

THE
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A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN
ARCHAEOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES,
LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, Etc., Etc.,

EDITED BY

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PROGRESS OF THE COLLECTION OF MSS. AT DACCA UNIVERSITY (1926-27).

By N. K. BHATTASALI, M.A.

My first report on the collection of MSS. at Dacca University was published in this Journal in July 1926. The following report will show what progress has since been made :—

Number of Additions.

The serial number of bundles catalogued stood, on the 31st March 1926, at 1,181, excluding the 579 bundles presented by Babu Kṛṣṇadās Āchāryya Chaudhuri, which have been separately numbered and preserved. The serial number of bundles obtained up to the time of this report is 2,171, thus showing an addition of 990 bundles during the session. Our collection is gradually growing more and more selective and this accounts for the comparatively smaller volume of our collection during the present session. Taking on the average four MSS. per bundle, the number of MSS. collected up to the time of this report will be more than 10,000.

Donations.

A very large number of small donations were received during the Session, mainly through the exertion of our agents. The most notable donation was that of Pandit Yaśodākānta Chakravartī of Kāśābhog, District Faridpur, who made us a free gift of 109 MSS. valued at Rs. 154. These MSS. belonged to his father, the famous late Kṛṣṇakānta Śīromani, the premier *kathaka* of East Bengal in his day. MSS. of eight *Upaniṣads* with commentaries, and palm-leaf MSS. of some parts of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* were among the most valuable MSS. in this lot.

Notable Additions to the Sanskrit Section.

The usual additions in *Purāṇa*, *Itihāsa*, *Kāvya*, *Nāṭaka*, *Alaṅkāra*, *Jyotiṣa*, *Dharmmaśāstra*, *Tantra*, *Ādiparva*, *Smṛiti*, *Nyāya*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Chikitsā*, etc., are too numerous to mention. Special mention should, however, be made of the following MSS. :—

Purāṇa :—(1) A MS. of the *Kārma-Purāṇa* in palm-leaf from Birbhum, about 500 years old. (2) A MS. of *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* from Faridpur, dated in 1432 Śaka.

Itihāsa :—A MS. of the *Ādiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*, from Sylhet, about 300 years old.

Kāvya :—Several good MSS. of *Raghuvamśa*, *Meghadūta*, *Śiśupāla-vadha*, *Ghatakarpura-kāvya*, etc., were obtained. A new commentary on *Raghuvamśa* by Chaturāṇana Dhṛitisimha, composed in 1350 Śaka has been found in a fragmentary condition.

Nāṭaka :—Numerous copies of *Mahānāṭaka* were obtained. Dr. S. K. De has discovered, by a collation of seven of our MSS., that the drama was known in two distinct recensions. A MS. of *Kautukaratna* by Lakṣmaṇa-māṇikya, king of Bhulua (Noakhali) and contemporary of Akbar and Jahāngir, and another of *Kautuka-sarvasva*, by Gopinātha Sarasvatī, are interesting additions. MSS. of *Hāsyārnava* are already numerous in our collection and are no longer accepted.

Alaṅkāra :—A transcript of *Vakrokti-Jīvita* by Kuntaka has been obtained from the Jaisalmer, Jain Bhaṇḍā and another of *Dhvanyāloka* has been ordered from the Tanjore Palace Library.

Jyotiṣa :—The most valued addition to this section are two MSS. of *Adbhuta-sāgara*, by Ballāla Sena-Deva, one (incomplete) from Nadia district and the other (complete) in Devanāgarī script from Āhār in Bulandshahr district in the U.P. The latter is a particularly valuable MS., dated Śaka 1658, and is thus about 200 years old. Both of them give the year in which the work was begun, viz., 1090 Śaka. Hailing from widely distant places, they should help to set at rest all controversy regarding the dates of Ballāla Sena and Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

Dharmmaśāstra :—The most valuable additions are the MSS. of *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, *Taittiriya*, *Kaṭh*, *Aitareya*, *Māṇḍūkya*, *Kēpa*, *Atharva* and *Iśa Upaniṣads*, with commentaries of

Śaṅkara, Ānandajñāna and Narāyaṇendra. They are not very old, but they form an interesting series, all of them the donations of Pandit Yaśodākānta Chakravarti of Kasabhog, District Faridpur.

Tantra :—*Tantras* turned up in overwhelming numbers, testifying to the popularity of this class of literature in Bengal. Only a very selective collection was made. A MS. of *Kāmaratna Tantra*, dated 1589 Śaka deserves mention. Transcripts of 15 *Pañcharātra Āgamas* and *Tantras* were ordered from the Madras Oriental MSS. Library and the Adyar MSS. Library, some of which have been received.

Abhidhāna :—A MS. of a new lexicon, called *Rūpachintāmaṇi*, by Yādavānanda, son of Govindadāsa, composed in 1589 Śaka, deserves mention. We have discovered another copy of a commentary on *Amarakoṣa* on the lines of that of Sarvānanda, from Faridpur District. Unfortunately, the MS. is incomplete and ends with *Vaiśya-pradhāna varga*, 116 fols. A complete MS. of *Trikāṇḍa-śeṣa* by Puruṣottama, dated in 1540 Śaka, also deserves mention.

Smṛiti :—As already mentioned in last year's report, we have stopped accepting Raghunandan's works unless they are very old. Some MSS. of Śūlapāṇi were added this year. An interesting addition is a MS. on *Tulāpurupaddhati*, by Mahārāja Mānasimha.

Nyāya :—No notable addition.

Medicine :—A MS. of *Chikitsāttva* by Śrī Kṛṣṇa Kavi and another called *Mugdha-vodha* by one Raghunandana deserve mention.

Grammar :—No notable addition.

Genealogy :—Nine bulky genealogical works of the Varendra Brahmans were obtained from a family of professional *Ghataks* of Faridpur. This family served the whole Varendra Brahman community of Eastern Bengal as *Ghataks* and as such, their MSS. are expected to be particularly valuable.

Notable Additions to the Bengali Section.

The most remarkable addition is a complete MS. of the Bengali translation of the *Mahābhārata* by Sañjaya in 639 folia and dated in 1232 B.S. in the reign of Gaṅgādhara-māṇikya, king of Tippera. It is a huge MS. in length, breadth and thickness, written on specially prepared paper and was purchased for Rs. 60. Two MSS. of a translation of the *Mahābhārata* made by Śrīkara Nandī under the patronage of Paragal Khān and his son Chhuti Khān, the Muslim Governors of Chittagong during the reigns of Husain Shāh and his son Nasrat Shāh, are also valued additions. One is in 437 fols. dated 1208 B.S. and the other in 342 fols. and dated in 1096 B.S. or 1611 Śaka. They were obtained from Noakhali. The latter is a particularly valuable MS. and helps to prove that the name of the author was Śrīkara Nandī and his title was Kavindra-Parameśvar. The title and the name have been made into two different personages by Dr. D. C. Sen.

The following MSS. also deserve special mention :—

1. A metrical translation of *Haribhaktivilāsa* by Kanai Dās.
2. *Bhakti-uddīpana*, *Vaiṣṇava-dharmma*, *Vaiṣṇavalīlāmṛita* by Brindāvan Dās.
3. *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-vijaya* by Guṇarāja Khān, dated 1112 B.S.
4. Several copies of *Mahābhārata*, by Rāmeśvar Nandī.
5. *Rāmāyaṇa*, by Lokanāth Sen, and Manohar Sen.
6. *Gaṅgābhakti-taranginī*, by Durgāprasād of Ulā.
7. *Manohara-mālātī samvāda*, of Sachinandan, composed under the patronage of Rājā Upendranārāyaṇ of Cooch-Bihar.
8. *Kālikāpurāṇa*, by Dāsa Haridatta.
9. *Kṣṇarād-gītachintāmaṇi*, an anthology by Viśvanātha (fragment). A Six MSS. of *Smṛiti* in old Bengali prose are also interesting additions. The Bengali Section is making rapid strides and comprises at present about 2,000 MSS.

Progress of the work of Cataloguing.

We were fortunate in securing the services of an experienced hand like Babu Mathurânâth Majumdâr for preparing a detailed catalogue of our collection. His lifelong service in this line in the Asiatic Society of Bengal and his association with veterans like Mahâmahopâdyâya Haraprasâd Śâstrî had given him unique opportunities and experience, by which we expect our collection to benefit. The work of detailed cataloguing is necessarily slow and the term of Mathura Babu had to be extended beyond six months for which he was employed in the first instance. Up till now, he has succeeded in cataloguing about 600 bundles only, and it will be in the interests of the University to extend his term for a further period to enable him to complete his work. The preliminary serial cataloguing is done by the Library Assistant Babu Abinâś Chandra Basu, and he is easily keeping pace with the work of collection. He also assists me for two hours daily in the preparation of the valuation lists, an arrangement which serves to give me very valuable assistance and also to train him up in the work of recognising MSS. and preparing their catalogue.

Utilisation.

The MSS. are already attracting workers. Dr. De has edited a hitherto unpublished *Kāvya* called *Kîchaka-badha* from two MSS. in our collection, with a commentary from a MS. preserved in the British Museum. This book will be published by the University. He is now engaged in editing the *Mahânâṭaka* from seven MSS. in our collection. Mr. Radhâgovinda Basâk is editing the *Ghaṭakarppara Kāvya* from our MSS. with an old commentary. Dr. S. K. Das of Rajshahi College is studying the *Pancharâtra Āgamas* and *Tantras* with the help of the transcripts obtained from Madras. Mr. Umesh Chandra Bhattachâryya is studying some of the *Tantras* in our collection. Prof. Tucci is utilising the MSS. on *Durgâ-pûjâ* for writing his work on the same subject. Babu Subodh Chandra Banerji, our Travelling Agent, is making a thorough study of the Sarvânandî commentary of *Amarakoṣa* and some genealogical works in that connection. The writer of the present note is studying some of the Bengali MSS. Mr. Satish Chandra Roy, the renowned Vaiṣṇava scholar offered his services to the MSS. Committee in the preparation of reliable editions of important Vaiṣṇava works. He has already been commissioned to edit an old Bengali *Kāvya* called *Harivamśa* by Bhavânanda from three MSS. of the work in his own possession and three other MSS. in the collection of Dacca University. He has also agreed to edit Chandidâs and other Vaiṣṇava poets from MSS. in our collection.

Personnel.

The following members continued to serve on the MSS. Committee—Dr. S. K. De, President; Mr. N. K. Bhattasali, Honorary Secretary; Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Mr. Radhagovinda Basak, Mr. N. G. Bannerjee, Mr. Fakhruddin Ahmed, Mr. Muhammad Shahidullah. On the departure of Mr. Shahidulla for France, Mr. Umesh Chandra Bhattachâryya was elected in his place.

Tours.

The Honorary Secretary undertook a tour in search of MSS. in the districts of Faridpur and Barisal in October last and obtained some important MSS.

Agents.

Babu Subodh Chandra Banerji, M.A., as Travelling Agent, continued to give us very valuable service. During this session, he toured the districts of Sylhet, Tippera, Noakhali and Bogra and obtained many important MSS. The collection of MSS. should be a permanent feature of the University of Dacca and the trained services of Babu Subodh Chandra Banerji should be placed on a stable footing as one of the permanent employees of Dacca University.

Babu Bireswar Roy, Local Agent for the Madaripur Sub-division of Faridpur district, is also giving us splendid service and deserves our heartiest thanks.

SOURCES FOR AN ACCOUNT OF THE EMBASSY OF SIR WILLIAM NORRIS, Bt., TO AURANGZEB.

By HARIHAR DAS, B.Litt. (Oxon.), F.R.Hist.S.

SIR WILLIAM NORRIS went out to India as representative both of the ruling sovereign and of the New or English East India Company. His embassy covered a period of nearly four years (1698-1702), which was pregnant with future consequences. It saw the beginning of the decline of the Mughal Empire and the union of the rival companies which led ultimately to British suzerainty in India. The history of those years forms a stirring period in the annals of the two Companies. Sir Thomas Roe's embassy to the Court of Jahāngir has been exhaustively treated, notably in the work of Sir William Foster. But the scarcely less important mission of Sir William Norris to the Court of Aurangzeb, nearly a century later, has not hitherto received from historical writers on India that attention which the importance of the subject demands.

John Bruce incorporated in his *Annals of the East India Company* a lengthy narrative of the mission, compiled from the records then kept at East India House. In spite, however, of the great care obviously devoted to the work, he seems to have omitted to consult certain of those records, particularly Sir William's Journals, which contain a vivid account of the embassy. The supreme merit of Bruce's work as a whole lies in the fact that it is a storehouse of information. It can hardly be considered complete, for being an official of the Company, he naturally suppressed facts likely to give a handle to its enemies. It is, however, a well-written account and fairly accurate, as he had full access to the Company's records. Among others who have written on the Norris mission, Sir Cornelius Dalton may be mentioned. Mr. P. E. Roberts has contributed a chapter on the subject to Sir W. W. Hunter's (unfinished) *History of India*. Mr. Arnold Wright has given a short but lucid account of the embassy in his book, *Annesley of Surat and His Times*, and Mr. Beckles Willson has also written a chapter on the subject in his book, *Ledger and Sword*. In extracts too from the *Diary of William Hedges* we get glimpses of the mission, but these are by no means exhaustive, though his comments are invaluable. It will be seen, then, that notwithstanding their good qualities these contributions to the history of the period are only portions of a general literary scheme, in which Sir William Norris' mission ranks merely as an episode. Further, it may not be out of place to mention that most of the writers have put Bruce's *Annals* under contribution, without fully realizing the value of the original records.

The *Factory Records* at the India Office, especially volumes 19 and 20, contain most valuable accounts of the embassy, apart from Sir William Norris' own Journals. These records consist of important miscellaneous letters, copies of the documents sent to England. There are variations in the handwriting of these records, different writers having been allotted to different sections. For example, one writer would copy the out-going and in-coming letters of a certain factory, another the consultations, and so on. The records entitled *Original Correspondence*—received by the Court of Directors at home from their servants in the East also afford valuable material. That correspondence includes original documents, detached letters in the handwriting of the authors, and general letters from the factories, in the handwriting of clerks employed for the time being in the Secretary's Office. These letters are not chronologically arranged, nor are the sheets uniform in size. There are gaps occasioned by loss of documents in transit; by destruction of others thought to be useless; and by decay of the papers owing to insufficient care. The *Letter Books* and the *Court Minutes* are useful; for the former contain copies of letters sent from England by the Court of Directors to their factors in India; while the latter throw light upon the situation at home and the steps taken in connection therewith by the Court. The latter is indicated by the nature of the resolutions passed.

MS. records relating to the embassy preserved at the British Museum are confined to two volumes. These are the Additional MSS. 22,843 and 31,302. The former is vol. II of the Thomas Pitt Papers, which contain letters from the Governor to various chiefs of the Old Company's settlements, and give some idea of the intrigues between the rival companies and

the satirical comments on the ambassador's actions so characteristic of the great "interloper." This volume, together with the whole set of Thomas Pitt Papers, was purchased by the Museum authorities from J. Tomlinson on April 26, 1859. The latter MS. (31,302) is most important as it contains copies of the Ambassador's Commission, Instructions and Covenants, together with other important documents relating to the embassy. This MS. was bought from C. Blaker on December 11, 1880 with other manuscripts. Neither of these vendors appears to have been a dealer or a bookseller. There are in these Additional MSS. letters, copies of which are also to be found in the *Surat Factory Records* and *Original Correspondence*. Careful comparison therefore is necessary to avoid repetitions; while the wording and language of the documents are often misleading, rendering close consideration very necessary.

Sir William Norris mentioned in his will, and in the declaration dictated on his deathbed to Thomas Harlowin, his treasurer, that he had left six volumes in his own handwriting of "Journalls of transactions and observations from the time of his Excellency's leaving England to the 14th of September" [1702]. According to this statement two volumes of the Journal are missing. Two of the four extant volumes are preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, among the manuscripts of the Rawlinson Collection (c. 912 and c. 913). These were acquired by Dr. Rawlinson at Lord Halifax's sale in 1715. The first volume begins with Sir William's arrival at Porto Novo Road, September 12, 1699, and ends on May 1, 1700; and the second volume begins on December 10, 1700 with his arrival at Surat, and ends on April 23, 1701, when he was at Parnella. There is a gap of just over seven months in the journal, which covers the period while Sir William Norris was at Masulipatam, and includes the voyage to Surat. Another gap of nearly five months occurs from the time of his arrival at Parnella till he settled in his camp at the Emperor's "leschar." These blanks, however, do not break the thread of the narrative, as they are covered by Sir William's letters to the Council at Surat and to the Court of Directors, which letters contain detailed accounts of current events. Mr. Macray, who compiled the catalogue of the Rawlinson MSS., mentioned that Rawlinson inserted a loose slip of paper saying, "Norris was not [the] author of this journal." This dubious assertion challenges criticism, for either Dr. Rawlinson did not find time to examine the volumes carefully, or possibly he could not read them on account of the illegible handwriting, which requires the assistance of an expert to decipher it.

The other two volumes of the Journal marked V, VI. (C.O. 77/50-51) preserved at the Public Record Office, London, cover the period of Sir William's negotiations at the Mughal Court, his return to Surat, with transactions there, and his sailing for England. Of these, vol. V commences September 26, 1701, when he was at his "Camp in the Emperours Leschar neare Macanangur", and ends on March 12, 1701/2 on his return to Surat; and vol. VI commences March 13, 1701/2 and ends September 14, 1702. These volumes of journals are bound in vellum, and vol. V bears the arms of the English East India Company on both sides. There is nothing known at the Public Record Office concerning the acquisition of these manuscripts. It may, however, be of interest to readers to learn that in the superseded printed list of Colonial Office records of 1876 a footnote to the East India Correspondence states that the two volumes in question, with others, "were received from the State Paper Office."

There is also a fragment of Sir William's Journal at the India Office (in vol. O. C. 54) which records events from the time of his departure from England, on January 5, 1698-9, to the middle of March of the same year, whilst he was visiting the Cape de Verde Islands.

These Journals possess great historical value. Not only do they give a full account of daily events and of matters concerning the embassy, but they contribute much to our knowledge of domestic life at the Mughal Court. If the two missing volumes of the Journals could be traced they would no doubt materially add to the value of the records, but so far all attempts to discover them in any of the public archives of Great Britain have failed. It is difficult to conjecture at this distance of time how they disappeared. Sir William Foster

records in his *Guide to the India Office Records* that in 1717 some of the "Company's packets and other papers were thrown on heaps in the Back Warehouse." Some more papers were destroyed during the years 1858-1860 and also in 1867. It cannot now be ascertained whether those two volumes were included in this destruction of what probably were valuable records.

Besides the authorities mentioned above, there are family records, such as correspondence by different members of the Norris family, from which additional glimpses of the embassy and of Sir William's family can be obtained. These records, entitled *Norris Papers* are now preserved in the Liverpool Public Library. They were described in an admirable article by Mr. R. Stewart-Brown, M.A., F.S.A., in the *Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury* (Sept. 6, 1921). The collection has been calendared at his instance and transferred to the Public Library from the Town Clerk's office. For over seventy years it had lain there unknown, except for a selection published in 1846 by the Chetham Society (vol. IX), under the editorship of Thomas Heywood, F.S.A., who remarked that "the MSS. here printed are a portion of a much larger collection made by several generations of the family of Norris of Speke." In fact, all the *Norris Papers*, as Mr. Stewart-Brown tells us, "cover a much wider field than would appear from a perusal of [the] Chetham Society's publication." Although there are only about six letters from Sir William himself, there are many which refer to him in one way or another. Some are concerned with his election to Parliament, his movements abroad, his expected return to England, and litigation arising out of his death. Further information regarding Sir William can be obtained from vol. IV of the *Liverpool Town Books*, of which only the first volume has so far been published.

The Persian and Arabic MSS. of that period do not contain much information bearing on Norris' mission, except that, as Professor Sarkar tells us, there are in *Akhbârât-i-darbâr-i-mu'allâ* "occasional references to the English, such as the visit of Sir William Norris, but no narrative of the dealings and negotiations with them. On the whole, the references are too brief to be of much use to us." It is, therefore, doubtful whether any substantial information on the subject, from the Indian point of view, can be gleaned from any State Papers of the Mughal Government.

There are also references to the mission in writings of contemporaries, such as Manuchi and Tillard, who contribute some valuable recollections. In many particulars they corroborate the accuracy of other authorities. The Dutch records at the Hague also contain references to the mission, but these are of little material assistance.

Indian students of their country's history are now realising the great heritage that has come down to them. From that heritage arises the duty of bringing to the light of day all forgotten periods of her history; for without a just estimate of India's past the position she aspires to gain to-day among the nations cannot be understood; and a proper appreciation of the justice of her claims must precede their voluntary concession. Bolingbroke declared that "History is philosophy teaching by example." The Indian student will find in the varied record of his country, extending to those remote and nebulous periods, generally described as "the dawn of history," much to instruct him and much also to warn. The peoples of India taken as a whole have never enjoyed long periods of assured prosperity and happiness. Their lines have seldom fallen to them in pleasant places. They have learned their philosophy in difficult times and under hard conditions. But if they are to turn their experiences as a nation to account and profit by what they have endured they must study and fully comprehend the records left by those who have gone before. The lessons of history ought never to be ignored and each of its students must contribute to their elucidation. Much has been accomplished; much more remains to be done. Thus each Indian historical worker will further not merely the comprehension of his country, but also its recognition as a unit in the commonwealth of nations. For extension of historical knowledge is the surest basis of civilization throughout the world.

ST. THOMAS IN SOUTH INDIA.

By P. J. THOMAS, M.A., B.LITT. (Oxon.), PH.D.

EVEN as your correspondent, Mr. T. K. Joseph (*I.A.*, December 1926), I am a St. Thomas Christian, and I may also claim that I have long endeavoured to study our traditional accounts about St. Thomas' connection with South India. I cannot, however, agree with his conclusions on the historical value of the Malabar tradition. I am far from saying that the South Indian apostolate of St. Thomas is an established historical fact, but I hold that no conclusive proof has so far been adduced to disprove, or even to discredit, the hoary tradition that St. Thomas preached and died in South India. Nor has your correspondent brought forward anything to shake this view.

In the present article, I propose to examine the various statements made by your correspondent; in my next I shall give my own conclusions on the South Indian tradition about St. Thomas.

1. The *Acta Thomæ*.

In paragraphs 1 to 3 and 9, Mr. Joseph brings out the divergence between the *Acts of Thomas* and the South Indian tradition. After many decades of careful research scholars have come to the conclusion, which is now well established, that the *Acta*, although a valuable literary work, is not strictly an historical document. As Professor F. C. Burkitt has put it (*Journal of Theological Studies*, 1900, pages 280-290). "It is an elaborate romance told with much skill in the delineation of character." Besides, it was written with the object of propagating certain Gnostic doctrines which the Edessan School of Bardaisan clung to and preached with greater zeal. No wonder that this work does not seem to have been accepted by the orthodox East Syrians. St. Ephraim, who lived not long after the *Acta* was written (died 373 A.D.), accuses the disciples of Bardaisan of propagating their master's heresies by forged *Acts of the Apostles*. According to Burkitt, this very likely refers to the *Acta* as well as other similar gnostic works. Such was the view of the East Syrian church on the *Acta*, and this explains why the Malabar Syrians, too, do not seem to have had copies of it in 1599 (as is evident from the list of books given by historians of the Synod of Diamper).

The *Acta* purports to be based on incidents that took place in India, but the names used and the customs portrayed are either West-Asian (Syrian or allied); most certainly, they are not Indian, however much Medlycott might try to interpret them as such. Only one name, Gûdnaphar, has some verbal similarity to the name of a known Parthian king called Gadaphara (or Gudapharasa) known by certain coins found in the Kabul region.¹ This similarity may as well be due to the fact that the author of the romance knew at least one real name which he thought was Indian. But India is not Parthia. As will be shown in another connection, the boundaries of India and Parthia were better known in Western Asia at that time than is assumed by many modern writers. Nor is this the only confusion in which the author has landed us.

Again, we have to bear in mind that the author of the *Acta* cannot have had any first hand information on the doings of St. Thomas. The *Acta* was written in Edessa, but no serious historian has ever claimed that St. Thomas preached in that region. Nor does it seem that Christianity was professed there in apostolic times. The information must have therefore come by hearsay, possibly from Indian traders or Roman ambassadors who passed by Edessa. (Evidence of such embassies are numerous; e.g., Priaulx, *JRAS.*, in XVIII, p. 309. Also, 1861, p. 345.)

It is therefore unreasonable to criticise the South Indian tradition because it does not follow the *Acta*. And the logic employed is certainly suspicious. Mr. Joseph discredits certain points in the tradition because they do not tally with the *Acta*; and he discredits other points (e.g., para. 10) because they tally too well with it. From what I have said above, it is clear that whatever value the South Indian Tradition may possess is altogether independent of the *Acta*. That tradition might as well have been the source from which the

¹ The name of the king differs in the different versions of the *Acta*: in Syriac, Gûdnaphar; in Greek, Gondaphoros. The Ethiopic versions give quite a different name; one of them speaks of a "king of Gôna," a name which tallies with the Malabar account, if "Gôna" is interpreted as "Chola," which is not unthinkable. Another version gives the name of the king as "Kantu Koros." It is evident from these that it is not entirely safe to identify the king of the *Acta* with the "Gadaphara" of the "Indo-Parthian" coins.

Acta got the nuclei of some of its fanciful stories. In any case, it is not right to give these stories any greater validity than the ancient traditions of Malabar.

2. The Malabar Tradition.

Leaving aside such startling assertions of your correspondent, as for instance, that nobody before him had scrutinized the South Indian tradition (*Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona multi*!), I shall consider the more serious points raised about that tradition.

(a) *Translation of the relics.* In paragraph 4, it is pointed out that the Malabar tradition did not take cognisance of the translation of the apostle's remains to Edessa. It is true that the extant popular versions in Malabar do not mention it; rather they stop with the death of the apostle. But it cannot be said that Malabar did not know of it, since St. Ephraim's writings (which mention this) were known in Malabar. Possibly our forefathers might have believed that the whole of the mortal remains were not removed from Mylapore, and this belief cannot have been unfounded. The East Syrians knew that the relics were in Edessa; and yet they venerated the tomb at Mylapore, as is well-known. This must have been the reason why the Malabar Church did not give prominence to the translation of a part of the relics.

However it is not true to say that the South Indian tradition as a whole was unaware of the translation. The Hindu version published by the present writer in the *Proceedings* of the Indian Historical Records Commission (1924) expressly says that a merchant from St. Thomas' country ('Western Asia'?) discovered the Apostle's body by a miraculous sign and that the bones were removed by him to his country. Apparently the Portuguese had no knowledge of it and this was due to the fact that all they knew about St. Thomas (apart from the oral tradition picked up in Malabar) was from Mediaeval European writings, which show hardly any knowledge of the translation.

(b) *The Dukhrana feast (Para 5).* It is true that the feast of St. Thomas is kept in Malabar and by East Syrian Churches on 3rd July, and not on 21st December as in the Western Church. The writer apparently assumes, following Bishop Medlycott, that 3rd July denotes the translation of the relics to Edessa, while 21st December denotes the martyrdom. This assumption is certainly unwarranted. There is no evidence to show that the feast kept by the East Syrians, celebrates the deposition of the relics and not the martyrdom. Medlycott fell into this mistake by the misinterpretation of the Syriac word 'Dukhrana,' but Mr. Joseph apparently does not accept it and yet, strangely enough, he agrees with Medlycott's conclusion.

If, as is generally believed, St. Thomas died in India, his feast must have first originated in that country and later spread to the Eastern churches, and only subsequently to the Western church. The extant versions of the Malabar tradition claim that a feast was instituted soon after the martyrdom by the disciples assembled at Mylapore. Accordingly, the Malabar church not only keeps the feast like other Eastern churches, but has in addition an eight day's Office following the feast. There is not a single allusion in this Octave, nor in the Office read at the feast, to the translation of the relics, whilst the martyrdom is mentioned repeatedly in those ancient documents.

The date of the feast is itself a refutation of the view that it commemorates the translation; the beginning of July is the middle of the South-West Monsoon, during which, as everyone knows, no sailing vessels dares to cross the Arabian sea. The writer may also make sure whether his translation of Syriac terms (e.g., *Mārānaya*) is correct.

Why does the Western church keep the festival on December 21? It is not possible to say for certain. Nor is the example of the Western church followed by the Greeks and Copts, who keep the apostle's feast on 6th October and 26th May respectively.

The Roman Church has, in rare instances, changed the feasts of saints for the sake of the convenience of the faithful. In early times, the principal festival of Apostles Peter and Paul was not on 29th June, as subsequently it has become. In some cases, when the exact date of death was not known or when the known date was found inconvenient, a more suitable date was chosen (e.g., the feast of James the Apostle). Thus the argument from the Dukhrana feast can hardly stand.

3. The Legend of Setting up Crosses.

Paragraph 6 states that Malabar tradition is wrong in holding that St. Thomas set up crosses. Even if this allegation was true, the whole tradition cannot be discarded because of this one anachronism. But there are various considerations to be taken into account.

(i) Early Christian monuments of Oriental countries have not yet been sufficiently scrutinized as to assert confidently that the worship of the Cross was not in vogue in the East before a certain date.

(ii) The *Acts of the Apostles* do not purport to give the complete doings of all the Apostles, and even if it is true that other Apostles did not set up Crosses this legend does not altogether fall to the ground. Thomas might have felt the special need in India of setting up some visible emblem of Christian worship in the place of similar Non-Christian emblems (e.g., the phallic cult).

(iii) St. Ephraim was not perhaps indulging in a mere metaphor when he sang that "The Cross of Light has obliterated India's darkened shades." Does it mean that Thomas replaced the cross of darkness by the cross of light? It is also significant that no other country has made a speciality of open air Crosses as Malabar has done. The number and prominence of these huge granite Crosses in Malabar is a feature that deserve special consideration in this connection.

I do not, however, claim that this part of the Malabar tradition is completely historical, and it is not essential for my purpose. The worship of the Cross might as well have been a development since the arrival of the Persian colonists, but this is by no means proved. Evidently, the Thomistic tradition will not fall to the ground, even if we discard the story about setting up Crosses.

4. Portuguese Accretions.

Your correspondent labours hard to prove in paragraphs 7 to 16 that the Portuguese embellished the Malabar tradition, and that the dates of the Apostle's arrival and martyrdom were "invented" by them. But he has produced no single shred of evidence to prove that view, and offers only guesses and surmises instead.

(a) He supposes that as a result of Portuguese interpolation, we have the dates 50, 51 and 52 A.D. for the arrival of St. Thomas. The very fact that there is no agreement on this date is sufficient proof against this supposition. If the Portuguese had concocted the date, there would necessarily have been greater uniformity about it. These discrepancies, by the way, do not materially weaken the tradition, seeing that early Christian chronology (e.g., the date of Nativity) is by no means accurately fixed.

(b) So far as I am aware, the Portuguese were not much interested in the Apostolic origin of the Malabar Church. Instead of embellishing the theory they would, if they could, have probably tried to question it. But they found the mediæval travellers unanimously acclaiming the tradition and they were compelled, willy-nilly, to grant the apostolic claim put forward by the St. Thomas Christians. I do not think that any one who knows the methods and habits of the Portuguese would credit Mr. Joseph's supposition that the Portuguese taught such works as *de Miraculis* and *Passio* in their Seminaries in the sixteenth century. The supposition that the Portuguese borrowed from the *Acta* is also unwarranted. That work was not known in Malabar, so far as I am aware, and even if such a borrowing happened, it does not materially weaken the Malabar tradition, since it is admitted that that tradition existed in some form in pre-Portuguese times.

5. The Pre-Portuguese Tradition.

In spite of the many blemishes of the Malabar tradition Mr. Joseph finds it hard to explain away the fact that the tradition of the preaching of St. Thomas in Malabar existed long before the arrival of the Portuguese. That tradition has been recorded by early travellers like Marco Polo, Marignolli, Friar Odoric, John of Monte Corvino and Nicolo Conti. Their versions vary, but this must have been due to the imperfect understanding of these globe-trotters rather than to the feebleness of the tradition itself.

The Malabar tradition existed in songs and poems, and at present it is embodied in two extant works, *Mārgam-Kālī Pāttu* and *Thomas Ramban's Song* (called *Thōmā Parvam*).

The letter is regarded as having been written in 1601, but the date of the former cannot be accurately ascertained. The present song or part of it may be of later origin than 1600, but it is certain that a similar song existed before 1600, since the contemporary historian, Gouvea, (*Jornada*, Bk. II, p. 87) has recorded that the Thomas Christians of Angamale amused the Archbishop during his sojourn there in 1599 by singing and playing the songs relating to St. Thomas. This unmistakably refers to *Mārgam Kālī*.

