (ii) a certain peculiarity in their method of treatment of various topics and (iii) the similarity of certain illustrative examples found in their available works. Thus Dr. Dutta proceeded on scientific lines for studying the relation between Śrīdhara and Mahāvīra, but the difficulty with him was that Śrīdhara's one work only, i. e. "Triśatikā" edited by Sudhākara Dvivedi was available to him and therefore his comparison could not be exhaustive. While mentioning the points of difference, he says, "The "Triśatikā" does not contain the treatment of geometric progressions, the ellipse, permutations and combinations and indeterminate analysis, all of which with certain matters find places in the "Gaṇitasārasaṁgraha".[2] The detailed comparison of the "Gaṇitasārasaṁgraha" with Śrīdhara's "Triśatikā" "Pāṭīgaṇita" and Pāṭigaṇitasāra" used in Lucknow University reveals that in addition to geometric progressions, combinations and the indeterminate analysis found in the "Pāṭīgaṇita", rules 84, 88 and 228 and examples 85, 86, 89, 99, 205 and 206 of "Pāṭīgaṇitasāra" and the corresponding rules 159, 163 (mixed problems) and 94 (page 21) and examples 160, 161, 162, 163, 164 (mixed problems), ex. 6 (page 47) and examples 152-53 (mixed problems) of the "Gaṇitaāsrasaṁgraha" are exactly the same with slight verbal alterations. The example 205-206 is found in "Pāṭīgaṇita" also and 89 in "Triśatikā".

Thus these 'ślokas' have either been taken by the one from the other, or, else both the writers took them from a third source. As the third source has not been found, it is natural to believe in the first alternative, that is, either Śrīdhara has copied from Mahāvīra or reverse is the case.

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[1] cf. B. Datta, Relation between Mahāvīra and Śrīdhara (Vol. XVII, 1) 1932, P. 26.

[2] cf. B. Datta, Relation between Mahāvīra and Śrīdhara (Vol. XVII, 1) 1932, P. 32.

Mahāvīra was a Jain and Śrīdhara a Hindu, the worshipper of Śiva. The view that the Jains used to copy greatly from the works of the Hindus is held by all competent authorities. On the other hand there is very little evidence of any reputed Hindu scholar having copied from a Jain work. Śrīdhara was by all accounts the gretest mathematician of his age and there is little likelihood of his having taken anything from a Jain work. This view is further supported by the fact that the Hindus have always looked down upon Jain and practised a sort of non-cooperation with the Jain community, their religion and their works. There is a popular saying which runs as follows.

न वदेद्यावनीं भाषां प्राणैः कण्ठगतैरपि ।
हस्तिना पीड्यमानोपि न गच्छेज्जैनमन्दिरम् ॥

" One should not speak the language of the Yavanas even to his last breath. Even at the risk of being crushed by the elephant one should not go to the Jain temple ".

Thus in our opinion Śrīdhara wrote before Mahāvīra, i. e. 850 A. D.

As has already been mentioned rules 84 to 88 of " Pāṭīgaṇita " are exactly the same as the rules 30 to 34 of printed edition of " Brahmasphuṭa-siddhānta ".

The rules deal with the addition, subtraction, multiplication and division of algebric quantities and with operations by zero and on zero by positive and negative quantities. The subject matter of these rules is appropriate to algebra and they are clearly an interpolation into the " Pāṭīgaṇita, " made perhaps by the commentator. The commentator ascribes the authorship of these rules to Śrīdhara. These rules might have occurred in the " Bījagaṇita " of Śrīdhara but we are not certain of this as the " Bījagaṇita " of Śrīdhara is not available to us. The " Bījagaṇita " must have been available to the commentator and if we rely on the commentator it will follow that either Śrīdhara copied from Brahmagupta or Brahmagupta from Śrīdhara.

So far as we know, Śrīdhara was the first Hindu mathematician to write a separate work on " Bījagaṇita ". Brahmagupta in " Siddhānta " had separated the chapter on algebra and called it

'kuṭṭaka.' It is difficult to decide as to who copied from whom. If the rules mentioned above actually occurred in a work of Śrīdhara, we would be inclined to believe that Brahmagupta copied from Śrīdhara; firstly because Śrīdhara was the greater mathematician of the two although Brahmagupta as an astronomer was greater and secondly bacause Brahmagupta's chapter on algebra displays a more advanced stage of the subject than we find in Śrīdhara's works that are available. If this view is correct Śrīdhara must have flourished in the sixth century A. D. The matter however cannot be decided without study of Śrīdhara's "Bījaganita" which unfortunately seems to have been lost.

On the other hand if Śrīdharācārya has copied from Brahmgupta, the date 750 A. D. ascribed to Śrīdhara by Dikshit, which lies midway between Brahmagupta and Mahāvīrācārya, is approximately correct. At present we are inclined to agree with Dikshit but there is a possibility that Śrīdhara might have flourished before Brahmagupta and then, he should be placed in the sixth century A. D.

PRĀKRITABHĀṢĀ OF BADAMI INSCRIPTION

BY

G. S. GAI

In his valuable book 'An Introduction to Comparative Philology', Dr. P. D. Gune, while discussing the period of the Prākrits, says that it would roughly fall between the first and the tenth centuries of the Christian era.[1] In this connection he refers to an inscription from Bādāmi and remarks "The last Sanskrit line on an inscription of the Cālukya king Vijayāditya Satyāśraya at Bādāmi, *Śaka* 621 *i. e.*, A. C. 699 or nearly the beginning of the eighth century, clearly indicates the existence of Prākrit in some form at that time. The line runs thus: अतः परं प्राकृतभाषया पद्यान्येतानि दत्तानि (*ataḥ paraṁ prākṛtabhāṣayā padyānyetāni dattāni*). Unfortunately for us, the further lines which would have shown us the actual form of the Prākrit, are obliterated. So much is, however, certain that a Prākrit in some form was used on inscriptions between the close and the beginning of the 7th and the 8th centuries respectively".[2]

These observations were based on the strength of the transcript of the inscription published by Fleet, years ago, where only the first ten lines were deciphered.[3] Recently, about 9 or 10 years ago, this same inscription has been revised and re-edited by Vidyāratna R. S. Panchamukhi[4] who has brought out the importance of the record and has deciphered and published lines 11 to 15. These lines which contain the grant portion[5] are written in old *Kannaḍa Language* and it is this Kannaḍa Language which is referred to as *Prākritabhāṣā* in 11. 9-10 of the record. Therefore, *Prākritabhāṣā* in this inscription means the language of the region *i. e.* the native language *viz.* Kannaḍa as opposed to the *Sanskritabhāṣā* in which the first ten lines have been written. This information was not available to Dr. P. D. Gune when he wrote his book and this has not been incorporated in the revised edition of that work by Prof. N. P. Gune. Hence the necessity of the present note to invite the attention of the scholars to the above facts.

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[1] I refer to the revised and enlarged edition by Prof. N. P. Gune, Poona, 1950, pp. 253-54.

[2] Ibid, p. 254.

[3] Ind. Ant., vol. X, p. 60.

[4] *Karnatak Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 3.

[5] The revised reading gives *varṇyāny-etāni* instead of *padyāny-etāni*, noted above.

THE LALITĀ VYĀKHYĀ ON AṢṬĀṄGA-HṚDAYA

BY

N. S. MOOSS

The popularity of the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya as a work of well arranged and carefully compiled medical treatise found for it many commentaries of repute. While searching for manuscripts of commentaries on the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya I have come across a portion of the Lalita Vyākhyā. Regarding this commentary and its author I have collected all possible information and I present them here which will be of interest to those who do research work in the line.

As in other fields Kerala has contributed greatly to Āyurveda also. The name of Kerala is closely associated with the Aṣṭavaidyas and they have a glorious tradition of scholarship and service. Some of them have written commentaries for the Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya. Of the various commentaries this Lalita Vyākhyā[1] seems to be the latest.

The Lalita Vyākhyā[2] is not a commentary on the whole of Aṣṭāṅghṛdaya as the Śaśilekhā of Indu or the Sarvāṅgasundarī of Aruṇadatta. It is only available for the eleven chapters beginning from the Nasya-vidhi i. e. the 20th chapter in the Sūtra-sthāna of Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya. The commentator himself states this fact clearly in the following verses which appear in the beginning portion of the work, just after the benedictory stanzas.

[1] Bhiṣagācārya Hari Shastri Paradkar Vaidya of Akola, in his introduction to the sixth edition of the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya with the commentaries Sarvāṅgasundarī of Aruṇadatta and Āyurvedarasāyana of Hemādri (published by the Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1939) has mentioned that there is a commentary on Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya by the name of Lalita and that the author is one Sankara, but he records no manuscript of it.

[2] I have got with me the manuscript of this commentary on the first three chapters beginning from the Nasya-vidhi i. e. the 20th chapter in the Sūtra-sthāna of Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya. If any Mss. for the remaining portion are found they will prove a valuable treasure to the commentarial literature of Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya-saṁhitā.

व्याख्यानं पाठ्यसंज्ञन्तु कैरल्या भाषयान्वितम् ।
दृश्यते वस्तिपर्यन्तं बालानां सुखबोधकम् ॥
अदर्शनात् परमतो विचार्य सुचिरं धिया ।
मान्तर्द्धाह्वाहटस्योक्तिरिति मत्वेदमुच्यते ॥
सुन्दर्यादिष्ववैशद्यादर्थानामल्पचेतसाम् ।
विस्तरादर्थगांभीर्याद्व्याख्यां कर्तुं यतामहे ॥
हृद्येन्दुपाठ्यव्याख्यानमतभेदप्रदर्शिनीम् ।
समालंब्य गभीरार्थां व्याख्यां हृदयबोधिकाम् ॥
नस्यादिवाह्विपर्यन्तं सूत्रस्थानं यथामति ।
व्याख्यास्ये नीलकण्ठस्य प्रसादात् पाठ्यमार्गतः ॥
शब्दशुद्धिविहीनोऽस्य शब्दस्यार्थप्रकाशिकाम् ।
व्याख्यां करोमि शिष्यस्य बोधो यावत्सुखं भवेत् ॥

The commentary is simple, elegant and very elucidative and touches in detail the very many intricate passages in the text. First of all the prose order is given and then the meanings of words and explanations are attempted. When a difference of opinion arises the commentator deals with the subject in a detailed and exhaustive manner supplementing his findings with quotations from other works wherever necessary. The commentary is written in simple Sanskrit and is almost like the Kairali Vyākhyā on the Uttara Sthāna of the Aṣṭāngahṛdaya.

In order to have a general idea of the nature of the commentary, the first verse in the Nasya Vidhi is reproduced here along with the respective portion of the comment.

अथात इत्यादिना वमनादिकर्मणां नस्येन सह पञ्चकर्मत्वाद्वस्तिविधेरनन्तरं नस्यविधिः । वमनविरेचनास्थापनानुवासननस्यानि पञ्चकर्माणि । अरुणदत्तस्तु स्नेहस्वेदवमनविरेचनवास्तिकर्माणि पञ्चकर्माणीत्याह । आस्थापनानुवासनयोः पृथक् पृथगनेकगुणत्वप्राधान्यात्तथा मात्रासाधनयोर्भेदत्वाच्च पृथगेव वक्तुं योग्यता स्यात । स्नेहस्वेदयोस्तु दोषापहरणकर्मापटुत्वात पञ्चकर्मान्तर्भूतत्वं मुख्यतया न विद्यते । तथा चोक्तमाचार्येण— "स्नेहाक्लिन्नाः कोष्ठगा धातुगा वा स्रोतोलीना ये च शाखास्थिसंस्थाः । दोषाः स्वेदैस्ते द्रवीकृत्य कोष्ठं नीताः सम्यक् शुद्धिभिर्निर्हियन्ते " इति । तथा सिरावेधनविधौ " स्नेहे पीते प्रयुक्तेषु तथा पञ्चसु कर्मसु"ति निर्देशाच्च वमनादीन्येव पञ्चकर्माणि । हृयाकारस्तु पञ्चकर्मसु शिष्टत्वादिदानीं नस्यमुच्यत इति वक्ति । वमनविरेचनास्थापनानुवासनान्युक्त्वा नस्यविधिं वक्तीति हृदयबोधिकाकारेणाप्युक्तम् । अथवा अधःशोधनोक्त्यनन्तरमूर्ध्वशोधनमुच्यते । नासि प्रयुक्तमौषधं तत्प्रयोगो वा नस्यम्, तस्य विधिर्नस्यविधिः, तमधिकृत्य क्रियत इत्यध्यायारंभः । शिष्टस्यात्र विशिष्टानुपयोगाच्च व्याख्येयम् ।

ऊर्ध्वेति— ऊर्ध्वजत्रुविकारेषु विशेषात नस्यं इष्यत इत्यन्वयः । जत्रु अक्षकाख्ययोरस्थ्नोः सन्धिः, जत्रुण ऊर्ध्वम्भूर्ध्वजत्रु तत्र ये विकारागदिशिरःशूलादयः तेषु विषये विशेषेण नस्यमिष्यते मुनिभिरिति शेषः । विशेषशब्देन सामान्यान्यन्यान्यपि चिकित्सितानीष्यन्त इत्यर्थोऽवगम्यते । उक्तञ्च तन्त्रान्तरे "जत्रूर्ध्वसंभवे व्याधौ नस्यकर्मोत्तमोत्तमम् । छेदभेदसिरावेधवमनप्रच्छनादिकम् ॥ उत्तमांगगदेष्वेष्टं ततो नस्यं विशिष्यते । विषकुष्ठज्वरोन्मादस्मृत्यपायादिषूदितम् ॥ नस्यकर्म ततोप्येतदुत्तमांगगदे वरम्" इति । अभ्यंगसेककवलादिचिकित्सितेभ्योतिशयेन नस्यमिष्यत इति च । अथान्योऽप्यर्थः— ज्वरापस्मारादीनामपि नस्यविधानात् तेषां चिकित्सा सामान्येनेष्यते उत्तमांगविकाराणान्तु विशेषेणेष्यते इष्टं भूयत इत्यर्थः । एवमनेकार्थो विशेषशब्दः ।

Regarding the author of the commentary we get some information from the colophon that appears at the end of the comment on each of the chapters. The colophon at the end of the 20th chapter reads as follows :

इति कण्टकिफलान्दोलिकालयविख्यातश्रीनारायणशर्मसूनुना वयस्करविशिष्टागारनामान्तरशोभिना जोगकैकदेशमात्रपत्तनविश्रुतश्रीनीलकण्ठशर्मणोऽन्तेवासिना शङ्करशर्मणा विरचितायां ललिताख्यायामष्टाङ्गहृदयव्याख्यायां विशोऽध्यायः ।

The author of the Lalitā Vyākhyā was one Sankara Sarma, a member of the Pulamantol family of Aṣṭa Vaidyās.[1] According to custom the members of some of the Aṣṭavaidya families are called Mooss and this family is one of those with that title. Hence the actual name of the author by which people know him is Sankaran Mooss. As all the Aṣṭa-vaidya families are Malayala Brahmin families the word Sarma is added here in the colophon to denote the Varṇa or caste. His father was one Narayanan Mooss, who lived about two centuries ago. Further the commentator was the disciple of one Nilakaṇṭhan Mooss, a member of the Akilamon family of Aṣṭa-vaidyas.

From the colophon we can also understand that Sankaran Mooss, the author of the Lalitā Vyākhyā, has also another house by the name of Vayaskara. From the portion

कण्टकिफलान्दोलिकालयविख्यातश्रीनारायणशर्मसूनुना

[1] The existing Aṣṭa-vaidya families are 1. Ālatūr, 2. Pulāmantol, 3. Vayaskara, 4. Cīrittamon, 5. Vellotu, 6. Elayidatu Taikat, 7. Pazhanellipuratu Taikat, and 8. Kuttanceri (also called Akilamon). All these families keep their famous tradition to the present day.

in the colophon it is clear that his original house name is Pulamantol.[1] Really speaking Vayaskara is the name of a house which he has acquired later in his life. The story with regard to this is a little complicated and it is as follows :

" During the march of Tipu Sultan of Mysore in the year 964 M. E. to conquer the adjacent territories, he tried his best to convert as many Hindus as possible into the Islamic religion. At that time owing to the fear of being converted to Mohammedanism our author had to quit his native country[2] with his family for safety. He came to the country of Rāmarāja[3] and took refuge. "

" In the year 965 M. E. there was an attack of Small-pox in the Vayaskara family and all the members excepting a girl succumbed to death owing to the epidemic. Sankaran Mooss of Pulamantol, (the author of the Lalitā), according to the wish of of the people, married the girl who was the sole heir of the Vayaskara family then. The marriage has been conducted by the Tirunāvāya Vādhiān (one of the Priest-heads of Malayāla Brāhmins). The marriage has been accepted as law-binding by the then Maharaja of Travancore and Sankaran Mooss became

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[1] Generally it is a custom or rather a deep-rooted practice among the writers of Kerala to Sanskritise the vernacular names of their houses and mention them in their works. For instance we have the word उपरिनवग्रामम् in Sanskrit for मेल्पुत्तूर् the house name of the famous Sanskrit scholar and poet Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭapāda, the author of the Prakriyāsarvasva and Nārāyaṇīya. मेल् = उपरि (above), पुत्तन् = नव (new), ऊर् = ग्रामम् (village) and we have the word उपरिनवग्रामम् for मेल्पुत्तूर् . Similarly we have here the words कण्टकिफलान्दोलिका and जोङ्ककैकदेशमात्रपत्तनम्. Here प्लावु = कण्टकिफलः i. e. the Jack tree (Artocarpus integrifolia), आन्तोल् = आन्दोलिका i. e. a vehicle which was in general use in olden days and we get the word कण्टकिफलान्दोलिका for प्लामन्तोल् or पुलामन्तोल्. Likewise अकिल् = जोङ्कम् i. e. a fragrant wood (Aquilaria Agalocha), मण् = ऐकदेशमात्रपत्तनम् i. e. a portion of land and we get the word जोङ्ककैकदेशमात्रपत्तनम् for अकिलमण्.

[2] The Pulāmantol house is still at its original locality on the banks of the Bhārata river. It is situated in Pulāmantol Desam in Valluvanād Taluk in South Malabar.

[3] Rama Varma was the then ruler of Travancore and hence the name the country of Ramaraja for Travancore.

the owner of the properties of the family[1]. " In the records it is stated that the marriage took place on the fourteenth day of Tulam in the year 966 M. E.

Now from these facts we are in a position to infer that the Lalitā Vyākhyā was written by the said Sankaran Moos since his taking refuge in Travancore and his matrimonial connection with the Vayaskara family. Though the exact dates of his birth and death are still to be investigated, we may very well conclude by saying that he lived in the tenth century M. E. and that the commentary has been written by him in the latter half of the same century.

[1] These details are taken from an old palm-leaf Ms. containing historical records of the Vayaskara family.

DR. ROTH'S STUDIES ON THE *PADA-PĀṬHA

BY

S. R. SEHGAL

The question about the Pada-Pāṭha—the question whether a word—form appearing in the pada-pāṭha should be binding for us, the comprehension of the text is very important for exegesis. Grassman clearly said that the canonic worth of this pada-pāṭha was only a canonic dogma. Many misunderstandings of our Dictionary would have been avoided if I had judged the character of the Pada-pāṭha thirty years before:

यो जामयो वृष्ण इच्छन्ति शक्तिम् (ऋ. ३, ५७, ३)

verses like this contain allegories which have been a nuisance for the Vedic commentators for thousands of years. They have often the quality of a bad riddle the author of which so manages to construct it, that nobody is able to solve it. Ordinarily daily phenomena of nature or of the sacrifice are clothed with imperfect images. It is not poetical mythology but playful art of the poet. This verse is addressed to Agni, not to Indra nor the Soma as Sāyaṇa thinks.

वृष्णे

The Pada-pāṭha reads it as वृष्णे, but every independent reader will find in it the genitive which can depend only upon शक्तिम्. Grassmann simply translates: "They who seek the power of the bull". And when we further know that √ इच्छ could not govern dative except something like तत्वे = आत्मने, so we ask whether the author of the Pada-pāṭha could have thought of the dative to depend upon शक्तिम्. And yet the author of the Pada-pāṭha in this verse, seems to us to be on the right path in this connection. (Cf. श. ब्रा. १४, ५, ४, ७ न शब्दान् शक्नुयात् ग्रहणाय तै.सं.कर्मणे वां देवेभ्यः शकेयम्.) So the verse means when the related ones (fingers, hands,) acquire the power to reduce the bull to rejection (?) i. e. to produce fire they discover the seed i. e. the first glowing spark. Instances like

* This is translated from Kuhn's Zeitschrift Vol. 26 pp. 46-64.

this contain such a favourable evidence for the Science of the Pada-pāṭha that we should not neglect this guidance of an expert. But how it is that the same aid gives proofs of almost incomprehensible short-sightedness and consequently disturbs our favourable opinion about it?

सः । पाति (ऋ. ५, १२, ६)

How could the Pada-pāṭha divide in this manner. When the correct form सपाति could appear to him in a similar connection from verse 2 of the same hymn?

द्यौः । रेजत (ऋ. ४, १७, २)

How could this be divided in view of the fact that √ रेज् is आत्मनेपद and a form like भूमिर्गति (ऋ. ५, ५१, २) could have been recollected in this connection by a Vedic expert?

अवदो (ऋ. ३, ३०, ५)

How could it not be given as अव दः, to be consistent with the Padakāra's own scheme of writing?

शुक्रे (ऋ. २, ३४, २)

Was it not necessary to explain it by शुक्रः?

Complaints have been made against the Padakāra's erroneous analysis of sandhi which has created a medley in Vedic exegesis. But we should accept the analysis like a cash coin, for in all probabilities these sandhis are a grammatical fiction. Moreover the misunderstanding is not so much on the part of Śākalya, as on the part of the compilers of the Saṁhitā.

अवदः (ऋ. ३, ३०, ५)

Śākalya could avoid the separation अव । दः । with reasons but in that case the text should have accentuated अवदो of the division अव । दः from √ दृ could have been allowed. But he had no right to make this change and so he allowed अवदः to remain although it was unintelligible. The same could be said of the analysis – so shocking to us – of irregular sandhi in many cases.

उदूनेव (ऋ. १०, ६८, ४)

When Śākalya divides it as उदूना । इव while grammatically only उदूः । इव is correct, he could defend himself against the critic

by referring to RV. ८, १९. १४ when the Saṁhitā itself writes उद्नः इव although there was clearly उद्नेव. Śākalya also could say that the Saṁhitā itself has made a difference, otherwise it ought to have written even in १०, ६८, ४ as उद्नः इव in order to authorize him to the needful analysis.

विश्वेत

The Pada-Pāṭha always divides it as विश्वा । इत् and it is as a rule, to be divided in this way. But note the following exceptions : विश्वा । इत् (ऋ. १, ९२, ३, २, १३, १०,) विश्वान् । इत (ऋ. ८, १९, १४) विश्वे । इत (ऋ. १०, २०, ८)

In connection with the above examples it can be shown that in the Saṁhitā sandhi has been observed even there, when only the irregular treatment is correct viz where the metrically spoken word is recorded. Here we shall cite two examples in order to show that the exponents who presuppose a grammatical pada, must fall into error :—

पदा । अपः (ऋ. १, १६४, ७)

Thus पदापः has been divided by the Padapāṭha and following it Sāyaṇa, Haug and Ludwig render it as "Cows drink with the foot." But this absurdity is removed when we divide it as पदः । अपः and connecting पदः with the preceding शीर्ष्णः render पदः as from below ".

वङ्कुत्राधि (ऋ. १, ५१, ११)

This has been separated as वङ्कुतरा । अधि giving use to awkward interpretation " the swift, swiftest horses " or " widely roaming about ". It should be separated वङ्कुतरः । अधि and translated :' When Indra together with his team is well nourished with Soma, he mounts the intoxicated horses, he himself being even more intoxicated '.

श्रियाधि (ऋ. ५, ६१, १२)

This should be taken as श्रियः । अधि.

We should, therefore, see whether the Pade-pāṭha gives us a real grammatical analysis or only necessary help-a mechanical vocalic analysis.

इव

The treatment of इव in the Saṁhitā is similar to that of it explained above. The compilers of the Saṁhitās wrote what was grammatically correct instead of what was metrically correct have therefore done what was not their business but that of an exponent as of a Pada-kāra. Thus the Pada-pāṭha is guilty of defects which have been influenced upon it by the Saṁhitā.

Our investigation of the Saṁhitā must try to answer three questions: (1) Whether the compilers have established the text in all the portions that we actually possess it (2) if this is reflected in the affirmative the second question arises whether the compilers truly record the words of their informants and could communicate what the authors had spoken.

But even these questions cannot be put exactly unless we are able to decide two possible pre - suppositions - for or against the use of a script. In the former case the process of compilation is intelligible, but the second case presents a phenomenon of which we have no experience—the packing up of a metrical huge enough even for the strongest memory the combination, in one person of what was scattered in many and communicate through oral instruction. It seems to me that the collection could be only a writing when we consider the possible and impossible. Numerous hymns of the Ṛgveda without any word of connection between themselves, but grouped together according to actual or supposed origin - how could this be done from memory alone? And then consider the arrangement of the hymns from the stand-point of their external compass. How could such a connecting link be arrived at from memory alone?

Again the occurrence of inter-pretations indicates that this was not possible from memory alone. Note the following interpolations:-

विपिपाना (ऋ. १०, १३१, ४)

This should be changed into विपिपानम् - being a form parallel to forms in verse 5 of the same hymn (?)[1] This 4th verse is an interpolation.

[1] It is ṚV. 1, 112, 15.

इन्द्रावतुः (ऋ. १०, १३०, ५)

This should be grammatically separated as इन्द्रम् अवतुः

It appears at the same time that the compiler of the text as he understood erroneously इन्द्र to be vocative, accented the immediately succeeding verb according to his grammatical rule which, in fact, was not eligible for accent. The accent is, therefore, changeable according to the view of the compiler. In this 5th verse Sarasvatī is said to have cured Indra of the consequences of drink, a fact which could be rationally understood from the healing power of water.

सुराम (ऋ. १०, १३१, ४; ५)

In this word, final accentuation was expected and perhaps the accent here is based on a wrong view of Sināma after the analogy of सुशीम सुषूम.

The compilers of the Saṁhitā wrote and must have written. just as one who had learnt it in a school just as the grammar of the school demanded it, not (?) on the actual Vedic pronunciation. e. g.

स्वः

It was so written while for the Veda only Suvar could be used, etc.

आते, आथे (dual endings). As a rule, however, only अते, अथे are possible

त्रासथाम्

If was so written, but the old times pronounced त्रासथाम्. Similarly रासाथाम्, old time रासथाम्.

The method of the compilers is betrayed by the fact that they have here and there overlooked alterations and exceptionally write correctly as यमते (ऋ. ७, ३७, ३) instead of यमेते ; पत्यते (ऋ. ३, ५८, ८) instead of पत्येते. पीपाय, this form is always used while only पिपाय could have occurred. पावके. they derive this from पवाक.

We did not expect the following in the Saṁhitā :— अराव for अर्वा ; स्तरी for स्त्री ; तरमन्ती for त्रमन्ती ; इषुकृता for इष्कृता ; – अय and – इय for – यं.

The reciters pronounced the verses before the compilers not according to grammatical but according to rhythmical Sandhi

e. g. सिन्धुमिव (ऋ. १, ९७, ८). This was written by the compiler while the words actually sung before them were (म नः) सिन्धिव (नाव्या). The redactor of the Atharvaveda was even wiser and wrote, in his opinion even metrically correct, the same expressions as follows: सिन्धुम् इव नावा (शौसं. ४, ३३, ५).

The modern exponent must become suspicious and ask whether a corrupt text does not lie before him when errors such as the following are met with therein :—

वज्रम् (ऋ. ४, २०, ६) for व्रजम्, शका (ऋ. २, ३५, ३) for चक्रा नमसा for मनस (often) वृष्टयः (ऋ. २, ३४, २) for ऋष्टयः, गोषाजिह्मस्य (ऋ. ३, ३८, ९) quite senseless for गोषाजिह्मस्य, सूनवे (ऋ. ३, १, १२) for सुन्वे.

पुरीष

This word means land and earthly, not water and fluid owing to the following reasons :— (1) The contrasts समुद्रात् पुरीषात् (ऋ. १, १६३, १ ; ४, २१, ३) पुरीषाणि अप्यानि (ऋ. ६, ४९, ६,) (2) वङ्कुराप पुरीषम् the merchant reached the land' (ऋ. ५, ४५, ६) पुरीषम् बृबुकम्. In द्रा बृबुकम् वहतः पुरीषम् Two gods or powers of nature (possibly Parjanya-Vāta) convey the trickling one (rain or the like (बृबुकम्) to dry land पुरीष (ऋ. १०, २७, २१) सूर्यस्य वहतः पुरीषात्. Here it means "domain" "from the lofty domain of the sun" √ पुरीष्य referring to Agni पुरीष्यासो अग्नयः (ऋ. ३, २२, ४) 'fire on the surface of the sun' अग्नयः पुरीष्याः तै.सं. ५, ५, ७, ५ पुरीष्य in श. ब्रा. refers to a peculiar speech of purpose "rich in earth. प्रावणोभिः (ऋ. ३, २२, ४). The Pada-Pāṭha is incorrect in seeing a metrical lengthening in the first syllable. पुरीषिन् पुरीषिणः qualifying आर्षेयाः (शौसं. ११, १, ३२) "possess a (?) of the land over a wide area". पुरीषिणम् "passing over or occupying the land (ऋ. १०, ४८, ४) पुरीषिणः "inhabitants of dry land" (ऋ. ५, ५५, ५) पुरीषिणी i. e. that which carries earthly i. e. mud". पुरीषिणम् = "non-transparent solid physical". (ऋ. १, १६२, १२) opposite to विचक्षण "bright". In the Brahmanas पुरीष literally means brittle soil, movable earth'.

TWO IMPORTANT LITERARY REFERENCES BEARING ON THE HISTORY OF SPECTACLES

BY

BHOGILAL J. SANDESARA

In one of his research-papers, in the *Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala Quarterly*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 49-63, Prof. P. K. Gode has published some notes on the history of spectacles in India. On the authority of available references he has come to following conclusions— (1) Spectacles were invented in Europe, and there the use of eye-lenses dates from little prior to 1280 A. D. (2) Spectacles seem to have been introduced in India probably by the Portuguese along with several other fancy articles from Europe. (3) Earliest reference of the use of spectacles in India is as old as about 1520 A. D., in which Vyāsārya, a Madhva pontiff at Vijayanagara, is described as reading with the help of the *Upalocanagolaka* or spectacles.

Even in the oldest reference of about 1520 A. D., the Upalocanagolaka or spectacles seem to have been mentioned almost as a curiosity and one may be tempted to say from it that they might have been used only by a few high-placed people. But I have come across two interesting references from old Gujarātī literature of the 16th and 17th century respectively, in which spectacles are described as an article commonly used by those doing the work of reading and writing, and they substantially supplement the information got from the references collected by Prof. Gode from Sanskrit and Marāthī literature.

(1) The first reference is from an old Gujarātī poem, *Casimā-śabda-śatārthī-svādhyāya* composed by Somavimalasūri, a Jain poet, at Ahmedabad in V. S. 1632 (1576 A. D.).[1] The poem is a literary feat in the sense that in it the word *Casimā* (mod. *Casmā*, *Caśmā*, meaning 'spectacles') is employed in a hundred different ways. Line 11 of the poem reads as follows:—

चसि मां मित्र जीवे तुझ भणउ, चसमां धरी नइ वांचे घणउ ।

[1] The poem has been critically edited by me and published in the *Buddhiprakāśa*, Journal of the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, in September 1941.

"O friend, do not become unsteady; putting on spectacles you may read a lot."

(2) The second reference is from the *Akhegītā*, a Vedantic poem by the poet Akho, composed in V. S. 1705 (1649 A. D.). The work is a philosophical poem of high merit and, as such, an unique composition of old Gujarātī poetry. It mentions spectacles in the following manner:—

जेम चश्माना पड़ विषे रोध न पामे दृष्ट ।
तेज अधिकुं पोषे आंखने, तेम अणलिंगी प्रत्यक्ष ॥ (XI. 8)

"Just as the eye-sight is not obstructed by the layer of spectacles-on the contrary, the vision is improved thereby—, in the same way you may understand in case of one who has attained true knowledge (and sees everything clearly)."

These two references are sufficiently indicative: that in a poem of the 16th century A. D., the word *Casimā* ('spectacles') is used in a hundred ways is an eloquent testimony of the fact that the article had become one of very common use by that time. The second reference only corroborates this statement, when it compares the improvement in vision by spectacles with the improvement in philosophical insight by true knowledge of Vedānta.

It may be remarked here that in both the above references the word for spectacles is *Casimā* or *Caśmā*, which is from Persian *Caśma* meaning 'an eye' and not *Upalocanagolaka*, *Upanetra* and *Cāḷasī*, as found in the references collected by Prof. Gode. Evidently, *Upalocanagolaka* and *Upanetra* are make-shift Sanskrit words readily invented by local Pandits for the curious foreign article, while the word *Cāḷasī* suggests the trouble of long sight that people generally suffer from after forty, which is removed by spectacles. The word *Casimā* or *Caśmā* used in these old Gujarātī references is also current in several regional dialects of India. And from all these, one is led to hazard a guess that spectacles might have been introduced in India not by the Portuguese, but by the Persian and Arab traders who have colonized in the principal ports on the Western coast of India from very ancient times, and who were the principal agencies which brought European merchandise to India and vice versa. That would probably explain why a word of Persian origin became current in the greater part of India for an article originally invented in Europe.