Did no ancient treatises exist? Are none extant? It is difficult to answer these questions. Thāmā Ramban claims that larger works containing accounts of St. Thomas' doings were removed by the Portuguese in 1599 and that this rendered necessary some short work dealing with the same subject, and hence his attempt. This may possibly be true. Was it a translation of this work that the Jesuit Father Roth took with him to Rome in 1662? It was claimed that it was a translation from Syriac MSS. into Latin. If such a large work existed at all, it must have been in Syriac, and not in Malayālam. Kiroher in his *China Illustrata* (Amsterdam 1687) has quoted from the Latin translation. The Tamil manuscript attributed to Nanapracasam Pillai (MacKenzie collection) must be a version of it, for it contains traditions which are found only in Malabar. Pillai's claim that he had translated from Latin might as well be true since the Latin version alone was accessible to him.² Another South Indian version has been given in my paper in the *Report* of the Indian Historical Records Commission. These are all independent of the *Acta Thomæ*, for their versions are at variance with that work in many respects. And this fact cannot be so easily explained away by those who appeal to the *Acta* as the fountain-head of all information concerning St. Thomas' doings.

6. The New Theory.

Finally, I come to the theory expounded by Mr. Joseph himself as affording a better explanation of the origin of South Indian Christianity. According to him, an unknown "saintly missionary" must have come to South India from Edessa in the second century, who must have died and been buried in Mylapore, and a grand feast must have been instituted to commemorate his memory and this must have engendered the notion that the saint lying buried at Mylapore was St. Thomas himself. While reading this, I was led to doubt if we are still in the age of legend. Ingenious men have in every age embellished and interpreted (and thereby often made ludicrous) the valuable traditions existing before them. Here is one such attempt.

This theory is not worth serious examination as every step of it is a bare supposition unsupported by evidence. Yet one or two observations might be made here. The whole thing seems to turn on the verbal resemblance between the words, "Thomas" and "Tōmmūs" (the name of the month in which the Apostle's feast is kept). This verbal analogy looks hollow to those who read Syriac. The name of the Apostle in Syriac is "Thōmā," and the month is called "Th'mooz" or "Themooz." These two words have independent origins and have no discoverable relation. Besides feasts are not called by the name of the month in which they are kept. It is also difficult to believe that the enlightened Christians of Western Asia were foolish enough to be deluded into believing that they were keeping the feast of the Apostle instead of the unnamed missionary, who cannot have been unknown to them. Indeed the author of the new theory admits that it is his "speculation," but it is too much to expect that such speculation is more valuable than a well-established tradition.

From the rather brief examination I have attempted above, it seems clear that the Malabar tradition has not been demolished by the searching analysis to which Mr. Joseph has subjected it. Nor do I think that Dr. Minjana's able paper on the *Early Spread of Christianity in India*, to which he refers, has brought out anything to discredit that tradition. It is now necessary for me to analyse the evidence so far brought forward for and against the South Indian apostolate of St. Thomas, and I propose to do so in the sequel.

² See Fr. Hosten's forthcoming work, *The Antiquities from San Thome and Mylapore*, for such versions and legends.

NOTES ON CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

By SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt.

(Continued from vol. LVI, page 213.)

B. Stamped Lumps of Metal other than Gold and Silver.

There is evidence that gold and silver were not the only metals used as currency and stamped to show quality. *E.g.*, Crawford (*Embassy to Siam and Cochin China*, 1828, p. 517) says: "The zinc coins, as well as the gold and silver ingots, are struck at Cachao, the capital of Tonquin."

Again, Yule (*Mission to Ava*, 1858, p. 259) makes the following remark: "The old travellers of the sixteenth century talk often of *Gansa* [spelter] as a mixture of copper and lead, apparently stamped, which was the current money of Pegu in that age. Copper is not used as currency now in any part of Burma, but lead is commonly passed in all the bazars for small purchases, and baskets of it for exchange are always a prominent object in the markets. It is used in rude lumps, varying from half an ounce to a pound or so in weight. The price, when we were at Amarapoora, was 100 *vis* of lead for six-and-a-half tikals of the best silver." To which he adds, quoting from *Purchas*, vol. II, pp. 1717-18: "Thus Caesar Frederick: 'The current money that is in this Citie, and throughout all this kingdom, is called *Gansa*, or *Ganza*, which is made of copper and lead. It is not the money of the King, but every man may stamp it that will, because it hath his [its] just partition or value. But they make many of them false by putting overmuch lead into them, and those will not pass, neither will any take them. With this money *Ganza* you may buy gold or silver, rubies and muske, and other things. For there is no other money current amongst them. And gold, silver, and other merchandise are at one time dearer than another, as all other things bee'" A little more than a century later Captain Alexander Hamilton speaks of "*Ganse* or *lead*, which passeth all over the Pegu dominions for money" (*New Account of the East Indies*, 1727, vol. II, p. 41).

Lastly, Yule quoting Hamilton as above, calls *Gansa*, lead, and in his *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, p. 278 *s.v.* *Ganza*, he notes: "1554. 'In this Kingdom of Pegu there is no coined money, and what they use commonly consists of dishes, pans, and other utensils of service, made of a metal, like *frosyleyra* (?), broken in pieces; and this is called *gamça* [spelter]' . . . A. Nunes, p. 38."

This quotation from the old Portuguese traveller indicates that *ganza* was not always stamped when used for currency, and such was the case. Witness La Loubère (*Siam*, 1693, Pt. I, p. 14): "Vincent Le Blanc relates that the Peguins have a mixture of *Lead and Copper*, which he sometimes calls *Gansa* and sometimes *Ganza*, and of which he reports that they make statues and a small money, which is not stamp't with the King's Coin, but which everyone has a right to make."

This lump currency in *lead*, was widely spread, for Lockyer (*Trade in India*, 1711, pp. 43-4) tells us that "Money Changing is a great Trade [in China], whence we are sure to meet with abundance of that Profession at their Stations up and down the Town: especially at the Corners of Streets where they sit with large Heaps of *Leaden Cash*, on Matts spread on the Ground before them. I could never learn the Profits of this Business: Whether they have so much per Cent. of the Government for putting them off, or do buy them of others at a cheap rate, I know not; but 'tis certain, their Gain is very considerable, else they could not keep their Families out of it; some of them not changing a Tale in a Day."

And then we read in *A Collection of Voyages undertaken by the Dutch E. I. Co.*, 1703, p. 137, that [in Sumatra] "to prevent the ill Consequences, and bad Opinion they might have of them, the Dutch went on board their Ship again, where they found the *Almadis* [boats] waiting for the payment of twelve pieces of Eight for *Caxias* [cash], which the Dutch had bought

of them. These *Caxias* are a kind of Mony worse alloy than Lead, of which they string 200 together, and call it *Una Sauta de Caxias*, or *Caxas*."

In vol. XLII, 1913, *ante*, I went deeply into the obsolete *tin* currency and money of the Federated Malay States. This currency was obviously reflected in Tenasserim and even in Upper Burma, for in *Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China*, 1886, vol. I, p. 253, occurs the following statement: "The pieces of ingots of *tin* in the shape of the frustrum of a cone, which are manufactured at the Rehgnon mines, on the Pak Chum river to the southward, and exchanged there for goods at 4 annas each, weigh 1 lb. 2 oz. 383 grains; and their value at Mergui, where the average price of tin is 85 rupees per 100 viss, of 365 lbs, is 4 annas 4 pie."

C. Oyster-shell Money (Silver).

In noting the various alleged standards of silver, *ante*, vols. XXVI, p. 160: XLVIII, p. 53 f., it was stated that the specimens of *asèkkè* or oyster-shell money, i.e., 25 per cent. alloyed silver, given in Plate I, fig. 11, has small marks on it, apparently to show fineness.¹⁷ The following extract from *McLeod's and Richardson's Journals* during the Mission from Moulmein to the Frontiers of China in 1826 clears up this point and shows that some of the "Oyster-shell Money" was at any rate deliberately stamped. "The rupee is current here [at Zimmè] as well as the Siamose tical (the round coin), but the money most in circulation is coarse silver of about 80 per cent. alloy, I believe, melted into a circular form, in which a hollow is formed by blowing when hot; the bottom of this cup is so fine that it is apt to break; when this occurs, or when it is cut, the value is much deteriorated. It bears a small mark or stamp made by the court officers (by whom it is issued) on the edge. Of this description there are two sorts of equal alloy, but one twice the size of the other. One hundred ticals are given for 45 Madras rupees, but these are only equal to 75 Burmese ticals, [as] they use the same weights and measures as the Burmans, but deteriorated one-fourth, or 25 per cent."

The above statement is evidence that the Burmese *asèkkè* silver is really Shân stamped lump currency, which is strengthened by the remarks of Bock, writing in 1884. In his *Temples and Elephants*, p. 159, he tells us that the marginal marks above noted had reference to the State of issue: thus, an elephant for Lakôn, a horse for Chengmai (Zimmè).¹⁸ On p. 361 he has a note well worth following up. He calls "the old Lao silver coins" *nàmtók*, and says they were worth about 6 shillings each. Sarat Chandra Das, *JASB., Proc.*, 1887, p. 150, says that the symbols were merely Buddhist marks, *swastika*, fish, *chaityas*, and so on.

The value of certifying and stamping lump currency to show quality will be seen from the following quotation from Hamilton, *East Indies*, 1744, (vol. II, p. 304):—"The Japonese are strict Observers of Moral Rules, and particularly in Commerce, insomuch that a Merchant of Reputation in his Payments puts up 5, 10 or any decimal number of Cupangs, which is a broad, oblong, thin Piece of Gold (of 20 Shillings Value there) into a Silk Bag, and putting his Seal on the Bag, passes current for what the Seal mentions for several Generations, without so much as once looking what is in the Bag. And Gold is so plentiful and cheap that a Cupang of twenty Shillings in Japon passes current at Batavia for thirty-two Shillings, and when the Lion is stamped on it by the Company it passes for forty Shillings Sterl."

The knowledge of the value of stamping was widely spread in the Far East. Witness Bock (*Temples and Elephants*, 1884, p. 399) in a paragraph which makes the numismatist's

¹⁷ I have found among my notes the vernacular names of some of the figures in plate I: I record them now. Fig. 1 is in Burmese *ngwélôn*; in Talaing, *sônabôm*. Fig. 2 is B. *ngwèkiegalé*, T. *sônakông*. Fig. 6 is B. *ywètní*, T. *sônathat*. Fig. 12 is *ngwémá*, T. *sônôô*. In Talaing the following Figs. are named as under:—3 is also called *sônakông*; 7, 8 and 9 are called *sân*; 10 is *ókugu*; 11 is *sônkwak* (B. *kwet*); 13 is also *sân*. All this shows that many of the people are hazy as to differentiating the standards. I have a note also that Fig. 16, Plate II, is called in Burmese *k'ayábatôn* and in Talaing *sâkanauk* (silver-shell).

¹⁸ The symbols on the specimens given in Plate I, No. 11 are unfortunately not sufficiently discernible to enable one to say what they represent.

BURMESE CURRENCY. First stage of evolution.

Plate I.



FULL-SIZE.

EX COLL. R. C. TEMPLE

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mouth water. He is describing an Exhibition and remarks :—" An equally interesting show of ancient coins, some flat and some spherical, solid bars of gold and silver with a stamp at one end, side by side with old paper currency, lead, crockery and porcelain tokens, and cowries."

With reference to the use of *asékkè* silver as currency. In 1894 I received a very interesting letter from Mr. H. S. Guinness, writing from Wuntho in Upper Burma, formerly a Shan State, on the currency obtaining there :—" I have made enquiries into the lump currency in Wuntho and find that exactly the same system existed in these parts as in Mandalay before the introduction of rupees. Gold was occasionally used and the ratio was fixed at 20 to 1, but it was not legal tender, as it was not accepted in payment of revenue. All revenue was payable in one standard of silver 25 per cent alloy [i.e., *asékkè*]. The Sawbwâ [chief] never attempted to coin, nor did he ever stamp the lump currency with any device or mark of fineness. Gold of two varieties was known, distinguished as red and yellow. The red gold was considered the best, but there was no difference between them."¹⁹

Mr. Guinness had the plates of these Notes before him and wrote further instructively upon them : " Rice²⁰ does not seem ever to have been a standard of currency, though other articles may have been, and probably were, bartered for rice. But the agreement had to be mutual between the parties concerned. There was no fixed or standard value assigned to the basket of paddy or rice : the latter being bought and sold at the market rate (*pauk zè*).²¹ Rice varied in price according to demand between half a tickal and 2½ tickals silver per basket."

D. Coin of the Realm.

Although the coin stamped to indicate weight and fineness should come before regular coin of the realm in the order of evolution, it will be more convenient to treat the Burmese specimens in the reverse order, because in Burma the former were imitations of the latter.²²

D-I. Coins of Bôdôp'ayâ.²³

The usual historical statement is that Mindôn Min was the first to introduce coinage into Burma, but his predecessor Bôdôp'ayâ, who flourished 1781-1819 A.D., made an attempt in that direction. Yule (*Ava*, p. 255) writing in 1855, gives a good general description of his proceedings : " King Mentaragyi [Bôdôp'ayâ] expressed to Col. Symes a desire to have minting implements, and Capt. Cox [British Envoy to Ava] accordingly carried with him the necessary apparatus. A coinage was struck and issued. The metal was pure, but there was a little drawback to the success of the scheme, in the fact that the king fixed the current value of his coins at two-thirds above their real value for the silver, and at more than 400 per cent. on their value for the copper ; prohibiting all other currency, and charging the difference between the intrinsic and arbitrary value as his seignorage for coining. The usual results of such pranks followed. All trade was suspended for several weeks, till the ministers persuaded the King, not to put his coinage on a rational footing, but to give it up altogether, and since then the experiment has not been renewed."

Malcom (*Travels in South Eastern Asia*, vol. I, *Burman Empire*, 1839, p. 270), tells the story in much the same way : " The late king, Menderagyee, attempted to introduce small

¹⁹ The red gold being alloyed with copper was in reality worse than the yellow gold, which was alloyed with silver. See *ante*, vol. XLVIII, p. 106. But all over Burma from the Royal family downwards the people valued most the red gold.

²⁰ See *ante*, vols. XXVI, p. 281, and XXIX, pp. 33 and 38.

²¹ This does not quite state the argument concerning rice as a currency. It was not domestically usable rice that was used as currency, but spare broken rice, which could be used for no other purpose than currency. See *ante*, vol. XXVI, p. 281.

²² As a hint to collectors I would draw attention to a statement in Danvers' *Portuguese Records*, p. 146 : " One of the earliest acts here [Malacca] of Affonso de Albuquerque appears to have been the issue of a Portuguese coinage, for in the same letter [April 1, 1512] he states : ' Nuno Vaz takes with him samples of the gold, silver and copper coins, which have been struck in your Majesty's cause.' " I have further dealt with this point, *ante*, vol. XLII, p. 109 f.

²³ I adopt here the transliteration of the previous articles on this subject, which is not the official form,

silver coin, which he made with a mint establishment imported from England. But he required his ticals to pass for sixty per cent. above their real worth, and the copper for nearly three times its worth. The consequence was a universal stagnation of business; and, after urging his law so far as to execute some for contumacy, he was at length obliged to let silver and lead pass by weight, according to their real worth, as before. The people are not anxious for coin. They cannot trust their rulers; they love higgling in bargains; they make a profit on their money, as well as goods, by increasing its alloy; and a numerous class of assayers, or brokers, called *Pwa-zahs* [*pwézá*] (by foreigners, *Poyzahs*), subsist by melting up silver, to improve or deteriorate it as they are desired. This they do before the owner's face, and have only the crucible and scorixæ for their trouble."

Besides the silver samples, Symes took to Calcutta some of copper. When Phayre wrote in 1882, apparently the only specimen known of these was that figured by him, *op. cit.*, Plate V, fig. 8. Since then I found two at Mandalay, *vide* my Plate II, figs. 22 and 23, and my Plate V, fig. 48 and 49. One is the half of the other, and they were tendered as coin in payment of bazaar fees. Locally, they were known as coins of Shwëbô Min, probably because they were known not to be an issue of Mindôn or Thibô, and were therefore referred to their best known immediate predecessor, Thârâwadi, one of whose titles was Shwëbô Min; or possibly they were referred generally to the Shwëbô (or Alompra) Dynasty.

Writing on the information before him, Phayre, *op. cit.*, p. 33, says that his specimen was probably a pagoda medal struck by a queen at Ava, who came from Myanaung on the Irrawaddy in Lower Burma, to be placed in a pagoda she intended to build there. This, he conjectured, because it was found at Myanaung. It is, however, clearly part of the coinage struck at Calcutta to Bôdôp'ayâ's order, because of the legend on it, which runs thus:—Obverse, two fishes; reverse, 1143 *k'u Tabôdwé lâbyjô 14 yet*. That is, it is dated '14th of Tabôdwé waning, 1143, B.E., or February, 1781. It must have, therefore, been struck in the year of the succession of King Bôdôp'ayâ. See Plate II, Figs. 22 and 23, and Plate V, Figs. 48 and 49, on which last the better specimens are shown. There appear to have been three denominations, and all the coins are of copper.

A Burman, in Rangoon, supposed to be an authority on old coins, told me in 1892 that Figs. 48 and 49 of Plate V were "Shan coins often worn by children as a remembrance of ancestors and that their name was in Talaing, *sônká*," *ká* meaning fish. This information is worth noting, as showing the caution necessary when collecting evidence even from the learned. I may mention that *ká* is in Nicobarese, as in Talaing, both being languages of Môn origin, the term for 'fish.'

The coins of Bôdôp'ayâ, shown on Plate II, Figs. 22 and 23 and on Plate V, Figs. 48 and 49, must not be confused with those he issued in Arakan after he had taken possession of it. These are dated in A.D. 1781 after he had ascended the throne in Burma, and he did not conquer Arakan and issue the Arakanese coinage until 1787. His Arakan coins will be described later.

All that Symes had to tell us personally on the matter is very short. At p. 469 of his work on his Embassy to Ava, he tells us he received a letter from the Maywoon [Myôwun or Governor] of Pegue, 'asking that a carriage might be built for the king as per plans attached,' and then he goes on to say:—"The Maywoon's letter, however, contained a requisition of yet greater importance; that was, to obtain materials for the establishment of a mint, a design, which if carried into effect, must considerably promote the prosperity of the country, as the necessity for weighing lumps of lead and silver, and ascertaining the purity, operate as a sensible impediment to commerce."

But Cox, to whom was entrusted the duty of conveying the carriage, the specimen coins and the minting machinery, has a good deal more to tell us about the matter that is exceedingly

characteristic of the Burmese and their ways. The subject is over and over again referred to in his *Burmhan Empire*, as it gave him much trouble. At p. 95 he explains how Bôdôp'ayá, in Feb. 1797, examined the carriage, etc., and says: "He then examined the dies and the coins, and said that the characters on the copper were very right, but that those on the rupees were obsolete."²⁴ The [Burmese] Viceroy told him that I had promised to get the dies altered in any manner he pleased, with which he appeared highly gratified. He then expressed a wish to see the machinery and the Viceroy told him I had been so kind as to promise to show the mode of fixing and using the machinery. 'Yes,' says he, 'the Resident will do that in a few days, which we should be puzzling about for months.'"

The next step in the matter is alluded to at p. 130: "About 2 p.m. the rayhoon [*yêwun*, custom-house officer] and Mr. Moncourtuse returned from the palace. He informed me that His Majesty had ordered the rupees to be assayed, and found that one kind was fifteen per cent. worse than pure silver and the others ten per cent.,²⁵ and that, as it was his royal intention that none but pure silver should pass current in his dominions, he had therefore ordered the 20,000 rupees to be returned to me." As the coins were struck to pattern out of courtesy by the Governor-General, Capt. Cox very properly refused point blank to receive them back. But while the negotiations were going on, "a gilt war boat arrived with the King's treasurer, an illegitimate son of His Majesty, who had brought with him four boxes of rupees and money to pay for the copper. I desired him to be seated, but would not permit them to deliver the boxes of silver or receive the value of the copper." Later on we come to the actual payment, which was tendered in very debased silver, and Cox's remarks²⁶ on the steps he took to prevent his being cheated are somewhat amusing, and show that sophisticating the Burmese currency was not confined to Bayfield's *myôwun*, as described, *ante*, vol. XXVI, p. 202.

The wild proceedings of the king to establish his currency are detailed by Cox at p. 310: "July 21 [1797] His Majesty immediately after his return to Amarapoorah [Amarapura], issued orders for the currency of the pice [copper money] brought from Bengal, and prohibited the currency of silver and lead in the Bazaars: but established no rate at which the pice were to pass, nor had he coined any or even issued the whole of those I brought (one lack [*lakh*]), nor provided any medium in the room of the silver currency. Under these circumstances the people were much distressed and obliged to substitute rice²⁷ instead of lead for small purchases in the provision market. Privately silver still continues current, notwithstanding the prohibition, and the officers of Government winked at it to prevent stagnation of all business. This forbearance coming to the knowledge of His Majesty, he this day suspended the whoonghees [*wunji's*, ministers of state] from the exercise of their offices, exposed them to sun in the palace yard from ten till four o'clock with pieces of silver round their necks, and was with difficulty prevailed on by their humble submission to refrain from severer punishment. He has not, however, pardoned them and has ordered that the *looto* [*luttò* (Hlutdaw), royal council of state] shall continue shut. The two mayhoons [*myôwun*] or governors of the fort are confined in the fire-house loaded with irons, and the former orders respecting the currency directed to be enforced with the greatest rigour. I understand he is coining rupees and pice in the palace."

Next day, the regulations, such as they were, regarding currency came to the Resident's notice. They are worth recording here as specimens of folly: "For 100 tickals weight of silver, 2½ per cent. standard [*ywetn's* silver, see *ante*, vol. XLVIII, pp. 49 ff.] delivered into

²⁴ The only specimens that seem to have survived are, the copper coins figured on my Plate II, Figs. 22 and 23, and my Plate V, Figs. 48 and 49, and described above.

²⁵ "This, by-the-by, proves what excellent metallurgists they are, for one kind was in fact 17 per cent. and the other 22½ per cent."—Cox's footnote.

²⁶ Pp. 178, 179, 180, 184, 185, 186.

²⁷ For broken rice as currency, see *ante*, vols. XXVI, p. 281; XXIX, p. 38.

the royal mint, 80 pieces each weighing one tickal each would be given in exchange : 20 of the pice I brought from Bengal were to be given in exchange for one of those coined tickals and 40 pieces of His Majesty's coinage. Now supposing the tickals issued from the mint to be of the same standard as the silver paid in and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. worse than pure silver, he will gain at the rate of $66\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. on the silver. And as the copper pice I brought cost him only one tickal, 5 per cent. silver, for 81, or 83 for one tickal of 2 per cent., if he sells them at the rate of one tickal for 20, his gain on these pice would be 315 per cent. or in plainer language the pice he bought for 100 tickals he will sell for 415 tickals. His gain on the pice of his own coinage will amount to about one-third more. But if we take into consideration the advanced or nominal value of his new silver coinage, the profits on the issue of the Bengal pice will be enormous indeed. On the lack [*lākḥ*] of pice he will gain 7,318 tickals, five per cent. silver, or 8,781 *sicca* [Company's] rupees at the rate 598 per cent." (p. 312). Cox then says truly that this statement will serve as a proof of the extreme avarice, despotism and ignorance which held dominion in Burma.

The next entry we find (p. 313) is very significant : "Ten men, principal merchants, have been condemned to lose thier heads for paying and receiving silver bullion, as heretofore, contrary to His Majesty's orders." On the 27th and 28th [July, 1797], the ministers, probably goaded to desperation, had the courage to tell the king of the distress he was causing, and on the 2nd August we find an entry (p. 321) : "This day His Majesty was graciously pleased to relieve his subjects by permitting the currency of flowered silver [*ywetnī*]." Thus ended this characteristic attempt to establish a currency for the benefit of the king by the ruin of his people. It had lasted about a fortnight.

Now, we learn from this account that Cox brought 20,000 silver coins of two varieties, and 100,000 copper coins, and that the king, by his machinery, probably coined some more. But it is not probable that more than a very small proportion of any description ever got amongst the people.

Bad as were Bôdôp'ayâ's methods of forcing his currency on his people, despite its fictitious value, the proceedings of a Muslim monarch in Africa were much of the same kind and much more crafty. Charles Neufeld, who was for twelve years a captive under the Khalifa or Mahdi 'Abdu'llâhi of the Soudan at Omdurman, wrote an account of his imprisonment at that place in the *World Wide Magazine* (1899, vol. IV, No. 21, Dec.) and at pp. 234-235 we read :—"As Nâhum Abbâjî was then trying to think out an invention for coining money, he suggested that he should apply to the Khalifa for my services in assisting him. This request 'Abdu'llâhi was only too glad at the time to accede to. Saltpetre was coming in in large quantities, and he was in great trouble about his monetary system. As Khalifa, he was entitled to one-fifth of all loot, property, taxes, and goods coming in to the Baitu'l-Mâl; and as all property of whatever description was considered to belong primarily to this administration, it followed that 'Abdu'llâhi was entitled to one-fifth of the property in the Soudan. But as he himself had not much use for hides, skins, gum, ivory, and such like, he took his proportion in coin-after putting his own valuation upon his share.

"As the money the Khalifa took from the Baitu'l-Mâl was hoarded and never came into circulation again, a kind of specie famine presently set in. Attempts had been made in the early days of 'Abdu'llâhi's rule to produce a dollar with a fair modicum of silver in its composition; but Nûru'l-Garfawî, Adlân's successor at the Baitu'l-Mâl, came to the conclusion evidently that a coin was but a mere token, and that, therefore, it was immaterial what it was made of, provided it carried some impression upon it. The quantity of silver in his dollars grew less and less, and even then was only represented by a light plating, which wore off in a few weeks' time. When people grumbled, he unblushingly issued copper dollars, pure and simple. All dollars were issued from the Baitu'l-Mâl as being of value equivalent to the silver dollar, and when the baser sort were refused, the Khalifa decreed that all future offenders

should be punished by the confiscation of their property and the loss of a hand and foot. The merchants, though, were equal to the occasion. When an intending purchaser inquired about the price of an article, the vendor asked him in what coinage he intended to pay; and the merchant then knew what price to ask.

"As the silver dollars gradually disappeared, the few remaining ones went up enormously in value, until in the end they were valued at fifty to sixty of the Baitu'l-Mâl coins: so that an article, which could be bought for one silver dollar, could not be purchased under fifty to sixty copper dollars. And, although a rate of exchange was forbidden, the Baitu'l-Mâl took advantage of the state of affairs by buying in the copper dollars, melting them up, recasting them, and then striking from a different die. These coins would be again issued at the value of a silver dollar and the remaining copper dollars in the town put out of circulation by the Baitu'l-Mâl refusing to receive them. To make matters worse, the die-cutters cut dies for themselves and their friends; and it was well worth the while of the false coiners to make a dollar of better metal than the Baitu'l-Mâl did, for these were accepted at a premium. The false coinage business flourished, until Ilyâs al-Kurdî, one of the best die-cutters, was permanently incapacitated by losing his right hand and left foot. And this punishment—for a time at least—acted as a deterrent to others, leaving the Baitu'l-Mâl entire monopoly of coinage.

"Sovereigns might at any time be bought for a dollar, for the possessors were glad to get rid of them. Being found in possession of a gold coin denoted wealth, and many people attempting to change a gold piece returned home to find their hut in the hands of the Baitu'l-Mâl's officials, who would be searching for the remainder of the presumed gold hoard, and failing to find one, they would confiscate the goods and chattels of the indiscreet person. The trade with the Egyptian frontier, Suakim and Abyssinia was carried on through the medium of barter and the Austrian (Maria Theresa) trade dollar."

Tampering with the coinage and currency by monarchs and governments is, of course, a very old trick in the East and elsewhere. The proceedings of Muhammad Tughlaq of Dehli in 1330 A.D., were very like those of Bôdôp'ayâ and equally futile, for the reason that a grossly depreciated bullion currency cannot be endured by any people.²⁸ It was tried in Burma not only by Bôdôp'ayâ, but also by Pagàn Min in the Thayetmo District, and also by Thibò Min as regards his brass coinage. Indo-Chinese governments would indeed seem to be incorrigible in this respect, for we find proceedings almost identical with those detailed above in the middle and end of the nineteenth century in Siam.

Holt Hallett in his *Thousand Miles on an Elephant in the Shan States*, pp. 164-65, says that up to 1865 cowries were in use in Siam as currency imported from Bombay. He then proceeds to tell us that "the late King of Siam determined to stop the use of cowries as currency and floated a token lead money. As he could place what value he liked upon the lead coins, he resolved that 64 large stamped pieces, or 128 small stamped pieces, should go to a tickal of silver, although the lead in them would cost less than half that amount.²⁹ The monetary transactions in lead would bring 100 per cent. profit to his treasury, and likewise—which he does not seem to have counted on—to the treasury of any one who thought fit to forge the coins. For some time the Government made a splendid profit, but some domestic and foreign forgers filled the market with their bogus issue. A great panic ensued among the people: the lead pieces were gradually refused and the Government had to stop coining them.

"Before the collapse of the lead coinage, the King determined further to replenish his treasury by another device. He issued copper coins. To ensure their being taken by the people, he declared cowries to be no longer current. As he did not call in the cowries and

²⁸ See Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency*, p. 138 n., for an instance in the fourth century B.C. See also Terrien de Lacouperie, *Old Numerals and the Swanpan in China*, p. 14, for a very early attempt to make bullion exchangeable regardless of weight.

²⁹ The idea was that the royal stamp would increase the value of the coins in the eyes of the public. See *JASB.*, *Proc.* for 1867, p. 148.

exchange them for the lead or copper coins, they became worthless to their possessors. This was a sad stroke of fortune for the poor people, but worse was to come when the present King of Siam [Chulalong Korn in 1890] came to the throne. Finding that forgery of the debased coinage was naturally prevalent, he reduced the currency value of the old lead coins by declaring 320 of them equal to a tickal considerably less than the actual value of the lead contained in them. The copper pieces he reduced to a fourth of the value that they had been issued at. The people thus lost the gross value of their cowries and were robbed of half the value of their lead coins and three-fourths the value of their copper ones."

The King of Cochin-China about 1812 seems to have been more fortunate in playing the same tricks with the currency, for Crawford, *Siam*, p. 518, tells us: "The price paid by the King for the metal, from which the zinc [cash] currency is struck is only twelve *kwans* the picul [current at about 17], and therefore an object of considerable revenue."

There is an interesting note on mint "profits" in the East, in the fourteenth century A.D., which is useful in this connection. Pegolotti (Yule, *Cathay*, vol. II, p. 298) in his handbook to the merchants of his day, says that at Tana (Azov) "the money current is in *sommi* and *aspen* of silver And if silver be sent to the Tana Mint, they coin 202 *aspens* from the *sommo*, but they pay you only 190, retaining the rest for the work of the mint and its profit. So a *sommo* at Tana is reckoned to be 190 *aspen*. And the *sommi* are ingots of silver of the alloy above mentioned, which are paid away by weight." This gives over 15 per cent. as mint profits.

The ways of the Kings were closely followed by their ministers and superior officers. Witness the following story from Malcom, *Travels*, vol. II, p. 252: "The late war [of 1824] having introduced into Rangoon and its vicinity the [Company's] Bengal coins, the Woongyee [*wunji*] engaged largely in making four-anna pieces, which were really worth but two. They were soon well-known, and only passed for their real value. The incensed great man sent the herald about the city, proclaiming that whoever objected to take them at their nominal value should suffer a specified fine and imprisonment. Business was for a while completely checked, and at length, after making some severe examples, he was obliged to let the people return to weighing their money as before."

(To be continued.)

BOOK-NOTICES.

TOWN-PLANNING IN ANCIENT INDIA, by BINODE BEHARI DUTT, M.A., Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta and Simla, 1925. Price Rs. 7-6-0.

This interesting book represents an attempt to reveal early Indo-Aryan rules and ideas on the subject of the planning and internal lay-out of towns and cities and villages, partly from the precepts of ancient Sanskrit treatises like the *Śilpa Śāstras*, and partly by inference from the arrangement of the older cities still existing in India. The author admits *ab initio* that in the complete absence of illustrative plans or diagrams of Indian towns, the conclusions arrived at in respect of ancient India must rest largely on theory and hypothesis. It is possible that the gradual excavation of such sites as that of Taxila may reveal important facts, corroborating the author's contentions on the reverse. On the other hand the recent discovery of very ancient town-sites in the Indus valley, which, so far as we know at present, were pre-Aryan, may eventually justify the assumption that

the so-called Indo-Aryans borrowed many of their ideas on town-planning from an earlier Dravidian civilisation.

In discussing the origin of the Indo-Aryan city Mr. Dutt points out that in many cases the town in embryo was a market-place surrounded by hamlets, each of which ultimately became a separate ward of the finished city, and that in many modern Indian towns the *sahaganj* or general market is located at the centre of the occupied area. Even in a city like Bombay, developed in modern times under western influence, this process is observable, several of the modern municipal wards being called after the scattered villages out of which they have sprung. In other cases, however, like Conjeevaram, Tarakeshwar and Sitakund, the nucleus of the town was the shrine of some popular deity, which gradually attracted increasing numbers of settlers and devotees. Whenever possible, ancient towns were located on large rivers, like the Ganges and Indus, which could provide a supply of water, means of

defence, and a channel of communication for traders and others; and orthodox Hindu ideas demanded their construction always on the right bank. The violation of this rule in the case of a city like Calcutta is one proof that it was laid out under foreign influence. The confluence of two rivers was also a favourite site for a town.

The multiplication of cities in Ancient India was primarily due, according to Mr. Dutt, to the large number of dynasties of greater or less importance, each of whom required a fortified capital of its own, as far as possible centrally situated. He quotes Sukrāchārya's recommendations in regard to flora, fauna, and geographical situation, and the opinions of other old authorities regarding the lie of the ground, which, according to the *Śilpa Śāstras*, ought to slope downwards towards the north or east. In other words the town ditch, into which all impurities drained, was likely to prove less offensive on the north than on the south, while with an easterly declivity the town would secure full advantage of the morning sunshine. Even in the matter of town-planning the ancient fourfold social division was observed, for the soil was divided into four classes, according to colour, taste, smell, etc. The best kind—described in the *Rājavallabha* as white, fragrant, and agreeable to the taste—was naturally reserved for Brahman residents; the wretched Śūdras had to put up with black soil, stinking like decayed fish. Ancient methods of testing the solidity of the ground are quoted from the *Matsya Purāṇa*, and these were followed by elaborate purificatory and consecratory rites, in which the plough played an important part. After that the Indo-Aryan town planner was called upon to define the exact area, the circumference, and the chief internal sites of the new town.

A salient feature of ancient Indian towns was the moat and ramparts, owing to the fact that in primitive ages the citadel itself was the town. The description of Ayodhya, of Lanka and of Mathura indicates this condition; and it was not till a later age that the city outgrew the fort, which was often located at its centre. Elaborate instructions are given in the *Arthashastra* and other works regarding different types of forts, which depended as a rule rather on natural than on artificial defences, regarding the number and size of walls, battlements and ramparts, which might be quadrangular, square, circular or semi-lunar in shape, and regarding the number and size of moats. According to Megasthenes, Pataliputra had a succession of brick-lined moats, the waters of which were regulated by hidden sluices. Mr. Dutt declares that these moats were often converted into a form of urban adornment, as "the Aryan town-planners" cultivated lotuses and lilies in their stagnant waters; and he quotes as evidence of this fact a Tamil poem describing the Chola fort of Pukar. It is doubtful whether a purely Dravidian capital like Pukar can be justly offered as evidence of Aryan

ideas of urban decoration; while the condition of such moats as have survived in India down to historical times induces doubts whether they were as delectable adjuncts of the city as the poetic imagination portrays them.

As to communications, Mr. Dutt has collected the statements of various ancient authorities as to the width of different classes of roads or streets. These were almost always arranged on the rectangular or chess-board plan, encircled by a large boulevard inside the walls, which followed the line of circumvallation. While it is difficult to decide how wide the streets were, it is obvious that they cannot have attained some of the widths laid down in Sanskrit lore; and if the streets of old and still existing Indian towns afford any guide, many of the thoroughfares of ancient Indo-Aryan towns must have been, according to modern ideas, very narrow. The hyperbole of the poets is not a wholly trustworthy guide in these matters of detail. Incidentally, Mr. Dutt disputes the meaning of "king's street" usually assigned to *rajaṇṇita*, i.e., the street leading to or passing in front of the royal residence. On the authority of Pāṇini, he translates it "king among streets," and declares it signifies any large road. He also recalls the fact that the most ancient rules of Indian town-planning forbade any door or window to open on to a main thoroughfare, while the main roads through the wards were furnished at both ends with stout doors, which could be closed in seasons of disturbance. The *pois* of Ahmadabad offer a good example of this feature.

The author remarks that it was customary in Ancient India to perform the *pradakṣiṇa* of a cross-road, and that consequently all vehicles and pedestrians must have observed the rule of keeping to the left when crossing the open space at a junction. Traffic, in other words, followed "a clockwise motion", in the manner recently introduced at Hyde Park Corner and other crowded points in London. If this is so, one can only deplore the complete oblivion into which the *pradakṣiṇa* of open spaces at cross-roads has now fallen. The chief problem of traffic regulation in a modern Indian town is concerned with making vehicular and pedestrian traffic keep to the left, instead of wandering all over the road. There is much interesting information about ancient site-planning, which is illustrated by diagrams of the arrangements recommended in the *Śilpa Śāstras*. Broadly speaking, they all allow for the location of separate guilds or castes in different streets or wards—an arrangement which can be seen in most Indian towns to-day—and for the reservation of the best sites for the upper castes and classes. Some Sanskrit works enter into great detail, e.g., the *Agni Purāṇa*, which places goldsmiths in the south-east corner of the town; dancers and harlots in the south; stage-managers and fishermen in the south-west; dealers in chariots, weapons, and outlery in the west; liquor-merchants, officers and servants

in the north-west; and pious persons, such as Brahmins, Yatis, and Siddhas in the north. One wonders if the close association of officers and liquor-sellers was based upon practical experience. All Indian towns of to-day are characterised by house-grouping and *mahaillas* or quarters, inhabited by distinct castes or classes; and this arrangement evidently dates back to early ages.

Mr. Dutt discusses the plan of the Indo-Aryan village, which was often a town in miniature and bore little or no resemblance to the village of modern Bengal: he enumerates certain ancient building rules; and he deals with many other points of interest. I am a little doubtful whether he is quite correct in his statement that Vijayanagar followed ancient Aryan traditions of town-planning; for Vijayanagar was emphatically a Dravidian city, the product of Dravidian culture, and governed according to Dravidian cultural ideas. Another suggestion of the author, which is likely, in my opinion, to be challenged is that, if Indian civilization ever breaks down, the Europeanised or Westernised Indian will in time become the Panchama class of the Christian community, just as the aboriginal tribes of South India became the 'untouchables' of Hindu society. The stalwarts of the modern councils and assemblies, who wear English dress, etc. will hardly swallow this proposition with equanimity; and personally, I do not believe that the denationalised Indian will ever suffer any such fate. Such things can only happen under theegis of an uncontrolled priesthood.

Apart from these minor matters, which bear little upon the general tenour of the book, Mr. Dutt has written an erudite and interesting work, which throws much light upon a hitherto little known branch of Indian antiquities.

S. M. EDWARDS.

ON THE *ADBHUTA RAMAYANA*, by SIR GEORGE GRIERSON, 1926.

This is another of Sir George Grierson's invaluable pamphlets. It deals with one of the *Ramayanas* current in Northern India and attributed to Valmiki, being supplementary to his other well-known work of the same name on the Rama Legend. It greatly differs from the main work and gives accounts of "episodes that find no place" in it. It is also a Śākta work, and Sītā the gracious became a Śakti and is turned into Dēvi the Terrible. It contains in fact "a mixture of Bhākta-teaching with Śaivism, in which the salient features of both schools are combined" in equal proportions.

Sir George points out "the extraordinary power attributed to Indian Saints, such as Nārada," and that as a Saint's curse "can never be in vain" "the [Supreme] Deity has to accept the consequences with a smile." And it must be said that the Hindu Saints were very free with their curses. "In fact, in those mythical times, it must have been

much safer to be a saint than to be a god." Sir George gives many instances, and the whole subject is of great interest, as explanatory of much that is still to be found in Indian legends. It is also of interest in relation to the possible origin of a great deal in the Hindu religion that is non-Aryan and presumably Far Eastern. Werner, in his authoritative *Myths and Legends of China*, claims that the Chinese legends are indigenous, and not connected with the rest of the world. I have had reason to study his book from end to end, and find much in it that it is difficult to believe is not Indian or Central Asian or even Near Eastern. However that may be, the Chinese Myths are full of immortals who are gods and immortals who are saints, and the power of the one differs not at all from the power of the other. They can all knock each other about. The question then is: where did the Indian ideas of the power of the saint come from? Was it introduced into the Indian Aryan, i.e., Hindu mind by contact with Far Eastern races from beyond the Northern and Eastern boundaries?

Leaving this question there, we find a most interesting development of the idea of incarnation. Instance after instance is given of the incarnation of an immortal in a mortal body as the result of a Saint's curse. Apparently incarnated immortals are all "fallen angels." Nārada himself—a distinguished saintly curser—is so far human as to be jealous of a celestial musician Tumburu, the Gandharva, and has a bad time of it, which he richly deserved.

Various stories as to Sītā's origin are told in the *Adbhuta-Ramayana*, in the true folktale fashion found all over the world. Indeed, the more one dives into the tales about any popular hero or heroine, the more incompatible they become, but it is an odd view to represent Sītā as more powerful than her husband. Lastly, Sir George points out that this book is "an attempt to introduce the terrible cult of Śaiva Śāktism into the altogether alien soil of Vaiṣṇavism." Its chief value is as a store-house of folk-legends.

We have also in the *Adbhuta-Ramayana* a story of the pregnancy of Mandōdari, the wife of Rāvaṇa, with Sītā, which is worth drawing attention to. Mandōdari, out of jealousy, determines to kill herself. "With this object, she drinks the contents of the jar of Rīśi's blood, which [her husband] Rāvaṇa has told her is a deadly poison. Instead of dying, she immediately becomes pregnant with Lakshmi [Sītā], who has been installed in the sprinkled milk by the power of Gṛītaṃśada's *Mantras*." Is such a story of Aryan origin? Or is it an absorption from Indian aborigines? The question is asked, because it has been observed that pregnancy amongst some savages is still not connected with sexual intercourse. The story looks as if there were once the same disability to connect cause and effect in India, and it seems hard to believe that so intelligent a people as the ancient Aryan-immigrants could have had such a disability.

R. C. TEMPLE.

FOLK-SONGS OF THE TULUVAS.

By B. A. SALETORÉ, B.A., L.T., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from vol. LVI, p. 78.)

III. The Songs of the Panaras or the Nalka People.

The Song in Tulu.

Yenkule Mâdirâ. Vo popenadakedâ.
 Paravupijana sayyanda !
 Yenkuleye Madimâye popina nadakedâ kadipu paniki sayyanda.
 Yenkulena Madimâye tûnaga mûdâyi Surya uttanange ;
 Yenkulena Madimâlena mone tûnaga padâyi Sandro belani lekka.
 Yi bul tondu pôpedâye ?
 Nina Appelekha Mâmi undu, dâye bul pâ ?
 Nina Amma lekka Sammale undu, bulpâdagâ !
 Nina Tage lekka Bâve undu, bulpâdagâ !
 Nina Maitini lekka Megge undu, dâye bulpa ?
 Kamberda kurvedu târayida tundu ulidanda yenda bulpana ?
 Mittantyada barchane orind yenda bulipadâ !

Translation.

(Oh !) Our Mâdira (dance) ! Oh ! In the movement of our limbs,
 A cautious ant would not die !
 A soft bird would not die under the gait of our Bridegroom !
 When we look at our Bridegroom, he looks like the rising eastern Sun !
 When we look at the face of our Bride, it is like the splendid Western Moon !
 Oh ! Why do you go on crying ?
 You have a Mother-in-law like a Mother, why do you weep ?
 You have a Father-in-law like a Father, (Oh) do not weep !
 You have a Brother-in-law like an elder Brother, (Oh) do not weep !
 You have a younger Brother-in-law like your younger Brother, (Oh) why do you weep ?
 Is it because some pieces of coconut have been left in the *kamberda* basket that you weep ?
 Is it because the comb has been left on the lintel that you weep ?

Note:—This song is sung by the Nalke or Panara class of devil-dancers during their marriage ceremony. Mâdira is the name given to a kind of dance.

IV. The Songs of the Bâkuda Holeyas.

1. *The Song in Tulu.*

Le le le le lâ Dâre âpundu baideralâ (*Chorus*)
 Orana binnara baiderala vovulu.
 Gandada parimala popundu.
 Yâradi gunḍoḍu Madimâla,
 Madegatti illada Madimâye.
 Dâre âpundu Nandere Gôligâ, dâre âpundu,
 Dikkale Dêyigâ dâse apundu.
 Nandare Gôli (da) gâ Dâre apundu. (*Chorus*)
 Yerundu, yerundu, yeru panadâ ?
 Anjevu yerukka singareranda ;
 Ponjevu yerukka peratteranda ;
 Gonaje j(y)eru niraparipundu. (*Chorus*)
 Tumbudundu ponnu kalikandela,
 Tattondundu tattondundu ponnu nira kandelâ.
 Kali kandela dakinavulu kalyâtâ ;
 Nira kandela dakinavulu niryatâ.

Translation.

Le le le le la. The wedding-ceremony is being held ! (And) They have come—
 The respectable relations have come in ranks, (Oh) from where !
 To them is carried the sandal-paste.
 The Bride is from the Yāradi dale,
 The Bridegroom is from the screened house.
 Nandera Gōligā is having the sacred ceremony,
 (And) the bride Deyigā is having the sacred rice put upon her :
 Nandera Gōligā is having his wedding-ceremony. (*Chorus*)
 " We have buffaloes ! We have buffaloes ! " Shall we say ?
 (Then) let the he-buffaloes be adorned ;
 (And) the she-buffaloes be filled with milk ;
 (And) the young ones be allowed to drink water. (*Chorus*)
 (Oh) the bride is carrying a pitcher of toddy !
 (And) she is carrying a pitcher of water !
 And where the pot of toddy is thrown down, there let there be play with stones !
 And where the pot of water is thrown down, there let there be play with water !
 (*Chorus*)

Note :—The term Bākuda means a husband. The Bākudas, however, form a separate class of Holeyas. It is difficult to reconcile the latter half of the above poem with the former. The song was got from a Bākuda Holeyā himself.

2. *The songs in Tulu.*

Le le le le la kinni Madimāye !	Dibbana povode.
Kondāṭadā mage, kinni Madimāye !	Iliyanda ūruḡa dibbana povode !
Bāle priyoḍu ponnu sinte putyandā.	Nikka aita balimana.
Ponṇu tūda badda āvoḍā	Nikka bangarina balenā,
Yērena magalā andā.	Nikka mungāyi saropoli,
Sammerena magala andada,	Nikka bolli kalla mundasa,
Pājoru maitedi.	Nikka kāraga sammaya,
Urusangatiṛa uḷḷayanā sālakatta	Dombugu kalkuda.

Translation.

Le le le le la. Oh The young Bridegroom !
 Oh ! The young Bridegroom is a fondled child !
 In his infancy he fell a prey to love.
 " Having seen the girl, I must be bound," he thought.
 " Whose daughter is she ? " he questioned.
 She is the daughter of Sammera,
 (And) the sister-in-law of Pājoru.
 Accompanied by the men of caste and those of the land-lord,
 Should the bridal-party go.
 The marriage party is to go to a country that is foreign.
 (But) why should you (the bridegroom) be concerned with it ?
 (For) you will get bracelets of gold,
 (And) you will get bracelets for the fore-arm,
 (And) you will get a turban with edges that will look like silver,
 (And) you will get a pair of shoes,
 And you will get an umbrella to protect you from the sun.

Note :—The above two are Bākuda marriage songs. The first one is sung during the Dāre ceremony when they pour the sacred water ; and the second when the ceremony is over,

A POSSIBLE IDENTIFICATION OF THE MOUNT DEVAGIRI MENTIONED IN KALIDASA'S 'MEGHADUTA.'

By A. S. BHANDARKAR, B.A., (HARVARD).

ABOUT six miles due south-east of Indore there is a group of four mountains one of which is known as Devagurādā. There is a small village on its slope and two temples, one of which, the bigger one, is said to have been built by Ahalyābāi Holkar (1767-1795). It does not seem likely, however, that she should have built a new temple of such dimensions in an obscure village, and there is ample evidence to show that it must be a renovation or reconstruction of an older temple or part of it in ruins. There are, for instance, stray relics in stone in the immediate neighbourhood within a few hundred yards of the temple, and the photographs of three such are given herewith. One of them looks like a *vrindavana*, is hollow inside only at the top and has niches at the sides. Another representing one of a similar group has a Śiva's *piṇḍī* and his sacred bull, Nandi, sculptured on it. The nail-shaped decoration that is seen here borders also the high plinth of the bigger temple and is likewise found on the walls of a few huts, both of which must be thus evidently built or constructed, at least partly, from the ruins of a temple, and the combination of the old and new structure can be distinctly distinguished in some cases. Still another relic has marks of two footprints in the middle, with the sun and the moon to the left and right of them; some other marks can be discerned below, but they are indistinct. The sun and the moon may respectively be the symbols of Sūryavamśī and Somavamśī Kshatriyas who claim descent from them. To the right of the larger temple there is a much smaller one, built of uncarved stone, with two storeys, the lower of which is several feet below the ground while the upper one is partly so. There are bricks only in the roof of the upper storey, which thus shows its recent origin. This temple, too, bespeaks the existence of an ancient temple with its base below the present ground level, for, it is not likely that anybody would ever excavate, much less build a new temple below the ground. There is now a modern Śiva's *piṇḍī* in the temple, and four cemented pillars, possibly of comparatively recent date, are in front. They however look much older than the date of reconstruction of either of the temples, as only two of them are erect, the third buried firmly in a slanting position almost touching the ground, while the fourth is lying prostrate upon it. These pillars have two iron cores in each of them. The picture of the temple shows the upper storey and the opening of the stone stair-way leading below to the lower one. The long-prevailing custom, existing since days long before Ahalyābāi of holding an annual fair at the village on the Śivarātri day also speaks of a whilom sacredness of the place in connection with the god Śiva. Quarries of stone and chalk, important building materials, are found on the mountain.

Kālidāsa mentions in his *Meghadūta* a mountain named Devagiri (*Devapūrvamgiri*). This, according to the poetic context, must be situated somewhere between the Śiprā and the Chambal or ancient Charmanvati, which is described by the poet as the fame incarnate of Rantideva, once king of the Daśapura that has been identified with modern Dasor in the district of Mandasor. This at once puts out of court the claim for identification with it of Daulatabad, with its ancient name Devagiri, and the capital of the Yādavas from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, or the village named Devgad about sixty miles to the south-west of Jhansi mentioned by Dr. Fleet in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, "Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings." After arriving at Vidiśā, or modern Bhilsā, and visiting the mountain named Nichais, the poet instructs the Cloud through the mouth of the Yakṣa to abandon his proper course northwards for the special purpose of seeing Ujjain, and thus would make the Cloud take a south-westerly course, more to the west than south. In this journey it comes across the following rivers in succession:—(1) The *Nirvindhya* which, one thinks, must be identical either with the Pārvatī, or the Pārvān, or any one of their small tributaries. (2) The Sindhū, known now as the Kālī Sindh. The poet compares her scanty waters to a braid of hair, which suggests their dark colour. Mallinātha, the commentator, not being familiar with the country like the poet, was presumably ignorant of this river,

and hence he prefers the alternative reading *asau-aśīasya* to *tām-aśīasya*, thus taking the word *Sindhu* as a common noun referring to the river Nirvindhya described by the poet in the preceding verse. (3) The Śiprā with Ujjain on its bank. (4) The Gandhavatī, a tributary of the Śiprā, with the temple of Mahākāla which still exists there. (5) The Gambhīra, identified with the modern Gambhīr. (6) The Chambal. The order of the rivers is only accurate going westwards as they flow north to join the Chambal. The poet mentions the mountain Devagiri with its temple of Skanda, Śiva's son, as situate between the last two rivers and this, pretty accurately, is the position of Devagurādā. This mountain with the temples and relics described above is, no doubt, slightly east of Ujjain, but as it is about forty miles to the south of it, and as the Śiprā, on whose bank the city stands, takes its rise to the east of Indore and also the mountain, it is natural that the Cloud coming from the north-east would visit Ujjain first; more so, as this was the special object of sight for which it had turned from its proper path. The only other place which claims one's attention with respect to the identification is Devgaḍ a few miles to the south-west of Narsingaḍ and about fifty-five miles almost due west of Bhilsā, but it does not satisfy the conditions of the position of Devagiri as given in the context and noted above. The writer does not know whether there is a mountain of that or similar name in the town and also a temple, intact or in ruins, there; if not, it is quite probable that Devagiri is no other mountain than Devagurādā itself. The philological corruption of the name might be due to the presence of several other villages round about whose names also end in the termination *gurādā*, meaning possibly the machine for the extraction of sugarcane juice. If our identification be correct, and excavations bring any dated inscription, it would help us to fix the date of the poet Kālidāsa himself. At any rate, excavations at Devagurādā, one hopes, might lead to interesting discoveries.

MALABAR MISCELLANY.¹

By T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T

V. A Rājasimha Inscription at Tāḷēkkāḍ in Cochin.

A very large granite slab, 74" x 56", inscribed on both faces, has long been lying unknown² even to the Cochin Government Archaeologist, although it has been all along in a conspicuous place at the foot of the open-air cross in front of the Roman Catholic Church at Tāḷēkkāḍ³ in the Cochin State, on the west coast of South India. About two years ago, on 13th June 1925, the existence of this important epigraph was brought to my notice, and on 19th *idem* two inked estampages of the inscription on the obverse—the subject of this article—were handed to me for decipherment. They were not clear at all. Still the name Rājasimha Perumān Aṭikaḷ, which could be easily deciphered, and the palaeographic forms of the characters at once gave me some idea of the importance of the record. But I had to wait impatiently for clear copies until 29th September 1926, when I received a good estampage of the first five lines, prepared by my friend Mr. M. P. Varkki in accordance with my instructions. Further copies also followed from the same source, together with an account (see below) of the interesting vicissitudes of the inscribed slab. In the issue of the daily newspaper, *The Western Star* (Trivandrum) for 21st December 1926, I published an article⁴ on this record, which included a tentative translation of the deciphered portion of it, with a number of lacunae. The reading and translation given below are complete. *Vide facsimile facing page 30.*

* The Cloud, however, maintains a northerly course apparently after leaving Ujjain.—C.E.A.W.O., *Jl. Editor.*

¹ Continued from *Indian Antiquary*, vol. LIII, p. 97.

² Unfortunately, the Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., who (from 9th to 23rd February, 1924) ransacked Cochin and its neighbourhood for pre-Portuguese Christian antiquities, did not visit the Tāḷēkkāḍ Church.

³ T with a dot below has the sound of a in another. Tāḷēkkāḍ is the pronunciation of the Anglicised form Thazhakkad. The place is about 7½ miles North-East of the well-known Cranganore.

⁴ This article entitled 'Rājasimha; A New Perumal' was soon reproduced in *The Hindu* of Madras and *The Times of India*, Bombay.

THE RELICS AND TEMPLE NEAR MOUNT DEVAGIRI



FIG 1 —THE SMALLER TEMPLE BUILT OF STONE WITH LOWER STOREY BELOW THE PRESENT GROUND LEVEL.



FIG. 2.—A RELIC WHICH LOOKS LIKE A *vrināvana*.

THE RELICS AND TEMPLE NEAR MOUNT DEVAGIRI

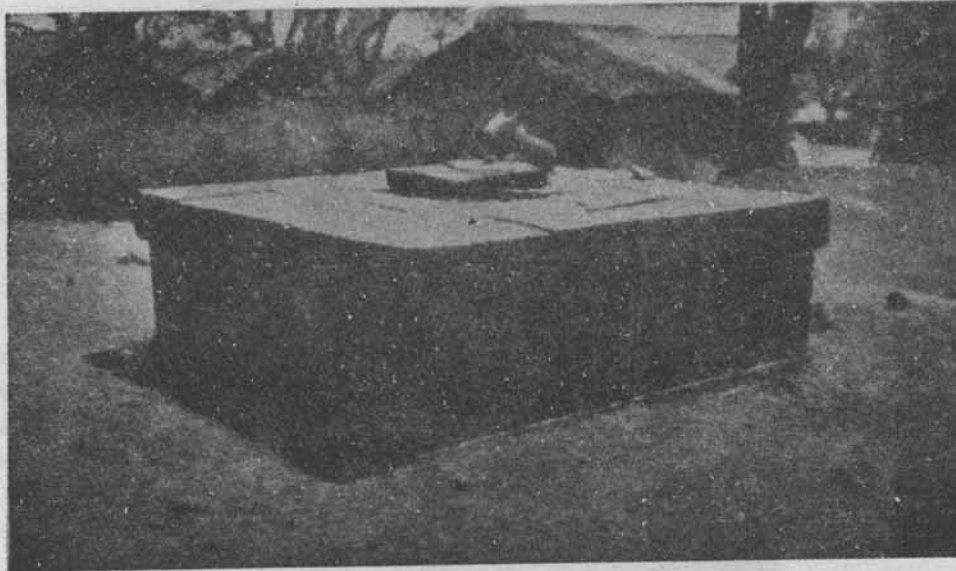


FIG. 3.—A RELIC WITH SHIVALINGA AND NANDI SCULPTURED UPON IT.



FIG. 4.—A RELIC WITH EMBLEMATIC MARKS OF FOOTPRINTS AND THE SUN AND THE MOON ON EITHER SIDE.

Lines.

TEXT. ⁵

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி. ஸ்ரீ. இராயசெங்கப் பெருமானடி.
2. களாருளால்⁶ தாழைக்காட்டுக் கமைக்கப்பட்ட வாணிகர்க்
3. கு ளாரர் அவிரோதத்தாற் பீடிகை கட்டுவான் அமைத்த இ
4. டம் :—⁷ சிறுபள்ளி அடிரில் மேக்குப்; பேராலில் வடக்
5. குத், களப்பள்ளியிற் கிழக்கு, கீழ்த் திருக்கோயிற்றேவர்
6. பூமிக்குத்தெற்கு. இதனைகத்து ஊரானர் தடுக்கவுத்தே
7. மாறவும் பீடிகை கட்டினார், தந்தையைக்கொ
8. ன்று தாயைக் களத்திரம் வைச்சாராவோ
9. இருபதின்னோல் கொட்டிற் படுகுழி⁸ செய் கொடுப்பது
10. பாட்டமானர் எடுத்துக்கொள்வது. அந்நால்வருஞ்சொ
11. ன்ற இறையுத்தறையுன் கொள்வது. இவகன் சென்று
12. விழையிட்ட சரக்கெல்லாருந் கொள்வது.⁹

(The remaining lines—13 to 22—are in small characters.)

13. இவ்வமைஞ்ச வாணியரில் மணிக் கொமத்தாரான¹⁰ சாத்தம்புகனும்
14. இரவி கொத்தனும்¹¹ இவர்களிருவர்க்கு மிரண்டுமுறிப் பீடிகையா
15. லுந் செய்யில்லை, இரண்டிருடியிலிருப் ஆ¹²ர்க்கு எப்பேர்ப்பட்ட இ
16. றையுமில்லை. இக்கச்சத்திற் குடி
17. க்கு பந்தல்க் காணமுந் தட்டாரக்க
18. லியுமில்லை. கச்சத்தில்க்குடி
19. உல்கும் ஒண்ணெல்லும் படைவீளினெல்லுந் கொடுக்கக்கட
20. வர். தட்டாரக்கலியும் உல்கும் அனுபந்தஞ் செய்து (க or) நடத்தும்
21. வன்முதல் கோயில் முதல் கச்சத்தில்க் குடியுடைய பெண்ணு
22. ம் பின்னையு மதன்ரு¹³ இடமுந் கச்சத்தோடொக்கும்.

MORTISE.

TRANSLATION.

“Hail! Prosperity!

“The site granted without demur for putting up shops, by the villagers to the merchants appointed for Tāleikkāṭu by command of the feet¹⁴ of Emperor¹⁵ Rājasiṃha :—(The land) west of the Chirupalli boundary, north of the banyan tree, east of Kalappalli, south of the land belonging to the god of Kilutirukkoil (temple).

⁵ The inscription is in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters, with two words at the beginning in Grantha characters. The transcript here is in Grantha and Tamil.

⁶ Read—களாருளால். Symbols 2 to 5 are not quite distinct, owing to the confusion caused by over-writing. எக்குப seems to have been written first.

⁷ Of course the punctuation marks, colon, dash, full stop, comma, etc., and the spacing are not in the original.

⁸ The two symbols after பதி are disfigured by over-writing.

⁹ There are three indistinct symbols here at the end of the line, after the close of the sentence.

¹⁰ ன is inscribed over a வோ, and there is what seems to be a small letter after it.

¹¹ Read கொத்தனும். The sign of o in கொ is omitted in the original. It may be read also as சாத்தனும்.

¹² Read—ப்பார்க்கு.

¹³ These three symbols, left out by inadvertance from line 22, are inserted below the next two letters (இட) of the line.

¹⁴ Feet is the primary meaning of the original *apika*, which in its secondary sense is a term of respect applied in Malayalam and Tamil to gods, kings, sages, preceptors, monks, elders, etc. The idea seems to be that those who address, or refer to, them are worthy to mention only the feet of those great personages. *Pāddi*, meaning feet, is used in Sanskrit for the same purpose. Cf. *tātapāddi* respected father, *Kumārila-pāddi*, honoured Kumārila.

¹⁵ This Rājasiṃha was a Chéramān Perumāḷ, i.e., a Chera king or emperor of Malabar who had several kings under him.

"If the village headmen¹⁶ cause hindrance or confusion or put up shops within these (bounds), they will be like those who kill their father and take the mother to wife¹⁷. The rent collectors¹⁸ shall take for themselves the ten *nālis* (measures) of *ghī* paid (as tax) on a house of twenty *kōl* (size)¹⁹. Such taxes and rates shall be collected as those four (rent collectors) declare. All shall purchase such goods as these go and fix the price of²⁰.

"Chāttan Paṭukan and Iravi Kottan,²¹ these two who are Maṇigrāmattār²² among these allotted merchants, have (i.e., need pay) no *ghī* for the two rooms of shop (owned by them). Those belonging to the (above-mentioned) two families need pay no sort of taxes.²³

¹⁶ These headmen were Hindus, most probably Nampūri Brāhmins of Tāḷēkkād. Such headmen are now known as *ārāṇmakkar*, a word akin to *ārāḷar* of this document.

¹⁷ An imprecation commonly found in inscriptions, calling down upon the offender the divine punishment due to wilful patricide and incest.

¹⁸ These must have been four men selected from among the new colony of Christian merchants, for collecting rates and taxes from the Christian settlers.

¹⁹ One *kōl* = 28 inches. Primarily English yard, rod, pole and perch; Sanskrit *daṇḍa*; Portuguese *vāra* (bar), and Malayalam *kōl* have the same meaning, although they represent different measures of length. Portuguese *vāra* has become a regular Malayalam word, meaning a yard (length).

A house of 20 *kōl* size is one the total length of the four side beams of which is so many *kōls*.

²⁰ In another Malabar Christian document, the Quilon Church plates, fascicle 2, of about 880 A.D., the Maṇigrāmam Christians are authorized to fix the price of goods for sale.

²¹ This name occurs in the form Iravi Kottan in a later Malabar Christian document, the Vira Raghava plate of 1320 A.D. The two Iravi Kottans cannot be one and the same person.

The first word in Iravi Kottan is the common Hindu name Iravi, from Sanskrit Ravi (=the sun), while the second (Kottan) appears to be related to Arabic and Persian Kōtwāl (a police officer) and to mean a market sergeant.

The first word in Chāttan Paṭukan is the common Hindu name Chāttan, from Sanskrit Śaṣṭā, the name of a Hindu god. The second word Paṭukan is not an ordinary proper name. Like Kottan it may be an official designation.

Chāttan and Iravi, though Christians, retain Hindu names. No wonder. Until very recent times the Malabar Christians, the majority of whom are descendants of ancient converts from Hinduism, have been retaining many of the local Hindu manners and customs.