THE PORTS OF ANCIENT CEYLON

BY

B. Joseph Perera

As is usual in all secular matters, the Ceylon chronicles as well as the Sinhalese Literature has very little or no information regarding the ports of ancient Ceylon. We have therefore to depend almost exclusively on foreign notices left by the travellers whom trade and wander lust attracted to these shores. These foreign accounts together with the few stray and incidental references in the Mahavamsa help us to gain at least an imperfect picture of the ports in Ancient Ceylon. Two ports of the early period frequently mentioned in the Mahavansa are Jambukola and Mahatittha the modern Mantota. Of the latter Rasanayagam Mudalier wrote as follows "In remote antiquity the coasting trade from one half of Asia to the other half passed by the deep passages across the Adam's Bridge or the Straits of Mannar, and consequently a great port must have risen up at the North Western corner of Ceylon. The existence of extensive ruins at Mantota, and the Giant's Tank close to it, are indubitable signs of an immense population well advanced in Agriculture.[1]" It is possible that while the ships going from one side of India to the other touched at the North Western ports, those sailing from one side of the Indian Ocean to the other side touched at the Southern ports. At least one traveller has referred to this. "All the Malabar ships sail between this Island and the Choromondal coast, but those making for Bengal or Pegu or Siam go round the Island on the southern side.[2]"

Jambukola is suggested to be the modern Kankasanturai and seems to have been the port for Northern India as is seen by the comparatively large number of references to journeys to and from North India from this port. For example Devanampiya Tissa's envoys to Asoka embarked from Jambukola and landed at

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[1] J. R. A. S. C. Br. vol. 29 No. 77 page 304.

[2] The Book of Francisco Rodrigues page 84.

Tamralipti in 7 days[1] and on the return journey they embarked from Tamralipti and landed at Jambukola in 12 days.[2] Aritttha the envoy sent to bring the sap-ling of the Bo-tree from India embarked from this port and landed at Tamralipti.[3] On the return journey too he made use of these very same ports. Jambukola was connected with Anuradhapura by a high road, "King Devanampiya Tissa caused the whole of the high-road from the northern gate even to Jambukola to be made ready.[4]"

The importance of Mannar in the early period is seen from the numerous references to it in the early Tamil literature as well as the ruins of Roman houses, coins and articles of foreign origin found here. Just as Jambukola was the port for northern India Mannar was the port for southern India. It was at this port that the south Indian wives for Vijaya's followers landed on their arrival in Ceylon.[5] It was also at this port that Bhalluka the nephew of Elara landed with his army shortly after the defeat of Elara. Both King Parakrama Bahu I and Vijayabahu I used this port as a base for the invasion of South India.[6] The strong Tamil influence at this port since very early times is seen from the existence of the very ancient Hindu temple of Tiruketisvaram near it and the Siva temple known as Rajaraja Isvarattu Mahadeva. During the Chola occupation of Rajaraja in the 11th century Mannar was renamed Rajaraja-puram.[7] Mannar judging from the references to it seems to have continued to serve as a port uptill the close of the Pollonnaruva period. One of the latest references to it is found in the ancient glossary to the Sasadavata where it is mentioned as the landing place for an invading army from Southern India. Uruvela was a port of lesser importance during the Anuradhapura period. As it was situated opposite the pearl banks it would have been a pearl exporting centre. Another port of some importance was Uratota the modern Kayts. Accord-

1 Mhv. Chap 11 verse 23.
2 Ibid. Chap 11 verse 38.
3 Ibid Chap 18 verse 8 and Chap 19 verse 23.
4 Ibid Chap 19 verse 25.
5 Mhv Chap 25 verse 80.
6 Epigraphia Indica Vol 22 page 86.
7 A. S. I. Annual Reports (Southern Circle) 1913 page 95.

ing to an inscription found there it seems to have been a special port for foreign merchants.[1] These northern ports lost their importance with the abandonment of Rajarata which they served. The gradual silting up the sea in the northern coasts of Ceylon too was responsible for the abandonment of these ports.

Galle was the great port of the south. Its importance lay in the fact that it was a very convenient port of call for ships sailing from one side of the Indian Ocean to the other. This port seems to have been the starting point for ships sailing to the East Indies and beyond. Masudi the Muslim traveller of the 11th century has referred to this important fact. He says that there was no longer a direct connection between India and China in his time but that ships came from either side of India to Galle which was the half way point from which the Chinese ships sailed to Khanfu.[2] Another reason for Galle's importance was the fact that it had very fertile hinterland rich in spice. Besides being the centre of an export trade, Galle was, as the Sandesa poems testify. The chief exports from Galle towards the end of the 15th century was cinnamon and elephants. "Dom Lourenco was carried by the currents to the point of Galle in Ceilao, where he found several ships of the Moors laden with cinnamon and elephants for Cambaya.[3]" It was only after the coming of the Portuguese that Galle began to decline in importance.

It was in the period of Arab ascendency that Colombo first began to develop to be the important city which it was destined to be in later times. Even as early as the 14th century it was an important city for says Ibn Batuta "Colombo which is one of the finest and largest towns in Ceylon.[4]" It was the fact of its importance that prompted Alagokkonar to build the new capital of Jayawardenapura Kotte at Darugama commanding the roads that converged on Colombo. When the Portuguese arrived in Ceylon at the beginning of the 16th century they found Colombo by far the biggest and most prosperous port in the Island. According to Barbosa "The King of Ceilan resides in the city called Calmucho

[1] Rasanayagam Mudalier, Ancient Jaffna page 208.
[2] Encyclopedia of Islam page 481.
[3] Ribeyro Ceilao Translated Pieris page 9.
[4] Gibb Ibn Batuta page 260.

(Colombo in one version) which stands on a river with a great port whither sail every year ships from diverse lands to take cargoes of cinnamon and elephants and bringing gold and silver, very fine Cambaya cloth and goods of many other kinds such as saffron, coral and quick silver for they are worth here more than elsewhere. Likewise many ships come from Bengala and the Coromandal and some from Malacca to buy elephants cinnamon and jewels."[1] About the middle of the 12th century Colombo seems to have been the centre of a considerable piracy. Both Ibn Batuta and Wang Ta Yuan writing contemporaneously refer to it. "Sailors who were so unlucky as to be wrecked or to put in at this place for a short sojourn are exploited solely for the benefit of the over-lord. All the merchandise with which the ships are laden, mostly consisting of gold and jewels is confiscated by the chief, who looks upon it as a gift from heaven. Little does he reck of the cold and hunger with which the sailors' wives and children are faced in consequence.[2]" The name of the pirate chief is given by Ibn Batuta as Jalasty. As a result of this piracy foreign merchants wishing to trade with Ceylon were forced to avoid Colombo and buy their goods from South Indian ports to which the export of Ceylon was diverted. The chief reason for the rise of Colombo was the fertile hinterland from which the articles of commerce could be brought to the port along the Kalani Ganga. The Hamsa Sandesa speaks of the merchants who came and went from Colombo in padda boats along this river.[3] Another reason for the rise of Colombo as the chief port of Ceylon was its proximity to the capital. Since the state was closely connected with the foreign trade, the port nearest to the capital was sure to be the chief port of the country.

With the development of the south western parts of the Island, ports like Weligama, Wattala and Beruvala rose in importance. Weligama is first mentioned in the Mahavamsa in the reign of King Parakrama Bahu I as a port where wealthy merchants dwell. This too was the port to which Ramadutan was brought

[1] Barbosa An Account of page 117.
[2] J. R. A. S. C. Br. Vol. 28 No. 73 page 32.
[3] Hamsa Sandesa Verse 39.

by the storms when he was on his way from Burma to Ceylon.[1] Besides Weligama the ports of Galle, Negombo, Chilaw, Devundara and Colombo are mentioned by Tome Pires as being the chief ports of the kingdom of Kotte at the beginning of the 16th century. These ports with the exclusion of Chilaw and Galle are marked in the map found in the Chinese work Wu-pei-pi shu.[2] The southern ports owed their importance chiefly to their position which made them very convenient ports of call for the Chinese ships sailed to and from the East African coast with which they carried on an extensive trade.

The absence of any references to any ports on the eastern coast of the Island cannot be explained especially when we know that Trincomalee would have been an excellent harbour for the Indian ships trading with Ceylon. Perhaps if the surmise that the ancient Gokarnna was Trincomalee is correct it may point to connections with Kalinga.

The ports were cosmopolitian places with a floating population of foreign merchants, from diverse lands. There would have been also a permanent population of foreigners acting as agents for these merchants. The ports were placed under royal officials who levied custom duties on all exports and imports. We learn from an inscription that the sea port of Mantota was in charge of officials, i. e. Maha Putu Laddan.[3] In Cosmas's work we have a reference to Roman and Persian merchants being taken to the king by the custom house officials.

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1 Epigraphia Birmanica Vol. 3, page 229.

2 J. R. A. S North China Branch Vol. 22, page 222.

3 Epigraphia Zelanica Vol. 3, pages 104-113.

BHARADVĀJA

BY

N. G. CHAPEKAR

The tradition is that Bharadvāja is the author of the 6th maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda. Moreover, it is commonly believed that this Bharadvāja is one of the conclave of the seven Ṛṣis who are held in high reverence. They are (1) Kaśyapa (2) Atri (3) Bharadvāja (4) Viśvāmitra (5) Gautama (6) Jamadagni and (7) Vasiṣṭtha. The Ṛgveda however has no evidence to offer in this respect. On the other hand the use of the word in its plural form [1] is calculated to negative any such inference. For it shows if anything that Ṛgveda was familiar with the descendants of Bharadvāja instead of Bharadvāja himself. In short, Bharadvaja had become a family name. This is incontrovertibly borne out by the last of the verses of the 50th sūkta of the 6th maṇḍala. Here the poet says, "To thee my sons (grandsons?) viz. the Bharadvājas (भरद्वाजगोत्रजाः = of the Bharadvāja Gotra - Sāyana) offer hymns of praise.

If then it is established beyond any reasonable doubt about the cognominal character of this word Bharadvāja, then the further question that arises for consideration is what is the probable origin of this character. It is no doubt assumed that Bharadvāja was originally the ancestor who lent his name to his descendants. This is one possibility. However, those who have investigated the problem of surnames have remarked that in the majority of cases the surnames are no better than nick-names. Nicknames have a meaning and the word Bharadvāja too has its own meaning. The word is a compound word and signifies one who is full of valour, wealth or food. That the word Bharadvāja is used in this sense in Ṛgveda can be seen from three verses in the 6th maṇḍala.[2] It is used adjectively qualifying Divodāsa in one instance and

[1] 59-7 ; 10-6 ; 25-9 ; 35-4 ; 47-25 ; 50-15.

[2] 59-7, 116-18, 15-3.

vithavya in the other. Here Sāyaṇa has correctly translated the word Bharadvāja. It is therefore clear that the word is used in its etymological sense ; when in other places it stands for a name of individual or individuals. It must be pointed out this is not an isolated instance where the word which represents an individual is used in its nonindividual or etymological import. The words Manu, Vasistha, Viśvāmitra etc. are similarly used. It is therefore arguable with a semblance of reason that persons who had an animated life or who possessed abundance of food and wealth were called Bharadvāja, a name which eventually stuck to a defined class of people. If this argument is tenable then the assumption that the Bharadvāja had a common ancestor of that name will have to be thrown out.

It will be an advantage to scrutinize some of the verses more closely. In 1-59-7, the word Bharadvāja has been used to qualify Yāga or sacrifice. Evidently it means the sacrifices in which plenty of food was distributed. Sāyaṇa, however, understands the word vāj to refer to the oblation which of course is an important part of the sacrifice. भरद्वाजेषु यागेषु however, cannot, in my opinion, mean the sacrifices of Bharadvājas. In 1-112-13, Bharadvāja is described to be a 'Vipra' i. e. intelligent. It seems most of the ऋषिs are described in that way. 6-47-25 affords undoubted proof that the Bharadvājas were rich people as they possessed ample food. No wonder therefore the son of सृञ्जय honoured them. Here the question that suggests itself to us is whether all the members of the tribe Bharadvāja were rich people and whether they were all honoured by the son of सृञ्जय. Until these questions are satisfactorily answered, this verse will remain unintelligible.

We know from 10-181-2 that Bharadvāja procured बृहत्साम from अग्नि. Here we are reminded of a similar incident of वसिष्ठ who procured रथन्तरसाम from विष्णु and others. Possibly Bharadvāja may have invented this बृहत्साम but then which Bharadvāja did this is more than one can say.

One of the verses viz. 6-11-3 specifically mentions Rebha who belonged to the family of Aṅgirasas and who is in all likelihood the author thereof. Sāyaṇa says Rebha is another name of Bhara-

dvāja. But the description of Rebha as given in the verses[1] which refer to him lends no support to this theory. In every one of these Rks, mention has been made of the fact that the Aśvins saved the life of Rebha who had fallen into a pit filled with water and had been in that condition for 9 days and 10 nights. How is it that Bharadvāja himself does not even distantly allude to this remarkable incident? Rebha's verses associate Vandana and Kaṇva with Rebha as sharing the same fate. The names of these two are not even once mentioned by Bharadvāja. The latter has solicited favours from Aśvins (6-63-10); but there is an absence of any reference to the aforesaid incident though the allusion would have been perfectly relevant. It is moreover noteworthy that there are in the 6th maṇḍala only two verses out of the total of seventy five which are addressed to Aśvins; whereas Rebha knows no other deity than the Aśvins. One Rebha Kāśyapa is the reputed author of the 97th hymn of the 8th maṇḍala. The Ṛgveda, however, affords no evidence to support the proposition that Rebha who has been expressly mentioned in the text itself (references already given) is the same as Rebha Kāśyapa. This latter is not mentioned by name it may be added in the hymn itself. It seems however that 1-112-13 can be so construed as to point out to the rescue episode of Rebha. The poet here is not Bharadvāja but Aṅgirasa Kutsa. What probably Sāyaṇa means is that Rebha belonged to the family of Bharavājas.

Did Aṅgirasas and Bharadvājas come from the same stock? This question arises by reason of the affirmative statement to that effect by Sāyaṇa in 6-35-5. This hymn on the face of it seems to have been composed by Aṅgirasas. There are many similar hymns in 6th maṇḍala which is traditionally assigned to Bharadvāja. Possibly this may have induced the belief that Bharadvājas and Aṅgirasas were identical (अङ्गिरोगोत्रजान् अस्मान् भारद्वाजान्-सायण). There is however no corroborative evidence to be found in the Ṛgveda. In the absence of proof Sāyaṇa's view can not be accepted as far as Ṛgveda is concerned. Bharadvāja was one of the group of seven Ṛṣis, Aṅgiras is outside the group

[1] 1-112-5; 1-116-24; 1-117-4; 1-118-6; 1-119-6; 10-39-9.

Indeed it should not be taken for granted that all the Ṛks in a Sūkta are the creation of one Ṛṣi. While reading the Ṛgveda, it strikes the reader that the grouping of the Ṛks has been indiscriminately made. I wonder nobody has hitherto felt the necessity of rearranging the Ṛks according to the subject treated. The study of Ṛgveda imperatively demands different groupings according to the requirements of the student. The first broad division will be that of sacrificial and nonsacrificial hymns. There was naturally ample scope for error when the scattered Ṛks were collated and classified according to their supposed authorship. By way of illustration I take 6-21-9. Here the poet solicits some one to persuade the deities including अग्नि to come to him. Who is this some one? Sāyaṇa says it is Bhāradvāja. Now we have assumed that Bharadvāja himself was the author of this Sūkta. This means that Bharadvāja is addressing himself. It is true that this is not an impossibility, still the necessity for an investigation as to who the addresee might have been can not be shut out.

If the sources on the strength of which Sāyaṇa makes his statements are reliable then it seems that Vājini was the mother of Bharadvāja, vide : 6-26-2.

In this Sūkta Bharadvāja mentions the names of Divodasa[1], Vītahavy'a[2], Purupantha[3], Sṛnjayaputra[4]. The name of Puraneeth[5], is mentioned in the 1st maṇḍala. Vasiṣṭha's son Mralik mentions Bharadvāja along with Atri, Kaṇva, Gaviṣṭhira and Trasadasyu[6]. Purupantha is known to be generous in making gifts of horses.

It seems rather strange that Bharadvājas who were apparently rich should insistently pray for a house or is it that they required a spacious house because they had much food[7].