²² Maṇigrāmattār, in modern Malayalam Maṇigrāmakkar, in this context undoubtedly signifies headship of the new colony of Christian merchants brought to Tāḷēkkād. This supports the view expressed by the Editor in *Ind. Ant.*, 1924, p. 261, footnote, that the term Maṇigrāmam "seems to imply headship of the community of jewellers and no more."

Originally Maṇigrāmam must have meant the *grāmaṇi* or head of the class of jewellers called Maṇich-chettī or Peruñchettī. There is a class of Śūdras in Quilon (in Travancore) called Maṇigrāmakkar, individual members of which are called in old records Maṇi Nārāyaṇan, Maṇi Śaṅkaran, Maṇi Rāman, etc. Maṇi so-and-so simply means so-and-so of the caste of jewel merchants, and has no reference to his religious persuasion.

How then did each and every member of the Maṇigrāmam community of Quilon come to be called a 'Maṇigrāmakkar'—a head of the jeweller caste or community? It is in perfect accord with a Malabar practice by which titles of headmen are in course of time appropriated by a whole community or caste. There is, for instance, a caste of fishermen called *arasar* or *arayar* (=king). But not all fishermen of that community are descended from ancient kings or heads of fisherfolk. Tantān is now the name of a Malabar caste, but originally it meant one with the staff of authority granted by the king. Nāyar (ordinarily spelt Nair) has become the name of a caste in Malabar, but originally only those were Nāyars (i.e., leaders of armies) on whom the king specially conferred that title along with a sword and silk, the insignia of that office.

It is in conformity with this practice that Maṇigrāmam meaning head of the community of jewel merchants came to be the common property of Tom, Dick and Harry among those merchants.

²³ For similar exemption from payment of taxes, granted to some Malabar Christians see their copper-plate grants. The Cochin Jewish plate also grants such concessions to the Jew Joseph Rabban and his descendants.

"Those who settle down in accordance with this arrangement have (i.e., need pay) neither booth-tax²⁴ nor washerman-tax²⁵. Agreeably to this arrangement they are bound to pay customs duty, and paddy for the Ōṇam²⁶ (festival) and for military recruitment.

"The women and children who have settled down in conformity with the first²⁷ arrangement or the Vanmutalkōyil²⁸ (temple) as well as the site pertaining to that arrangement, by which washerman-tax and customs duty have to be paid, will conform to the (present)²⁹ arrangement."

We give below Mr. M. P. Varkki's interesting account of Tālēkkād, its church and the inscribed stone there.

"Tālēkkād means the lower forest. Not long ago it was more or less the undisputed domain of many kinds of wild animals, but man is either extirpating them or driving them farther inland. On the Cochin State Railway, extending from Shornur to Ernakulam, there is a station called Irinjālakuda, which is five miles to the east of the town of that name. A mile south-west of the railway station is the Tālēkkād Roman Catholic Church, and close to it, say a hundred yards away, is the Tālēkkād Hindu temple.

"In olden times there flourished in Tālēkkād a well-known, influential and affluent Syrian Christian family of the name of Tālēkkād. In fact the members of it were the lords of the place. For more than ten³⁰ miles round there was no church, and the parish Church of the family was at Mūlikkulam in Travancore, which is twelve miles south-east of Tālēkkād. It may be noted in passing that within a radius of twelve miles from Tālēkkād there are at present at least thirty churches! But at the time of which we are writing Mūlikkulam was the nearest church in existence.

"The old lady of the house of Tālēkkād used invariably to go to Mūlikkulam every Sunday to attend divine service there. For this purpose a special conveyance called *mañchal* in Malayalam was used. Being old she used to lean on the chancel rails for support. Once a few naughty boys were occupying the place usually occupied by the old lady. When asked by the lady's retainers to give room, they impudently replied that the church was the common property of all and that the lady, however eminent she might be, had no special claim to any portion of the church. This greatly irritated the old lady, who on her return home told her son the lord of Tālēkkād, that she would never again go to Mūlikkulam and that he should make the necessary arrangements so that she might attend Sunday service without interruption.

²⁴ Booth-tax may be the tax on temporary sheds or pavilions put up in connection with marriage and other festivities.

²⁵ Washerman-tax may be the tax for the new Christian settlers' utilizing the services of the washermen of Tālēkkād. The original word may also be translated goldsmith-tax.

²⁶ Ōṇam from Sanskrit Śrāvaṇam is a grand Malabar festival held in the month of Śrāvaṇam (July-August).

²⁷ This very probably refers to a previous colony of Christian merchants brought to the street near the Venmutla temple.

²⁸ The reading of this place-name is doubtful.

²⁹ The words within brackets have nothing corresponding to them in the original.

³⁰ That means that there was then no church at Cranganore, about 7½ miles from Tālēkkād. In 1510 Barbosa said that the St. Thomas Christians "have there a Church of St. Thomas, and another of Our Lady, and are very devout Christians, only they are deficient in doctrine." Some years later the town of Cranganore was burned down, and the Christians fled to different places and settled down there. An old Malayalam song refers to this incident in these words:

"The plundering Nairs joined together, entered the town (of Cranganore).
Set fire to the Church and destroyed it, and burned the town that day.
That day three good princes were killed in battle.
In distress we came to the good village,
And by St. Thomas' grace built a church therein (in Kaṭutturutti).
By the grace of God we settled down in Kaṭutturutti."

Three Cochin princes died the same day in battle with the Zamorin in 1502, but the reference in the above song appears to be to a similar death of three Cochin princes the same day in battle on 27th January 1565.

"Her son was in a great predicament. To take his mother to a more distant church was out of the question. To build a church in Tālēkkād in a week was an impossibility. He, therefore, immediately approached the ecclesiastical authorities at Ankamāli (not far away) and got sanction for divine service being performed in Tālēkkād Kayyāla. (*Kayyāla* is an outer room attached to the main building). Things went on like that for a long time, and negotiations with the neighbouring temple authorities for the erection of a church in Tālēkkād proved abortive.

"But some time after the Synod of Diamper, A.D. 1599, as a preliminary to the erection of a church, the Tālēkkād people resolved to raise a large granite cross close to the temple. Screens were put up on the pretence of digging a well, and a conical masonry platform was finished without the least suspicion being aroused in the minds of the neighbouring Hindus. The present granite cross several feet high was constructed in the midst of the forest and brought to the place at dead of night. One fine morning the Hindu population of Tālēkkād and more particularly the temple authorities were seized with consternation on seeing a cross erected close to their temple.

"The temple authorities met and resolved to demolish the cross. For this purpose a huge elephant belonging to one of the managers of the temple was brought to the place. The excitement among both Christians and Hindus was great, and riot and bloodshed would have immediately ensued but for a miraculous divine intervention. When the elephant charged the platform on which the cross stood, both the big, powerful tusks of the animal entered into it several inches deep. But lo! the tusks could not be withdrawn, and the elephant began to writhe in agony. The mahouts tried their best, but the beast could not move and the tusks got stuck³¹ in the pedestal. A few hours passed in this awkward manner, and the elephant showed signs of dropping down out of sheer exhaustion.

"The Christians fell on their knees and praised God for the miracle, while the learned among the Hindus began to put their heads together and discuss how to withdraw from the scene without humiliation. As usual the Velichechappād (or oracle attached to the temple) appeared and proclaimed that unless the valued stone inside the temple, bearing the present inscription is given to the cross as an offering, it would be impossible for the elephant to draw out its tusks.

"To make the best of a bad business, the Hindus yielded, and the high priest vowed before the cross that the stone would be offered to it. The elephant immediately drew out its tusks. The next day the same elephant dragged the stone in question to the foot of the cross and left it there. It now lies in the same position, touching the western base of the masonry pedestal.

"All objections from the Hindus having been thus removed, a small church was erected on the eastern side of the cross, the church facing westward³² as is the case with all the Malabar Churches of the pre-Portuguese period. The present beautiful church was subsequently reared on the old site. The Tālēkkād family has long become extinct.

"The church was dedicated to the cross, and an annual festival used to be celebrated on the day of the Invention of the Cross by Queen Helena. But by a certain feat the date has since been changed³³ into the anniversary of St. Sebastian. This annual festival attracts large crowds, and the total of the yearly offerings has in some years mounted to Rs. 6,000. The average income may be said to be Rs. 4,000." [M. P. Varkki, 16th November 1926.]

³¹ A very similar incident is related in connection with an attempt by Hindus to break open the door of the Kuravallangād Church in North Travancore. The elephant's tusks were in this case caught in the wooden panel of the door. The panel must be assumed to have been wondrous thick and strong, or miracles in those days were as plentiful as gooseberries. Legend too repeats itself.

³² According to the practice of the Syrian Church, a church must be built east and west, the chancel being in the east.

³³ The old Holy Cross Church at Mutṭuchira is now St. Antony's, and the Holy Ghost Church there was about three years ago re-named St. Francis'. Such changes are very common.

Now the question is whether the merchants mentioned in this inscription were Christians or not. They are designated as *vāṇikar* in line 2, and again as *vāṇiyar* in line 13 of the original. These words come from Sanskrit *vāṇija*,³⁴ a merchant, and were applied in old Malayalam to traders in general and to members of a Hindu trader caste. In modern Malayalam the words signify only members of the Hindu caste of oilmen from the Tamil or Konkana country (the Konkan).

But the *vāṇiyar* of the present record must have been Christians. The following facts lend support to this view.

(1) The St. Thomas Christians of Irinjālakkuḷa and other places close to Tālōkkāḍ are still addressed or referred to by non-Christians as Chākkō (=Jacob) Chetṭi, Varkki (=George) Chetṭi, Ayppu (=Joseph) Chetṭi, etc. And *chetṭi*, like *vāṇiyan* formerly meant both a trader in general and a member of a Hindu trader caste, but now means only the latter, except when added to the names of Christians as above. The word *vāṇiyar* of the inscription could very well be replaced by *chetṭi* without altering the sense of the two passages in which it occurs. For *chetṭi* and *vāṇiyan* were almost synonyms, and Chākkō Chetṭi is almost the same as Chākkō Vāṇiyan.

(2) There was no indigenous trader caste in old Malabar, and it was the custom there in olden times for Hindu kings, chiefs and villagers to construct streets and sometimes churches also, and invite the St. Thomas Christians—either indigenous or foreign or both—to go and settle down there for trade.

Some of these old Christian streets and their traditional history still survive, and one remarkable thing about them is that they are almost invariably very close to Hindu temples. The chief reason for this proximity is that the Hindu population for whose benefit the traders were brought, lived close to their temple.

Another reason is that for removing conventional or ceremonial pollution from oil, *ghī*, honey, molasses, and other provisions taken to a temple, it was enjoined by Malabar custom that a St. Thomas Christian should touch them. To European Christians this may sound strange or appear untrue. But the custom still prevails in some places in Malabar, and the present writer himself in his boyhood about thirty years ago, used to be asked by Hindu temple servants to touch conventionally polluted provisions intended for the Chāttāṅkulaññara temple about a stone's throw from his house. It has to be remarked also that the present writer's was the only Christian house near that temple in the midst of a vast Hindu population.

A third reason why St. Thomas Christian streets were located very close to temples is that these Christians were converts from non-polluting high caste Hindus, and differed little from them in manners and customs as well as in names and dress.

That there were even inter-marriages between the St. Thomas Christians and the Hindu Nairs, is evidenced by the following passages kindly supplied by Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., from two unpublished letters in Spanish written from Cochin very early in A.D. 1579 by Fr. A. Monserrate, S.J., who, to judge from his letters, was a keen observer of Malabar manners and customs.

(1) "And that both" (the wives of Thomas Cananeo) "were noble, at least Nayr, women is proved by the custom existing in this Malavar, that there is no pollution between the Christians of St. Thomas and the Nayres, nor penalty of death, if there are between them *marriages* [*italics mine*] or friendship, all of which arises, according to the custom of the country, for castes higher or lower than these two."—(Cf. fol. 149r, MS. XII of the Society of Jesus).

(2) Again in his letter dated Cochin, 12th January 1579, the Father almost reiterates the same thing: "And that both were noble, at least Nayr, women is proved by the custom existing in this Malavar that there is no pollution between these Christians and the Nayres,

³⁴ This word appears as *banian* and *banyan* in English, *banian* in Portuguese, and *banydn* in Arabic,

nor penalty of death, if there be marriage or friendship, whereas, according to the custom of the land, there is, if they communicate, stay, or marry with other castes higher or lower than custom allows to them."—Fol. 1v—2r. of a MS. belonging to the Society of Jesus (*Goan. Malab. Ep.*, 1570-79, Goa, 12).

(3) As stated in Mr. Varkki's account reproduced above the oracle of the Tālēkkād temple declared the inscribed stone a fitting offering for the cross. That indicates that it was well known in Tālēkkād that the inscription had some connection with the Christians of the place.

My impression is that the present inscription is only a public copy on stone, of an original copper-plate document given to the Christian settlers. The original is lost or missing. The earliest of the Malabar Christian copper-plate grants—the Thomas Cana plates of 345 A.D.—had a public copy on stone set up at the northern gate of the Cranganore temple.

(4) Iravi Kottan appears as Manigrāmam or head of the merchants here. And we know from the Kottayam plate of Vira Rāghava that Iravi Kottan was a Christian name. Of course, this particular argument will have to be ruled out of court if the reading of the name is taken to be Iravi Chāttan as suggested in footnote 11. But it has to be remembered that the indigenous Christians of old Malabar most probably retained their former Hindu names.

A scrutiny of the characters of this inscription inclines me to the opinion that the record is of the period 8th-10th century A.D. So the Rājasimha of this epigraph cannot be identical with the Chēra king Rājasimha³⁵, who was presumably a feudatory of the Chōla viceroy Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya, who flourished from about A.D. 1020-1 to about 1043-4.

There is a Chēṇṇar or Chiṇṇar Perumāḷ of Malabar mentioned in the *Kēraḷōḷḷi* (i.e., legendary history of Malabar) and there is also the famous Chiṇṇapuram (=Simha's town) near Cranganore. Chiṇṇa is the Malayalam form of Sanskrit Simha occurring in Rājasimha (=lion among kings). It is, however, impossible to say whether the Rājasimha of the Tālēkkād inscription is or is not the same as the above-mentioned Chiṇṇar.

There is also a Rājasimha mentioned in the benedictory verses at the end of some of the dramas (*Svapnanāṭaka*, *Pañcharātra*, *Avimāraka*, etc.) included in the so-called "Bhāsa's Works" of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. There is no knowing whether this Rājasimha is or is not the same as the Rājasimha of the Tālēkkād inscription.

VI. Inscription on the Reverse of the Tālēkkād Rājasimha Stone.

The reverse side of the Rājasimha stone at Tālēkkād mentioned in the previous article (No. V) bears another Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription of about thirty lines in small characters. Of these only the first ten lines are legible, and a free translation of them is given below.

TRANSLATION.

"Hail! Prosperity!

"The business done without demur under the authority of the king by the elders of the village of Tālēkkād; the headmen, the council and two members from the two families of representatives of the village of Īṇkayūr³⁶; together with the merchants³⁷ and two members from the two families of representatives of the village of Irunkāṭikkūṭal³⁸. The headman shall not interfere and cause hindrance or confusion in (such and such)³⁹ lands

³⁵ Cf. Record No. 112 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1905.

³⁶ This village still exists under the name Īṇkayūr.

³⁷ The word in the original is *vāṇṇar*, which has no meaning at all. It must be a mistake for *vāṇṇar*, meaning merchants.

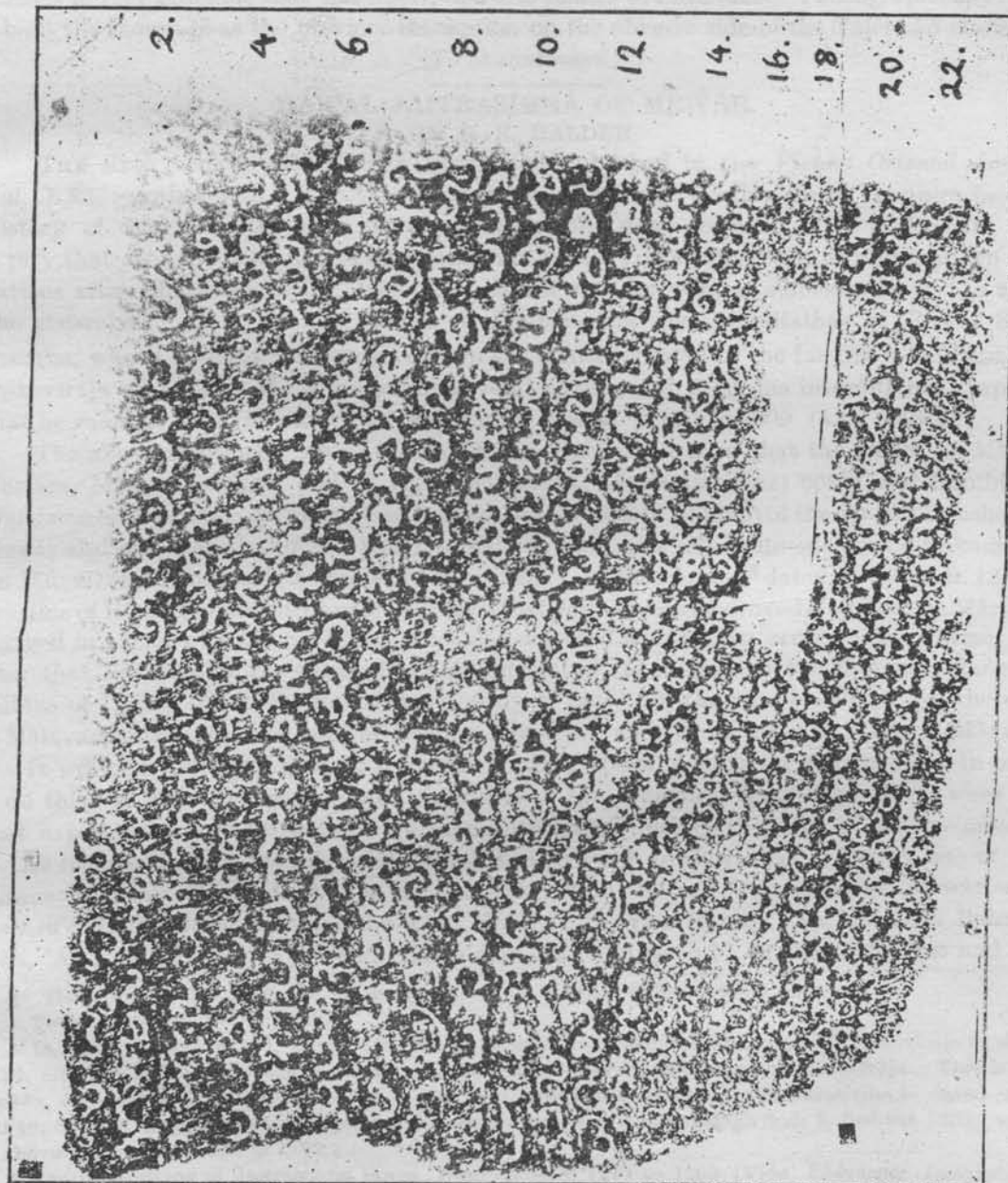
³⁸ The modern name of the village is Irinālakkuṭa or Irinālakkuṭa.

³⁹ The names of the lands are omitted in the translation.

Plate 1

RAJASIMHA INSCRIPTION AT TALÉKKAD IN COCHIN

Indian Antiquary,



T. K. Jastrow

NO. 100

included in the old arrangement. . . . 40 and (such and such) 41 lands included in the present arrangement. In the afternoon the bazaar" (The remaining lines are undecipherable).

The mention of merchants (*vide* the arguments in the previous article, No. V) and bazaar makes it very probable that this inscription also relates to Christians. Palæographically it is of about the same age as the previous inscription on the obverse side of the Tâjêkkâd stone slab.

(To be continued.)

RAWAL JAITRASIMHA OF MEWAR.

By R. R. HALDER.

THE sixth verse of the Chirwâ Inscription published in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. XXI, together with a few other inscriptions, makes it worthwhile to enquire into the history of Râwal Jaitrasimha, who was one of the most powerful kings of Mewâr. It is a pity that even his name is not mentioned in Colonel Tod's *Râjasthân*, in which fifteen generations after Bhartribhata III, have been passed over for want of sufficient facts "to amuse the general reader."¹ He was the son of Padmasimha and grandfather of Râwal Samarasimha, who is wrongly said to have been the contemporary² of the famous Chauhana king Prithvirâja of Ajmer. He is known by several names, and, from his inscriptions, it appears that he ruled at least for thirty-nine years from Samvat³ 1270 to 1309 (A.D. 1213-52).

The above-mentioned verse⁴ of the Chirwâ inscription says that the rulers of Mâlava, Gurjara, Mârava, Jângal and of the Mlechchhas (Muhammadans) could not humble his (Jaitrasimha's) pride. An inscription,⁵ dated Samvat 1322 (A.D. 1265) of the time of Tejasimha of Mewâr also says that the kings of Gurjara, Mâlava, Turushka (Muhammadans) and Sâkambhari (in Jângal) could not crush the pride of Jaitrasimha. An inscription,⁶ dated S. 1342 (A.D. 1285) of the time of Râwal Samarasimha of Mewâr adds that Jaitrasimha destroyed Naddule, (in Mârwâr), engaged in battle with the Sindhuka army and defeated a Turushka army. From these, it is clear that Jaitrasimha was engaged in fighting against (1) the ruler of the Muhammadans (the Sultâns of Delhi), (2) the Sindhuka army (army of Sind), (3) the ruler of Jângal, (4) the ruler of Mâlava (Mâlwa), (5) the ruler of Gurjara (Gujarât), and (6) the ruler of Mârava (Mârwar).

It will be interesting, now, to trace the truth of above facts as far as possible. In order to do this, we have to ascertain who the rulers of the countries mentioned above were and what expeditions were carried out by them into Mewâr during the reign of Jaitrasimha.

As regards No. (1), the ruler of the Mlechchhas referred to above was evidently one of the Sultâns of Delhi. Those that were contemporary with Râwal Jaitrasimha of Mewâr were Shamsu'ddin Altamsh, Ruknu'ddin Firûz Shâh I, Rîziyah Begum, Mu'izzu'ddin Bahrâm Shâh, 'Alâu'ddin Mas'ûd Shâh and Nâsiru'ddin Maḥmûd Shâh.⁷ Of these, the first and the

⁴⁰ There are letters here not quite legible.

⁴¹ As in footnote 39 above.

¹ Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 297.

² In Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, pp. 300-302, it is said that Samarasimha married Prithvirâja's sister Pirthâ, and was killed while fighting against Shihâbu'ddin Ghori in the cause of Prithvirâja. This is impossible, as Samarasimha died in S. 1358 or A.D. 1301 (the last inscription of Samarasimha is dated Mâgh Sudi 10, S. 1358, and the first inscription of his son Ratnasimha is dated Mâgh Sudi 5, Samvat 1359), while the above battle was fought in 1192 A.D.

³ The inscriptions of Jaitrasimha range from Samvat 1270 to 1309 [Vide *Bhuvanagar Inscriptions*, p. 93, n. and Peterson's third *Report in search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Bombay Presidency*, p. 130. See also *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum*, 1924-25, p. 2]. The dates are taken from inscriptions; hence the reign may have lasted longer.

⁴ न गालवीयेन न गौर्जेरेण न मारवेशेन न जांगलेन ।

म्लेच्छाधिनायेन कदापि नानो म्लानि न निन्देवनिपत्य यस्य ॥

⁵ श्रीमद्गुर्जरमालवतुर्हण्डकाशकंभरीपुरैर्यस्य ।

यस्य न नामभंगः स स्वःस्थो जयसु जैवसिंहनृपः ॥ ६ ॥ Unpublished Inscription of Ghâghsâ.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVI, pp. 349-50, vv. 42-43; Duff's *Chronology*, p. 237.

⁷ Duff's *Chronology*, pp. 311-312.

last are known to have carried expeditions into Rājputānā. Soon after his accession on the throne of Delhi, Shamsu'ddīn Altamsh marched against Udayasimha, the tributary Rājā of Jālōr, who had declined to make the usual payments and brought him to subjection.⁸ In the Hijrī year 623 (A.D. 1226) he reduced the fort of Ranthambhor. His invasion of Mewār, however, is not mentioned in the books containing the above accounts, but, with the help of a Sanskrit drama entitled *Hamīramadamardana* composed by Jayasimha Sūri in Samvat 1286 (A.D. 1229), we can safely arrive at such a conclusion. In it, the conversation between Viradhavala and his minister Tējapāla, as well as the statement of the messenger named Kamalaka, distinctly shows that Mewār was attacked, and some place in it was burnt by the Sultān, while the people were panic-stricken.⁹ The name of the Sultān, however, is not mentioned in the book, but he is expressed by the terms 'Suratrāṇa,' 'Hamīra,' 'Milachchrikārā'¹⁰, etc. The last expression gives a clue to the real name of the Sultān, and is a corrupt form of 'Amīr Shikār,' which, as we know, was the title of Altamsh conferred upon him by his master Qutbu'ddīn Aibak.¹¹ Thus, it is clear that it was Shamsu'ddīn,¹² Altamsh of Delhi, who delivered an attack upon Mewār and destroyed the town Nāghrada (Nāglā in Mewār) as is indicated in the 16th verse¹³ of the Chīrwā inscription.

As regards No. 2, it is very difficult to come to a definite conclusion. The rulers of Sind contemporary with Jaitrasimha were Nāsiru'ddīn Qabācha, Saifu'ddīn Al-Jāsan, and Nāsiru'ddīn Muḥammad.¹⁴ It may be noticed, however, that in A.H. 618 (A.D. 1221), Jalālu'ddīn, the son of the king, of Khwarazm being defeated in the north by the Mughals under Chingiz Khān retreated towards Lahore, where, being opposed by Altamsh, he was compelled to retreat towards Sind.¹⁵ Nāsiru'ddīn Qabācha was the ruler of Sind at this period. His country was, therefore, attacked by Jalālu'ddīn who, having fired Uchh, proceeded to Siwastān, the governor of which, Fakhrū'ddīn Sālārī, surrendered. Jalālu'ddīn next marched to Dibal and Damrilaḥ whence he dispatched a force under Khāṣ Khān towards Nahrwāla (Anhilvād, Paṭṭan in Gujarāt).¹⁶ It may be that the force in going from Sind to Gujarāt may have passed through the territory of Mewār which lay on the route, and fought a battle with Jaitrasimha's army.

Turning our attention to No. 3, we know that, under the early Chauhāns, Jāṅgal comprised the whole of the present Bikanēr State and the northern part of Mārwar. The capital of Jāṅgal was Ahichhatrapura or Nāgaur, where the Chauhāns first ruled. Gradually, the seat of Government was transferred by them to Śākambhari (Sāmbhar), and the territory over which they (Chauhāns) ruled was called Sapādalakṣha or Sawālaka, Siwālikh, etc. After the death of the last Chauhān King of Ajmer, Prithvirāja III, the whole of the territory of the Chauhāns fell into the hands of the Muhammadans and changed hands as follows:— In the year A.D. 1228, Altamsh assigned the Siwālikh territory, Ajmer, Sāmbhar, etc., to Nāsiru'ddīn Aiyitīm.¹⁷ Then in A.D. 1242, during the reign of 'Alāu'ddīn Mas'ūd Shāh.

⁸ Briggs: *Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 207.

⁹ *Hamīramadamardana*, p. 27.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹¹ Raverly's *Tabagāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 603.

¹² Col. Tod makes mention of an attack on Chitor by Shamsu'ddīn Altamsh in the time of Rāhap (*Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 305), whom he places on the throne of Chitor in S. 1257 (A.D. 1201) and supposes to be the son and grandson of Karna and Samarasimha, respectively. In fact, Rāhap had nothing to do with the throne of Chitor, and was the ruler of the separate estate of Sesodā about 6 or 7 generations before Samarasimha. [See *Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 281, n. 4, and *Tod Rajasthan in Hindi*, by R. B. G. H. Ojha, p. 323.]

¹³ नगग्रहवु भंगे समं सुरत्राणसैनिकैर्बुद्ध्या ।

भुताजाहदकूटे प्रमराजः पंचतां प्राप ॥

¹⁴ Duff's *Chronology*, p. 314.

¹⁵ Briggs, *Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 208.

¹⁶ Briggs, *Ferishta*, vol. IV, p. 415; Duff's *Chronology*, p. 180.

¹⁷ Duff's *Chronology*, p. 182.

'Izzu'ddin Balban was appointed to the provinces of Ajmer, Mandawar and Nāgaur.¹⁸ A few years after Nāṣiru'ddin Maḥmūd Shāh came to the throne of Delhi, 'Izzu'ddin Balban revolted. The Sultān, therefore, marched towards Nāgaur and caused him to submit.¹⁹

In the beginning of the Hijrī year 651 (A.D. 1253), the Sultān lost confidence in his minister Ghīyāṣu'ddin Balban, originally a slave of Altamsh, with the result that he dismissed him from office, bestowing on him the small estate of Hānsī for his maintenance.²⁰ Thereupon the ex-minister, with the help of other states, raised an army against the king, who now proceeded to Hānsī against him.²¹ Ulugh Khān (the title received by Ghīyāṣu'd-dīn Balban after he became minister) retired to Nāgaur (the capital of Jāṅgal), and invaded the territory of Ranthambhor, Bāndi and Chitrur (Chitor).²² So, it is likely that it is this invasion of Ulugh Khān upon Chitor which refers to the fight of Jaitrasimha with Jāṅgal. The old *waṣīr*, however, succeeded later on in gaining the confidence of the King of Delhi, and was reinstated in his post.

In respect of Mālwa and Gujarāt, verses 28 and 19 respectively of the Chirwā inscription clear up the doubt. The former²³ says that Madana showed valour on the battlefield of Utthūpaka (Arthunā in Bānswāra State), while fighting against king Jaitramalla in the cause of Jēsala (Jaitrasimha). Arthunā was at that period under the Paramāra rulers of Mālwa and Jaitramalla, most certainly Jayatungidēva of Mālwa, who was a contemporary of Jaitrasimha of Mewār.²⁴

According to verse 19 of the above inscription, Bālāka is said to have been killed in front of Jaitrasimha, while fighting against Rāpā Tribhūvana.²⁵ Tribhūvana was evidently the successor of Bhimadēva II. of Gujarāt, and was the contemporary of Rāwal Jaitrasimha of Mewār.²⁶

Lastly, concerning the fight with Mārwar, we find that in the period we are talking of, the Chauhāns of Jālor, under Udayasimha, were the predominant rulers in Mārwar. The Chauhāns of Jālor were the offshoots of the Chauhāns of Nādol. It was Kīrtipāla, grandfather of Udayasimha and founder of the Jālor branch, who, by strength of his arms, wrested the fort of Jālor (Jāvālipura) from the Paramāras and made it his capital.²⁷ The descendants of Kīrtipāla were known as the Chauhāns of Jālor. It was this Kīrtipāla who also wrested Chitor from Sāmantasimha, then ruler of Mewār.²⁸ Now, in the inscription of Samarasimha mentioned above, Rāwal Jaitrasimha is said to have destroyed Naddule (Nādol), which was within the territory of Jālor at this time. This event must have occurred during the time of Udayasimha, and was probably due to the fact that Rāwal Jaitrasimha wanted to avenge the defeat by Kīrtipāla of his forefather Sāmantasimha of Mewār.

Besides the above, there were other incursions made upon Mewār during the reign of Jaitrasimha. In A.H. 646 (A.D. 1247), Jalālu'ddin, brother of the Sultān Nāṣiru'ddin Maḥmūd, was recalled by the latter from his government of Kanauj, but being afraid of a plot against his life, he fled to the hills of Chitor. The king pursued him in vain for about eight months and then returned to Delhi.²⁹ In the year A.H. 653 (A.D. 1256) the king quarrelled with his mother who, after the death of Shamsu'ddin Altamsh, had married Saifu'ddin Qutlugh Khān, a noble of the court. Nāṣiru'ddin, however, in order to remove his mother away from Delhi, assigned the government of Oudh to her husband, who was

¹⁸ Duff's *Chronology*, p. 188.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

²² Duff's *Chronology*, p. 195.

²³ यः श्रीजैसलकायै भवदुत्थूलकाणामय प्रहरन् ।

पंचलगुहिकेन समं प्रकटवजो जैसमल्लेन ॥

²⁴ *The Paramāras of Dhār and Mālwa*, by Captain C. E. Luard and K. K. Lele, p. 40.

²⁵ बालाकः कोहडकमहते श्रीजैसलहनुपुरतः ।

विभुवनराजकुलं जगाम युद्धा परं लोकं ॥

²⁶ Duff's *Chronology*, p. 189.

²⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. LIII, p. 101.

¹⁹ Briggs, *Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 238.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 241-42.

²⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 83 n.

²⁹ Briggs, *Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 238.

shortly after removed to Bahraich. Being dissatisfied with this arrangement, Qutlugh Khân revolted. The Wazir (Ulugh Khân) marched against him, but he escaped to Chitor. The Wazir destroyed the fort, but being unable to secure Qutlugh Khân, returned to Delhi.³⁰

Thus we see that Râwal Jaitrasimha³¹ was a very powerful king. The simple fact that he fought successfully so many battles with different armies, and, ultimately, could not be subdued even by the Sultân of Delhi, bears testimony to his greatness. Inscriptions of his time have been discovered, and manuscripts seem to have been written during his reign.³² Still, it is a wonder that his name is cast into oblivion. It may be that a king and his kingdom may vanish, but the deeds which survive, bring back into prominence his forgotten name, and such is the case with Râwal Jaitrasimha of Mewâr, who, though not widely known, is well worthy to be mentioned among the illustrious rulers of Mewâr.

MISCELLANEA.

MUSSULMEN : SULTANESS.

In a curious little octavo book by W. Hatchett, *The Adventures of Abdalla son of Hanif*, are a number of fairy tales in the old Indian style. It purports to relate the adventures of an officer of Shâh Jahân's Court in search, on behalf of the Emperor, of the Water of Youth, on "the Island of Borico." It contains a number of Hobson-Jobsons, and among them is *Mussulmen* which occurs several times in the course of the book.

1729. "The Prayer being ended, the Sultan Chah Gehan rose up and turning towards me said . . . 'Bow down thy Head.' 'Father of *Mussulmen*,' said I, with a pretty bold Accent" (p. 3).

"As became true *Mussulmen*, we fell upon these infamous Villains" (p. 16).

So also on pp. 119, 120, 130 and 161.

The curious form *Sultaness* is also found: e.g., "He hastened directly to the *Sultaness* and the Princess who were drinking Coffee together" (p. 10).

So also on pp. 108, 110.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE ARYAN THOLOS OF MALABAR.¹

The Malabar coast being in direct communication with the Indus delta there is nothing strange in finding there, rather than elsewhere, monuments analogous to those in Mesopotamia and in Europe. As a matter of fact one finds here *tholoi* quite analogous to those in the Mediterranean basin. In my little book *Vedic Antiquities*, I drew attention to the existence of these hemispherical tombs and expressed the opinion that these tombs were Aryan.

It is important to note the detail that these Aryan hemispherical tombs have façades ornamented in a fashion quite identical with those of the Greek and Phœnician *tholoi*. I would ask the reader to consult the work *Histoire de l'Art* by Perrot and Chipiez, Tome III and to look at figure 158, page 221, and figures 162 and 163, page 226 (tomb in Malta). Now let the reader kindly turn his eyes to the photograph (Plate XV, Fig. 1) which represents an Aryan tomb at Pounmol, close to Tallayi (between Tellicherry and Mahe). The style of the doorway is very characteristic; it is the style of the Mediterranean *tholoi*, and particularly of the Phœnician tombs. This tomb of Malabar is, however, "Tomb with cupola," a *tholos*. Certain tombs are double (Plate XIV, Fig. 1),² but the common façade is always ornamented in this very characteristic fashion. Plate XIV, Fig. 2, represents the doorway of one of those cells of the group of Padinyakamuri tombs (see *Ved. Ant.*, p. 17). This style seems to me to be of Sumerian origin, because this decoration is very frequent in the monuments of Mesopotamia. Plate XV, Fig. 2, represents the interior of this same tomb. This cave, when viewed in section, shows the circular form of the vault and, in the interior, the stone table upon which were deposited the ashes of the Aryan chief. The discovery of façades in Sumerian style in Malabar is of very great interest. In my opinion these *tholoi* of India date nearly a thousand years before our era, and are almost contemporaneous with the Phœnician *tholoi*.

R. GOPALAN.

³⁰ Briggs, *Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 242.

³¹ A detailed account of Jaitrasimha will be found in R. B. G. H. Ojha's *History of Rajputana* (in Hindi), part II, which will shortly be out.

³² (1) See note 3 above.

(2) श्री संवत् १२७६ वर्षे वैशाख शुद्धि १३ सु(शु)के अथेह श्रीनागदेहे महाराजाधिराजश्रीजयतसिंहदेव-कल्याणविजयराज्ये..... Unpublished Inscription of the village Nadesmâ in Udaipur State.

(3) श्री संवत् १३०८ वर्षे कार्तिक (नि)क वदि १५ सोमदिने अथेह वागडमंडले महाराजकुल (महाराजल)-श्रीजयस्येव(सिंह)देवकल्याणविजया(य)राज्ये भाडडलिमाने श्रीजयननाथदेव[कुल].....अष्टि-वीजासुसखेतलवेइलहरीआकरावित(कारित)..... Unpublished Inscription of Jhârôle in Udaipur State.

¹ Translation of a communication in French by Prof. G. Jouvean-Dubreuil published in the *JRAS.*, dated October 1926, pp. 715-716.

² The Plates appear in the *JRAS.* above referred to.

BOOK-NOTICES.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.
No. 31: The Indus Valley in the Vedic Period.
By RAI BAHADUR RAMAPRASAD CHANDA.

The author of this memoir discusses, not inopportunely, certain words and passages occurring in the Vedic literature with reference to recent discoveries in the Indus valley with the object of facilitating the co-ordination of archaeological data with ancient literary evidence. Doubt has previously been felt, for example, as to whether the word *samudra* in any of the passages in which it occurs in the Rig Veda referred to the ocean. Even as recently as 1922 the view has been expressed (*C.H.I.*, I, 79-80) that there seemed no strong reason to believe that it meant more than the stream of the Indus in its lower course. Now that conch shell objects have been found at both the Harappa and Mohenjo-daro sites among remains which possibly date back to the beginning of the 3rd millennium B.C., Mr. Chanda thinks that there is no longer any room for doubt on the point. Then there is the word *pur* or *pura*, so often used in describing the strongholds of non-Aryan enemies, which has been explained as probably meaning no more than a fortification or stockade, or a mere place of refuge against attack—ramparts of hardened earth with palisades and a ditch. Mr. Chanda is not prepared to accept this definition. He writes: "The terms *Pur* and *Pura* mean *nagara*, 'city,' 'town,' and not fort. The Sanskrit equivalent of 'fort' is *durga*, which also occurs in the Rig-veda." He states that in one stanza the words *pura* and *durga* occur side by side, and he sees here a reference to both town and fort. Who, then, the question arises, were the enemies of the Rig Vedic Aryans who lived in towns and fought from within strongholds in the Indus valley? These he proposes to identify with the *Panīs*, "who do not perform sacrifice and do not give gifts," described by Yāska in one place as 'merchants' and in another place as 'demons.' Now the root *paṣ* conveys the idea of bartering, dealing or trading, and it is not impossible that these *Panīs* were wealthy trading folk living in towns. From the attribute of avarice or niggardliness applied to them a temptation might even be felt to see in them the prototype of the *mahdjan* of later days. But their wealth in horses and kine, referred to in both the Rig and the Atharva, is not altogether consonant with the role of town merchants. Section 2 refers to the falling off, from the Brahmanical standpoint, of the peoples of the Panjāb after the age of the hymns, of which we have abundant evidence in later texts. The drift of the argument in Section 3 is not very clear. The subject of the disposal of the dead, whether by exposure, burial, cremation, or deposit of the bones or ashes only in cinerary urns, is a

very complicated one; and we must await detailed information of the evidence found in this connexion at Nal, Harappa and Mohenjo-daro before any conclusions, or even suggestions, seem possible.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

THE INDIAN BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY, mainly based on the *Sādhnamāla* and other cognate Tantric Texts of Rituals. By B. BHATTACHARYA. Humphrey. Milford, Oxford University Press.

Mr. Bhattacharya, the son of the great Mahā-mahāpādhyāya Haraprasād Shāstri, is also Editor of the Gaekwad's *Oriental Series* and has been Government Research Scholar in Iconography at the University of Dacca; hence his book on the images of Buddhists—a truly formidable subject to tackle. I well remember seeing in a building in Kyoto in Japan an enormous mass of beautiful full-sized figures, all of one character but no two altogether alike, representing the "gods" of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and thinking how hopeless seemed to be the task of trying to learn the system on which they had been constructed. There were so many that it seemed to be impossible really to systematise them, but Mr. Bhattacharya has now shown that it is possible to do so and that they are constructed more or less according to a definite plan. The "science" of iconography is very like the "science" of heraldry. It is the learning of an arbitrary set of rules, some knowledge of which is, however, necessary, if one would grasp what is in the minds of those that teach and believe in it.

Mr. Bhattacharya has taken his work seriously, and has had the advantage of the teaching of Prof. A. Foucher, and has gone to the root of his subject. He is careful to explain that "Buddhist iconography is not idolatry; the images do not represent objects of worship but represent the highest Buddhist ideals of Śānya or Void commingled with Viśiṣṭa and Mahāśukha"—a statement that takes us straight into Buddhist, and I may say, Hindu, transcendental philosophy. There is a notable introduction to the book, in which the author gives us a remarkable though brief historical survey of Buddhism, including a discourse on the evolution of Buddhist doctrines. These are well worth the attention even of experts in the subject and contain some arresting views. In his Foreword Mr. Bhattacharya also brings an important consideration prominently before his readers—the approach of Buddhism to the religions of the Jains and the Hindus: "we have evidence that free interchanges of gods actually did take place, first at the very outset of Buddhism and Jainism as well as in the more promiscuous Tantric age.

The Jains and the Buddhists alike borrowed Hindu gods in the earlier stages, but in the Tantric age the Buddhist gods were commonly exploited. The problem of correct identification of images, therefore, presents a real difficulty, and great scholars have, more than once, attempted solutions." These are remarks to be carefully digested and are the more noteworthy for coming from a Brahman.

We are given an account of the *Sādhanamālā* which "contains about 300 *sādhanas* enjoining the procedure for worshipping, in the Buddhist Tantric fashion, about 300 deities," and Mr. Bhattacharya is careful to explain that *sādhana* does not mean "charm," as Bendall thought, but a "procedure for worship." Next attention is drawn to the importance of the Dhyānas "or descriptive conceptions of the deity," for the purposes of Iconography, and to the method on which Mr. Bhattacharya has based his endeavour to identify the images of Buddhist deities by means of the Dhyānas given in the *Sādhanamālā*, "the most scientific classification of the Buddhist deities being to sort out and classify them according to their parental Dhyāni Buddhas." Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara, the great Bodhisattvas have, however, been treated separately, and those deities who cannot be definitely stated to be emanations of any Dhyāni Buddha, have been termed "Independent," and separately dealt with. We thus see how it has been made possible to systematise this bewildering Iconography.

Mr. Bhattacharya has a thoughtful chapter on the "Evidence of Art" as to his subject, showing how "in the late phase of Vajrayāna, after its destruction in India, the priests of the celebrated monasteries took refuge in Nepal, and thus kept the torch of Buddhism still burning in India," carrying with them the art of Bengal, and there "in order to make sure of their existence converted a good many of the natives and carved out innumerable images of gods both in stone and in wood; so much so, that a student of Iconography is overwhelmed at their wealth and variety." It was to Nepal that Mr. Bhattacharya had himself to go for his information.

After remarking that "the Pantheon of the Northern Buddhists was not built in a day" our author gives an account of its rise in the eighth century A.D. and its remarkable spread: "the Hindus say that the number of their deities is thirty-three *crores*, and it seems that the Buddhists can claim a similar figure." He then proceeds to show how this can be the case.

The book next passes to a consideration of the images themselves commencing with an account of the Buddhas, Buddhaśaktis and Bodhisattvas of the Mahāyānists. It is to be noted that in Nepal a sixth deity is added to the orthodox five in this respect. Thus there are in that country six Dhyāni

Buddhas, six Buddhaśaktis or consorts of Buddhas and six Bodhisattvas—these who do the duty of a Buddha on the earth. Then we have seven mortal Buddhas, of whom Gautama Buddha was one, each with his Śakti and his Bodhisattva. Besides these is Maitreya, who "partakes of the nature of a mortal Buddha, though he is not a Buddha yet. He is passing the life of a Bodhisattva in the Tushita Heaven preparatory to his descent to the earth in human form." It is on these conceptions that the Buddhist pantheon and its iconography mainly rests.

In the consideration of Mañjuśrī the Bodhisattva of the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha, we plunge at once into the abstractions of Mahāyāna Buddhism and the difficulties connected therewith, which Mr. Bhattacharya deals with as clearly as may be. The same can be said of his dealings with Avalokiteśvara "emanating from the Dhyāni Buddha, Amitābha and his Śakti, Pāṇḍarā. Like Mañjuśrī, he appears in many and bewildering forms, cleverly and fully set out in this book.

Mr. Bhattacharya next takes us to emanations of the Dhyāni Buddhas, commencing with Amitābha and passing on to Akshobhya (gods and goddesses), Vairocana (all goddesses), Amoghasiddhi (also all goddesses), Ratnasambhava (gods and goddesses). The Nepali Vajrasattva, the 6th Dhyāni Buddha, is not included in this category, but there is another set of gods and goddesses, who are emanations of the Five Dhyāni Buddhas as a body—a combination of all the five, amongst which is included the terrible Mahākāla. Then follow the emanations of Vajrasattva "the Pañcharakṣa Māṇḍala, and the Tārās, green, white, yellow, blue (grey) and red. In addition to all there are the independent deities—gods and goddesses—some of which show indications of importation, e.g., Gaṇapati, and Sarasvatī in various forms, and Śāradā.

After this Mr. Bhattacharya draws his conclusions, which every student of iconography should study. He winds up with the following statement of Tantric transcendentalism: "The god Heruka, the embodiment of Śūnya, carrying the weapons, the embodiment of Bodhicitta, also of the nature of Śūnya, is embraced by Nairātma, whose essence is also Śūnya, carrying weapons also of the nature of Śūnya. Thus Void with Void commingles. This is the highest state—the Anupādhiśeṣa-Nirvāṇa."

There is an appendix describing the 108 forms of Avalokiteśvara appearing in the Machchhandar Vathalat Kāthmāṇḍu. There are the 108 Lokēśvaras. With this must end this very brief outline of Mr. Bhattacharya's remarkable book, adding that there is a useful glossary and a good index, and the further observation that one can now understand why the admirable plates number sixty-nine.

R. C. TEMPLE,



FULL-SIZE.

Medals of Pegu, Tenasserim, &c.

NOTES ON CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt.

(Continued from page 18.)

D-I. (a) Symbolical Coins.

We now come to the vexed question of the coins which Phayre in the *International Numismata Orientalia*, vol. II, pt. i, p. 33 (figured on his Plate V, 2) called Pagoda Medals and considered very ancient. My own Plate III was made many years ago and I followed him thereon by also calling them "Medals from Pegu." Of the figures in my Plate³⁰ III, figs. 2, 3 and 4 are of silver and figs. 1 and 5 of spelter (*tutenaga*). Figs. 1, 2 and 3 are in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Figs. 4 and 5 were in my own collection, and are now in the British Museum. The evidence I have collected tends to show that they were really the coinage of Bôdôp'ayâ, but they have hitherto been called Pagoda Medals or symbolical Coins of Pegu and Arakan.

Marsden, *Numismata Orientalia*, p. 805, writing in 1823, states that the silver coin figured by Phayre³¹ is one of those from the pattern given to Symes by Bôdôp'ayâ. At the end of the nineteenth century they were still to be found about Burma, *vide* my Plate III, figs. 4 and 5, and besides those exhibited there, I saw several others at the same time. In the Calcutta Museum³² Nos. 881, 882 are the identical samples that Symes brought to Calcutta at Bôdôp'ayâ's request in order to have copies made of them at the mint. They were evidently given as 'ancient' specimens, and it is well to note here that they were cast, not struck. The modern Burman is, however, an adept at both metal-casting and die-sinking.

Phayre, *op. cit.*, p. 35, says that the silver coins were really pagoda medals, intended by the King to be placed in the great (and still) unfinished pagoda he was building at Mingûn, nearly opposite the modern Mandalay across the Irrawaddy. This view is, I think, partly correct, though it is evident from the quotations below that he really did intend to use them as coin of the realm. In any case they were modelled on true pagoda medals.³³

Mr. L. White King allowed me to examine his rich collection of Burmese coins, and I found he had two varieties of that shown by Phayre, Plate V, fig. 2, and also a good specimen of Plate V, fig. 1 (the same as my Plate III, fig. 3), and three smaller coins of the same design of one-fourth the size. Assuming the larger coin to be a tickal, the smaller specimens would represent a *tamât* each, or one-fourth tickal. All this looks like coinage, especially as those of Phayre's Plate V, fig. 2 were found in Arakan, whither Bôdôp'ayâ sent an army.

The point is obscure, but in view of the information thus available, I think the safest thing to do, in the light of Cox's statement, given below, that there were *two* kinds struck, is to attribute all the coinage to Bôdôp'ayâ. The Calcutta Mint specimens would be those given in Phayre's Plate V, fig. 2, and the others those made by Bôdôp'ayâ's own moneyers.

I may as well note that the point is rendered still more obscure by the coin or medal shown in my Plate III, fig. 5, which is evidently of the same class and belongs to the British Museum, unless it is assumed that this is one of the Pagoda medals, from one or two of many designs from which Bôdôp'ayâ chose specimens to hand over to Symes.³⁴

That they were Bôdôp'ayâ's coins, struck perhaps in Upper Burma, is probable from the following interesting correspondence, which I give in full, as the whole subject is still somewhat obscure and all evidence is valuable. Mr. H. G. Batten, then Deputy Commissioner,

³⁰ Fig. 6 on that Plate is from Tenassarim and has no connection with the other figures. It will be dealt with separately.

³¹ *International Numismata Orientalia*, vol. III, pt. I, p. 33 and Plate V, 2. See also Marsden, Plate LIII.

³² These numbers refer to the old lists. They may have been changed in the new catalogues.

³³ Nos. 883, 884 in the Indian Museum, Calcutta Mint Collection are probably the originals of these coins. They are noted in the catalogue, 1883, as "Rupees, Ava Mint."

³⁴ In view of its good workmanship, it may also be Cox's 'second design.'

Magwé District in Upper Burma, wrote to me on 7th Feb. 1900 :—" I send you drawings of 2 coins picked, or rather dug, up, I believe, in the old city near Kôkogwâ. The tradition is that it was a Hindustani settlement, and not long ago similar coins and some *lôtās* [brass pots] were found and sent to the Local Government. What happened to them I do not know. The coins were copied by Mrs. Walton (the wife of the Deputy-Superintendent of Police), who has made the excellent drawings of them sent herewith." See Plate IIIa.

In addition Mr. Batten sent "notes made by Maung Saw Maung, Township Officer, Taungdwingyi," which ran as follows :—" In November, 1896, test famine-relief works were started. A road from Kôkogwâ to Sinlè was begun by me. On the 2nd November, 1896, the coolies employed on the work dug up some silver coins. I was able to collect four coins, two rupee size and two half rupee size. The road started within the old ruined city of Dôkthâ-pûra, now called Peikthâdômyô. The city has three brick walls, north, south and east : no wall on the west. It is a square city. The city wall measures nearly two miles from each corner. It is situated ten miles west of Taungdwingyi, which is also an ancient city with brick walls, but its size is only a fourth of Peikthâdô. Several brass cups [*lôtās*] were discovered. The ruins in Peikthâdô are all of brick. No authentic account of Peikthâdô is in existence. It was undoubtedly not a Burman city and everything indicates that the city must have been built by the Hindus from India. When and in what year the city was established and when it was deserted is not known." The worthy Township Officer then goes on to explain that "the reigning queen Pânthwâ, of Peikthâdô," was captured by Dwidâbaung [Duttâbaung] of Prome, according to a well-known legend. He then says that "6 Brass cups and 2 silver coins found in the same place [Peikthâdô] were sent to the Lieutenant-Governor [of Burma] through Captain Warde." The brass cups were the Indian *lôtās* above mentioned, and of the two silver coins one was that on the Plate (IIIa) attached.

It will thus be seen that Bôdôp'ayâ's "Arakan" coins have been found in Upper Burma in two connected sites.

Referring to specimens of such coins as the above, Phayre, *History of Burma*, 1883, p. 31, has the following note :—"Coins or medals bearing Hindu symbols which have been found, and which no doubt are struck [in Pegu], probably belong to this period [A.D. 573], and lend support to the conclusion as to events which the native chroniclers have obscured or suppressed." This statement I take it, we may now assume to have been made in complete error from the guesses or traditions of literary Burmans, but it gives the impression of European scholars of Phayre's time in relation to the legendless coinage found in Arakan and along the Burma seacoast.

Capt. C. H. White, a collector of Arakanese coins, printed in 1892 in *Akyab Notes with Reference to a Selection of Symbolical and Historical Coins of Arakan*. In this pamphlet³⁵ he gives a useful history of the subject up to that date. The Arakanese coinage naturally attracted early attention, and papers thereon were published from time to time in *JASB*. E.g., Thomas Latter, of the *Burmese Grammar*, had an article thereon in No. CLXXI, 1846, (Vol. XIII, pp. 571 ff.), in which he "speculated" that these coins "might be intended to convey symbolical representation of the cosmology of Buddhism." Three of the coins he thought were Hindu, representing "the Bull Nandi, the peculiar cognizance of Shiva," and as to these he gives an interesting story. "The popular tradition connected with these coins is the following. There was a King, who set off to China to find the skull, which he owned in a former state of existence, when he was in the body of a dog. His astrologers having told him that this was why he was troubled with such incurable headaches and that on removing it he would be cured. On his departure he left his wife with a ring and told her that in case he should not come back in seven years, she was to raise to the throne and marry one of her subjects whom it would fit. On his way back the daughter

³⁵ In India Office Library.



COINS OF BODHI-PAYA.

of the Ocean king, who was in love with him, begged her father to raise a storm to drown his fleet, and thus procure her lover. This being done, the prime minister, who escaped, informed the queen of the death of her husband. She immediately gave out throughout her kingdom that he would be her husband whom the ring would fit. Though numbers tried, it was not till a headman from the hills with his brother and nephew came down, that it was found to fit any one. It fitted them all three and the queen married the eldest brother, who thus became king. He, in commemoration of his origin, put an ox upon his coins, as also the goad [the trident], the implement of his craft." This accounted for the bull on the three coins above mentioned. Other coins, also found in Arakan, evidently puzzled Latter.

D-I. (b) Historical Coins (including Kings of Arakan).

In the same issue of *JASB.* as that just noticed, p. 232, Phayre had a note on the coins of Arakan. *Historical Coins.* In this he describes the "legendary" coinage, meaning by that term apparently, coins with "legends" on them, and then proceeds to remark:—"It is indeed certain that to coin money is a but lately known art among the Burmese race. The term in their language for coin, *dingdā*, seems not to be a native word, but adopted from the Hindoos *tuka*.³⁶ In the dominions of Ava, coined money is still [1846] unknown. Payments are made by silver ingots weighed out as required."

Following instinctively a world-wide custom, some of the old Arakanese kings copied partially the Musalmān coinage obtaining in Chittagong at the time they held that district. The reason was the difficulty of getting a conquered population to accept at face-value coins which are new in appearance and therefore foreign and of doubtful value. Phayre's remarks (*op. cit.*) on this point are worth repeating here:—"The Arakanese sovereigns no doubt wished to follow the kingly practice existing in Bengal of striking coins in the name of the reigning monarch. We learn from their annals that about the middle of the fifteenth century A.D. they conquered Bengal as far as Chittagong, of which they kept possession for about a century. It was then that they first struck legendary coins. On the obverse of the earliest of these we find the date and the King's names written in Burmese character, together with barbarous attempts at Muhammadan names and titles. These they assumed as being successors of Musalmān kings, or as being anxious to imitate the prevailing fashion of India. Indeed there is some reason to believe that Ba-tsau-phyu [Bāzōb'yū], a Buddhist king like the rest, who ascended the throne A.D. 1459, obtained among his own subjects the epithet *Kalamasha* (the son³⁷ of the Kalama), from having issued a coin with the Muhammadan *kulima* [*kalima*, creed] inscribed upon it. The reverse of most of the earlier coins contains unintelligible Persian and Nāgarī inscriptions. The Arakanese kings were frequently known to their subjects by names and titles different from those which appear on their coins. This circumstance will explain a discrepancy observable between the coin names of Kings given here and the sovereigns of the same period found in the list of Arakanese kings published in the *JASB.*, vol. XIII, p. 50. The coin date generally coincides with the year of the King's accession to the throne, but in some instances it does not, more than one coinage having been issued in the same reign."

To Capt. C. H. White's account is attached an important letter to the Editor, *Arakan Advocate* [1892], by an Arakanese barrister with an European education, Htoon Chan, then locally well known. He begins by classifying the Coins of Arakan into four classes; "1. Symbolical Coins [those described by Latter above]. 2. Coins of Nāgarī and Persian characters. 3. Coins of Burmese characters on the obverse and Nāgarī and Persian on the reverse. 4. Coins of Burmese characters." He then remarks in regard to the second class:—"Their period is difficult to determine. They appear to belong to the time during which the country

³⁶ Phayre was right. The Burmese *dingdā* is a form of the Hindi *ṭakā*, *ṭandā*. See my many quotations, *ante*, vol. XXVI, p. 235 ff.

³⁷ *Kalama-shāh* would, however, mean really, 'the King of the Kalama or Creed.'

was under the Government of Bengal (or Delhi), or to the period in which the Arakanese sovereigns learnt the kingly practice of issuing coins after the fashion of Bengal, when they held the country under their sway during the reigns of Gaulaya, Datha-Raza, Midzutheng, Alaumaphyu, Mengdi³⁸ and others." Of the third class he writes :—"The reason may be that either the Kings of Bengal were losing their power over the sovereigns of Arakan or that the latter had improved the art of coinage. These coins date from B.E. 863 (A.D. 1501) or B.E. 963 (A.D. 1601)." The fourth class he says "shows the time that the Arakanese declared their independence of the Bengal Kings or the improvement they made on the previous coins by issuing coinage with purely Burmese characters, and they date from B.E. 1000 (A.D. 1638)."

He then disagrees with Phayre and examines his statement as to the date which Arakanese Kings put on their coins. This he says was "the date of their accession to the throne." It certainly was so as regards the Alompra Dynasty at Amarapura and Mandalay. And then he says that out of 19 coins shown by Phayre, 18 were so dated, and on the odd coin he has an arresting paragraph.

"The other coin reads B.E. 863 as well as B.E. 963. If it were the former then we have a King Meng-ra-dza [Minrāza], who came to the throne in that year; but if the latter, then we have no King, to my knowledge [so far as I know], who ascended the throne in B.E. 963. In B.E. 955 (A.D. 1583) Meng-ra-dzāgyi [Minrājāji] became king, and it is supposed by General Sir A. P. Phayre that the coin in question was struck during the eight years of his reign, and thus he held that in some instances the coins bear the date of their coinage With all respect for his authority, I am inclined to think that this conclusion is based upon very meagre evidence."

On Feb. 2nd, 1892, I wrote the following letter to the *Rangoon Gazette* regarding Mr. Htoon Chan's remarks :—"With reference to Mr. Htoon Chan's interesting notes on Arakanese coinage, I doubt if any of the Persian or Nāgari legends are really illegible. Reading coin legends is merely a question of patience and research. With regard to the Arakanese and similar issues, I would remark that we must not attach too much value to the coins as proof of history. The coinages of Oriental *minor* dynasties are very apt to lead one astray in that respect. What really happens now, and no doubt has happened in the past, is that the ruler issuing the coinage originally either copies as nearly as possible that of his suzerain or of his chief neighbour. Sometimes he merely copies the most famous coin current among his people. His object is, and was, to get currency for, and acknowledgment of, his coins. His successors copy him as nearly as possible with the same views.

"So much has the currency of coins affected rude issues that in India we have the curious instance of the early Musalman conquerors of the Panjāb copying the issues of the Hindu kings, whose territories they had overrun. So untrue to actual facts has the blind copying of predecessors been that Raja Mangal Singh of Jaipur, a subordinate of the *British* Government, struck all his coins from 1837 to 1857 in the name of Bahādur Shāh, the last king of Delhi, though Bahādur Shāh never was at any time his suzerain. The present Rajas of the Panjāb, who are allowed to coin, *still* [1892] mostly issue their coins as from the fourth year of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, which was 1751. But Ahmad Shāh could have only been, even by courtesy, their Suzerain for a short time, and they have been under British rule these many years. This species of false history is almost universal in the coinage of the minor Oriental mints and is not confined by any means to India. The coins of Ancient Britain, for instance, were largely copies of the stater of Philip of Macedon.

"Now the Persian and Nāgari issues of the Arakan kings are close copies of the Bengal issues of certain periods, and probably date from after the date of the coins that were copied. This gives a general clue as to date and perhaps as to the meaning of the "illegible" legends.

³⁸ Gaulaya, Dat'arāza, Mizūthin, Alāmmaphyū and Mindi.

"The coins of mixed Persian and Nāgarī and Burmese characters would follow the above in point of date, being probably struck at a time when the Persian and Nāgarī coins were sufficiently well established to have secured general acceptance for a certain value and it became safe to make some alteration in them.

"The purely Burmese character coins would follow on these similarly in due course.

"These three changes in the character of the Arakanese issues have been coincident with the entire dependence, the semi-dependence and the final independence of the Arakanese rulers with respect to those of Bengal, or on the other hand they may not. Only the reading of the legends and the comparison of what the legends tell us with outside history can settle these points.

"In fact, when we are dealing with a *minor* dynasty its coinage is only *primâ facie* evidence of the truth of the history it professes to teach us."

From the above information I am inclined to hold that the Arakanese coinage, as we have it, commenced in A.D. 1459 and was carried on regularly by the Arakanese kings to A.D. 1784, and then in the reign of Mintayāji, i.e., *Bôdôp'ayā*, were issued the legendless coins, which European scholars held to be Pagoda medals of a much earlier date. This statement it will be observed is not in line with previous explanations. If my view is right the "Pagoda medals" are not ancient at all.

I will now give an account of Capt. White's collection, as it is important in the present connection. It consisted of 22 coins :—

Nos. 1, 1½ and 2 others are Latter's Symbolical Coins, and the rest are described by Phayre, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, as under :

No. 2 obv. inscribed :—

963. *Sinbyuthak'en Narād'ibbadi S'òlimshyā.*

963. Lord of the White Elephant Narādhipati S'òlim Shyā.

B.E. 963=A.D. 1601. Narādhipati, the First (highest), King of men. S'òlim Shyā=Zālim Shāh. Zālim Shāh³⁹ is a Muhammadan title, and the king mentioned is Minrāzaji in the list of Arakanese sovereigns of the Myauk U Dynasty.⁴⁰ The rev. "bears some unintelligible compound of Persian and Nāgarī letters."

No. 3 not described.

No. 4 obv. inscribed :—

984. *S'inb'yūthak'en S'innūthak'en Thirithud'ammara.*

984. Lord of the White Elephant, Lord of the Red Elephant, Thirithud'ammara.

B.E. 984=A.D. 1622. Thirithu d'ammara can be divided as Thiri Thud'amma Rāza=Sri Sudhamma Rāja, the Great King of the Holy Law, or as Thiri Thu D'amma Rāza=Sri Sura Dhamma Rāja, the Great Hero, the King of the Law. Rev. has "an illegible Persian inscription."

No. 5 obv. and rev. same inscription :—

1000. *S'inb'yūthak'en S'innūthak'en Narabadīji.*

1000. Lord of the White Elephant, Lord of the Red Elephant, Narabadīji.

B.E. 1000=A.D. 1638, and as regards this Phayre writes : "The very year in which the *History of Bengal* informs us that the 'Magh [Arakanese] Chief, who held Chittagong on the part of the Rāja of Arakan,' delivered it up to the Mughal Viceroy, Islām Khān. This circumstance accounts for the Persian Inscription being wanting on this coin. This [Magh] Chief is called in the *Bengali History*, Mākat Rai, a corruption of his [Arakanese] title, Mengre [Minrē], i.e., "War Chief." Narabadīji=Narapati-jī, Great Lord of Men.

No. 6 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—

1007. *S'innūthak'en S'inb'yūthak'en Thadô Mintarā.*

³⁹ This title would mean the Tyrant King, and one wonders if Muhammadan moneyers thus revenged themselves on an ignorant Arakanese conqueror. Minrāzaji would mean the Great Rāja King.

⁴⁰ This is the coin as to which Htoon Chan disagreed with Phayre.