The word Bharadvāja as such occurs 19 times in the Ṛgveda, out of which 14 times in the 6th maṇḍala, 3 times in the 1st maṇḍala and twice in the 10th. As, however, already pointed out in the three out of these 19 cases the word is not used as the name of any individual or individuals. So only in the remaining 16 cases it stands as a name of a Ṛṣi or Ṛṣis. Outside the 6th maṇḍala

[1] 16-5 ; 31-4 see also 1-116-18 ; [2] 15-3 ; [3] 63-10 ; [4] 47-25 ; [5] 59-7 ; [6] 10-150-5. [7] 6-15-3 , 6-16-33 ; 6-25-9.

Bharadvāja is mentioned by others. This is natural. But even in the 6th maṇḍala there are two verses where it is likely that the statements made therein are not those of Bharadvāja but of somebody else. "Of dawn" says the poet, "you bestow wealth and progeny on him who offers prayer *like Bharadvāja*" (भरद्वाजवत्)[1]. In the other case the poet is alleged to be one Sahotra Bharadvāja. "Oh Indra" prays he "when you gave wealth to Divodāsa and Bharadvāja you demolished hundred forts of Śambara[2]." Which Bharadvāja is meant here is what can reasonably be asked. It may be suggested that here it will not be quite incorrect to take Bharadvāja as an adjective of Divodāsa though Sāyaṇa understands Ṛṣi Bharadvāja thereby.

In connection with the naming of a child it may be observed, that in olden times the practice seems to have been that the name of the father is given to the child, particularly to the eldest that is to say that the son used to be named after his father and the daughter after her mother. This custom still obtains to a certain extent in England and in some other western countries.

1 65-6. 2 31-4.

COSMIC ACCOUNT IN MANUSMṚTI

BY

S. N. Tadpatrikar

In Adhy. 1 of the Manusmṛti, from śl. 5, onwards, appears an account of how this universe was created, or came into being. This account is not a direct reply to the question of the Ṛsis, who ask Manu about the Dharma : धर्मान्नो वक्तुमर्हसि (śl. 2) ; and the commentators have tried to justify this appearance of the incongruity, as is the usual tendency in case where old sacred works are concerned.

To take a few instances from the commentators :— कुल्लूक has 'ननु मुनीनां धर्मविषयप्रश्ने तत्रैवोत्तरं दातुमुचितं तत्कोयमप्रस्तुतः.....सृष्टिप्रकरणावतारः।' having stated the objection in these words, he gives the justification from his own point of view, saying that " Manu in defining Dharma, includes विद्या as an item, which is the same as आत्मज्ञान — विद्याशब्दवाच्यमात्मज्ञानं धर्मत्वेनोक्तम। while आत्मज्ञान is the same as ब्रह्मज्ञान — 'आत्मज्ञानरूपपरमधर्मावगमाय जगदुत्पत्तिस्थितिलयनिमित्तोपादानब्रह्मप्रतिपादनम्।' and by this statement कुल्लूक wants to put aside the commentators मेधातिथि as well as गोविन्दराज, who have given their own views to justify this creation account, मेधातिथि calls शास्त्र as of महाप्रयोजन, which can conveniently include this सृष्टिप्रकरण, and in this, he is followed by गोविन्दराज, while राघवानन्द says that चातुर्वर्ण्य is धर्मोपयोगि, and the former to be properly explained, wants this statment about the creation, in the beginning.

Howsoever that be, the fact that the commentators find this account as 'out of place' and not in direct connection with the धर्म, which is the main question of the Ṛsis, is sufficient to start one thinking, and here is what I think :

In performing our religious rites, we expect a complete reconciliation of the three authorities श्रुति, स्मृति and पुराण in awarding us their final award : श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणोक्तफलप्राप्त्यर्थं. While the creation account is given in the Vedas, in such sūktas as हिरण्यगर्भः समवर्तताग्रे etc., as also in नासदीयसूक्त, the creation account forms one of the five constituents (लक्षण) of a पुराण :

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च।
वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम्॥

So naturally one would look for such an account in स्मृति also. Seeing that the original work had no such account, the scholars who had undertaken the final compilation, placed the present account in the beginning of the text. All the subsequent Adhyāyas had their proper field to go over, and hence were of 'limited scope', so the natural and proper place for this insertion was thought to be the beginning of the work, as is actually the case with the Purāṇas.

A few remarks on S. C. Banerji's 'SMṚTI-NIBANDHA LITERATURE AND BENGAL'S CONTRIBUTION'

(I. H. Q., Vol. XXV, i, pp. 38-51)

BY

Bhabatosh Bhattacharya

(1) Mr. S. C. Banerji, the author of the above paper, says on p. 42 of the same, 'For example, the name of Raghunandana is familiar to many in Bengal. But there are few who ever care to understand the value of his contribution'. The present writer hereby informs Mr. Banerji that he has been working on Raghunandana for the last several years, that he has been appointed in 1949 Sir William Jones Research fellow in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal with Raghunandana as his subject and that the following among his already published papers deal with one or other aspect of Raghunandana's contribution :—

(a) The place of Agastyasaṁhitā in Dharmaśāstra Literature.[1]

(b) The Śuddhiratnākara : an unpublished Smṛti manuscript of Mithilā.[2]

(c) Raghunandana's indebtedness to Caṇḍeśvara.[3]

(d) Hindu Pilgrimages of the 15th century.[4]

(e) Vidyāpati, a Maithila writer on Dharmaśāstra.[5]

(f) The devotional element in Raghunandana's works.[6]

(2) Following the statement in the preface to the *Hāralatā*, a work of Aniruddha, by the editor, the late Mahāmahopādhyāya

Abbreviations

I. O. = India Office, London.
J. B. O. R. S. = Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
N. I. A. = New Indian Antiquary, Poona.
R. A. S. B. = Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

[1] J. B. O. R. S., vol. XXII (1936), pp. 111-115.

[2] Ibid., vol. XXIII (1937), pp. 138-142.

[3] N.I.A., vol. I (1938), pp. 534-5.

[4] Proceedings of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum (published 1940), pp. 415-420.

[5] Proceedings of the Twelfth All-India Oriental Conference, Benares (published 1946), pp. 288-297.

[6] *Siddha-bhārati* (published by V. V. R. Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1950.) part I, pp. 225-229.

Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha, repeated by Mr. (now Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr.) P. V. Kane on p. 338 of his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. I.,[1] published in 1930, Mr. Banerji says on pp. 46 and 47 of his above paper, 'Aniruddha was an inhabitant of Vihārapaṭṭaka (or pāṭaka) on the bank of the Ganges'. This shows that he has consulted neither Mr. Prabhas Candra Senvarman's Bengali article,[2] viz. 'mahopādhyāya śrīmad aniruddha bhaṭṭera vāsagrāma' (i. e. the village of residence of the great teacher Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa), nor the present writer's Bengali paper,[3] viz. 'Bāṅgālī smārta' (i. e. Bengali writers of smṛtinibandhas). Mr. Senvarman has explained the word *paṭṭaka* as a village on the authority of Sanskrit lexicons and, having failed to discover the village of vihāra on the main stream of the Ganges and its branch, the Bhāgīrathī, has identified it with the village of the same name on the Karatoyā in the Bogra district in North Bengal (now East Pakistan), on the strength of his interpretation of the word *surāpagā* (lit. the river of the gods), occurring in the epithet of Aniruddha, viz. *surāpagātīra-vihāra-paṭṭake nivāsinā*[4] as any holy river and not necessarily the Ganges, on the analogy of the oft-quoted text of Manu (II. 17), viz. '*sarasvatī-dṛṣadvatyor-devanadyor-yadantaram*', where the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī are spoken of by Manu as *devanadīs* (lit. rivers of the gods). The present writer has referred to and accepted this interpretation of Mr. Senvarman in his above paper.

(3) Following imperfectly[5] the opinion of Dr. Kane, as expounded on p. 339 of his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I., Mr. Banerji says on p. 47 of his above paper, in connection with the time of Aniruddha, '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

[1] Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

[2] Published in the *Bhāratavarṣa*, Kārtika, 1326 B. E. (= Oct.-Nov., 1919 A. D.).

[3] Published in the *Śrībhāratī*, Agrahāyaṇa, 1345 B. E. (= Nov-Dec., 1938 A. D.).

[4] Vide colophon of the *Hāralatā*, p. 214, *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1909.

[5] Dr. Kane says on the same page of his above work, 'The *Haralatā* is named as an authority in the *Śuddhiviveka* of Rudradhara' and assigns on p. 397 of the same the time between 1425 and 1460 A. D. as the period of Rudradhara's literary activity.

beginning of the 16th'. This conclusion is wrong. The present writer has proved in 1937 in his paper, viz. 'The Śuddhiratnākara : an unpublished smṛti manuscript of Mithilā'[1], that the lower limit of Aniruddha's date is the beginning of the 14th century and his finding is based upon his identification of three quotations from the *Hāralatā* of Aniruddha by the *Śuddhiratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara who flourished in the first half of the 14th century. Dr. S. K. De, the author of the chapter on Sanskrit Literature in the *History of Bengal*, Vol. I.[2], published in 1943, has accepted the above view of the present writer and acknowledged his paper on pp. 352-3 of his above chapter. The concluding portion of the above-quoted sentence of Mr. Banerji is also inaccurate, as he writes 'whose date approximately falls ...' after 'Raghunandana and Govindānanda', who were not contemporaries but were separated by a generation.[3]

(4) Mr. Banerji mentions on the same page of his above paper the names of four works of Ballāla Sena, viz. *Dānasāgara*, *Adbhutasāgara*, *Ācārasāgara* and *Pratiṣṭhāsāgara*. As only the *Adbhutasāgara* has been fully published,[4] the *Dānasāgara* has been partly published[5] and its Mss. are also extant, none of which, viz. the partly published edition and Mss., has, however, been consulted by Mr. Banerji and as the names of the *Ācārasāgara* and *Pratiṣṭhāsāgara* are known only from their mention in verses 56 and 55 of the *Dānasāgara*, so it seems that the above enumeration of the works of Ballāla Sena by Mr. Banerji is based on the authority of Dr. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. I.[6] The above enumeration is, however, incorrect. The present writer has proved in 1945 in his paper, viz. 'Caṇḍeśvara's indebtedness to Ballāla Sena',[7] the existence of the *Vratasāgara*, a

[1] J. B. O. R. S., vol. XXIII, pp. 138-142.

[2] Published by the Dacca University.

[3] Vide pp. I-III of the preface to the *Varṣakriyākaumudī* of Govindānanda, edited by MM. Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha, *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1902.

[4] Edited by Muralīdhar Jhā, Prabhakari and Co., Benares, 1905.

[5] Edited by Śyāmācaraṇa Kaviratna, Calcutta, 1914-1919. Another shorter edition (pp. 1-2, 1-80, up to a certain portion of *dānāpavāda*) in Bengali characters with Bengali translation was also published in the *Sāhitya-saṁhitā*, a Bengali journal of Calcutta. Its title page is missing in my copy.

[6] Vide p. 340 of the same.

[7] *Indian Culture*, vol. XI, pp. 141-144.

hitherto-unknown fifth work of Ballāla Sena, from two references to the same in the partly printed edition of the *Dānasāgara* by Pandit Śyāmācaraṇa Kaviratna. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the general editor and Bengali translator of the *History of Bengal*, vol. I., has incorporated the name of the *Vratasāgara* on p. 130 and acknowledged indebtedness to the present writer on p. 2 of the preface, of the second edition of the Bengali translation of his above work, published[1] in 1949.

(5) Mr. Banerji further says on the same page of his above paper, 'The *Dānasāgara* is believed to have been left unfinished by Ballāla Sena and completed by his son, Lakṣmaṇa Sena'. This is absolutely wrong. This remark applies to the *Adbhutasāgara*, which is the last and unfinished work of Ballāla Sena, and not to the *Dānasāgara*, which was composed by Ballāla Sena alone in 1091 Śaka (= 1169-70 A. D.), as recorded by the author in the body of the work, extant in the R. A. S. B. (No. I. A. 73)[2] and I. O. (Nos. 719-720/1704-5)[3] MSS. of the same. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I., p. 341 and *History of Bengal*, Vol. I., p. 354, attest the above statement.

(6) Mr. Banerji further says in footnote 24 of the above page of his paper, in connection with the *Dānasāgara*, 'It still exists in MSS.' This is also inaccurate. The late Pandit Śyāmācaraṇa Kaviratna published with Bengali translation one-fifth portion of the same (pp. 1-16, pp. 1-316) up to *pañcalāṅgalakamahādāna* from Calcutta between 1914 and 1919. The present writer has consulted and referred to this edition in his paper, viz. 'Candeśvara's indebtedness to Ballāla Sena', referred to above. Another shorter edition of the same, described in footnote 5, p. 300 above, has come to the possession of the present writer later on. It may also be added here that the present writer has been appointed editor of the *Dānasāgara* by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in September, 1947 and has by this time completed the preparation of the presscopy for publication in the Bibliotheca Indica by collation of the above-mentioned three MSS. of the same and the work is

[1] By General Printers and Publishers Ltd., Calcutta.

[2] Vide folio 221b (in the body of the work).

[3] Vide folio 278b (in the body of the work) and also folio 309b (in the colophon).

now passing through the press, 24 pages having already been printed off.

(7) Mr. Banerji mentions on p. 48 of his above paper eight treatises only as the genuine works of Śūlapāṇi and omits from his list the *Śrāddhaviveka*[1], *Prāyaścittaviveka*[2] and *Dīpakalikā*[3], the three bigger and more important published works of the same author. It is rather strange that though the first two works, which are *nibandhas*, are studied in indigenous Sanskrit schools and held authoritative in Hindu religious matters in Bengal even to this day and the third work is a learned commentary on the *Yājñavalkya smṛti*, all the above three works having been profusely quoted as of Śūlapāṇi by Raghunandana in his various works and though Mr. Banerji himself has referred to the *Prāyaścittaviveka* in footnote 32 of p. 51 of his above paper, yet he excludes them from his list of the genuine works of Śūlapāṇi.

(8) Mr. Banerji says on p. 51 of his above paper, 'Govindānanda, styled *Kavikaṅkaṇācārya*, is placed, not on very conclusive evidence, by M. Chakravarti about the middle of the 16th century. The mention of the word 'varsakṛtya' by Raghunandana has led some scholars to think that Govindānanda was anterior to Raghunandana, but the word is taken by some to mean 'rites to be performed in the year' rather than the *Varṣakriyākaumudī* of Govindānanda'. The late Mahāmahopādhyāya Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha, who discovered and edited the four works of Govindānanda, viz. *Varṣakriyākaumudī*, *Dānakriyākaumudī*, *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī* and *Śuddhikaumudī* between 1902 and 1905, appended long prefaces to his above editions and assigned in them the first half of the 16th century as the period of literary activity of Govindānanda. So neither the credit of establishing the date of Govindānanda[4] goes to M. Chakravarti nor is his assignment of the middle of the 16th century based on

[1] Edited by MM. Caṇḍīcaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa in Bengali characters, Calcutta, 1314 B. E. (= 1907-8 A. D.).

[2] Edited by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1893.

[3] Edited by J. R. Gharpure, Poona, 1939.

[4] Vide Dr. R. C. Hazra's recent and excellent paper on Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras (1951), Vol. XVIII, Part II, pp. 97-108 for confirmation of Smṛtitīrtha's date of Govindānanda.

inconclusive evidence. The equation of the *Varṣakṛtya* with the *Varṣakriyākaumudī* by the learned editor,[1] Mahāmahopādhyāya Smṛtitīrtha, followed by Dr. Kane,[2] is wrong inasmuch as the quotation in the *Malamāsatattva*[3] of Raghunandana, following the word *Varṣakṛtya*, is not found in the *Varṣakriyākaumudī*. The word *Varṣakṛtya* does not also mean 'rites to be performed in the year', as suggested by Mr. Banerji. It means the work of the same name by Vidyāpati, the famous Maithila poet and dharmaśāstra writer,[4] as Raghunandana expressly says '*Vidyāpati-kṛta-Varṣakṛtye*' in introducing that quotation in his *Malamāsatattva*.

(9) Though Mr. Banerji, while enumerating the works of Aniruddha and Govindānanda on pp. 46 and 50 respectively of his above paper, refers to the five works, viz. the *Hāralatā*, *Varṣakriyākaumudī*, *Dānakriyākaumudī*, *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī* and *Śuddhikaumudī*, as published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, yet he nowhere mentions the name of their learned editor, the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha. But he does otherwise in works, edited by other scholars. The present writer simply requests him to go through the preface to the *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. III,[5] by MM. Dr. P. V. Kane, to be convinced of the quantity and quality of the work of the late MM. Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha, the foremost dharmaśāstra editor of the present century and fit to be ranked only with the late MM. Dr. Gaṇapati Shāstri, the reputed resuscitator of Bhāsa's works.