1007. Lord of the Red Elephant, Lord of the White Elephant, Thadô, the Lord of the Law.
 B.E. 1007=A.D. 1645. Mintarâ and D'ammarrâza both mean Lord of the Law, but *tarâ* means the Civil Law and *dhamma* the Canonical Law.
- No. 7 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—
 1014. *Shwênân : thak'ên Sandâsud'ammarrâza.*
 1014. Lord of the Golden Palace, Moon of the Lord of the Holy Law.
 B.E. 1014=A.D. 1652. Sandasud'ammarrâza=Chanda sudhammarâja.
- No. 8 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—
 1047. *Shwênân : thak'ên Warad'ammarrâza.*
 1047. Lord of the Golden Palace, Lord of the Excellent Law. (Varadhammarâja).
 B.E. 1047=A.D. 1685. (Varadhammarâja). This coin is important as it corrects the list of Arakan kings, where he is stated to have succeeded in B.E. 1054=A.D. 1692.
- No. 9 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—
 1072. *Shwênân : thak'ên Sandavizaya.*
 1072. Lord of the Golden Palace, Sandavizaya.
 B.E. 1072=A.D. 1710. Sandavizaya=Chanda-vijaya, which means the Moon of Victory.
- No. 10 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—
 1093. *Shwênân : thak'ên Sanda-Thûriya-Râza.*
 1093. Lord of the Golden Palace, King of the Moon and Sun.
 B.E. 1093=A.D. 1731. Sanda-Thûriya-Râza=Chanda-Sûriya-Râja, Lord of the Moon and Sun.
- No. 11 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—
 1097. *Shwênân : thak'ên Narapawarâza.*
 1097. Lord of the Golden Palace, the King, the Purifier of men (Narapavarâja).
 B.E. 1097=A.D. 1735.
- No. 12 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—
 1104. *Shwênân : thak'ên Nara-apâyarâza.*
 1104. Lord of the Golden Palace, the King, the Punisher of men (Narâpâyarâja).
 B.E. 1104=A.D. 1742.
- No. 13 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—
 1123. *Shwênân : thak'ên Sandaparamarâza.*
 1123. Lord of the Golden Palace, Superior Lord of the Moon.
 B.E. 1123=A.D. 1761.
- No. 14 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—
 1126. *Shwênân : thak'ên Apâyamahârâza.*
 1120. Lord of the Golden Palace, the Great King of Punishment.
 B.E. 1126=A.D. 1764.
- No. 15 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—
 1135. *Shwênân : thak'ên Sandasumanarâza.*
 1135. Lord of the Golden Palace, Happy Lord of the Moon. Sumana was also the name of one of the 24 Buddhas and the allusion may therefore be classical.
 B.E. 1137=A.D. 1773.
- No. 16 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—
 1140. *Shwêpyithak'ên D'ammarrâza.*
 1140. Lord of the Golden Land, Lord of the Kingdom of the Law.
 B.E. 1140=A.D. 1778. D'ammarrâza=Dhammarâjâra, and is so written in Burmese.
- No. 17 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—
 1144. *Shwênân : thak'ên Mahâthamadarâza.*

1144. Lord of the Golden Palace, Lord of the Great Peace (Mahāsamādhirāja).

B.E. 1144=A.D. 1782.

This was the last native King of Arakan, for two years later, B.E. 1046 (=A.D. 1784), the country passed into the hands of Mintarāji or Bôdôp'ayā, who at once issued a coin :—

No. 18 obv. and rev. inscribed :—

1146. *Amarapūra S'inb'yūmyā : shin Hnain-ngān.*

1146. Country conquered by the Lord of the Many White Elephants of Amarapūra.

Capt. White's collection also contained "a small coin of the size of a four-anna piece, on which the Burmese inscription was incomplete, the reverse having a Persian and Nāgarī Inscription." He also had 6 other silver coins of the Burmese mintage "from Re. 1 to one anna."

As will have been already seen, Bôdôp'ayā issued other copper coins than those above described, with obv. two fish and rev. inscribed as separately shown. These were struck in 1781, the year of his accession, and must therefore have had no connection with Arakan, but must have been struck in Amarapūra before he conquered the Southern land. See Plate II.

D-II. Coins of Mindôn Min.

King Mindôn (1852-1878) introduced a coinage about 1861, though he antedated many coins to 1852, the year of his accession. That he had no coinage in 1855 is proved by Yule's remark to that effect in his *Ava*, p. 258.⁴¹

Gold Coins.

There were five gold values.⁴² The two highest are now exceedingly rare, if not, in actual fact, known only by a single specimen of each.

(1) *Shwê-kyatsi*, gold rupee (more strictly, tickal) piece. It corresponds to the *mohar* of India.⁴³ I only know this from a specimen in Col. Prideaux's collection, of which the following is a description. Size : same as fig. 34, Plate II. Obverse : a *chindê*,⁴⁴ round which are the words, *chindê*. Reverse : a wreath, round which are the words *Yedanâbôn Nêbyidô* (Ratanapūṇa=Mandalay, the Royal Residence), and inside the wreath 1 *kyât hōng* ; *dīngā* (coin for use as one rupee or tickal).

In addition to this coin, there were occasionally struck at the Mint gold "rupees" of the peacock type by way of medals and presents. Any friend of the officials could take a piece of gold to the Mint and get it struck with the silver dies, taking it away with him as a curiosity or keepsake. At one time there were a good many of these gold "rupees" about, and they may still be procurable in Mandalay. They were never, however, coin of the realm, although they would be true *mohars*, and would have the same description of value endorsed on the reverse, as on the coin just described, viz : | *kyât hōng* : *dīngā* (see Plate II, fig. 34).

(2) *Shwê-ngāmūzī*, or gold five-mā-piece, that is, half a gold rupee, as 10 *mū* (gold)=Rupee 1 (see fig. 24, Plate II). It corresponds to the half *mohar* of India, and I may note that to the Burman the English sovereign, the French louis or napoleon, and similar coins were, when I made these notes in 1890 or thereabouts, all *shwê-ngāmūzīs*. It is extremely rare. My specimen is the only one I ever saw, but others I believe existed then. King Mindôn intended to throw them into circulation largely, and had the dies cut and a certain number struck off ; but he died shortly afterwards, and King Thibaw did nothing in the matter. Such was my information ; but it should be noted that *tô* : on this coin is the sign of Thibaw and not of Mindôn ; Thibaw having been born on a Tuesday, of which day the *tô* : is the ruling spirit.

⁴¹ We learn incidentally from Bowring (*Siam*, vol. II, p. 33), who gives a long extract from *Three Months in Cambodia* (Mission Press, Singapore), that the modern coinage of Cambodia was introduced in 1854 from machines sent by a British firm at Singapore.

⁴² There was no gold currency apparently in Siam in 1900, gold coins being merely struck to be used as commemorative medals. *JASB. Proc.*, 1887, p. 149 ; Bowring, *Siam*, vol. I, p. 257.

⁴³ Every Burman I questioned on the subject denied the existence of any such issue.

⁴⁴ The *chindê* is to a Burman a lion. It was the symbol of Mindôn, because he was born on a Saturday. See *Shway Yoe*, (Scott), *The Burman*, p. 12.

See Shwe Yoe, *The Burman*, p. 7 : Obverse : a *tô* : and *tô* : *tazéktô* 1240 (=A.D. 1878). Reverse : *Yedanábôn Nébyíðò* : 5 *mú* *hông* *díngá* ; (royal stamp of the *tô* ; and coin for use as 5 *mú*.)

(3) *Shwé-mátsí*, gold one-quarter piece : the quarter *mohar*. See Plate II, fig. 25. It was still common in 1890. Obverse : a *chindé*, or mythological lion, and *chindé tazéktô* 1228 (royal stamp of the lion, 1866 A.D.). Reverse : *Yedanábôn Nébyíðò* and 2 *mú* 1 *pé* *hông* : *díngá* : (coin for use as $2\frac{1}{2}$ *mú*), as 2 *pé*=1 *mú*.

(4) *Shwé-múzi*, gold *mú* piece. See Plate II, fig. 26. This was never common. Obverse : a peacock and *tazéktô* (royal stamp). Reverse : a wreath, *Yedanábôn Nébyíðò* and 1 *mú* *hông* : 1214 (for use as 1 *mú*, 1852 A.D.). The date is the accession-date, as above explained.

(5) *Shwé-pèzi*, gold *pé* piece. See figs. 27 and 28, Plate II. Two varieties, neither of which was ever common. Firstly: obverse, same as the *shwé-mátsí*: reverse, 1 *pé* *hông* : *díngá* : (coin for use as 1 *pé*) and *Yedanábôn Nébyíðò*. Secondly: obverse, same as the *shwé-múzi*: reverse, 1 *pé* *hông* 1214.

Silver Coins.

The silver coins were R. 1, R. $\frac{1}{2}$, R. $\frac{1}{4}$, R. $\frac{1}{16}$, R. $\frac{1}{32}$; but in practice they were current as R. 1, 8as., 4as., 2as., and 1 anna.⁴⁵ They all had the same device. Obverse : a peacock with *tazéktô*. Reverse : a wreath, outside it *Yedanábôn Nébyíðò*, and inside it the value and the same date, in each case 1214=A.D. 1852. The values were stated thus :—1 *kyat* *hông* : *díngá* : coin to be used as R. 1 : 5 *mú* *hông* : to be used as 5 *mú*=R. $\frac{1}{2}$: 1 *mát* *hông* : to be used as one-quarter=R. $\frac{1}{4}$: 1 *mú* *hông* : to be used as 1 *mú*=R. $\frac{1}{16}$: 1 *pé* *hông* : to be used as 1 *pé*=R. $\frac{1}{32}$. All these coins were common, but being thrown out of currency they tended to become rare, especially those of the lower values. See figs. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, Plate II.

Concurrently with these were struck, in the earlier part of Mindôn's reign, quite a separate set of silver coins, which were exceedingly rare, and I was able only to procure a specimen of the R. 1 : see Plate V, fig. 47. But I had seen in other collections R. 1, and R. $\frac{1}{2}$, and R. $\frac{1}{4}$, and later I saw three specimens of the quarter-rupee : see plate VI, figs. 1, 2 & 3. All have the same device. Obverse : a peacock of the type of fig. 34, Plate II, but on a stippled ground and no superscription. Reverse : precisely the same as for the like values in the set above described.

There is yet another variety of rupee figured by Phayre (*Int. Num. Or.*, vol. III, pt. I, Plate V, 3), with the remark that it was issued for currency by Mindôn. It was sufficiently rare, for neither myself nor any other local collector I could consult seemed to have ever even heard of it, except in Phayre's account. Obverse : a peacock, tail spread and wings open, in a ring of rosettes : no superscription. Reverse : *Thekkayit* 1214 (Burmese era, 1214=1852 A.D.) in a wreath surrounded by rosettes. It will be perceived that this coin essentially differs in many particulars from those above described.⁴⁶

Scott, *The Burman*, pp. 299-300, says that, in 1882, the Burmese rupees were not up to standard, being worth only fourteen annas, but his statements on the subject of coinage must be received with caution.

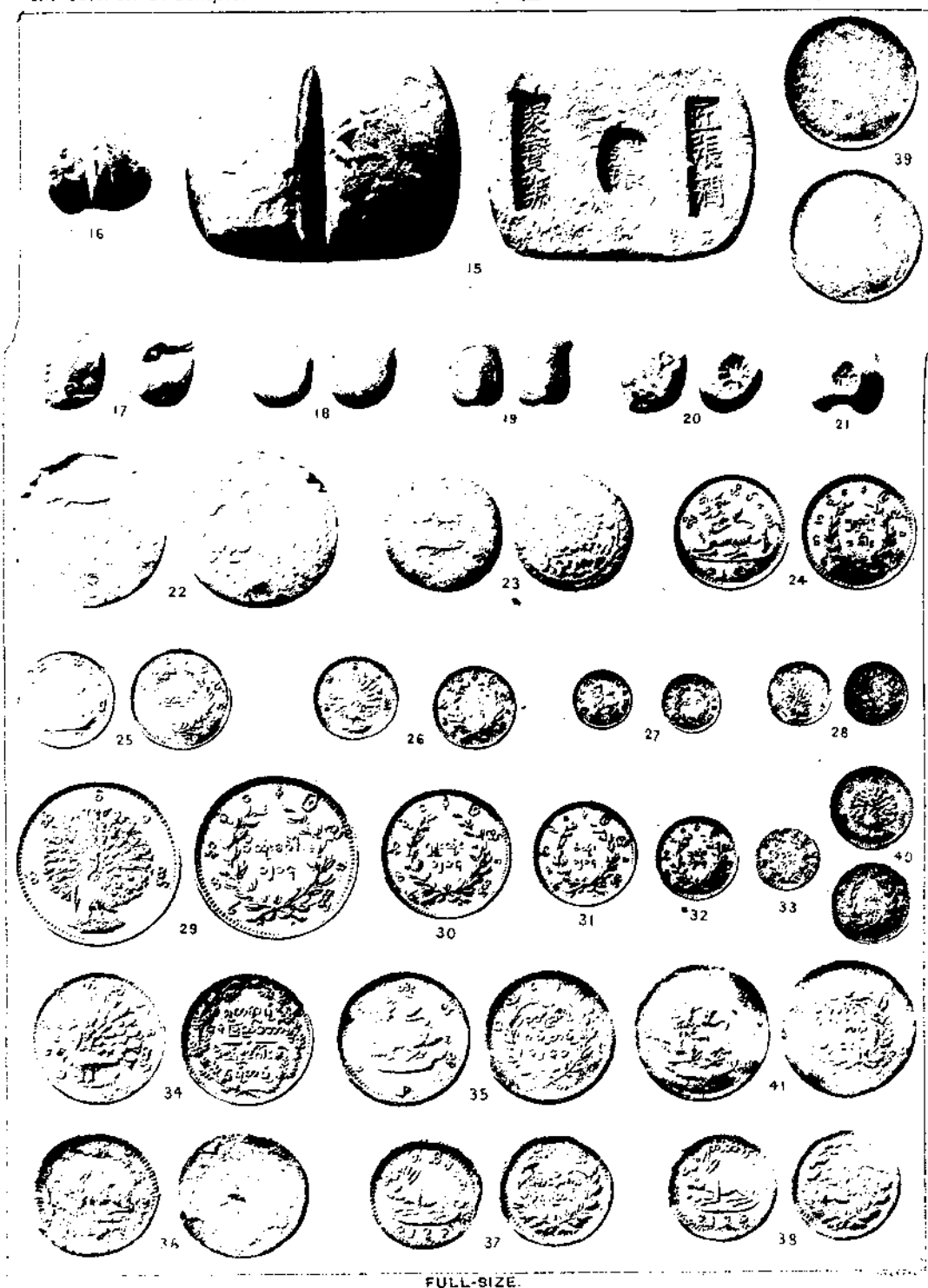
Incorrectly struck silver coins through bad minting, which should not be confounded with the *taungbanni* coins to be described later on, were quite common until 1890 in Mandalay, and I procured several typical specimens, which I presented to the British Museum. See also Plate II, fig. 39, which I found in circulation in Mandalay, though it was an unstamped rupee from Mindôn's Mint.

Copper Coins.

Mindôn issued a fine copper coin, not at all common even in 1890. Obverse : a peacock and *udaung tazéktô* 1227 (the royal stamp of the peacock, 1865 A.D.). Reverse : a wreath and inside it *Yedanábôn Nébyíðò*—1 *pé* *hông* : *díngá* : *i4bôn tabôn* (Ratanapunná, the Royal residence—coin to be used as one-fourth part of 1 *pé*). See fig. 34, Plate II.

⁴⁵ There are two good specimens in the Indian Museum, Calcutta Mint Collection, Nos. 646, 647. Other specimens are 881, 882. No. 880 is a one-tenth rupee piece.

⁴⁶ See No. 871 in the Indian Museum, Calcutta Mint Collection, described as "Rupee, Ava Mint," in the Catalogue, 1883, and as being referred to in Mint letter No. 791, 31 January 1854.



Burmese Currency. Evolution from tokens to coinage.

Mindôn is also credited with a *tô* : copper piece, described below, but this I believe to have been a genuine issue of Thibaw.

Iron Coins.

The iron coinage of King Mindôn was in circulation for a very short time. The two specimens I procured and gave to the British Museum are the only ones I saw. So far as their conditions permitted me to learn, they seemed to have been struck from the dies used for the peacock copper coins. I was told that they were forced upon the people and passed for one pie, or one-third of the same king's peacock copper piece just described.

Although I do not think that the specimens above noted were, when first procured, more than 22 years old, they had become so corroded by rust as only to be legible even in a small degree by rubbing them gently and so making the embossed surfaces appear red against a black ground. They are in themselves the strongest proof possible of the uselessness of coining iron.

Pyrard de Laval, *Hak. Soc. ed.*, vol. I, p. 235, alludes to an iron coinage of the West Coast of India and of Portuguese Goa in the early seventeenth century A.D., which he says had a purely local currency, being rejected at Cochin, then a Portuguese possession. See also vol. II, p. 68.

Lead Coins.

Lead coins at the time of the British occupation of Upper Burma were common enough, but they had disappeared by 1890, and were afterwards only to be found in collectors' cabinets.⁴⁷

Mindôn's Lead Coins were of three kinds.

(1) Obverse : a hare, remains of *tazêktô* and clearly 1231 or A.D. 1869. Reverse : blank, and obviously always so. The specimen figured in fig. 36, Plate II, is the only specimen I have seen of this particular issue out of which anything can be made. But I have possessed other illegible specimens of lead coins from Burma, which were evidently of the same issue from their weight and size. The figures of the date are not perceptible in the plate, but by a careful handling of the original coin they are displayed. The hare as representing the moon and the peacock as representing the sun, are the crests of the Alompra (Alaungp'ayâ) dynasty, which claimed (a mythical) descent from both the lunar and the solar lines of India. Its value was probably one-fourth of a piece.

(2) Obverse : a hare and *yôn tazêktô* 1231 (royal stamp of the hare, 1869 A.D.). Reverse : *Kyé : nî : dîngá : í 4 bôn tabôn* (4th part of a copper coin). The words are inside a wreath. See fig. 37, Plate II.

(3) Obverse : the same as the preceding. Reverse : *Kyé : nî : dîngá : í 8 bôn tabôn* (8th part of a copper coin). See fig. 38, Plate II.

The "copper coin" in the above cases is evidently the "peacock" piece above mentioned.

In letters to the *Academy* in 1890, I said (p. 346) that Thibaw had imitated this coinage, because it bore date B.E. 1241=1879 A.D., but Dr. E. Nicholson in a letter, dated 20th October, 1890, pointed out (p. 371) that he had in 1870 a large quantity sent him of these coins dated B.E. 1231=1869 A.D. Plate II will show that Dr. Nicholson was right and that by some error I had read the Burmese ၃ (3) for the symbol ၄ (4), and so read 1879 for 1869.

Scott (Shway Yoe) in *The Burman, his Life and Notions*, p. 299, makes a curious mistake as to these coins, when he says : "The least coins are simply blobs of metal like a spherical bullet squeezed out of shape. I have examined thousands of them, but seen never a hare." This statement that the hare is not to be seen on these coins is a decided error, for as a matter of fact it is there as often as not, and the statement reads like a mistake being made between some local Shân or Siamese issue for Burmese.⁴⁸

(To be continued.)

⁴⁷ At the Bangkok Exhibition in 1882, "a large collection of very old and curious lead [Siamese] coins" were shown. *JASB. Proc.*, 1887, p. 148.

⁴⁸ Lead coins were current in Java in 1618 A.D. *Indo-China*, 2nd Ser., vol. I, p. 182 ; in Banjermeesin in 1368-1643 A.D. ; *op. cit.*, p. 229.

MAR SAPOR AND MAR PRODH.

By T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

IN 1504, when Alfonso d'Albuquerque, afterwards the second Viceroy of Goa, was in Quilon, some of the Christians there—he found 25,000 of them in Quilon¹—“said that two saints, who were buried there (in the Church of Our Lady of Mercy)² in two chapels, had made the church in a miraculous manner.” “And the Christians of the land (Quilon) had to take care to govern and rule the church, which was called ‘Our Lady of Mercy.’ . . . There were three altars on which stood three crosses, the centre one of gold, the two others of silver.” (*Commentaries of Albuquerque*, Hakluyt Society, 1875, I, 14.)

The saints referred to here are Mar Sapor and Mar Prodh, who have the rare distinction of being perhaps the only canonized bishops of Malabar.

In 1599 we have the following interesting details recorded of these two saints. “Whereas in this diocese there are many churches dedicated to Mar Xobro and Mar Phrod, who are commonly styled Saints, of whom there is nothing known, only it is commonly said, ‘That they came into these parts and wrought miracles, and returned afterwards to Babylon, from whence they came, others affirming that they died in Coulon, there being nothing writ of them that is authentic, neither does it appear that they were ever canonized by the Church, but on the contrary, since they came from Babylon, there is just cause to suspect that they might be heretics’: wherefore the Synod doth command, that all the churches which are dedicated to them, be dedicated to All the Saints, and that the festivities used to be kept to their honour, and the ‘Nerchas’ that used to be given upon their days, shall be given on All Saints’ day, being the first of November: and for the future there be no more churches dedicated to them, churches and festivities being never to be dedicated, nor prayers made to any but to saints canonized and approved of by the Church.” (Synod of Diamper, Session 8, Decree 25, as given in Hough’s *Christianity in India*, II, 659.)

Additional details are found in a Malayalam version of the Diamper decrees in a MS. copied in A.D. 1825. Here is a translation of the decree relating to these saints. “There are in the Diocese of Malabar certain churches dedicated to certain persons not recognised as saints by the Church. While this Church was governed by Bishops of unorthodox and Nestorian faiths, while they (the bishops) were so, it was mostly easy for them to get churches built in the name of heretics whom they regarded as saints. For it was customary to offer prayer and benediction in the Church in the name of such persons. This Holy Synod, therefore, orders the priests that the names of the churches be made known to the honourable Bishop (Menezes) at this Synod or on his visitation. In Pattamane Paravûr, Diamper, and other places in particular there are churches in the name of the ‘Kâdišâs’ (saints Sapor and Prodh), who are, in ignorance of their identity, called saints because they came to this country

Observations by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.

¹ Does d'Albuquerque speak of 25,000 Christians at Quilon alone, or at Quilon and the district?—H.H. [Perhaps the latter.—T.K.J.]

² I am surprised at this title of Our Lady of Mercy. Would that have been a Syrian title of a Church to Our Lady? Gouvea (fol. 94v, col. 1) says that the Church of the Portuguese within their fort was dedicated to St. Thomas and that it was originally the Church of the St. Thomas Christians, who surrendered it to the Portuguese and built a church of their own, half a league from the fortress, near Upper Couão, dedicated to Our Lady. The Church of St. Thomas is said by Gouvea to have been built by Mar Xabro and Mar Prodh, 733 years before 1602. If he wrote 783, and the 8 was taken for a 3 by the printer, the founding falls in Q.E. 1. In 1505 the ancient church of Quilon was burnt down with several Portuguese and Syrians and a Syrian deacon in it. Correa, *Lendas da Índia*, Lisboa, I (1858), p. 591, and de Souza, *Or. Conj.*, II. Conj. 1, Div. 2, para. 16, who says that after the burning of the Church near the sea the Syrians went to Upper Couão and the Portuguese built their church within the fort on the site of the earlier church. Whitehouse identifies (p. 299) Upper Couão with Calecoulam, which is Kayankulam, and speaks of ‘Kalicoulam Scherravi.’ What means ‘Scherravi,’ which comes close enough to your Savaris or Sabr Iso?—H.H. [Scherravi is Cheruvâ, a place name.—T.K.J.]

and wrought many miracles. But there is no record of what they did, neither is there any regular tradition. We think they were Nestorians. So the Holy Synod commands that all the churches bearing this name be dedicated to All Saints and that the festivals of those churches be celebrated on their day, November 1. And the festival held in their name on April 19th should not henceforward be celebrated, nor should churches be built in their name."³

These are the earliest surviving documents yet known (to me) about these two saints. There may be others extant in Syriac and other languages in Malabar and in the country from which they came. The accounts of later writers do not shed any light on the obscure portions of the history of these Kadisas (Syriac : holy men, saints). Some of those are mentioned below in chronological order.

1. Gouvea : *Jornada*, 97. [Menezes in 1599, was shown a set of three copper-plates granted by the King who founded Quilon, to the Têvallakkara Church erected by Mar Xabro and Mar Phrod.] See Mackenzie's *Christianity in Travancore* (1901), p. 60. Also Hough's *Christianity in India* (1839), II, 170, 171. (These plates may have been those given to the Quilon Tarisa Church in the latter half of the ninth century.)

2. De Souza, *Oriente Conquistado* (1710), II. Conq. 1, Div. 2, para. 16. [Archbishop Roz had read in Syriac books⁴ about these saints and their miracles.] Were these MSS. burned by Menezes or are copies still discoverable in Malabar ?

3. Assemani : *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (1719-1728). [They came in A.D. 922.]⁵

4. Le Quien : *Oriens Christianus* (1740), II. 1275. See *Travancore State Manual*, II. 144. [Two Bishops came to Quilon about A.D. 880. They were very holy, built many churches, made the Christian religion prevail in the kingdom of Diamper and gained converts in many places in Malabar, especially in Quilon.] See Giamil's *Genuinae Relationes*, etc. (1902), pp. 582-584.

5. Moens : *Memorandum* of 1781. See *Dutch in Malabar* (Madras, 1911), p. 173. [Two Bishops, Mar Sapor and Mar Peroses, came from Babylon=Modaim or Seleucia after A.D. 829.] *Loc. cit.*, Galletti's footnotes 2 and 3. [Mar Sapir and Mar Prodh came from Bagdad. Cf. *Milne Rae*, p. 108.]

6. Dr. Forster : footnote, A.D. 1798, at p. 91 of Fr. Paulinus' *Voyage to the East Indies*. 1776-89 (London, 1800). [Two Nestorian priests, Mar Sapor and Mar Parges, came from Babylon to Quilon in A.D. 822.]

7. Richard and Giraud : *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1835), Tom. II, p. 176. [They were holy men.]

8. Hough : *Christianity in India* (1839), I. pp. 197, 198. [Two Syrian ecclesiastics, Mar Sapor and Mar Pheroz, came from Babylon to Quilon in A.D. 920.]

9. Ittoop : *Syrian Christian Church of Malabar* (in Malayalam, 1896), pp. 95, 96. [Two Bishops, Mar Šabôr and Mar Aprôt, came from Babylon to Quilon in A.D. 825, i.e., M.E. 1. They came in a ship belonging to a merchant called Šavaris, were given a grand reception by the Archdeacon and his people, held interviews with the ruling princes, toured the country, built churches, reformed the Church, made conversions, and raised the whole Christian community in the estimation of others.]

10. Mackenzie : *Christianity in Travancore*, (*Travancore State Manual*, 1906, II. p. 142.) [Two Bishops, Mar Sapir and Mar Prodh, were at Quilon about A.D. 825.]

³ The passage you quote from a Malayalam MS. is not in the decrees of the Diamper Council. Can you state the Session and decree ? I have looked carefully twice through the decrees, but cannot find the passage. It is not in the course of the *Jornada* either. I find the first passage quoted by you from Hough in Session 8, decree 25.—H.H. [The numbers in the Malayalam version, which is fuller, do not tally with those in the printed one.—T.K.J.]

⁴ No book on Mar Sapor is mentioned in the list of forbidden books drawn up at the Council, which were to be burned. De Souza, *loc. cit.*, *supra*, speaks, of a Syriac MS. read by Roz in which a miracle was attributed to Mar Johanan of Cranganore before the arrival of the Portuguese.

⁵ Assemani gives A.D. 922, and Le Quien, quoted by Raulin (p. 435), gives about A.D. 800.

The following are some of the Malabar churches in their name ⁶ :—

1. Quilon Kadisa Church (now Jacobite), private property of a clan of Christians called Quilon Mutalâlis ⁷ (the title Mutalâli means chief man, capitalist, merchant), who trace their descent from Sabr Iso (the Savaris of Ittoop, No. 9 above), who refounded Quilon in A.D. 825, an event from which the Malabar or Quilon era [M.E. or Q.E.] began. He built a Church there, of which the present Kadisa church may be said to be a poor representative. In two sets of copper-plates granted to the original church in the latter half of the ninth century it is called the Tarisa Church, and the founder was Maruvân Sabir Îsô, which has become Savaris and Bâpêsu in Malabar tradition. (For the text and translation of these plates in Malayalam see the present writer's *Malabar Christian Copper-Plates*, Chs. 3 and 4.) It must have been in this Tarisa Church that Sapor and Prodh were interred. (Maruvan is a form of the Indian Parsi name Mehervan.)

2. Kâyañkuḷam Kadisa Church (now Jacobite). This appears to have been built in A.D. 829. See *Travancore Almanac and Directory*, Topographical Sketch. But the local tradition is that it was built in the first year of the Quilon or Malabar era, A.D. 825.

3. Māvêlikkara Kadisa Church (now Jacobite), which was originally in Kaṇṭiyûr, close by. Probably it was this Kaṇṭiyûr Church that was built by the Kadisas, or in their name.

4. Diamper All Saints' Church (now Roman Catholic), said to have been the church of the Malabar Christian royal family. See below.

5. Parur St. Thomas Church (now Roman Catholic), believed to have been founded by St. Thomas the Apostle. In 1599 both these (4 and 5) were in the name of the twin saints. (See Decree quoted above.)

All these places, given in the order of their location from South to North, were in different principalities about A.D. 825, not under one king as now.

The date of the landing of these saints in Quilon may be taken to be *circa* 825, i.e., a little before or in the beginning of the Quilon era. Malabar tradition and the two sets of copper-plates mentioned above, point to this date. "In the year of our Lord 825, corresponding to the year 1 of the Quilon era," says an old MS., "two Bishops,⁸ Mar Châvôr and Mar Aprôt came with a merchant Savarîsu by name."

Mâr and Mârân, from the Syriac, are applied in Malayalam to Bishops, Patriarchs, Saints, Apostles, the Pope, and Christ, e.g., Mar Dionysius, Bishop; Maran Mar Ignatius, Patriarch; Mar Geevarugees, St. George; Mar Tômmâ Sîihâ, St. Thomas the Apostle; Maran Îsô Miîihâ, Lord Jesus the Messiah. St. Mary is Marîtta Mariyam. Mar Pâppâ, H. H. the Pope.

⁶ Gouvea speaks of a Church founded by Mar Sapor and Mar Prodh at Quilon, (*Jornada*, fol. 5r. col. 1; fol. 94 v, col. 1); at Diamper (l. 2, c. 2, fol. 75v, cols. 1-2); at Calicoulam, near Quilon, (l. 2, c. 7, fol. 93r, col. 2; fol. 93v, col. 1); at Parur (l. 2, c. 15, fol. 111 v, col. 2). The church at Quilon was not dedicated to Sapor and Prodh, but to St. Thomas (l. 2, c. 8, fol. 94v, col. 1).

Fr. Paulinus, *India Orientalis Christiana*, Romae, 1794, pp. 267-268, mentions Romo-Syrian churches dedicated to SS. Gervasius and Protasius: (1) at Odiampor or Diamper; (2) at Parur; (3) at Codamalur; Jacobite churches, (1) at Agaparambil; (2) at Cayamcoulam. By the way, Dames, *Duarte Barbosa*, II, 96, n. 3, also gives A.D. 829 for the foundation of a church at Calicoullam (Kayankulam). No reference given.

How did Paulinus get these titles of the churches? From Gouvea? I doubt if he got them all there. It is a fact that Menezes wanted all the churches dedicated to Sapor and Prodh to be changed to the title of All Saints. Diamperur (old) is now All Saints in the *Madras Catholic Directory*, 1924, p. 264; Parur Kottakavu is St. Thomas (p. 265); Kothanallur (p. 255) and Acaparamp (p. 261) are under the title of SS. Gervase and Protase.—H.H. [Codamalur is not Kothanallur.—T.K.J.]

Du Perron's list of 1758 in *Whitehouse* (pp. 293-299) agrees with Paulinus for Diamper, Paru, Agaparambil; it adds Coramalur (Paulians' Codamalur) and Ellour, but speaks of a Church of the H. Virgin at Calicoulam.

⁷ Your Quilon 'Mutalâlis' must be compared with John de' Marignolli's Quilon *Modiâl*, Christian chiefs, the owners of the pepper. This was in 1346-47. Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), p. 381.—H.H.