[1] Vide p. II of the preface to the *Varṣakriyākaumudī*.

[2] Vide p. 415 of the *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. I.

[3] On p. 823 (in *Smṛtitattva*, vol. I), edited by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1895.

[4] For a detailed description of Vidyāpati's activities as a dharmaśāstra writer, vide the present writer's paper, viz. 'Vidyapati, a Maithila writer on dharmaśāstra' (Proc. 12th All-India Oriental Conference, pp. 288-297).

[5] Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1946.

TĀMBULA

BY

P. V. BAPAT

Prof. P. K. Gode, Curator, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, has recently published in the Journal of the Travancore University Oriental Manuscripts Library, vol. vi, Nos. 1 & 2 (Jan. and April 1950) a paper entitled "Studies in the History of Tāmbūla — Use of Tāmbūla outside India between A. D. 630 and 1909." He has collected from various sources references to Tāmbūla and its use outside India. He has possibly also collected all references in Indian literature and no doubt that paper will soon be published. In this connection, I have come across references to the same in Buddhist literature. Śāntideva's Śikṣāsamuccaya (pp. 8-9) gives a quotation from Bhadrakalpika-sūtra which refers to Tāmbūlapatra. It is said:— "Yathoktaṃ Bhadrakalpika-sūtre: 'Ghoṣadatto nāma Tathāgato yatra Nakṣatrarājena Tathāgatena prathamaṃ Bodhicittam utpāditaṃ *Tāmbūlapatram* datvā gopālakabhūtena, evaṃ.'—"

Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga (Kosambi's edition, 9.79, PTS ed. 314) also refers to Tāmbūla in the following: "Mālāgandhavilepana-*tambūlāni* pi denti." Pāli Dictionary published by the Pāli Text Society also records the following references to the same in Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā iii. 208, and in Jātaka i. 266, 291; ii. 320; vi. 367.

Mahāvaṃsa 30. 19 also refers to what appears to be Tāmbūla on the authority of its commentary:

> Vividhañ ca alankāraṃ khajjabhojjaṃ sa-pānakaṃ
> gandhamālāguḷādi ca *mukhavāsaka-pañcakaṃ*.

The Commentary on the same explains mukhavāsaka-pañcakaṃ as "mukhadhovanatthāya takkola-kappurādikehi pañcahi saṃyuttaṃ *tambūlaṃ*."

The Bhadrakalpika-sūtra referred to in Śikṣāsamuccaya was, according to Nanjio 403, translated into Chinese in 300 by Cu Fa-hu (Dharmaraksa). Buddhaghosa and the authors of Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā and of Jātaka-Aṭṭhakathā (though according to tradition the authorship of the latter books also is ascribed to Buddhaghoṣa himself) are supposed to belong to the 5th century A. D. Mahāvaṃsa also is supposed to be composed almost at the same time.

Thus, on the evidence of Buddhist literature, the use of Tāmbūla goes back at least to 300 A. D. when the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra was translated into Chinese.

BRAHMA-NIRVĀṆA IN THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

BY

A. P. Karmarkar

It cannot be gain-said that the author of the Bhagavadgītā tried to cosolidate the position of Hindu religion and philosophy. While doing so, he tried to make his work rather all-inclusive. In fact, while preaching the doctrine of the Pantheistic Brahman, he has introduced the doctrine of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and the theistic Yoga, and finally, some of the terminologies of Buddhism and other existing religions of the day. In our opinion, the expression Brahma-Nirvāṇa belongs to this category.

The expressions Brahma and Nirvāṇa ultimately mean the same thing. The Brahman is described as unmanifest (*avyakta*), indestructible (*akṣara*), unwavering (*acala*), etc. The Buddha, however, has not tried to define Nirvāṇa, though he has said that the state of Nirvāṇa arises on -and equivalent to the state of -the extinction of suffering. The Upaniṣads have avowed that the state of Brahman is inexpressible (anirvacanīya). Buddha preached that the root-cause of all suffering is desire. And the Bhagavadgītā definitely expresses that the Yogin who conquers the flow arising out of desire and anger, and one who is happy within, shall attain Brahma-Nirvāṇa. In V. 28, he observes that, 'One who has controlled the senses, Manas (Mind), and Intellect (Buddhi), and one who is free from desires, fear and anger, is just a man free from Bondage (Mukta).'

The expression Brahma-Nirvāṇa occurs in verses II. 72, V. 23, 24, 25, and 26. In another place it is pointed out: शान्तिं निर्वाणपरमां मत्संस्थामधिगच्छति। (Bhg. VI. 15). If the goal of Brahman and Nirvāṇa be the same, why have the two words occurred here jointly? The natural reply would be that the author of the Gītā wanted to make use of the other expression Nirvāṇa occurring in schools different from that of his own. Such a combination has taken place in the case of expressions like Kanyā-Kumārī, Rudra-Śiva (Rgveda), etc. The double expression is sometimes of a bilingual character.

What had Buddha done after all? He had taken the aid of the doctrines already in existence, and tried to build up his own *New* doctine. He was a Yogin *par excellence*, and evidently, he made Samādhi as the condition precedent for the attainment of Nirvāṇa. *The expression Nirvāṇa itself seems to be of Yogic connotation, meaning, 'the blowing out of the air (Prāṇa)' through the middle of the head or Brahma-randhra.* This state of affairs has been explained in the Gītā itself.

Eventually, while bringing together the two expressions Brahma and Nirvāṇa, the author seems to have tried to give an optimistic and Hinduistic turn to Nirvāṇa, which taken by itself, was not in a position to create any positive solace to man-kind. Thus while taking a review of the previous theory, the author has also tried to prove superior to those who were trying to propound new doctrines with the aid of the doctrines already existing in the field.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *YAJÑAPHALA*

BY

R. N. DANDEKAR

In March 1941, Rājavaidya Jivaram Kalidasa Sastri of the Rasaśālā Ausadhāśrama, Gondal, published a Sanskrit drama entitled the *Yajñaphala*. The Rājavaidya has published, until now, several Sanskrit works in the Rasaśālā Series. But the publication of the *Yajñaphala* must be said to have proved rather eventful from various points of view. In his Sanskrit foreword (*prāgvaktavya*) to the *Yajñaphala*, the Rājavaidya has given the following information about the discovery of that drama. About 1924, the Rājavaidya secured some collections of manuscripts from Banaras, Surat, and some places in the Panjab. In these collections he came across two manuscripts of *Yajñaphala*. Owing to his many preoccupations, however, this unique work did not see the light of the day until after 17 years.

The work is indeed unique. For, as the editor has pointed out in his foreword, though the name of its author is nowhere mentioned in the text, the *Yajñaphala* exhibits all the special features which characterize the thirteen plays of Bhāsa discovered, in 1912, by MM. Pandit Ganapati Sastri of Trivandrum. The editor, therefore, expressed it as his firm view that the *Yajñaphala* also must be ascribed to the authorship of Bhāsa. Both the manuscripts, which became available to the Rājavaidya, are dated. The date of the manuscript, which has mainly formed the basis of the printed text, is mentioned in the colophon as follows:

> श्री विक्रमांकसंवत् १७२७ आश्विनकृष्णपक्षे द्वितीयायां भौमे च लि० स्वामी शुद्धानंदतीर्थेनेदं.

The second manuscript, which, too, has been occasionally used in the preparation of the printed text, is said to be dated in Vikrama Samvat 1859.

In 1942, Dr. A. D. PUSALKER, who had already established himself as a keen and critical student of the Bhāsa-problem,

wrote a paper dealing with the authenticity of the *Yajñaphala*.[1] According to PUSALKER, the peculiarities pertaining to the language, ideas, and dramatic technique, which are to be met with in the *Yajñaphala*, are extremely similar to those which characterize the thirteen plays of Bhāsa. He, therefore, concludes that there is a *prima facie* case in favour of the *Yajñaphala*, published at Gondal, being attributed to Bhāsa. In his paper, PUSALKER has drawn pointed attention of scholars to some salient features of this eventful discovery of a new drama by Bhāsa. The manuscripts of the plays of Bhāsa, which were known till then, were all written on palm-leaf in Grantha character and their spread was limited only to the South of India. The manuscripts of the *Yajñapala*, on the other hand, are written on paper in Devanāgarī script and are found in Northern India. This fact would thus necessitate the revision of many hypotheses about the personality of Bhāsa and his authorship.

It is not proposed to discuss, in this brief note, the question whether Bhāsa could have actually been the author of the *Yajñaphala*. There is no doubt about the close similarity of this play with the thirteen plays generally ascribed to Bhāsa. But, as is well known, scholars are still acutely divided on the question of the authorship of those thirteen plays themselves. However, apart from this general Bhāsa-problem, which would automatically cover the *Yajñaphala* also, there has arisen another very interesting point regarding the authorship of the latter.

About the end of 1942, Pandit Gopala Datta Śastri of Jaipur happened to visit the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona. On that occasion, in the course of his talk with the late Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR and Prof. P. K. GODE, the Śastri made an astounding revelation. He told those two scholars that the Sanskrit drama, *Yajñaphala*, which was published by the Rājavaidya of Gondal, some time ago, was not the work of Bhāsa, as maintained in the foreword, but that he (Gopala Datta Śastri) himself had composed that drama. By cleverly imitating the language, style, and dramatic technique of Bhāsa, he had

[1] A. D. PUSALKER, "*Yajñaphala*: A newly discovered Drama by Bhāsa", *JBBRAS* 18, [1942], pp. 23-29. (published in Feb. 1943).

misled some critics into believing that the *Yajñaphala* was the genuine work of that ancient Sanskrit dramatist. The Sastri further pointed out that he had introduced into the play some "keys", which would convincingly prove his authorship. [1]

On the 27th October 1942, a publisher from Jaipur addressed a letter to Dr. PUSALKER, in which he claimed that the *Yajñaphala*, published at Gondal, was not the work of Bhāsa but that it was composed by Pandit Gopala Datta Sastri, who is mentioned on page 6 of the Sanskrit foreword to the drama. That publisher further spoke, in his letter, of some "keys" purposely introduced in the drama by Gopala Datta Sastri in order to substantiate his authorship of the drama. In a note, which accompanied that letter, three such "keys" were mentioned. The correspondent from Jaipur added, in his letter, that Gopal Datta Sastri had lodged a strong protest with the Rājavaidya of Gondal for having published the *Yajñaphala* under the name of Bhāsa and that the Rājavaidya had thereupon assured the Sastri that he would set the matter right by publicly announcing that the *Yajñaphala* was Gopala Datta Sastri's work and not Bhāsa's. This letter from the Rājavaidya giving the assurance was, the correspondent continued, still in the possession of the Sastri. [2] On receipt of this rather curious and unexpected letter, PUSALKER wrote back to the Jaipur publisher asking him — naturally enough — why, if the Sastri had in his possession the Rājavaidya's letter, he did not take any legal action against the latter. But more particularly PUSALKER suggested to his Jaipur

[1] As the workers of the Institute were then fully occupied with the preparations in connection with the Silver Jubilee of the Institute, which was subsequently celebrated in January 1943, they could not just then pursue this matter any further. Incidentally it may be mentioned that Pandit Gopala Datta Sastri attended the Silver Jubilee celebrations and recited some Sanskrit stanzas specially composed by him for the occasion. These stanzas clearly showed his remarkable mastery over Sanskrit language and classical diction.

[2] If the *Yajñaphala* was actually written by Gopala Datta Sastri (which, as will be shown in the sequel, does not seem to have been the fact) and if, as suggested by the Jaipur publisher, the Sastri did not want it to pass under Bhāsa's name, one fails to understand why he was required to introduce into the drama any "keys" to prove his authorship. He could have as well made his authorship public.

correspondent that he should place the whole matter, in all its details, before the Sanskrit scholars who would be soon gathering at Jaipur for the Session of the All India Oriental Conference. This letter of PUSALKER'S was not replied to; nor did the Jaipur publisher take any further action in the matter.

The three "keys", as supplied by the Jaipur publisher with his letter to PUSALKER, are:—

(1) If the eighth letters from the first nineteen sentences in the Sanskrit foreword to the *Yajñaphala* are put together in a consecutive order, they make up the following Hindi sentence: चलात ग्रन्थ लेकर उपोद्घात भी मेरेसे ही लिखाया.

(2) In stanza 28 in Act I, the fifth letter from the beginning in the third pāda, the fifth letter from the beginning in the fourth pāda, the fifth letter from the end in the fourth pāda, and the fifth letter from the end in the third pāda make up the word गोपालस्य.

(3) The eighth letters in the first pādas of the first five stanzas in Act II, when put together consecutively, make up the word मासानुकारि.

The Jaipur correspondent asserted that, besides these three "keys", there were many more giving the name of the author, the year, month and day of the composition etc.

With a view to verifying the claim of Gopala Datta Sastri I have been wanting, since long, to investigate this whole matter rather thoroughly.[1] I thought that, if it were possible to examine the manuscripts on which the printed text of the *Yajñaphala* is alleged to have been based, the whole question would be settled immediately. I, therefore, soon got into communication with Rājavaidya Jivaram Kalidasa Sastri (now Śrī Caraṇatīrtha). I gave him some details regarding the claim made by Gopala Datta Sastri and requested him to supply me with all possible information relating to the publication of the *Yajñaphala*. I further

[1] During my recent visit to Saurashtra in connection with the Somanātha celebrations, I spent a couple of days at Songarh, a few miles away from Gondal. This proximity of Gondal perhaps helped to consolidate my idea of getting the issue of the eventful Gondal publication fully clarified.

requested him to lend me the manuscripts of the drama, which were used for the preparation of the published text.[1] The Rājavaidya sent me a more or less detailed letter on the 30th May 1951, relevant extracts from which are reproduced below :

" It is a fact that Rasashala has published a play entitled *Yajñaphala* in 1941. I do believe that the author of the play is none but Bhāsa. I owned two Mss. of the play, one of which was given to Pandit Gopaladatta Shastri which he never returned. Today we have got only one manuscript.....Pandit Gopaldatta Shastri belonged to Almora and mostly used to reside at different places like Jaipur, Bombay, Virpur, Gondal etc. He was a good scholar of Sanskrit; hence whenever he used to turn up at Gondal I would employ him in the research work of the manuscripts in Rasashala. He was duly paid for carrying on this research work. In 1941 when he was here he was entrusted with two Mss. of *Yajñaphala* from which he prepared a press copy and the same has been printed. Out of the two original Mss. he took away one with him to Jaipur saying that he wished to show the same to scholars there and to the last he never returned the same to me. After that he expired at Lucknow.....So now we own only one Ms. If any institution is ready to undergo the expenses of getting the photograph of the manuscript, making the blocks and publishing it I may willingly allow that.....When he stayed at Gondal Pandit Gopaldatta Shastri as a friend and scholar was entrusted with the research work of Mss. at Rasashala. Hence if he has cleverly introduced his authorship in one of the stanzas of the play after deforming the stanza, I am not in the knowledge of it.....We have printed this play on the basis of the manuscripts we possess..... ".

On reciept of this letter, I requested the Rājavaidya to supply me, by way of sample, a photo-copy of that folio of the Ms. of the *Yajñaphala*, which contained stanza 28 in Act I. His response to this request of mine indeed overwhelmed me. For, he sent me the first, the second, and the last folios of the original Ms. itself.

[1] I should fail in my duty if I did not mention here that, throughout our correspondence, the Rājavaidya has been very helpful. I am indeed thankful to him for his uniform courtesy and kindness.

Some time later, on my request, the Rājavaidya was good enough to send all the folios of the Ms. for my examination. [1]

A close study of the manuscript leaves no doubt in my mind that it is quite genuine and that it must have been written in V. S. 1727, which is the date mentioned in the colophon. The quality of the paper, the style of writing, the use of the pṛṣṭhamātrās — all this is indicative of the antiquity of the manuscript. [2] In order that scholars should have an opportunity to judge for themselves, two photographs of the manuscript are published here [3] If Gopala Datta Sastri's claim regarding the authorship of the play were to be accepted as valid, we would also have to assume that he forged the entire manuscript of the *Yajñaphala*. That, however, is certainly not the case. Whether Bhāsa is the author of this play or not is a matter of opinion. But the study of the manuscript, now in the possession of the Rājavaidya, would lead one to the irresistible conclusion that, whoever be the author of the *Yajñaphala*, he is most definitely not Gopala Datta Sastri, who is mentioned in the Sanskrit foreword to the drama.