⁸ On Mar Prodh, see *Cuth. Encycl.*, New York, XIV. 681, art. by Mgr. Medlycott. Paulinus on Mar Sapor, *Ind. Or. Christ.*, XXII, 20; on Knayi Thomas, *ibid.*, XXII, 19.68.238.

BUDDHIST WOMEN.

By Dr. BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.

AN account of some famous women who figure prominently in the early Buddhist texts is given in the following pages. The account will show that women were not a negligible factor in the ancient Buddhist community of India.

Abhirūpanandā was the daughter of a Sākya noble named Khemaka. She was called Nandā the Fair for her great beauty and amiability. Her beloved kinsman, Carabhūta, died on the day on which she was to choose him from amongst her suitors. She had to leave the world against her will. Though she entered the order, she could not forget that she was beautiful. Fearing that the Buddha would rebuke her, she used to avoid his presence. The Buddha knew that the time had come for her to acquire knowledge and asked Mahāpajāpati Gotamī to bring all the *bhikkhunis* before him to receive instruction. Nandā sent a proxy for her. The Buddha said, "Let no one come by proxy." So she was compelled to come to him. The Buddha by his supernatural power conjured up a beautiful woman, who became transformed into an old and fading figure. It had the desired effect, and *Abhirūpanandā* became an *arhat*. (*Therīgāthā Commy.*, pp. 25-26.)

Jentī or *Jentā* was born in a princely family of the Licchavis at Vaiśālī. She won arhatship after hearing the *dharmā* preached by the Buddha. She developed the seven Sambojjhaṅgas. (*Ibid.*, p. 27.)

Cittā was born at Rājagaha in the family of a leading burgess. When she was of age, she one day heard the master preach and believed in his doctrine. She was ordained by Mahāpajāpati the Gotamī. In her old age she climbed the vulture's peak and lived like a recluse. Her insight expanded and she won arhatship. (*Ibid.*, p. 33.)

Sukkā was born at Rājagaha in the family of a rich householder. When she attained years of discretion, she believed in the Master's teaching and became a lay disciple. One day she heard Dhammādinna preach and was so greatly moved that she renounced the world and followed Dhammādinna. She performed all the exercises for acquiring insight and very soon attained arhatship with *paṭisambhiddā*. Thereupon she became a great preacher and was attended by 500 *bhikkhus*. One day, along with the other *bhikkhunis*, she went to the hermitage of the *bhikkhunis* and taught the Buddha's doctrine in such a way that everybody listened to her with rapt attention; even the tree-spirit was so much moved that it began to praise her. At this the people were excited and came to the sister and listened attentively. (*Ibid.*, pp. 57-61.)

Selā was born in the kingdom of Ālavi, as the king's daughter. She was also known as Ālavikā. One day, while yet a maid, she went with the king and heard the Master preach. She became a believer and lay disciple. A few days after, she took orders and performed the exercises for insight. She subjugated the complexities of thought, word and deed and soon won arhatship. Thereafter she lived at Sāvattthī when the Buddha was there. She entered Andhavana to meditate after finishing her midday meal. Māra once tried in vain to persuade her to choose the sensuous life (*Ibid.*, p. 61, f. Cf. *Samyutta Nikāya*, part 1, p. 128).

Sihā was born at Vesālī as the daughter of General Śiha's sister. She was named after her maternal uncle. When she grew up, she heard the Master teaching the Norm to her maternal uncle and became a believer. She was permitted by her parents to enter the order. For seven years she could not acquire insight as her mind became always inclined to objects of external charm. Then she intended to die. She took a noose, hung it round the bough of a tree and fastened it round her neck. Thus she succeeded in impelling her mind to insight which grew within and she won arhatship. She then took off the rope from her neck and went back to her hermitage. (*Ibid.*, pp. 79-80).

Sundarī Nandā was born in the royal family of the Sākyas. She was known as the beautiful Nandā. Thinking about the fact that her elder brother, her mother, her brother,

her sister and her nephew had renounced the world, she too left it. Even after her renunciation, she was obsessed with the idea of her beauty and would not approach the Lord lest she should be reproached for her folly. The Lord taught her in the same way as he did in the case of Nandā the Fair. She listened to the Master's teaching and enjoyed the benefit of the fruition of the first stage of sanctification. He then instructed her saying, "Nandā, there is in this body not even the smallest essence. It is but a heap of bones covered with flesh and besmeared with blood under the shadow of decay and death." Afterwards she became an *arhat*. (*Ibid.*, pp. 80 f.; cf. *Manorathapūraṇī*, pp. 217-218).

Khemā was born in the royal family of Sāgala. She was very beautiful and her skin was like gold. She became the consort of Bimbisāra. One day she heard that the Buddha was in the habit of speaking ill of beauty, since then she did not appear before the Buddha. The king was a chief supporter of the Buddha. He asked his court-poets to compose a song on the glories of the Veluvana hermitage and to sing the song very loudly so that the queen might hear it. The royal order was carried out. *Khemā* heard of the beauty of the hermitage and with the king's consent she came to the Veluvana Vihāra, where the Buddha was staying at that time. When she was led before the Buddha, the latter conjured up a woman like a celestial nymph who stood fanning him with a palm leaf. *Khemā* observed this woman to be more beautiful than she and was ashamed of her own grace. Sometime after she noticed again that the woman was passing from youth to middle age and then to old age, till with broken teeth, grey hair, and wrinkled skin, she fell on earth with her palm leaf. Then thought *Khemā* that her beautiful body would meet with the same fate as that of the nymph. Then the Master, who knew her thoughts, said that persons subject to lust suffer from the result of their action, while those freed from all bondage forsake the world. When the Master had finished speaking, *Khemā*, according to the commentary, attained arhatship and according to the *Apadāna*, she was established in the fruition of the first stage of sanctification and with the king's permission she entered the order before she became an *arhat*. Thereafter she made a name for her insight and was ranked foremost amongst the *bhikkhunis* possessing great wisdom. In vain Māra tried to tempt her with sensuous ideas. (*Ibid.*, pp. 126 f.; cf. *Manorathapūraṇī*, p. 205; cf. *Anguttara*, n. 1, p. 25).

Anopamā was the daughter of a banker named Majjha living in Sāketa. She was of unique beauty. She was sued by many sons of bankers, higher officers of the State, but she thought that there was no happiness in household life. She went to the Master and heard his teachings. Her intelligence matured. She strove hard for insight and was established in the third fruition. On the seventh day thereafter she attained arhatship. (*Ibid.*, pp. 138-139.)

Rohiṇī was born at Vesālī in the house of a very prosperous Brahman. When grown up she went to the Master and heard him preach the doctrine. She obtained *sotāpatti-phalam*. She converted her parents to Buddha's faith and got permission from them and entered the order. She performed the exercises for acquiring insight and very soon attained arhatship. (*Ibid.*, pp. 214 f.)

Subhā was the daughter of a certain goldsmith of Rājagaha. She was very beautiful and was therefore called Subhā. When grown up she saw the Master and believed in his doctrine. The Master saw the maturity of her moral faculties and taught her the *dhamma*. She was afterwards established in the fruition of the first stage of sanctification. Thereafter she entered the order under Mahāpajāpati Gotamī. She strove hard for insight and in course of time she won arhatship. (*Ibid.*, pp. 236 f.)

Tissā was born at Kapilavastu among the Śākyas. She renounced the world with Mahāpajāpati Gotamī and became spiritually so developed that she attained arhatship. (*Ibid.*, pp. 11-13.)

Sumedhā, daughter of King Koṇica of Mantāvati, was averse to the pleasures of senses from her childhood. She renounced the world hearing the doctrine of the Buddha from the *bhikkhunis*. Very soon she acquired insight and attained arhatship (*Ibid.*, 272 f.)

Visākhā was the daughter of Sumanādevī, wife of Dhanañjayasethi, son of Muṇḍakasethi. Her abode was at Bhaddiyanagara in the kingdom of Aṅga. When seven years old Buddha with the *bhikkhusaṅgha* went to Bhaddiyanagara. Sumanādevī was one of the advisers of the king. *Visākhā* with 500 female companions and 500 chariots received Buddha, who gave instructions to her according to her nature and she obtained *sotāpatti-phalaṃ*. The Buddha was invited to *Visākhā*'s house. *Visākhā* who was endowed with five kinds of beauty was married to Puṇṇavaddhana of Sāvattihī. The presents sent by the citizens of Sāvattihī for her, were distributed by her among the citizens with great courtesy. She made the citizens her own relatives. She refused to salute the naked heretics who were worshipped by her father-in-law. Her father-in-law was converted to Buddhism through her efforts. Once *Visākhā* invited the *bhikkhus* and her father-in-law on hearing the sermon obtained *sotāpattiphalaṃ* (*D.C.*, I, 384 f.)

On the death of her grandchild, who was very dear to her, *Visākhā* went to see the Buddha with wet clothes and wet hair. The Buddha asked her whether she would be satisfied if all the people of Sāvattihī became her sons and grandsons. She replied in the affirmative. The Master asked her as to how many people met with their death at Sāvattihī. *Visākhā* said from one to ten. The Buddha told her, "Just think whether you would be free from wet clothes and wet hair". *Visākhā* said that she did not want so many sons and grandsons, because acquisition of more sons and grandsons would bring greater suffering (*Uddāna*, 91-92).

Visākhā, mother of Migāra, was the foremost of the female supporters of the Buddha (*A.N.*, I, p. 26). Once on a sabbath day she went to the Buddha while the latter was in her palace named Pubbārāma. Buddha instructed *Visākhā* thus, "There were three kinds of *uposatha* and the *ariya uposatha* is the best of the *uposathas*. The Master then said that in order to observe *ariya uposatha* one should meditate on the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. *Sīlas* must be unbroken and fully observed. One should also meditate on the qualities of gods. One should follow Arhats who follow precepts throughout their lives. By observing *ariya uposatha* one may obtain great happiness and may be reborn in one of the heavens commencing from the Cātumahārājika to the Paranimittavasavattī and enjoy great celestial happiness there (*A.N.*, I, 205-215). *Visākhā* was further instructed by the Buddha thus, "Dependence on others is suffering, independence brings happiness". (*Uddāna*, p. 18). *Visākhā* once blamed the *bhikkhus* for not allowing her grandson to be ordained during the lent, as owing to this delay her grandson's mind was changed. (*Vinaya Piṭaka*, I, 153.) She once went to the Buddha and invited him together with the *bhikkhus* to take food at her house the next morning. Heavy rains fell on the following morning and the *bhikkhus*, as they had no bathing costumes, bathed themselves naked. *Visākhā* came to know this fact from her maid servant who was sent to call the *bhikkhus*. The Buddha together with the *bhikkhus* came to her house. She fed the Buddha and the *bhikkhus* satisfactorily. After they had finished their meal, *Visākhā* prayed to the Buddha for the following boons:—As long as she lived, she would give garments for the rainy season to the *bhikkhus*, food to the guests and food to those going abroad, diet to the sick *bhikkhus*, food to the sick—nurses, medicine for the sick *bhikkhus*, rice gruel to the *bhikkhus* daily and bathing garments to the *bhikkhunis* (*V.P.*, vol. I, pp. 290-292). From this fact it is evident that *Visākhā* introduced bathing garments for the *bhikkhunis*. It was *Visākhā* who offered to the Buddha a napkin which he accepted. (*V.P.*, I, 296). We are further informed that *Visākhā*, as soon as she heard of the advent of the quarrelsome Kosambian *bhikkhus*, approached the Buddha to take his advice as to how she should deal with them. The Buddha advised her to

offer charities to the two parties of the quarrelsome Kosambian monks, (*V.P.*, I, 356). Visākhā prepared a golden water-pot for the Buddha. A *sāmaṇera* named Sumana brought water in that pot for the Buddha from Anotatta lake. (*D.C.*, IV, p. 135.) She offered a water pot and a broom to the Buddha, which he accepted and also instructed the *bhikkhus* to use them. Once she went to the Buddha and offered a palm-leaf fan, which he accepted (*V.P.*, II, 129-130). Visākhā was so very kind to the *bhikkhus* that she built a mansion for them. The *bhikkhus* at first hesitated to use it, but afterwards asked for Buddha's permission which was granted. (*V.P.*, II, 169).

Visākhā once went to the hermitage of Khadiravāṇiyarevata, but she found it to be in the midst of thorns and not fit for human habitation. (*D.C.*, II, 194-195). Visākhā was an important personage, because among the *Bhikkhus* if there were any matter for reference, it was referred to her, as we find in the case of Kuṇḍadhānāthera who used to walk about with a woman behind him. (*D.C.*, III, 54-55.) In the family of Visākhā young girls used to serve the *Bhikkhus* by making arrangements for their food, etc. (*D.C.*, III, 161.) Visākhā's son's daughter named Dattā who was entrusted with the care of the *Bhikkhusaṃgha* died in her absence. Visākhā was very much afflicted with grief. The Buddha consoled her (*D.C.*, III, pp. 278-279).

Visākhā was one day going to the city garden wearing all sorts of rich ornaments amongst which may be mentioned *mahālatā*, an ornament of extraordinary beauty and of immense value. (Cf. *Dhammapada Commy.*, I, 412.) On the way she thought why should she go to the city garden like a mere girl; it was better that she should go to the Vihāra and listen to the discourses of the Buddha. Moved by the thought, she went to the Lord, put off her ornament, *mahālatā* and gave it to her maid-servant to keep it and return it when she came out of the Vihāra. Thereafter she listened to the noble discourses of the Buddha. On coming out of the Vihāra, she asked for her ornament. The maid-servant said that she had left it in the Vihāra. Both of them returned to the Vihāra and found it. Visākhā offered it to the Lord, and under his directions built a Vihāra with the sale proceeds of the ornament, which amounted to nine crores and a *lākh*. Visākhā offered to her maid-servant all the merit that accrued for constructing the Vihāra. The latter approved of her charity and died shortly afterwards. (*Vimānavatthu Commy.*, pp. 187-189.)

Anulā was the queen of the king of Ceylon. Surrounded by five hundred girls, she bowed to the *theras* and honoured them to her heart's content. Thera Mahinda preached *dhamma* to them. Peta stories, Vimāna stories and Saccasaṃyutta were narrated to them. When they heard the most excellent portion of the doctrine, princess Anulā and her five hundred attendants attained *sotāpatti*. She became a believer in the Buddha, Dhamma and the Saṃgha. With her five hundred attendants she received the Pabbajjā ordination from Saṃghamittā Mahātherī. (*Dīpavaṃsa*, p. 68; cf. *Mahāvamsa*, Geiger's Text, pp. 108, 155.)

Gopikā was a Śākya princess. She was pleased with the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṃgha. She used to observe precepts fully, became disgusted with female life and meditated in order to become a man. (*Dīgha N.*, II, 271.)

Candā came of a Brahman family. She earned her living by begging from door to door. One day she came to the spot where Paṭācārā had just finished her meal. The *bhikkhunīs* saw her hungry and gave her some food to eat. She ate the food and took her seat on one side. She then listened to the discourse of the Therī and renounced the world. She practised hard to attain insight. Her knowledge matured and her determination was strong. Hence she succeeded in attaining arhatship with *paṭisaṃbhiddā* (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 120-121.)

Guttā came of a Brahman family at Sāvattthī. In her youth household life became repugnant to her. She obtained her parents' consent and entered the order under Mahāpajāpati

Gotamī. Thereafter she could not for sometime control her mind from external interests. Then the Master gave her suitable instructions, and she attained arhatship together with *paṭisambhiddā*. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 157-159.)

Vijayā came of a certain clansmen's family of Rājagaha. She was a friend of Khemā. When she heard that Khemā, a king's consort, had renounced the world, she went to Khemā, who taught her the Norm and ordained her. Very soon she won insight and after a short time attained arhatship with analytical knowledge. (*Th. Commy.* pp. 159-160.) Māra came, to tempt her by saying, "You are young and beautiful, I am also young and beautiful, let us enjoy ourselves with music." She replied, "I find delight in *rūpa, sadda, gandha*, etc. and I don't like soft-touch. I hate very much my rotten body which is easily destructible. My ignorance is dispelled." Then Māra left her. (*S.N.*, I, pp. 130-131).

Cālā, Upacālā and *Sisupacālā* were born in Magadha at the village of Nālaka as the children of a Brāhmaṇī named Surupasārī. They were younger sisters of Sāriputta. When they heard that their brother had left the world for the order, they too renounced the world and striving hard, attained arhatship. In vain Māra tried to stir up sensual desires in them. (*Th. Commy.*, 162-163; cf. *S.N.*, pt. I, pp. 132-134).

Uppalavannā came of a banker's family at Sāvattthī. Her skin was of the colour of the heart (*gabbha*) of the blue lotus. Hence she was called Uppalavannā. Many princes and banker's sons wanted to marry her. But she renounced the world, went to the *bhikkhūnīs* and was ordained. Thereafter one day she lighted a lamp, and by continually contemplating on the flame of the lamp, she gradually obtained arhatship with *adhiññā* and *paṭisambhiddā*. (*Th. Commy.*, 182 ff.) She was assigned a chief place among those who had the gift of *iddhi*. (*Manorathapūraṇī*, p. 207 ff.; *Āṅguttara N.*, I, 25).

The *Saṃyutta Nikāya* tells us that Therī Uppalavannā went to Andhavana to meditate. There she sat at the foot of the Śāla tree. Māra came to her and said to her, "You are sitting at the foot of a fully blossomed Śāla tree, are you not afraid of the wicked?" She replied, "I do not care for the wicked. I do not care for you." Māra left her. (Pt. 1, pp. 131-132). After defeating Māra, Uppalavannā was molested by her maternal uncle's son Ānanda, who was enamoured of her beauty and who wanted to marry her. Although Uppalavannā had become a *bhikkhūnī*, Ānanda could not give up the desire of marrying her. Once Ānanda concealed himself in the room of the Therī under her bedstead in her absence. When the Therī returned home and lay herself down on the bedstead, Ānanda suddenly came out and committed rape on her. The Therī informed the *bhikkhūnīs* of this fact, and through the *bhikkhūnīs* brought this to the notice of the Buddha, who prohibited the *bhikkhūnīs* from living in forests. (*D.C.*, II, 48-51.) Uppalavannā Therī acquired the power of performing a miracle by coming in to the presence of the Buddha to worship him with the pomp and grandeur of an individual monarch, being surrounded by a retinue extending over 36,000 *yojanas* and this miracle was visible to an assembly extending over twelve *yojanas*. (*D.C.*, III, p. 211.)

Sumaṅgalamātā came of a poor family of Sāvattthī. She was married to a basket maker. She acquired great merit. One day while reflecting on all she had suffered, she was much affected and her insight quickening, she attained arhatship with analytical knowledge. (*Th. Commy.*, 28-30.)

Puṇṇā or *Puṇṇikā* acquired great merit in her previous birth, but owing to her pride she could not root out *kilesas* (sins). She was born of a domestic slave at Sāvattthī in the household of Anāthapiṇḍika, the banker. She obtained *solāpattiphalam* after hearing the Sihanāda Suttanta. Afterwards Anāthapiṇḍika gave her freedom because she defeated a Brahman named Udakasuddhika. Puṇṇā renounced worldly life and entered the order. She practised insight and very soon attained arhatship with *paṭisambhiddā*. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 199 f.).

Sundarī was born at Benares as the daughter of Sujāta, a Brahman. On her brother's death, her father became overwhelmed with grief. With the advice of Therī Vāsīṭṭhī her

father renounced the world, met the Buddha at Mithilā, entered the order and in course of time attained arhatship. Sundarī heard of her father's renouncing the world. She sacrificed all her wealth and pleasures of all kinds. She secured her mother's consent to leave the world. She then entered the order and striving hard she attained arhatship with *paṭi-sambhida*. (*Th. Commy.*, 228 f.).

Vimalā was born at Vesālī as the daughter of a public woman. When advanced in years she was moved to see one day the venerable Mahāmoggallāna going about for alms. She went to his house to entice him. Mahāmoggallāna rebuked her. She was ashamed and became a believer and lay sister. Sometime after she entered the order and very soon attained arhatship. (*Th. Commy.*, 76-77.)

Mittākālīkā came of a Brahman's family in the town of Kammāsadamma in the kingdom of the Kurus. When she grew up she one day heard the teaching of the Great Discourse on the Mahāsatipatthāna and entered the order of sisters. For seven years she could not elevate herself intellectually. Later on she won arhatship together with analytical knowledge. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 89-90).

Sakulā (*Pakulā*) was born in a Brahman family at Sāvattthī. Seeing the Master accepting the gift of the Jetavana, she became a believer. One day she heard the preaching of an arhat and was greatly convinced. She entered the order, strove hard for insight and soon won arhatship. She was given the foremost place by the Master among the *bhikkhunis* possessing divine eyes. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 91 f.; cf. *Manorathapūraṇī*, pp. 219-220; cf. *Anguttara N.*, I, 25.)

Sonadinnā, a female devotee living in Nālandā used to serve the *bhikkhus* with the four requisites and used to observe the precept and *uposatha* with perfect regularity. She meditated on the four noble truths and attained *sotāpatti*. (*Vide my work, Heaven and Hell*, p. 53).

Alomā, a poor woman living at Sāvattthī in Benares not finding anything to offer, presented some rotten cooked rice without salt to the Buddha who accepted it. (*Ibid.*, p. 63).

Muttā came of a rich Brahman family of Sāvattthī. When she was twenty years old, she went to Mahāpajāpati the Gotamī and got ordination from her. She was practising *kamma-ghāna* and she was instructed by the Buddha to get herself free from all bonds. Afterwards she became an arhat. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 8-9.)

Punnā was the daughter of a leading Burgess of Sāvattthī. When she was about twenty years of age, she heard the great Pajāpati teach the doctrine, and renounced the world. She practised insight, being encouraged by the Master. In due course she attained arhatship. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 9-10.)

Dantikā came of a *purohita*'s family at Kosala. When she came of age, she acquired faith in the Buddha in the Jetavana, and later entered the order under Mahāpajāpati Gotamī at Rājagaha. While staying at Rājagaha, she climbed the Vulture's Peak after her meal, and while resting she developed insight and soon obtained arhatship with analytical knowledge. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 51-52.)

Vaddhesī was the nurse of Mahāpajāpati Gotamī. When her mistress renounced the world, she followed her. For twenty-five years she was harassed by the lusts of the senses and failed to acquire concentration of mind. One day she heard Dhammadinnā preach the Norm. She then began to practise meditation. Very soon she acquired the six supernatural powers. (*Th. Commy.*, 75-76).

Uttamā came of a householder family at Bandhumati. When she grew old, she heard Paṭācārā preach and entered the order. When Paṭācārā gave her admonition, she was established in insight and very soon won arhatship. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 47-48). Thirty sisters born in different families of different places heard Paṭācārā preach and were converted by her and entered the order. They practised insight and in course of time they won arhatship with *paṭisambhida*. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 118-120.)

(To be continued.)

BOOK-NOTICES.

DAWN OF A NEW INDIA, by KEDARNATH BANERJEE, Calcutta, 1927.

This most interesting little book contains three essays concerning the early days of British rule in India and matters which are already largely forgotten. The author writes of the Sannyasi Rebellion in Bengal, of Jagannath Tarka-panchanan who collaborated with Sir William Jones in his efforts to give Europeans a knowledge of Hindu Law, and of the College of Fort William which did so much to teach the languages of India to young officers in the East India Company's services.

The first great problem before the English governors of Bengal was the preservation of peace, and almost at the very beginning they were confronted with the Sannyasis, who in this instance were very far from being what their name implied—world-renouncers. A great Bengali novelist, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, has thrown a romantic halo round the Sannyasis, and represented them as Bengali Brahmans and Kayasthas (the clerical class), and their movement “as the natural reaction” against the Bengal Famine of 1769–1770 and the fiscal oppression of the Company's heartless underlings.” But Mr. Banerjee's researches into the Bengal Records show that they were really fighting Hindu monks from outside and the “very brethren of dacoits and mercenary soldiers and guards”—a race well-known in India. They began their raids into Bengal in 1763 and were not finally disposed of till 1775 by Warren Hastings, their suppression being “a task of peculiar difficulty from the characters of these robbers and their mode of operation.” They owed their long immunity from punishment to rapidity of action, lightness of equipment and constant movement, as has many another force in the history of guerilla warfare. It was due to the perseverance of Warren Hastings that they were at last destroyed, after having been a true scourge in Bengal for some twelve years. Several of their leaders acquired great notoriety: Majnūn Shāh Faqīr, Bhawānī Pāthak, Mūsā Shāh Faqīr, Paragul Shāh and Chirāgh 'Alī Shāh, to say nothing of a woman Devī Chaudhurānī, who conducted her depredations from a boat. The Muhammadan names of some of these leaders of Hindu ascetics will be noted. Occasionally the British officers in charge of operations against them met with disaster; owing chiefly to insufficient forces—an old failing of their nation. But the hunt after them was continuous and relentless, and in the end Warren Hastings put them down, a task in which he was assisted by many a gallant Englishman whose deeds have long been forgotten. Mr. Banerjee speaks of these efforts thus: “The suppressing of the Sannyasis was an achievement of which the great statesman might well have been proud, though it has been scarcely noticed by the historians,” and he has done well to remind us what kind of life it was that the Bengalis had to lead

in the first years of British rule and of the courage demanded of their new rulers.

Besides creating the Pax Britannica, Hastings, as soon as he felt that the threat of invasion was removed, set to work to plan laws and institutions for the new system of government. “The aims of our British rulers to make their rule durable and beneficent is clearly seen—for the first time—in the activities of Sir William Jones These show that the British occupation of India was not meant to be a passing blast.” As early as 1775 N. B. Halhed a civil servant of the Company, had produced under Warren Hastings a translation from a Persian translation of the Sanskrit code of Hindu law, but it was for obvious reasons not a satisfactory production, and in 1786 Lord Cornwallis, as Governor-General, commissioned the great scholar Sir William Jones, a judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, to make another translation from the Sanskrit itself.

Sir William Jones started in the right way by appointing an establishment of pandits and maulavis, and was fortunate enough to secure the services of a remarkable Hindu scholar, Pandit Jagannath Tarka-panchanan, even then an old man. Chiefly with his help, Sir William Jones by 1792 produced his great translation of the *Manava Dharmaśāstra* or “the Institutes of Hindu Law as compiled by Manu.” And then in 1794 he died too soon, though his old pandit lived on till 1806 in dignified retirement and died at the extraordinary age of 111 years.

Then it was that the British Government consolidated the Pax Britannica by teaching its judiciary the code of laws of the greater part of its subjects, the Hindus.

The next great step taken in the same direction was the establishment of the College of Fort William in 1800 by that unjustly neglected Governor-General Lord Wellesley—whom it is pleasant to note that Mr. Banerjee (p. 93) calls “a great genius and true imperialist.” He makes also at this point (p. 92) some remarks worth noting in the present juncture of affairs: “There have been many great emperors in the world, but sooner or later they have all perished. The Roman Empire lasted long because it was the rule, not of a family, but of a whole nation. Such also is the modern British Empire in India: it has been created and maintained by the genius, energy and perseverance of the British race. Therefore the fate of this empire naturally depends upon the intellect and character of the Englishmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen who come out to rule India as civil servants and military officers.”

Wellesley noted that, though the British had acquired power in India, their representatives—servants of a Mercantile Company—were unfit to act as a governing body. The result was that “the newly conquered provinces of Bengal and Madras had to pass through the terrible misery of a

period when the English in India enjoyed "power without responsibility." So he founded the College of Fort William, where young officers, civil and military, could learn the languages, law and philosophy of India, and created for the benefit of the pupils a series of professional chairs, of which the first occupants were men whose names have since become household words to students of things Indian.

The Court of Directors in England—as in the case of many of Wellesley's acts—did not appreciate the value of the College, and directed its immediate abolition on financial grounds, but Wellesley was too much for them. They never ceased, however, from trying to break it up and finally in 1854, after having long been partially suppressed, it was merged in the Board of Examiners. Nevertheless, despite its difficulties the College was of incalculable benefit to India through the knowledge of its inhabitants inculcated therein. This Institution did as much perhaps as any other to preserve intact British rule in India.

Mr. Banerjee has been right in bringing once again to the notice of all who are interested in India these three doings of the earlier Englishmen working there—the creation of peace, the preservation of the old law of India, and the teaching of the many languages of the people.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT, 1924. University of Mysore, Bangalore, Government Press, 1925.

The Mysore Government review of Dr. R. Shama Shastri's last Report shows that it covers monuments in thirteen villages including the twin temples at Mosale, raised by the Hoysalas and dedicated respectively to Vishnu and Siva, showing the eclecticism of that dynasty. In this connection it is interesting to remark that the Government directs that "steps should be taken to undertake the repairs at an early date of the Bûchêswara temple at Kôravangula, as important as the temples of Sômanâthpur and Halebid." Other remarks and orders also show that the Government is very much alive to the importance of preserving architectural remains in the State.

The Report deals also with MSS. which are of historical value, revealing a dynasty of Karnapura-râshtra, of another with the title of Kothandaparasurâma Mânônnata and yet another of the Prâgâlâs, and also a Jain university of Tapagachchha at Latapalli in Gujarât, which conferred degrees on both men and women. Finally the Department collected no less than 144 new epigraphical records, showing that it worked well during the year 1924.

There are excellent plates of the more important buildings, including elevations and plans of the most interesting twin temples at Mosale, of which an excellent account is given. On the Beṭṭadapura Hill is a cave containing an ornamental platform on which are two *lingas*, one smaller than the other. The numerous carvings connected with

these *lingas* are unique in their grouping and are well worth further investigation. A dignified illustration of a plain but well proportioned temple to Śambhunâthêśvara at Śambhunâthpur gives one a feeling of rest after a surfeit of the highly ornate representations of Dravidian architecture.

Of the MSS. described, the *Nâgakumâracharita* is of value, as throwing light in the history of the Nâgas, as to which all light, however dim, is valuable. The *Gadyakaramâmrta* gives an account of a Hoysala battle with the combined forces of the Pândyas, Magadhas and Kâlavyas (Pallavas) ending in the defeat of the Pândyas. Rudrasimha's *Vijâdnatarangini* is a fifteenth MS. of the story of a mythical king Śankardâsa. Mîsradhîrêśvara's *Dvijarâjôdaya* is a treatise on auspicious days, but gives a genealogy of the Mânônnata kings. Sômacharitrâgani's *Guruganarâtnâkara*, which was printed at Benares in 1910 throws "a flood of light" on the History of Gujarât in the latter half of the fifteenth century, showing a friendly feeling to have existed between the early Muhammadan conquerors and the conquered Hindus. And lastly Chandapâla's commentary on Trivikramabhâṭṭa's *Nalachampu* gives the earliest known reference to the Prâgâlâ dynasty. Altogether we have in this section of the Report a record of most useful work to the searcher into Indian history. In describing the *Nalachampu* Dr. Shama Shastri has a most interesting note on the term *Karnâṭa*, which he says "seems to have meant *Kar-nâḍu* a country of black soil, and the word *Karnâṭa* must necessarily have been a corrupt form of it." In this form it occurs in the *Nalachampu*, "a work which cannot be later than the tenth century."

In epigraphy the Report is an important one, as no less than 144 were inscriptions are recorded giving all kinds of information. By way of introduction here Dr. Shama Sastri gives a most valuable summary of the various reasons put forward [by Dr. Fleet] for and against the acceptance of the Ganga Plates as genuine. In describing the Ghattadahalli grant of the Vijayanagar King Harihara, *Śaka* 1308, (No. 25 of the list), which has 98 lines, Dr. Shama Sastri remarks that "the grant seems to be spurious." Similar illuminating notes are attached to inscription after inscription, showing the care exercised in dealing with them.

Of the more important inscriptions, plates are given. *E.g.*, No. 78, the Kodunjeruvu grant of the Ganga King, Avinita; No. 79, the Nallâla grant of the Ganga King, Durvinita; No. 80, the long Alôr plates of the Ganga Yuvârâja Mârasingha; No. 81, the Chôkuttûr grant of the Ganga King Simhavarma. Here we have a record of conscientious work well done.

The Report winds up with a short story of the foundation of the Archaeological Museum of Mysore on "the proposal made from this office." Dr. Shama Sastri is to be congratulated on the success of his efforts during the year covered by the valuable Report.

R. C. TEMPLE.

VEDIC STUDIES.

By A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., Ph.D.

(Continued from vol. LVI, p. 233.)