What, then, about the three "keys" supplied by the Jaipur publisher? Let us briefly examine them. The first "key" does not possess any probative force whatsoever. It seems that Gopala Datta Sastri himself wrote the Sanskrit foreword to this drama. It was, therefore, quite possible for him so to manipulate the first nineteen sentences as to derive, from the eighth letters in them, the Hindi sentence referred to above. [4]

[1] It is this manuscript which, as the Sanskrit foreword mentions, has mainly formed the basis of the printed text of the *Yajñaphala*. The variant readings from the other manuscript, which, according to the Rājavaidya, Gopala Datta Sastri took away and never returned, do not seem to have been many and are indicated in the foot-notes in the printed edition.

[2] Prof. P. K. GODE, who has perhaps handled, in his research work, a larger number of ancient manuscripts than any other scholar, holds the same view. Some of my other colleagues, who have seen the manuscript, also confirm this view.

[3] The first photograph includes stanza 28 in Act I, which is alleged to contain one of the "keys". The second photograph clearly shows the date mentioned in the colophon.

[4] It thus becomes clear that, even before the publication of the drama, the learned Sastri had intended to set afoot the canard about his authorship of the drama and was preparing the ground for it.

The second "key" is more interesting — and, in a sense, perhaps more serious. The last two pādas in stanza 28 in Act I, as they appear in the original manuscript now in the possession of the Rājavaidya, read [1]:

घृणीनां सन्दोहो बत दिनमणेः संक्षयमगात्
प्रकाशो दीपानां रजनीवदनाभूषणमिव ॥

It will be seen that the "key," supplied by the Jaipur publisher, does not fit in here. In the copy of the printed text of the *Yajña-phala*, which I possess, these pādas read :

घृणीनां पुञ्जोऽयं बत दिनकरस्यास्तमगमत्
प्रदीपानां भासो रजनिवदनालंकृतिरिव ॥

So, here too, the "key" does not fit in. But in another copy of the printed text,[2] which I casually happened to see, the reading of the pādas is :

घृणीनां पुञ्जोऽयं बत दिनकरस्य क्षयमगात्
प्रकाशो दीपानां रजनिवदनालङ्कृतिरिव ॥

Thus the "key" seems to refer to this reading. There is now no means to ascertain as to what was the reading of these pādas in the other manuscript of the *Yajñaphala*. Presumably it was the same as in the manuscript now in the Rājavaidya's possession. For, wherever, the reading in that manuscript differs from that in the manuscript, which mainly formed the basis of the printed text, the variants are indicated in the foot-notes. The mystifying discrepancy regarding the reading of these two crucial pādas, therefore, clearly points to only one conclusion namely, that, irrespective of the authority of the manuscripts, the text in this

[1] See photograph No. 1.

[2] On the cover-page of the printed text, which I possess, the date of the publication of the drama is given as सन १९४१ मार्च. Curiously enough, however, the date mentioned at the end of the Sanskrit foreword in that very copy is 19-7-1941. This latter date is mentioned also in the second copy of the printed text, which I happened to see, though the date, March 1941, is nowhere to be seen in it.

passage is purposefully so modified as to 'manufacture a "key" '.[1]

In respect of the third "key", however, it must be conceded that there is no such tampering with the original text. Even according to the manuscript, now in the Rājavaidya's possession, the eighth letters in the first pādas of the first five stanzas in Act II, make up the word भासानुकारि. But in view of the evidence set forth above, this must be regarded as a mere coincidence shrewdly observed by the learned Sastri and then made to serve his purpose.[2]

[1] How, otherwise, can one account for three different variants, e. g., सन्देहो, दुओऽयं, and पुरोऽयं, having been derived from only two manuscripts ?

[2] Or can it be that the author of the *Yajñaphala* was not Bhāsa, but some other poet, who must have, at any rate, lived before V. S. 1727, and that the latter introduced this device to suggest that he had imitated Bhāsa ? Incidentally it may be pointed out that the word भासानुकारि ends in short *ri*, and cannot, therefore, be made to refer to the poet (*Kavi*). It must be connected, if at all, with *Nāṭakam*.

REVIEWS

THE MAHABHĀRATA : for the first time critically edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar (Aug. 1925 - Jan. 1943), S. K. Belvalkar (since April 1943) : Fasc. 18 and 19 : *Śantiparvan*, Rājadharma, Parts 1–2, Poona, 1949–50.

The most voluminous Parvan of the Mahābhārata, being at the same time a source for our knowledge of the history of Indian culture, is the Śāntiparvan. It consists of three parts : Rājadharma-, Āpaddharma-, and Mokṣadharmaparvan, and thus it chiefly represents a voluminous collection of prescriptions, respectively instructions, which on the one hand treat of juridicial and sociological matters and on the other hand, of religio-philosophical questions. In literary respect, this book however is an artless enumeration of doctrines which are explained however by examples of mythology and ancient history and also enlivened by " many precious pearls of poetry and wisdom ".

From the three parts, the Rājadharmaparvan has now been edited by Dr. Belvalkar in a masterly critical edition. Herewith the basis was formed for starting also the study and research in legal, cultural, historical, and other aspects of this already voluminous text—it contains already 128 Adhyāyas. This edition is the more to be welcomed as especially this part of the Mahābhārata, regarding its significance with respect to its contents, did not find the consideration it ought to have been paid to. As far as I know, its contents have been summarized, for those who just want to inform themselves superficially only, by the concise statement of chapters of H. Jacobi (Mahābhārata, Bonn 1903, p. 126–138).

The critical edition of a didactic text, as is the case with the above mentioned text, offers generally more difficulties than for instance the edition of an epic or historical work, and according to the editor's own words, this fact appeared the more as the Rājadharma as well as the Mokṣadharma has been given a more or less independent tradition of manuscript. Consequently it seemed recommendable first to base the edition on those manuscripts which contain the complete Śāntiparvan, and less to conform to those which eventually offer *only* the Raja-, or the Mokṣadharmaparvan, because they deviate in reading from the general text-tradition, without paying regard to the fact, that, in the course of time, textual modifications could have entered their traditions owing to the peculiarity of those who made use of them. This fact could lead already to the presumption that the basis of these two parts

may have had an originally individual existence but later however had been summoned up by a Diaskeuast of the great epic in his context. If now the principles of the Mahābhārata edition—having been followed up till now—ought to be kept up first, the manuscripts of the complete parvan which are very seldom have to be taken as the basis. And only such a great scholar as Dr. Belvalkar could take care of the edition of this voluminous Parvan to manage all the difficulties.

As above mentioned, the edition of this book followed the same principles which had been applied to the already edited parts of the Mahābhārata, and only one glance at this edition shows that also this parvan contains many dubious passages and readings, and that several later additions in one or the other group of manuscripts were to be eliminated. It is, however, remarkable that in these didactic explanations the number of the single verses quoted in the critical apparatus, with the exception of Adhyāya 47 and perhaps also 110 and 117, is smaller than that occurring in the more epic and narrative parts of the Mahābharata. This suggests the fact that they offered no opportunity for individual speculations.

In offering the complete material of the text and the variants in a clear way for the special research, Dr. Belvalkar has done a good work, and it has to be decided whether the reading put into the text is the best or some variants which owing to the sporadic tradition have been put into the critical apparatus are to be preferred: for, in East and West, there is no edition of older works on which there are no different opinions as regards readings. When studying carefully the Śāntiparvan, it is obvious that passages more or less literally corresponding with Purāṇas and Dharma-works may be found. Only by special research, however, can be stated where the giving and accepting part will be found. It is appropriate to give a list of the misprints after having finished the critical edition: for instance 47. 6 ··· *munigaṇar*, instead of *-gaṇair**. We wish that the learned editor will succeed in editing also the remaining parvans of the Mahābhārata in the next years in such a masterly way.

W. Kirfel

Bonn, Germany. (Professor of Indology)

* Apparently in Dr. Kirfel's copy— and presumably in some other copies— the two upper strokes (changing *gaṇar* into *gaṇair*) have fallen off in the course of printing. I have so far not come across such a copy. — S. K. B.

RŪPAKAPARIŚUDDHI: By Paṇḍitarāja D. T. Tatacharya.

This is a book-let in Sanskrit, wherein the figures Upamā and Rūpaka are exhaustively treated. According to the author, Bhojarāja, the author of the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, is the only writer on Alaṁkāra, who has grasped the real meaning of Rūpaka. The treatment of the subject is lucid and the work deserves to be studied carefully.

DRAMA IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE: By R. V. Jagirdar, Dharwar.

The author gives three reasons why he undertook to write the work—(1) "I am a student and ardent admirer of Sanskrit literature, (2) In my own language and province I have been a dramatist of some reputation and have fifteen years' experience of producing and acting plays, and (3) After 'Sanskrit Drama' that readable and authoritative volume of the late Dr. A. B. Keith, there has been no work dealing generally with the history of *Sanskrit* drama". None of these in any way points out to the competence of the author to tackle his subject. That a person is a playwright himself or produces and acts plays in his vernacular does not necessarily mean that he can write a good History of Sanskrit drama. Besides, as the author himself says in the Preface, some of the chapters were written ten years ago and some of them have already appeared in the journals. The result has been that the work appears to contain articles rather disjointed and not conforming to a regular well-thought out plan.

The book deals with the beginning and development of Sanskrit Drama, and the treatment is on the whole satisfactory. The plays of Kālidāsa, Bhāsa and Harṣa are subjected to close scrutiny, as also the Mṛcchakaṭika. According to the author the Vikramorvaśīya is the first play of Kālidāsa, a conclusion which it not likely to be acceptable to many (including the present reviewer). With more leisure at his command, the author could certainly have produced a more comprehensive and well-regulated

treatise dealing with the History of Sanskrit Drama. As it is, the work has become scrappy, apparently made out of lecture-notes intended for the benefit of undergraduate students in our colleges.

The book is well-printed and nicely got up.

SAṂKALPA-SŪRYODAYA : Part II, Acts 6-10. The Adyar Library Series– No. 65 Edited by Pandit V. Krishnamachariya.

This is the second part containing 6-10 Acts, the first part having been out years ago. It contains Nṛsiṁharāja's commentary on these Acts, published for the first time. The works in the Adyar Library Series have always been noted for their nice get-up and printing. This work lives up to that reputation and the editor deserves to be congratulated upon the care he has taken in editing this work.

COMPROMISES IN THE HISTORY OF ADVAITIC THOUGHT : By M. M. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Shastri.

This small volume contains two lectures delivered by the late Prof. Kuppuswami Shastri in 1910, under the auspices of the Madras University.

The two lectures deal with the Advaitic thought from the Earliest times to the days of Brahmānanda Sarasvatī

What Prof. Kuppuswami names as 'compromises' are really the products of efforts to bring philosophy from Heaven down to the Earth, as Addison would have put it. They are mainly intended to cater to the need of those who are unable to grasp the highest truth, viz the oneness of the Ātman or Brahman. Prof. Shastri is right in saying 'Gauḍapāda has placed himself on the highest peak of Advaitic thought–' and Gauḍapāda would undoubtedly describe these compromises as उपदेशादयं वादो ज्ञाते द्वैतं न विद्यते. Compromises, it is notorious, are unsuccessful in reaching the end in view, for they always breed new demands create new problems. The lectures are worthy of being read with thought and care.

THE VYĀKARAṆA-MAHĀBHĀṢYA, PART I (Āhnikas 1st to 4th) with Pradīpa of Kaiyaṭa, and Mahābhāṣya-Pradīpoddyotana by Annaṁbhaṭṭa: Edited by the Late Prof. P. P. S. Shastri and A. Sankaran. (Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Series–7)

This is a very important publication. The commentary by Annaṁbhaṭṭa is here published for the first time. T. Chandrasekharan, the Curator, Government Manuscripts Library, Madras has written an Introduction dealing specially with Annaṁbhaṭṭa's commentary. As he rightly remarks 'An introduction for such an important work as the Pradīpoddyotana is best prepared after the printing of the whole work is over, so that the special value of this work, as compared with other available works of that class, may well be brought out and amply illustrated'. It is necessary, therefore, that the printing of the whole work should be finished as early as possible. The Madras Government would do well in ear-marking special funds for this purpose. Monumental works like Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya are not expected to be printed oftener. It is necessary, therefore, to take special care to see that the printing is free from errors. The price Rs. 20-12, for a Government Publication, appears to be exorbitant.

YATĪNDRAMATADĪPIKĀ: Edited by Svāmī Ādidevānanda

The Yatīndramatadīpikā is a well-known work dealing with the teachings of the Viśiṣṭādvaita School of Rāmānuja. It has been edited with an English Translation and Notes by Svāmī Ādidevānanda. The author can be congratulated upon having brought out a really good edition. The Introduction, particularly, gives a good summary of the tenets of Viśiṣṭādvaita. We suggest that धर्म्मि, आर्य्य etc. should be written as धर्मि आर्य, in the normal way.

PAÑCAPRAKRIYĀ of Sarvajñātman: Edited by T. R. Chintamani

This contains the text and the commentary of Ānandajñāna (or Ānandagiri), and the vyākhyā by Pūrṇavidyāmuni. The editor gives the date of Sarvajñātman as the end of the tenth century and does not agree with the traditional view that Sarvajñātman was a grand pupil of Śaṅkara. The text has been edited with great care. All lovers of Sanskrit philosophy are sure to welcome this work heartily.

ŚLOKAVĀRTIKA of Bhaṭṭaputra-Jayamiśra Edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja

As the editor tells us in his Preface, this edition of the commentary on the Ślokavārtika is based on a single manuscript. As a rule it is not advisable to publish texts based on a single manuscript, but it is also wrong to wait indefinitely. Especially in the case of rare works, it is desirable that they should be made available in print as early as possible, leaving the task of correcting them for future workers. The edition is a welcome addition to the existing literature on Mīmāṅsā.

R. D. Karmarkar

THE CHILDREN OF HARI.— Stephen Fuchs. Publishers— Verlag Herold. Vienna.

This book is a welcome sign of a change in the attitude of Anthropologists. Lately and for that matter even today the attention of Anthropologists was concentrated on the aborigines and most Indian studies were devoted to them. The reviewer has contended again and again that this one sided approach is wrong and especially unsuited to India where the primitive and the non-primitive lived together in the unity of one culture. It is therefore satisfying to find a colleague employing the anthropological method for investigating the life of a non-primitive people. As Dr. Haimendorf remarks so aptly in his introduction, " His were few of the joys of the heart and eye which make field-work among such people as Nagas or Bestar Gonds an inspiring and elating adventure ". The more honour to a man who has chosen indeed the harder and the more prosaic work of social investigation. Untouchability and the racial origin of the untouchables are two problems not yet satisfactorily solved and such detailed studies will help towards their solution. The book shows the close affinity of the Belchi Social organisation with the other castes in India. It gives a wealth of detail about Dalahi customs, traditions and ritual. One omission may be noted here and that is Balahi-kinship system is not properly described any-where. A few geneaologies would have made the avoidance taboos very clear.

The rôle of Christianity in India is brought out vividly in the chapters on conversions. Mr. Fuchs remarks, " Both Missionary groups (The Roman Catholics and the Baptists) who started work among Balahis about fifty years ago found it difficult ..... to make contact ... ... with them. Only the great famine of the 19th century facilitated access ... ... and the result was the conversion of thousands of Balahis ". The initial hopes of converting all the Balahis failed. The movement of the Balahis to Christianity came to a standstill. Further on he remarks. " The religious standard of the Christian Balahis is ... ... rather low ... ... they

are Christians in name and are in religious belief and usage, practically Hindus". It may be added that this description of the mode of Christian conversion and the quality of Christian belief can be applied to ninety percent of all the Christian converts in India. The Missionary activity among the aborigines has given rise to a political problem of no mean importance. The Indian Government in the name of secular state allow these Missions, who have now started on a more intensive teaching of their intolerant doctrines to all these caste and tribal communities. These conversions tear families asunder and undermine the whole moral and social structure of these communities. All Anthropologists have drawn attention to the methods and the effects of these activities but unfortunately to no purpose.

The descriptions of the various feasts are very detailed and give valuable material for comparative studies.

The book has raised a question in the mind of the reviewer. The Balahis are weavers. So are the untouchables of certain other neighbouring tracts. The Dheds of Gujrat are alternatively called Vankar (the weavers), the Māhārāu Khadi i. e. the white rough cloth woven by the Mahars of C. P. is quite well known and it appears that they also were weavers. What is the connection between weaving and untouchability? Or are the Dheds, the Balahis and the Mahars the same folk?

Mr. Stephen Fuchs' study on Balahis is a valuable contribution to Indian Anthropology.

I. Karve.

SUŚLOKAMEGHA — Meghadūta of Kālidāsa, rendered into Marathi verse, and published with a critical Introduction, notes, and Appendices, by Dr. R. C. Shrikhande, of Kolhapur. Published by the Author; Price Rs. 4/-

The author being a lover of Sanskrit, has taken to rendering into Marathi verse, well-known original Sanskrit poems, and has already created a field for himself by bringing out 'Gītagovinda', 'Kumārasambhava' etc. into his lucid Marathi verse. The present work is similarly based on Kālidāsa's Meghadūta, and the Marathi poetry, in this case, too, really adds to the credit of the author.

The Introduction, which covers 100 pages, i. e. half of the whole book, is an exhaustive treatment of the poem, befitting a sound scholarship, and gives a critical review of the different translations of the Meghadūta; the criticism, of course, is more carefully pointed, when it comes to Marathi translations, and here the learned scholar has clearly pointed out how the translations so far prepared, are faulty in some way or other. A statement of parallel ideas in Meghadūta and Rāmāyaṇa, shows the author's deep study of the Epic poem of Vālmīki.

Seeing that the rendering of the original Sanskrit verse into Marathi, in the same Mandākrāntā metre, leaves much to be desired, our author has wisely discarded the restriction of metre, as well as of the convention of verse for verse; so that in this Marathi poem, Dr. Shrikhande, has freely used Indravajrā or Upajātī metre, while one original śloka is found rendered into 2 or even 3 Marathi verses, as becomes necessary to carry out the whole meaning of the Sanskrit śloka. Nothing is thus lost to the purely Marathi reader, who can fully enjoy the original lofty poem of Kālidāsa, in his own language. By constant study and practice Dr. Shrikhande has become a master versifier, and never lacks in lucidity and style. — The Notes, at the end, add to the interest of the student, who is also supplied with the original Sanskrit poem, following the Marathi translation, thus making a comparative study possible for one who is inclined to do so.

S. N. Tadpatrikar

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE PĀLĪ MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ADYAR LIBRARY BY—E. W. Adikaram, M A, Ph.D. (London), The Adyar Library, 1947, pp. xxxi, 111, Price Rs. 6/—

There are very few libraries in the whole of India which stock Pāli Manuscripts, and Adyar library is fortunate in possessing such manuscripts of most of the Canonical and Commentatorial literature. It has also the collection of Buddhist books from China and Japan and it is perhaps the only place in India where a Comparative study of Buddhist texts could be carried on. Mr. Adikaram gives a descriptive catalogue of the Pāli Manuscripts, giving at the same time the names of the Printed editions of the same work in Roman, Sinhalese, or Siamese characters as well as the translations, if any, in English or German, known to the editor. He however, is not apparently aware of the Devanāgarī editions published by the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, or those published by the University of Bombay, as he hardly mentions any of them. This catalogue, will however, be of great use to Pāli scholars who want to go to the original manuscripts of Pāli works.

BUDDHAGHOSA by Dr. Bimal Churn Law, published by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Townhall, Bombay, 1946, pp. viii, 147.

This is a thoroughly revised edition of the author's 'Life and Work of Buddhagosa.' It deals with the life and legends, personal history, predecessors, works, textual and doctrinal expositions, and philosophy of Buddhaghosa. A very useful index is added at the end. Every chapter beams with fresh suggestions and the book is worth reading carefully from cover to cover. Every student of Pāli literature is advised to do so. The views about the authorship of the works ascribed by tradition to Buddhaghosa can only be accepted with great caution. The author suggests the possibility of three Buddhaghosas. His remarks on the character of the Jātaka book and the number of the Jātaka stories are worth serious consideration. The exposition of the various terms in Buddhism given in the last chapter is illuminating. We have no hesitation in recommending this book to every student of Pāli literature.

HISTORY OF THOUGHTS IN MAHĀYĀNA (OR SUPERIOR) BUDDHISM by Prof. Dr. Baiyu Watanabe, published by Minshukaihonbu, Tokyo 1948.

That such a book should appear in print in the critical times of the History of Japan is really creditable both to the author as well as the Publisher. The author is thoroughly imbued with the idea that what is now called Mahāyāna Buddhism is really superior to Hīnayāna Buddhism and he has made an attempt to link up the Mahāyāna teaching with what he calls the original teaching of the Buddha. His contention is that the original purity of the teaching of the Buddha was spoiled by the teaching of the Hīnayāna, and it was given to the Mahāyāna to resurrect the same. One is not certain that the traditional faith and sectarian partiality of the author has not influenced him in his judjment which goes to the length of pronouncing the times of Hīnayāna Buddhism as the "dark age of Buddhism" (p 13). He regards Mahāyāna as the Buddhism of voidness or fluidity and considers it as the revival in all directions of the original teachings of the Buddha (p. 76.). In the VIth chapter he has put forth six different problems which Mahāyānism tried to solve in its own way. One of these problems is the position of women in Mahāyāna. The author's contention is that the attitude of the Buddha himself as well as of Hīnāyāna Buddhism towards women was not very liberal, the Buddha allowed women to accept the religious life of nuns as a mere concession to the importunities of his step-mother and that Hīnayāna was harsh with them in as much as it would not recognise their claims to a possible Buddhahood in some distant future. As Mahāyānaism considered all things as void, it made no distinction between men and women and therefore recognised the right of women to claim for themselves the Buddhahood; but on accunt of Buddha's own attitude and also on account of the attitude of Hīnayānism, they simply laid down that women will have to be first born as men and then it would be possible for them to become the Buddhas. In the last chapter (VIIth), he refers to the various Prajñā-pāramitā sūtras, which he considers as basic Mahāyāna texts. It is not clear why the author stops only with Madhyamaka doctrine of Nāgārjuna which, however, he admits was "not at all the genuine form of the Buddhism of voidness or fluidity" (p. 109). This form of Buddhism he contends, "may be said to have adopted the philosophy of the middle rather than religion of voidness or fluidity."

It is not clear why the author has not proceeded to Vijñānavāda in this small but intererasting book for which he has chosen as the title "History of Thoughts in Mahāyāna (or Superior) Buddhism".

ĀNGLA-SAMSKṚTA-HINDI-MAHĀKOṢA by Dr. Raghuvīra and his Collaborators and published by Dr. Lokesha Chandra, D.Litt., Secretary, International Academy of Indian Culture, Nagpur.

This Magnum Opus of Indian Lexicography is planned and being executed by Dr. Raghuvīra and his colleagues. As a sample of the work that is contemplated, sixty-four pages of English-Sanskrit Mahākosa have been sent to us. We believe that as a language constantly grows, we cannot order the coining of new words in a language merely by resorting to rules of grammar and etymology. Even when such words are coined, it is only the passing of time that will determine their justifiability or currency in popular use.

As now it has been decided that in India most of the provincial languages will take more and more of their due share in expressing the modern thought, it has become necessary to find out the greatest common factors in the languages used all over India. And this can be done only by taking recourse to Sanskrit from which a large number of provincial languages are derived. If the same or similar expression is used in Punjabi, Hindi, Bengali, Guzerati, Marathi, Oriya, Kanarese, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam etc. to express a modern or scientific thought, it would go a long way to establish the solid unity of the different linguistic groups. So, from this point of view, this attempt being made by Dr. Raghuvīra is worth encouragement. At any rate such a work will supply to the workers in the literary fields a basic reference-book which they can draw upon, while translating words from English into their own speech.

The Hindi part of the work is not yet presented here but it is hoped it will be soon added. Hindi is being used already as a spoken language in a greater part of India and since it has been now declared as the national language of India to be more and more used in years to come, it will be of great help to students and public-men all over India. We wish Dr. Raghuvīra every success in his stupendous undertaking.

P. V. Bapat

PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDIES IN 'RASA', by Dr. Rākeśa-gupta, Benares, pp. 179, Rs. 5/-

Human mind has tried to approach reality in three ways: (1) to grasp the TRUTH or essence of things, (2) to evaluate the GOOD in things and (3) to enjoy the BEAUTY in things. The human quest in this connection has given rise to the three sciences of epistemology, axiology and aesthetics. It is bearing fruit through centuries of creative activity, both of a meditative and pragmatic character, of countless individuals and social groups. Bharatā's *rasa-siddhānta* and its subsequent elaboration by later Hindu scholars are just one step in this human quest.

It is our task, firstly, to define the place of Bharata's theory, in the complex of Hindu speculation as a whole and specifically in its relation with theories and concepts prevalent in the thought-world contemporary to Bharata; secondly, it is our task to define the place of *rasa-siddhānta* in the entire development of the science of aesthetics from ancient to modern times.

One would naturally expect in any study of Bharata's theory an attempt to arrive at such a definition and assessment. This expectation receives a rude shock when one peruses the thesis under review. The author claims that his study is a 'definite advancement in the study of *rasa*' and his claim to advance and originality is based on his view that all discussions on *rasa* must be split up in two queries: (1) what is *rasa* as relish? and (2) what is *rasa* as sentiment?

This 'split up', however, does not lead one anywhere as can be easily seen by reading through the pages of this thesis.

Why do all such attempts to define *rasa* in terms of the modern concepts of psychology miserably fail? This is really the question which must be seriously answered today. I will even make bold to say that a real study of *rasa-siddhānta* must start with a rejection of the prevalent tendency amongst modern Indian scholars to equate *rasa* and *bhāva* of Bharata's theory with emotion or sentiment as understood in modern psychology.

The thesis under review does not make any such fresh start, instead the author gets enmeshed, like many of his predecessors who have dealt with this subject, in controversies in modern psychology irrelevant to the study of *rasa*.

This study is, therefore, novel and bold in its claims but breaks no fresh ground and does not at all help in the reorientation which is required in the prevalent approach to *rasa*.

D. K. Bedekar

SELECTIONS FROM THE KUMĀRAPĀLAPRATIBODHA (The Stories Of Nala And Varuṇa), Edited By: N. A. Gore, M.A.; Dip. Lib. (Bom.), Pages 200, Published by Continental Prakashan, Tilak Road, Poona 2, Price Rs. 3

Jain narrative literature is rich both in extent and variety. But, many of the works have not been critically edited and so the readers find it difficult to drink deep at the fountain of this literature. Prof. Gore has made a commendable attempt in this direction by editing in this book, two well-known stories of Nala and Varuṇa adapted from the first chapter (prastāva) of the Kumārapālapratibodha—the book, a copy of which has now become rare in the market.

The story of Nala and Damayantī is very popular among the Hindus. The story in this book is thus the Jain version of the original Nalopākhyāna in the MBh. (Critical Edition III. 50-78). and has been imitated later on by poets in Sanskrit as well as in modern Indian languages and dialects.

It is in the fitness of things that the editor has given a brief synopsis of the story in MBh. and has compared it with its Jain version. The story of Varuṇa is not less interesting. The story admonishes the prohibition of theft.

The author Somaprabhācārya was proficient in all the three languages—Sanskrit, Prākrit or Jain Mahārāṣṭrī and Apabhraṁśa. The Poona University has prescribed the two stories for Inter Arts and has thus obliged not only the student-world but also the general reader, enabling them to study the development of Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa.

The editor's introduction contains all the necessary and available information about the author and his work. Technical terms have been fully explained by him in the Notes. He has explained the chronogram fully for the first time. The readers will indeed bless him for having given two Indices—one on the Subhāṣitas and the other on Select words. His translation though literal is lucid. The editor has already to his credit the editing of about four works in Prākrit and Ardhamāgadhī. There is no necessity, therefore, to state that his Notes are copious, accurate and illuminating.

In short the edition is 'complete' in itself and the editor deserves hearty thanks for this work. It would not be out of place to anticipate more works of the type from him in the near future.

There are a few negligible misprints both in the text and the Notes. It would have been better if Prof. Gore would have incorporated in his introduction, short notes on the Karma-theory of the Jains and the Jain Narrative literature in general.

V. G. Rahurkar.

MAÑJŪṢĀ—A Sanskrit Monthly edited by Shri Kshitish-chandra Chattopādhyāya, 81, Shyam Bazar Street, Calcutta 4

The Mañjūṣā has completed its fourth year in August 1950 when its 12th issue was out. The Monthly is a revival of the former one which had stopped its work during the great war. The Editor is a Pandit and a great grammarian and has drunk deep at the fountain of Sanskrit Literature.

Even great Western Oriental Scholars like Dr. Louis Renou have unequivocally declared that India is loved and adored throughout the world chiefly because she is the repository of a long and venerable tradition — intellectual, moral and spiritual embodied in the treasure of her Sanskrit literature.

The editor of Mañjūṣā, therefore, deserves warmest congratulations for his patience and perseverance editing very ably one of the most popular monthlies in Sanskrit. The aim of this monthly is to help people to learn Sanskrit without tears and to acquaint them with all that is best in Sanskrit literature and Bhāratiya culture. It also tries to keep abreast of Indological research.

A retrospective view of the twelve issues of its fourth year convinces us about the fulfilment of its promise. The contents of each issue can be divided broadly into three categories. The first part contains simple verses, proverbs, stories etc. for beginners. The second part is devoted to controversial topics in grammar, rhetorics and the six Darśanas. The third one deals with the translation of Mahābhāṣya and some hymns in the Ṛgveda and Avesta.

Parallel proverbs in various languages is a special feature that attracts the eye of the reader. Here are some illustrations—

(1) One swallow does not make spring.	(1) एककश्चातको लोके न वर्षासूचने प्रभुः ।
(2) There's many a slip between the cup and the lip.	(2) वर्तन्ते बहवो विघ्ना मुखं भाजनमन्तरा । or परिवेषितभक्तेऽपि प्रत्यूहो जायते क्वचित ।
(3) The lunatic, the lover and the poet Are of imagination all compact.	(3) कामुकः कविरुन्मत्तः कल्पनामय-मूर्तयः ।

The discussion of some subtle queries especially on Sanskrit grammar is another interesting feature. The commentary of the editor on the Uṣā-hymns in the Rgveda reveals the great grammarian in him. Humorous stories, parables and poems alleviate the burden of weighty thoughts on the mind. The twelve verses of Shri Anant Narayana Shastri on coffee is an illustration in point. Topics on etymology also are not rare. The late G. K. Modak, the veteran indologist has discussed the etymology of the word गीर्वाण. The maxims of Kālidāsa and the German poet Goethe reveal the catholicity of the Monthly. A prize competition for an essay in Sanskrit on a controversial topic is also declared by the Editor who thus seems to have girded up his loins for the revival of Sanskrit literature, especially of Sanskrit grammar.

Each issue contains a special article of some renowned writer and the reader feels after reading the issue that the Sanskrit literature is a fertile field for producing a rich crop of research work.

If there is a form of expression which gives unity to India and makes Indian civilisation appeal to the entire world, it is Sanskrit and nothing else. We therefore appeal to the scholars to help the Mañajūṣā by subscribing it for themselves, and for their students and the institutions in which they are working. It is good that the monthly abhors of all that is harmful to Bhāratiya culture.

V. G. Rahurkar

INDOLOGICAL STUDIES, Part I. By Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt. The Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, 1950. pp. 128.

Dr. Law here presents us with the results of some of his researches, which, as he tells us, he thinks will be of use to historians interested in Ancient India. Of this there is no doubt. His first section deals with minor states between 325 B. C. and 300 A. D., that is, the period which saw the rise and decline of the Magadhan Empire. Compared with the Empire the states within it were minor, but with varying fortunes they continued to exist, and it is in them that we find the real history of the people. The first impression given is the astonishing complexity of the subject, and one is at first inclined to ask for a map or several maps. But, as Dr. Law's analysis shows it is as yet too early to hope for this. Besides what archaeological research may still tell us, the surmises of early investigators have to be examined and corrected or contradicted and cleared away. It is not a case of merely building up on the basis of the results previously attained. It will be impossible for future historians to base their accounts on any of the "results" that earlier students have hoped to reach. Too often what was a mere working hypothesis has hardened into illusory theory, and every theory requires to be tested with the acquisition of further facts. Dr. Law claims to have "presented solid fact in a systematic way." This is the first necessary step. His objectiveness and impartiality are admirable, and he records with calmness the many guesses and surmises that still occupy the attention of scholars. He bears in mind the fact that truth is universal, but one recognizes with pleasure the fact that the centre of gravity of Indian studies is now India.

The second section covers a much wider field, for it deals with the social and economic conditions from the earliest times down to the Nanda dynasty. This is divided into Pre-Vedic, Vedic, pre-Buddhistic, and pre-Maurya. How many streams of culture are to be found here? And if there is more than one, have we

not in each a separate problem to solve? These questions are well brought out by being set before us free from any theorizing tendency. First comes the palaeolithic culture, passing by the usual stages into the bronze and iron ages. Where can we look for their descendants now? The problem is still more striking in the case of the Indus culture and the Vedic. Sir John Marshall, says Dr. Law, holds that between the Indus and the Vedic cultures there was a wide gulf, and a comparison shows that they were unrelated. In that case, we have two quite different problems to solve, and there are similar inquiries to be made when we consider the Munda peoples, the Dravidians and the pre-Dravidians. On coming to the Vedic and later culture with the abundant literary sources we are on firmer ground, but even in this case we need to pause, and inquire whether anything non-Aryan has become absorbed in the Vedic and Post-Vedic Culture. For this period Dr. Law's discussion is very full and is everywhere supplied with abundant references. The whole of it will be found useful both by those engaged in research and by all who take an interest in the social and intellectual life of ancient India.

E. J. Thomas

SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF INDIAN NATIONALISM by Dr. A. R. Desai, Ph.D. — Oxford University Press, 1948. Demi Octavo pp. 398 + 17. Rs. 20

This is No. 2 of the Sociology Series in the University of Bombay Publications edited by Dr. G. S. Ghurye. It is a lucid analysis of the 'transformation of Indian society from a medieval to a modern basis during the last one hundred and fifty years and the resultant rise of Indian nationalism'. It carefully examines the social, religious, economic and cultural factors that went into the growth or retardation of the national political movement in this country. The author claims to "use the method of historical materialism...for locating and assessing the specific weight of different social forces which evolved and formed the social background" during the period of his study; but he is not obsessed with any doctrinaire bias so as to vitiate his correct and balanced assessment of a complex historical process.

The book is divided into nineteen chapters apart from a Prologue and an Epilogue together with an alphabetically arranged Bibliography and Index. Originally submitted to the University of Bombay as a thesis in Sociology and approved for that degree, the work bears the impress of wide reading and thoughtful treatment of a very useful and fascinating theme.

One cannot, however, help pointing out that a few errors have remained in the present publication, which could have been corrected by the author himself or the editor. The Deccan Education Society, for instance, is stated to have been established "in the *seventies* by Tilak and Agarkar" (p. 132). The famous Proclamation of Queen Victoria is dated "*1857*" (p. 154). The caste system ('the steel frame of Hinduism') is said to be "*more ancient than the Vedas*", which record its existence then (p. 223). To say the least, this is rather misleading. The chronological confusion in the following sentence is obvious: "It is true that Indian history records instances of outstanding women

like Gargi, Chandbibi, Nurjahan, Razya Begum, the Queen of Jhansi, Mirabai and Ahalyabai, who accomplished great feats in the spheres of literature, art, philosophy, administration, and even warfare" (p. 250). Sri Aurobindo is throughout spelt "Aurbindo", and Surendranath Bannerjee sometimes "Banerjee" (p. 293) and sometimes "Bannerji" (p. 294); Indian Councils Act of 1861 is once "Council Act" and then "Council's Act".

These minor blemishes are specifically pointed out here not to pick holes but to stress the desirability of closer attention to such minutiae in publications of this nature and importance.

Dr. Desai is to be congratulated on his success in making so complex and difficult a subject so lucid and interesting.

S. R. Sharma

OBITUARY NOTICES

THE LATE PROFESSOR M. HIRIYANNA

The cruel hand of death makes no distinction between rich and poor, high and low, or savant and servant. Professor M. Hiriyanna was snatched away from us on the 19th September 1950. For the sake of the chronicler, it may be recalled that the Professor was born in Mysore on the 7th May 1871, had his early education in the city, received inspiration from his *guru*, Sri Periaswamy Tirumalacarya, a celebrated Sanskrit Pandit of his time, and took his Bachelor's and Master's Degrees from the Christian College, Madras. He was later deputed by the Mysore Government to qualify himself for the L. T. from the Teachers' College, Saidapet.

Professor Hiriyanna entered Government service in 1891 and having served in various capacities, entered the Maharaja's College in 1912 as Lecturer in Sanskrit and became Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit in 1918, very soon after the University of Mysore came into existence. He filled this place with great honour and distinction and finally retired from service in 1927.

The world of scholars, especially in the field of Indian Philosophy, will ever cherish the memory of this truly elder brother among the great galaxy of the Philosophers of India in recent times – (Hiriyanna: *hiriya anna* in Kannada means literally elder brother!). Belvalkar, Kuppuswami Sastri, Ranade and Radhakrishnan were some of his best friends and admirers. Probably owing to proximity, a very close association with the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppuswami Sastri developed in later years. Raghavan and the late lamented Chintamani among Sastriar's pupils nurtured the close tie of intellectual brotherhood of the two *ācāryas* by their own scholarly pursuits and consultations. It was the privilege of Professor Hiriyanna's own students here in Mysore to listen to the great contributions to knowledge that his above-named friends were making. We used to hear with

much glee and gratification that once on the occasion of a Conference in Poona, Professor Hiriyanna was found sandwiched between Professors Ranade and Belvalkar! We are witnesses to the warm association that grew up between Hiriyanna and Radhakrishnan ever since the latter's Professorship in the Maharaja's College, Mysore. By dint of his great qualities, as a scholar and philosopher, Professor Hiriyanna gained many admirers in India and abroad; and his demise will have caused much pain to many in the scholarly world.

Professor Hiriyanna made his debut into the Stage of Letters with his English translations of Īśa and Kena Upaniṣads, soon to be followed by those of Kaṭha and Bṛhadāraṇyaka. Over thirty first-rate articles were contributed to the leading journals on a variety of philosophical subjects. Among his major works, the following may be mentioned: 1. English translation of Sadānanda's Vedāntasāra; 2. Critical edition of Naiṣkarmyasiddhi (BSS); 3. Critical Edition of Iṣṭasiddhi (GOS); 4. Outlines of Indian Philosophy (Allen and Unwin); 5. Essentials of Indian Philosophy (Allen and Unwin). The Outlines brought him indeed international fame.

Professor Hiriyanna had the honour of presiding over the Hyderabad Session of the Indian Philosophical Congrees (1939); delivering the Principal Miller Lectures before the Madras University (1940) and being elected as Honorary member of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute on the occasion of its Silver Jubilee (1943). Owing to failing health he was unable to accept the invitation to preside over the 16th Session of the All India Oriental Conference. Need it be said that our beloved Professor was a perfect gentleman, overflowing with kindness to his pupils and friends. He was the very model of a teacher, having put into successful practice every principle of teaching. His conscientious outlook, sense of duty, and a fund of learning without any ostentation are qualities which will inspire those who knew him, indeed for a long time to come. May his Soul rest in Peace.'

H. L. Hariyappa



Born 7-5-1871] Prof. M. Hiriyanna [Died 19-9-1950



Born 24-10-1868] Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi [Died 13-4-1951
Rajasaheb of Aundh

SHRIMANT BALASAHEB PANT PRATINIDHI

RAJASAHEB OF AUNDH

If there is one thing more than another that has given the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute its present status and prestige in the world of Oriental Scholarship, it is its work on the critical edition of the Mahābhārata, doggedly pursued by it, through thick and thin, now more than three decades; and if there is one individual to whom the credit must unreservedly be given for persuading the Institute, then hardly twelve months old, to undertake — may be, without fully realising what the enterprise would eventually mean and involve — this literary travail which can be compared, on the one hand, with Max Müller's edition of the Ṛgveda with the Sāyaṇabhāṣya (1849–1874) and, on the other, with the great Sanskrit–German Lexicon of Böhtlingk and Roth (1855–1875), it is Shrimant Bhawanrao alias Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, the Rajasaheb of Aundh, who, we deeply regret to have to announce, passed away in Bombay, after a brief illness, on the 13th of April, 1951 at the age of 83. The news of the Rajasaheb's death took all of us by surprise: it could hardly be believed in; for, only three or four weeks ago, when the writer of this obituary notice went to the Rajasaheb's residence in Poona to present him personally the twentieth fascicule of the edition containing the first half of the Karṇaparvan and the twentyfirst fascicule containing the Āpaddharma, the Rajasaheb was pleased to compliment the Institute upon the rate of progress evinced of late in the publication of the Critical Edition, and went on to say that, if the present rate of progress was maintained, he hoped to live long enough to see the edition completed. — So unsuspectingly are we apt to tread the path of life, little dreaming what the very next step might have in store for us!

Born on the 24th of October, 1868, Shrimant Balasaheb became the Rajasaheb of Aundh in 1909 through a series of circumstances which could not have been anticipated. Not expecting any such good fortune, the Pantsaheb went through regular school and college education and became a graduate in Arts

from the Deccan College in 1891, having developed a passion for Fine Arts, including singing and painting. Within a few years after he was called to the Gadi, he published the Picture Rāmāyaṇa, containing a series of 72 pictures painted by himself and accompanied by brief descriptive notes. The great success of this publication induced the Rajasaheb to plan the publication of the Picture Mahābhārata, for which he intended to paint about two hundred pictures.

Just about this time, however, scholars not only in the Maharashtra and the rest of India, but even those in Europe and America had evinced a phenomenal interest in India's Great Epic.[1] The great divergence of views expressed in these publications by competent authorities on practically all aspects of the Mahābhārata studies brought home the need of a critical edition of that Epic based on representative MSS. collected from all parts of India. Such an edition was in fact planned by the London Session of the International Association of Academies; but the First World War gave its quietus to that project, and it was generally felt that India ought to come forward to shoulder the task of the proposed critical edition.[2] Moved no doubt by consi-

[1] The following dates of the essential publications in the field would tell their own tale. *Publications outside India :* Holtzmann's standard work in four parts (1893-95); Dahlmann: Das Mbh. (1895), Nirvāṇa (1896), Buddha (1898), Genesis (1899), Sāṁkhya Philosophie (1902); Ludwig: Mbh. als Epos und Rechtbuch (1896); Hopkins' Great Epic (1901); Lüders' Grantha-Recension (1901); Jacobi's Das Mbh. (1903); and several lengthy and penetrating reviews on these—particularly on the first two—by Winternitz, Jolly, Jacobi, Ludwig, Barth, Schröder and Hopkins in the Journals of India, Europe and America. *Publications in India :* C. V. Vaidya's Mbh.: a Criticism (1905), Riddle of the Rāmāyaṇa (1906), Epic India (1907) — the second of these being reviewed in extenso by the *Kesari* in a series of seven articles; Chiploonkar & Company's Marathi Translation of the Mbh. (1904-1918), with C. V. Vaidya's Upasaṁhāra (1918) — the last reviewed in the Vividhajñānavistāra (Feb., 1921); and, above all, Lokamānya B. G. Tilak's Gītārahasya (1915) and the great volume of critical literature that it evoked.

[2] In the course of a review on the Gītārahasya published in the March 1918 issue of the Vividhajñānavistāra, the following sentence occurs: युद्धोत्तर ज्या अनेक महत्त्वाच्या व दिरंगाईवर न टाकण्याजोग्या कार्यांची हिंदुस्थानावर जबाबदारी येऊन पडणार आहे..... त्यांपैकीं प्रामुख्यानें निर्देश करण्याजोगें हें (महाभारताच्या चिकित्सक आवृत्तीचें) कार्य आहे असें आम्हांस वाटतें.

derations like these, the Pantsaheb changed his original proposal of the Picture Mahābhārata into a Critical and Illustrated Edition of the Mahābhārata, and arranged for a discussion of that proposal at a special meeting of select scholars in the Nana Wada under the presidentship of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. About forty persons attended the meeting to which Dr. Bhandarkar explained the inherent difficulties of the proposal, both literary as well as financial. As to the financial difficulties, the Pantsaheb offered to give from his own State a donation of one lakh of rupees payable in annual instalments,[1] besides agreeing to go round on a collecting tour for additional donations that might be required. As to the literary aspects of the problem, the young band of Sanskritists present at the meeting, who had returned to India after receiving training in critical methods of scholarship in the Universities of England, France, Germany and America and who had taken a leading part in the movement for the establishment of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, promised to hold themselves responsible for the task under the guidance of Sir Ramkrishna himself. Thereafter, on the 6th of July, 1918, the Rajasaheb, as the president elect of the General Body of the B. O. R. Institute, put his proposal formally before that Body, which was naturally accepted with enthusiasm. The actual work on the proposed Critical Edition was commenced at a function arranged for the purpose on the Caitra Śuddha Pratipadā of Śaka 1840 (April, 1918), when, on specially prepared collation sheets, Sir Ramkrishṇa wrote with his own hand the *maṅgalācaraṇa* verse of the Great Epic.

Shrimant Balasaheb was naturally interested more in the illustrations that were to be included in the edition. After giving much thought to the subject and after minutely examining the carvings and paintings at Sanchi, Amaravati, Daulatabad and Ajaṇṭa as well as the temple-sculptures at Borobodur (Java), he decided to take these as the models for the proposed illustrations. In a paper contributed by him to the July 1921 issue of the

[1] This promised donation has become fully available: Rs. 68, 645-4-0 during the lifetime of the Rajasaheb himself, and the balance from the Bombay State, which took over the liability subsequent to the merger.

Annals of the B. O. R. Institute, which is fully documented and accompanied by numerous illustrations, he explained the lines that he proposed to follow in painting the illustrations for the Mahābhārata edition and tried to show that, in the matter of dress, attire, ornaments, domestic implements and equipment in warfare, these lithic and graphic records came nearest to the actual descriptions as found in the existing Epic. As a consequence of this decision, some pictures already drawn by the Rajasaheb had to be modified or cancelled, while others (e. g. the Sun-God's gift of a copper dish to Draupadī) had to be held back because the incidents on which they were based were not accepted by the Critical Edition as original and authentic.

So far the Rajasaheb has supplied for the Critical Edition pictures drawn either by himself or by artists working under his direction as follows:

Ādiparvan	16	Virāṭaparvan	3	Sauptikaparvan	1
Sabhāparvan	5	Udyogaparvan	1	Strīparvan	1
Āraṇyakaparvan	6	Bhīṣmaparvan	6	Śāntiparvan	2.

This makes a total of 41 pictures. Suitable themes for drawing two additional illustrations for the Śāntiparvan and two illustrations each for the Karṇa and the Śalyaparvan had been supplied and accepted, while two more themes for the Droṇaparvan had been selected but not communicated. In addition to these eight, we should have a picture each for the Anuśāsana and the Āśvamedhika parvans and perhaps two more for the smaller concluding parvans 15–18, thereby giving a total of 53 illustrations for the edition as a whole (excluding the Harivaṁśa), besides facsimile reproductions of about twenty folios of the important MSS. used for the Edition. Of course the Rajasaheb wanted to draw many more pictures; but now, if the heirs and successors of the Rajasaheb were to arrange to make available for the work that yet remains the services of one or two artists trained by the Rajasaheb for the purpose, the B. O. R. Institute, for its own part, undertaking to defray all expenses of blockmaking and printing after the illustrations are drawn and approved, that would be the best method of carrying to completion the one wish nearest to the Rajasaheb's heart that has remained unhappily unfulfilled.

So far we have touched only one aspect of the late Rajasaheb's personality: the aspect with which, as sponsor of the Critical and Illustrated Edition of the Mahābhārata, the B. O. R. Institute was most vitally connected. But in other walks of life the Rajasaheb played an equally conspicuous and beneficent role. The rule of an Indian Raja is traditionally held as synonymous with self-willed despotism; but the small and scattered territory comprised under the whilom Aundh State has been, for several years past, in the enjoyment of real self-government, the Head of the State claiming to be, in every sense of the term, no more than a real servant of the people. The Rajasaheb's attempts to foster small industries in the State have borne noteworthy results, as witnessed by the Ogale Glass Works or the Kirloskar Factory for Agriculture Implements, which have won a name far beyond the limits of the State itself. Nor must we fail to mention here the remarkable success that the Rajasaheb won as a Kīrtanakāra, selecting for the purpose, year after year, new and original themes, composing and singing new songs, interposing lucid expositions and apt illustrations and carrying home to the enraptured audience the lessons of the kīrtana, which, as an actor and orator of no mean calibre, he was well qualified to inculcate, never forgetting to season his discourse by appropriate humour and topical allusions and plentiful quotations from Sanskrit and Marathi Classics. Another great acievement with which the name of the Rajasaheb will stand for ever associated is the great vogue that he claimed and, by dint of persistent pleading, won, for the mode of exercise known as the "Sūryanamaskāra". Possessing a simple and loving disposition, an outspoken frankness without any desire to offend, an earnestness and piety that easily mollified opponents and helped to spread a feeling of brotherhood all round, the Rajasaheb — once you came to know and appreciate his real personality — always left a pleasing and undelible stamp on your memory, which is sure to perdure long after its *fons et origio* had departed from our midst. For, has not the Poet said: न खलु स उपरतो नाम यस्य बहुभो जनः स्मरति?

21st October, 1951. S. K. Belvalkar.

List of Members of the
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

(6th April, 1951)

[The sign * indicates that the Member is ordinarily resident of Poona]

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174 Babu Kedarnatha Goenka, Monghyr, (Bihar) (1942)

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178 Sri Jaidayal Goyandka, President Gita Press, Gorakhpur (1949)

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187 Lt. Col., Hooton, L.M.S., Bombay (1918)

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264 His Highness Maharaja Vibhuti Narain Singh Bahadur of Benares Fort Ramnagar, Benares State (1947)

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307 Sri Karyan to Jagadguru Sankaracharya Mutt Kañchi Kamakoti Peeta, Kumbakonam (1945)

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