6. Yaksha.

Yaksha (neuter) is a somewhat difficult word that occurs about thirty times in the Vedic texts and that has not so far been satisfactorily explained by the exegetists. The explanations proposed for this word by the earlier ones are collected by Geldner on pp. 126, 127 of the *Vedische Studien*, Vol. 3, in the beginning of the article which he has written on this word. Geldner has there, after giving expression to the opinion that none of these explanations is satisfactory, come to the conclusion (p. 143) that *yaksha* means 1. (a) Erstaunen, Verwunderung, Neugierde; (b) Wunder, Rätsel; 2. Wunder, Kunststück, Zauber, (a) Hexerei, Zauberei; (b) Verzauberung; Verwandlung; (c) Gaukelei, Blendwerk, Illusion; (d) Wunderkraft, Wunderkur, Heilzauber; 3. Gegenstand der Bewunderung oder Neugierde, Kuriosität, (a) Wundertier; (b) Schaustück, Fest; (c) Naturwunder wie grosse Bäume u.s.w. M. Boyer who has likewise written an article on this word in the *Journal Asiatique* (1906, I, pp. 393-477), sees no necessity for the acceptance of this long array of meanings. Following the explanation of Roth (übernatürliches Wesen, geisterhafte Erscheinung) and Bergaigne (apparition surnaturelle), he thinks that *yaksha* denotes only 'a form likely to create feelings of astonishment in the beholder,' *une forme (visible de fait ou conçue comme telle) propre à étonner le regard*, and has, in his above-mentioned article, attempted to show that the meaning *fantôme, apparition, apparition merveilleuse, merveille*, fits in best with the context and is sufficient to explain every passage in which the word occurs. Oldenberg (*RV. Noten*, II, p. 44) agrees with M. Boyer in thinking that there is no necessity for a long series of meanings, and that one meaning is enough to explain all the passages in which the word occurs. This one meaning, however, is according to Oldenberg, 'wunderbare geheimnisvolle (darum häufig unheimliche) Wesenheit' and not 'a form likely to create feelings of astonishment in the beholder' as proposed by M. Boyer. And this seems now to be the opinion of Geldner also who in his latest book (*Rgveda-Übersetzung*, Part I, 1923) remarks, in connection with the verse 4. 3. 13, '*yaksham*; Heimlichkeit oder Blendwerk. *yaksha* ist etwas Geheimnisvolles oder Wunderbares' and thus seems to have abandoned his former suggestion in favour of that of Oldenberg.

The attempt to dispense with a long array of meanings and to make one meaning suffice for all passages is without doubt laudable; but it seems to me that in saying that this meaning is 'a wonderful, mysterious (and therefore sinister) being' or 'a form likely to create feelings of astonishment in the beholder', the savants above named have not quite hit the mark, and that these meanings do not, any more than those proposed by Geldner, fit in a number of passages, e.g., in RV., 10, 88, 13; AV., 8, 9, 8 and 11, 2, 24; Sat. Br. 12, 2, 3, 5. I propose therefore to investigate anew here the meaning of this word *yaksha*.

It is necessary for me to begin first by referring to the close correspondence that exists between the words *yaksha* and *bhūta* in post-vedic literature. In this literature, *yaksha* like *bhūta*, denotes a class of superhuman beings known as *devayonayaḥ* in Sanskrit literature (cf. Amarakośa, I, 11: *vidyādhara psaro-yaksha-raksho-gandharva-kinnarāḥ | piśāco guhyakāḥ siddho bhūto 'mī devayonayaḥ*), and as *vyantaráḥ* in Jaina literature (cf. Uttarādhyayana, p. 1084: *piśāya bhūyā jakkhā ya rakkhasā kinnarā ya kimpurīṣā | mahorajā ya gandhavā aṭṭhaviḥā vāṇamantará* and *Tattvārthadhigama-sūtra*, 4, 12). These beings are represented as dwelling in unoccupied houses, in trees, forests or woods, ponds, etc., which are then said to be possessed, *adhishṭhita*, by them; compare Geldner, l.c., p. 143, Jātaka Stories, Nos. 154 and 155, and

Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 36, and Index, s.v. *yaksha*. To *Yakshas* as to *Bhūtas*²⁵ temples were built, adoration paid and *bali* offered: and festivals, *yātrā* or *utsavā*, were instituted in their honour. They were invoked in times of danger, and vows were taken in honour of them at such times and also when people prayed for the fulfilment of any desire. Compare for instance the following passages from the *Jñātādharma-kathā* :—

(p. 417) *Rāyagihassa nayarassa bahiyā nāgāni ya bhūyāni ya jakkhāni ya indāni ya khandāni ya ruddāni ya sivāni ya vesāni ya vesamanāni ya tattha nam bahunam nāgapadimāni ya jāva vesamanāpadimāni ya maharīham pupphaccaniyam karettā jānu-pāya-vadiyā evam veyittā jai nam aham devānuppiyā dāragam vā dāriyam cā payyitvāmi teṇam aham tumham jāyam cā dāyam cā bhāyam cā akkhaya-mihim cā a-nivattemi.*

[Bhadra, wife of the caravan-leader, *sārthavāha*, Dhanya, thinks] "Outside the city of *Rājagṛha* are the temples of *Nāgas*, *Bhūtas*, *Yakshas*, *Indra*, *Skanda*, *Rudra*, *Śiva*, *Vesā*, and *Vaiśravaṇa*. There after a grand worship with flowers of the images of *Nāgas*, etc., up to *Vaiśravaṇa*, and after falling on the knees, saying thus: 'If, now, O beloved of the gods, I shall give birth to a son or a daughter, I shall then establish a worship of you, make gifts to you, appoint portions for you, and shall establish a permanent fund²⁶ for you.'"

(p. 409) *jūya-khalayāni ya vesāgarāni ya . . . sinjhāṭṭagāni ya tuyāni ya caukkāni ya caccarāni ya nāga-gharāni ya bhūya-gharāni ya jakkha-deulāni ya . . .*

[The robber *Vijaya* was in the habit of visiting and wandering through] "Gambling-dens, drink-saloons, courtesans' houses, places where three, four, and more roads meet. temples of *Nāgas*, *Bhūtas*, and *Yakshas* . . ."

(p. 758) *bhūyā sajjāyabhayā aṇṇam-aṇṇa-kāyam samaturāṅgemānā bahunam indāni ya khandāni ya rudda-siva-vesamaṇa-nāgānam bhūyāna ya jakkhāna ya ajja-kottakiriyaṇa ya bahūni uvāya-saṇi uvāimamānā ciṭṭhanti* [Some merchants, when threatened by an evil spirit, *mahāpīṣāca*, while travelling on a ship in the midst of the sea, become anxious, and] "Feeling fear and apprehension, and embracing each other (for support) are offering many offerings to many *Indras*, *Skandas*, *Rudras*, *Śivas*, *Vaiśravaṇas*, *Nāgas*, *Bhūtas*, *Yakshas*, *Āryās* and *Kottakriyās*."²⁷

(p. 212, 213) *uggā uggaputtā bhogā bhogaputtā evam rāṇṇā khattiyā māhaṇā bhaḍā johā . . . nāyā . . . sirasā kaṇṭhe mālakaḍḍā āviddha-maṇi-suvannā kappiya-hāra dāhahāra-tisaraya-palamba-palambamāṇa-kaḍḍisuttayā sukaya-sobhābharāṇā vattha-pavara-pahiriya candanavalittagāya-sarirā appegāyā hayagayā evam gaya-raha-sibiya-sandamāni-gayā . . . Rāyagiha-nagarasau majjham egadisim egāhimukhā nigacchanti*²⁸. . . *kiṇṇam bho devānuppiyā ajja Rājagihe nayare indamahe vā khandamahe vā evam rudda-siva-vesamaṇa-nāga-jakkha-bhūya-pādī-taṭṭāya-rukka-ceiya-pavvaya-ujjāṇa-giriṇṇā vā jaṇṇam uggā bhogā jāva egadisim egāhimukhā nigacchanti.*

²⁵ The investigations of anthropologists have shown that belief in the existence, and worship, of evil spirits (demons) plays a prominent role in the religious beliefs and practices of primitive people everywhere in the world; and the opinion has been expressed by writers on Vedic religion and mythology that such belief and worship were prevalent among the Aryans of Rgvedic times. Thus Oldenberg (*Religion des Veds*, p. 35f.) believes that the existence of such belief and practice is unmistakably indicated by certain details of the Vedic cult; and Hillebrandt (*Ved. Myth.*, III, p. X) says that the belief in the existence of evil spirits is met with to a small extent in the RV. and that the worship too of evil spirits must have been prevalent at the time though, as he thinks, no trace of such worship is to be seen in the RV. As we know from later literature that the worship of *Yakshas* and *Bhūtas* was general and wide-spread, it is permissible to infer that the worship of evil spirits in Rgvedic times too must have, to a great extent, consisted in the worship of *Yakshas* and *Bhūtas*, or at least, that *Yakshas* and *Bhūtas* were included in the evil spirits that received worship in the time of the RV.

²⁶ Wherewith, explains the commentator *Abhayacandra*, the charges for renovating the temple, etc., may be met.

²⁷ The commentator explains *āryā* as *prāsāna-rūpā durgā* and *kottakriyā* as *saiva mahi-shārūḍha-rūpā*, that is, perhaps, force in aspect.

²⁸ This *varṇaka* is not given in the edition; the commentator has, however, extracted it from one of the preceding five *Āgāsūtras* and reproduced it in his commentary (p. 208f. of the edition).

[Prince Megha sees one day] "Ugras, ugraputras, bhogas, bhogaputras, and likewise, persons born in royal families, Kshatriyas, Brāhmaṇas, king's servants, warriors, . . . who had bathed, . . . who were wearing garlands on their heads and necks and ornaments of gold and jewels, who were decked with *hāras*, *ardhahāras*, *trisarakas*, *pralambas*²⁹ and *kaṭisūtras*, and other well-made brilliant ornaments, who were wearing very fine clothes and had their bodies anointed with sandal, some mounted on horses, some on elephants, chariots and palanquins, moving in Rājagṛha in one direction, to one goal", and calling one of his entourage, inquires "What, O beloved of the gods? Is there to-day in Rājagṛha a festival (*utsava*) in honour of Indra or Skanda or Śiva, Rudra, Vaisravaṇa, or a *nāga*, *yaksha* or *bhūta*, or a *yātrā* to a river or pond or tree, temple, mountain, garden or hill, that the *ugras*, *bhogas*, etc., are going out in one direction, to one goal?"

The temples of Yakshas were known as *yakshāyatana* (cp. Jñātā., p. 528, *surappiye nāman jakkhāyatane*), *yakshadevakula* (cp. *ibid.*, p. 409, *jakkhadeulāṇi ya*), *yakshagṛha* or *yakshabhavana* (cp. Uttarādhyayanāsūtra, comm. on p. 162, *Rājagṛhe Viraprabhodyāne Manināyakasya yakshabhavane uttīrṇah*), *yakshaprāsāda* (cp. *ibid.*, p. 347; *Mandika-yakshaprāsāda*) or *yaksha* simply; (compare Jñātā., p. 417, *nāgāṇi ya bhūyāṇi ya jakkhāṇi ya*, 'temples of *nāgas*, *bhūtas*, and *yakshas*'); Vipākasūtra, p. 176, *Bhaṇḍire uyyāne Sudarisane jakkhe* 'Bhaṇḍira park; the *yaksha*-temple named Sudarisana; *ibid.*, p. 213, *Soriya-jakkho* 'the *yaksha*-temple known as Soriya'; and those of *bhūtas* were known as *bhūtagṛha* (cp. Jñātā., p. 409, *bhūyagharāṇi ya*) or simply *bhūta* (cp. Jñātā., p. 417, *nāgāṇi ya bhūyāṇi ya jakkhāṇi ya* cited above). The generic term *cāitya* was used to denote either class of temples—those of *yakshas* or of *bhūtas*: compare Uttarādhyayanāsūtra, p. 162, *Antarajikāpurīyaṁ bhūtagṛham cāityam*; *yakkha-cetiyaṇi* in Buddhaghosha's *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* on *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, I. 4: and Abhayacandra's explanation of *cāitya* as *vyantārāyatanaṁ* in his commentary on the Jñātā., p. 7. These *cāityas* seem to have played a prominent part in the religious life of the city or town in which they were situated. In the Jaina-sūtras specially, one finds that whenever the name of a town or city is mentioned, the name of the *cāitya* situated in it is also almost invariably mentioned; see, for instance, Jñātā., p. 1509, 1515ff. and Vipākasūtra, pp. 241ff.³⁰ The Buddhist Pāli books too sometimes mention *cāityas* in connection with towns; e.g., the Supatittha-cetiya in Rājagṛha is mentioned in the Vinaya-piṭaka, Mahāvagga, I, 22, 1; and the Cāpāla, Udena, Sattambaka, and Bahuputta *cetiya*s in Vesālī are mentioned in Dīgha., Mahāparinibbānasutta, 3, 1. So also do some Buddhist votive inscriptions³¹ at Bharaut, Nāsik and other places. They are occasionally mentioned in the Purāṇas,

²⁹ These are different kinds of necklaces worn round the neck. A *trisaraka* is a necklace that has three strings.

³⁰ The worship of *yakshas* and *yakshinis* still forms part of Jain religious observances. Read in this connection the introduction to the second edition of the "Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa Inscriptions" (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II) with its frequent allusions to *yakshas*; see also Plate 17 therein.

³¹ Nos. 693, 699, 987, 988, 1058, 1059, etc., in Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X); see Index of Miscellaneous Terms given at the end, s. v. *chētiyaghara* and following words. The words *chētiyaghara* and *chāitya* are there explained by Lüders as 'Buddhist building'. Considering however that among the Buddhist inscriptions are two—Nos. 1143 and 871—that record the gift of a *yaksha* and a *yakshi* (that is, of images of them) and one (No. 1206) that seems to record the gift of a *bhūdayana* (for *bhūtapata*? stone-slab with the image of a *bhūta* engraved on it), it seems more natural to give the word *chāitya* its usual meaning and to understand in these inscriptions a reference to temples of *bhūtas* or *yakshas*. It is true that such temples have nothing to do with Buddhism or with the life of Buddhists as we know of these from the books; but the gift of images of a *yaksha* and a *yakshi* referred to above shows clearly that their worship must have been prevalent amongst Buddhists also at that time and this makes it probable that the word *chāitya* retains its meaning of 'temple dedicated to *yaksha* or *bhūta*' in Buddhist inscriptions (and in Buddhist books?) also. It may, in passing, be observed that the personal names also, contained in some of the inscriptions, as for instance, the names Nāga, Nāgadatta, Nāgadina, Nāgadeva, Nāgasri, Nāgapālita; Yakhadina, Yakhadāsi, Yakhī, Yakhila; Bhuta, Bhutarakhita and Bhutapāla (see Index of Personal Names given at the end) bear witness to the prevalence of the worship of *nāgas*, *yakshas*, and *bhūtas* at that time.

Itihāsas and other Brāhmanical books also; compare, for instance, the Rāmāyana, 2, 56, 33 : *caityāny āyatanāni ca* *sthāpayamāsa Rāghavaḥ* : 2, 71, 42 : *devāyatana-caityeṣu dīnāḥ paśhi-mṛgās tathā* : 2, 3, 18 : *devāyatana-caityeṣu* : 2, 17, 16 : *caityaṁ cāyatanāni 'ca | pradakṣhiṇam parihaṛan* ; in Agnipurāṇa (apud Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, *Vratakhanda*, ch. 21, p. 344) *caityeṣu āyatanēṣu ca | devānāṁ caiva rathyaṁ* : in Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa (apud Hemādri l.c., p. 353) *kūṭāgāreṣu caityeṣu* : in the Mahābhārata, 2, 102, 33 : *devāyatana-caityeṣu prākāraṭṭhalakeṣu ca* ; Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, p. 208, *parvasu ca* *caitya-pūjāḥ kīrayet* ; p. 243, *pratipannam caityasthāne rātrau* *upahāram kīrayet* ; p. 56, *caitya-puṇya-sthāna-vana-setubandhāḥ kīryāḥ*. In all these instances, the juxtaposition of the word *devāyatana* shows that the word *caitya* means 'temple of yaksha or bhūta' as the compound *devāyatana-caitya* means 'temples dedicated to gods and to evil spirits.' The presiding deity of the Daṇḍapāṇi temple in Benares, that pious devotees visit every day, is also a yaksha, as is related in ch. 32 of the *Kāśikhanda*.

The worship of yakshas and bhūtas is referred to in the Bhagavad-gītā, where it is said in XVII, 4,³² that *sātvika* people worship gods (*deva*), *rājasa* people yakshas and *rākshasas*, and *tāmasa* people, ghosts (*preta*) and hosts of bhūtas, and in IX, 25,³³ that the worshippers of bhūtas go to them while the worshippers of the Lord go to Him. Yakshas and bhūtas are both objects of *tarpaṇa* (with water) in the daily *brahma-yajña* ceremony prescribed for the householders of the first three castes (cp. *Āś. GS.* 3, 4, 1). Similarly, the *bhūtayajña*, which consists in the offering of *bali* to bhūtas, (compare TA. 2, 10 : *yaj bhūtebhyo balim harati tad bhūtayajñāḥ*) is also daily prescribed for such householders (cp. *ibid.*, 3, 1). The yaksha-bali rite³⁴ is referred to by Ujvaladatta in his scholium on the Uṇādisūtras, 4, 123, in the Jātaka Stories Nos. 347 and 455, while its wide prevalence is attested by the common saying *yakṣānūropo balih* : 'As is the yaksha, so is the bali,' (that is, the *bali* corresponds to the yaksha ; if the yaksha is great, the *bali* offered will be considerable : if the yaksha is negligible, the *bali* too is negligible) cited by Śaṅkara in his commentary on the Chān. Up. 6. 32 ; (see also Laukikanyāyāṇjali II. p. 64 : *yādṛṣo yakṣas tādṛṣo balih*). TA. 1, 31, 123 gives details of the Vaiśravaṇa-yajña ceremony in which *bali* is offered to Vaiśravaṇa (i.e. Kubera) who is the lord of Yakshas, but who is, remarkably enough, referred to by the mantra *sarvabhūtādhipateye namaḥ* ; (the commentator Bhaṭṭa-bhāskara explains *sarvabhūtānām* alternatively as *yaksha-guhyakānām*) as the 'lord of all bhūtas.'

The fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of every month is known as *bhūta-caturdaśī* and is held sacred to the bhūtas. On that day are performed *vratas* intended to win the favour of Śiva, lord of the bhūtas : see Hemādri, l.c. p. 50 ff. This day however is held consecrated to the Yakshas also, and accordingly, on this day are performed the *vratas* in which worship is offered to Yakshas (namely, the Kṣhemavrata, p. 154), and to Vaiśravaṇa, lord of the Yakshas (p. 155). The Saurapurāṇa (apud Hemādri, l.c. p. 156) prescribes the performance on this day of the Kṛṣṇa-caturdaśī-vrata, in which the figure of a Yaksha made of bdellium (*guggula*) should be burnt, and says that in consequence of this *vrata*, the performer goes to the world of the Pināka-bearer, that is, of Śiva, the lord of bhūtas (*kṛṣṇapakṣe caturdaśyām yakṣam guggulakam dāhet | sa yāti paramam sthānam yatra devīḥ pinākadhṛk*).

It may further be mentioned that according to the Purāṇic mythology, Śāna (or Rudra) the lord of bhūtas, and Kubera (or Vaiśravaṇa) the lord of Yakshas both dwell in the north in the Himālayas and are neighbours, and that the Jaina writers so closely associated yakshas

³² *yajante sātvikā devān yakṣarakṣaṁsi rājasāḥ |*

pretān bhūtagaṇānī cānye yajante tāmasā janāḥ ||

³³ *bhūtāni yānti bhūtejyā yānti madyājino'pi mām |*

³⁴ It may be observed, that analogous to the *bhūtābali* and *yakṣābali* rites, the Gṛhyaśūtras know of a *śarpībali* rite also where *bali* is offered to *śarpas* or snakes (*nāgas*), compare *Āśv. GS.* 2, 1, Nṛsimha's *Prayogapārijāta* (Nirṇayasāgara ed.), pp. 434 ff.

with *bhūtas* that in a story related in the *Jñātādharmakathā* (Adhyayana 16, p. 1149) the wives of three Brāhmaṇa brothers are respectively named *Nāgasiri*, *Bhūyasiri* and *Jakkhasiri*.³⁶

The details given above show how close is the correspondence between the words *yaksha* and *bhūta* in post-vedic literature. This correspondence is no less close in the Vedic literature also, as can be seen from the comparison of some passages of the *Bṛhad. Upanishad*. In this *Upanishad*, the word *mahat* is found used as a qualifying epithet in five passages only; in one it is an epithet of *karma* (1, 4, 15: *mahat puṇyam harma karoti*) while in the other four, it is an epithet of Brahman described as *mahad bhūtam* in two passages (2, 4, 10: *asya mahato bhūtasya niśvasitam etad yad Rigvedo Yajurvedah* . . . ; 2, 4, 12: *idam mahad bhūtam anantam apāram vijñānaghana eva*) and as *mahad yaksham* in two other sentences occurring in 5, 4, 1 (*sa yo haitan mahad yaksham prathamajam veda satyam brahmeti; evam etan mahad yaksham prathamajam veda satyam brahmeti*). In the same way, to the epithet *yakshasya adhyaksham* used of Agni *Vāisvānara* in RV. 10, 88, 13 corresponds the epithet *bhūtasya adhyakshāḥ* used in AV. 1. 31. 1 of the four *āsāpālāḥ* 'lords of the quarters' (of whom Agni is one); compare also *bhūtasya* . . . *patir eka āsīt* in RV. 10, 121, 1. Similarly, Śat. Br. 11, 2, 3, 5: *mahad dhaiva yaksham bhavati* corresponds to Āśv. GS. 3, 9, 6: (*snātako vai*) *mahad bhūtam bhavati*; and the words *yaksha* and *bhūta* are used parallelly in TB. 3, 11, 1, 1: *tvayīdam antaḥ | viśvam yaksham viśvam bhūtam viśvam subhūtam*.

It follows then from all this, and especially from the correspondence of *mahad yaksham* with *mahad bhūtam* in the *Upanishad* passages noted above, that the two words are convertible and that *yaksha*=*bhūta*. And it is remarkable that Bhāskaraśāya, the famous and most learned Tantrik writer of the Śākta school, has explained *yaksham* in AV. 10, 2, 32, as *mahābhūtam*. It seems to have been felt by Roth too that *yaksha* is equivalent to *bhūta*: for in the PW. (s.v. *yaksha*) he has correctly explained *yaksha* in AV. 8, 9, 8; RV. 10, 88, 13 and TB. 3, 11, 1, 1 as 'die Wesen' and the word *yakshabhṛt* in RV. 1, 190, 4, as 'die Wesen tragend, erhaltend'. The commentator Bhaṭṭabhāskara, too, has, on the other hand, as we have seen above, explained the word *bhūta* in TA. 1, 31, 123 as *yaksha-guhyaka*.

Now the chief meanings of *bhūta* are—(a) being (concrete); such beings in the collective—all beings, the creation world, universe; a particular class of superhuman beings; evil being, evil spirit; and (b) being (abstract), essence, substance, virtue, might, power, etc. The meanings 'essence, substance, might, power,' etc., are not given by the lexicographers; but nevertheless, there can be no doubt that *bhūta* has these meanings quite regularly, for it is derived from the root *bhū*, which means not only 'to be' but also 'to be powerful, to prevail, to predominate, to be master of'; compare the meanings of the cognate words *bhāva* and *prabhāva* and of the allied word *śattva*, which is derived likewise from a root (*as*) meaning 'to be' and which is a synonym of *bhūta*. And these meanings of *bhūta* are enough, as I shall show now, to explain the sense of the majority of the passages in which the word *yaksha* (which, as I have shown above, is its synonym) occurs.

Bṛhad. Up. 5, 4: *tad vai tad etad eva tad āsa satyam eva sa yo haitan mahad yaksham prathamajam veda satyam brahmeti jayatīmān lokān jita in nu asāv asad ya evam etan mahad yaksham prathamajam veda satyam brahmeti satyam hy eva brahma ||*

"That (namely, Brahman), verily, was this (universe); that verily was the Real. He who knows this great first-born being, Brahman, as the Real, conquers these worlds. How could he be conquered who knows that this great first-born being, Brahman, is verily the Real? For Brahman is verily the Real." The epithet 'first-born,' *prathamaja*, seems here to be used in the sense of 'first existing'; compare *Bṛhad. Up.* 1, 4, 10: *brahma vā idam agra āsīt*. Compare also TA. 10, 1, 4: *prajā'patih prathamajā' ṛtasyātmā nātma'nam abhi sam' babhūva*.

³⁶ Compare also *Sūtrakṛtāṅgaśūtra*, p. 674: *śāgaheum vā bhūyaheum vā jakkhaheum vā* 'for the purpose of (worshipping) *nāgas*, *bhūtas* or *yakshas*.'

Kenopanishat, 3, 2 : *tad dhaishām vijāñau tebhyo ha prādurbabhūva tan na vyajānanta kim idam yaksham iti* ||

"It (Brahman) became aware of (this thought of) theirs; it manifested itself before them. They did not know (what it was, and thought within themselves) 'What is this being?'" Similarly, *yaksha*=being in the other passages of this *khaṇḍa* where this word recurs.

Gopatha-brāhmaṇa, 1, 1, 1 : *brahma vā idam agra āsīt svayambhū ekam eva tad aikshata mahad vai yaksham tad ekam evāsmi hantāham mad eva manmātram dvitīyam devam nirmimā iti... tasya... lalāte sneho yad ārdryam ajāyata tenānandat tam abravīt mahad vai yaksham suvedam avidāmāhīti* ||³⁶

"At first, verily, the self-born Brahman existed alone. It considered 'Verily, I alone exist, the great being, That (that is, Brahman); well, I shall create from myself a second god like to me'. . . . At the moisture, wetness, that was produced on its forehead, it felt glad; It³⁷ said: 'We have verily easily got the great being'. " *Mahad yaksham*, the great being referred to here, is water, *āpah*, which at first appears as *sneha ārdryam* on the forehead and then (see *khaṇḍa* 2) as *svedadhārdh*, 'streams of perspiration' in the pores of its skin, and is in *khaṇḍa* 3, expressly called by that name (*tā āpah sṛṣṭvā anuikshata*). Regarding the creation of Water first by the Brahman, compare Manu, 1, 8 : *apa eva sasarjādau tāsu vīryam avāsrjat*; Śākuntala, 1, 1 : which refers to Water as *yā sṛṣṭiḥ sṛṣṭur ādyā* : Ait. Up. 1, 1f. ; *sa īkshata lokān nu sṛjā iti sa imān lokān asṛjatāmbho marīcīr maram āpah*; Sat. Br. 6, 1, 3, 1 : *prajāpatir vā idam agra āsīt eka eva | so'kāmayata bahu syām prajāyeyeti so' śrāmyat sa tapo'tapayata tasmāc chrātāt tepāt āpo'sṛjyanta*; compare also Kathopanishat, 2, 1, 6 : *yah pūrvam tapaso jātam adbhyaḥ pūrvam ajāyata* which also says impliedly that *tapas* and *āpah* were first-born beings.

TB. 3, 12, 3, 1 : *prathamajam devam havishā vidhema svayambhū brahma paramam tāpo yat | sū eva putrah sū pītā sū mātā tāpo ha yaksham prathamam sam babhūva* ||

"Let us worship with oblation the first-born god, namely, Tapas, the self-born Brahman, the highest. He alone is the son, he the father, he the mother. Tapas was born the first being." Compare Kathopanishat, 2, 1, 6 cited above. It is said frequently in the Upanishads and elsewhere that Brahman, after the desire arose in it to create, performed *tapas*; and this has led to *tapas* being regarded as the first thing created by Brahman. Compare Śāyana's commentary on this verse : *yoyam tapobhimānī devaḥ sa prathamajah | tathā copanishadi sṛṣṭi-prakarane prathamajatvam āmnāyate | sokāmayata bahu syām prajāyeyeti sa tapotapayata*; compare also AV. 11, 8, 6 : *tāpo ha jāñe kārmanas tat tē jyesṭhām upāsata* 'Tapas was born from action; that did they worship as the eldest.'

TB. 3, 11, 1, 1 : *tvayīdām antāḥ | viśvam yaksham viśvam bhūtam viśvam subhūtam*.

"Within thee is all being, all creation, all prosperity." This is a formula that is used twenty-four times (with variations in the number of the second personal pronoun when required by the context) in respect of the twenty-four bricks, *ishtakāḥ*, used in the *Nāciketa-sayana*. These bricks are identified with the earth, waters, sky, etc., and each of these is panegyrised as the container of the whole universe. The expressions *viśvam yaksham* and *viśvam bhūtam* mean almost the same thing; compare also TA. 10, 16, 1 : *viśvam bhūtam bhuvanam citram*, which corresponds exactly to *viśvam yaksham viśvam bhūtam viśvam subhūtam* here.

AV. 8, 9, 8 : *yā'm pracyulām anu yajñā h pracyavanta upatishṭhanta upatishṭhamānām | yasyā vrate prasavē yaksham ējati sū virāḍ śhayaḥ paramē vyōman* ||

"After whom, when she is going, the sacrifices go and with whose approach they approach; following whose ordinance and through whose impulse, the world moves,—she, O sages,

³⁶ So corrected by Whitney in his Grammar, § 848, instead of the *avidāmā itī* of the editions.

³⁷ I read *tad abravīt* instead of *tam abravīt* as printed in the edition.

is the Virāj in the highest heaven." This verse is the answer given by Kāśyapa to the inquiry made in the preceding verse by the six sages about the nature of Virāj who is said to be the father of Brahman. In contrast with *pracyuṭām* and *pracyavanta* in the first *pāda*, one expects *pratishṭhamānām* and *pratishṭhanta* in the second *pāda* ('after whom, when she is going, the sacrifices go and when she is firmly established, are firmly established') instead of *upatishṭhamānām* and *upatishṭhanta* that are found there. It is not therefore improbable that these latter words are here used in the sense of *pratishṭhamānām* and *pratishṭhanta*. Compare *Prāśnopanishat*, 2, 4: *tasminn utkrāntasy ahetare sarva evotkrāmanṭe tasmīnś ca pratishṭhamāne sarva eva pratishṭhante tad yathā makshikā madhukara-rājānam utkrāmantam sarva evotkrāmanṭe tasmīnś ca pratishṭhamāne sarva eva pratishṭhante* 'when it (*sc.* the *prāṇa*) departs, all the others depart, and when it stays fast, all others stay fast; just as, when the king-bee departs all the bees depart and when he stays fast, all stay fast.'

It will be seen that the second half-verse speaks of the whole universe being controlled by, and obeying the impulse of, the Virāj while the first half-verse speaks, seemingly, of the sacrifices only, *yajñāḥ*, going when the Virāj goes and coming (or staying) when the Virāj comes (or stays). This is, to say the least, incongruous, and the more so as the sacrifices are not such important things as to deserve mention in this connection. One would rather expect in the first half-verse also mention to be made of the whole universe going and coming (or staying) according as the Virāj goes and comes (or stays); compare the word *sarve* in the Upanishad passage *sarva evotkrāmanṭe . . . sarva eva pratishṭhante* cited above. I am therefore led to believe that the word *yajñāḥ* here in the first half-verse denotes 'universe', that is, that it has the same meaning as the word *yaksha* in the second half-verse. In other words, the view of the Indian commentators that sees in *yaksha* a derivative from the root *yaj* seems to be justified by the parallelism here of the two words *yajña* and *yaksha*.

AV. 8, 9, 25-26: *kó nū gaúh ká ekarshī kim u dhā'ma ká āśishah |*

yakshām pṛthivyā'm ekavṛ'd ekartūh katamó nū sáh || 25 ||

eko gaúr éka ekarshīr ékam dhā'maikadhā'sishah |

yakshām pṛthivyā'm ekavṛ'd ekartūr ná'ti ricyate || 26 ||

"Who then is the bull, who the sole seer, what the abode and what the desires? The being that on earth is one-seasoned, one-fold,—who is he? The bull is one, one the sole seer and one-grouped are the desires. The being that on earth is one-seasoned, one-fold, he is not different." M. Boyer, following M. Henry, has understood these verses as referring to the sun (*āditya*), that is, to the sun considered as the Supreme Being. This is not incorrect; but I believe that it is preferable to refer the verses, with Geldner (*l.c.* p. 129) to Brahman itself, to the Virāj that is spoken of in the opening verses of this hymn. The Brahman is *ekarshi*, the sole seer, because from it come forth as its breath, the *R̥gveda*, *Yajurveda*, *Sāmaveda*, etc.; see *Bṛhad. Up.* 2, 4, 10: *asya mahato bhūtasya nīvasitam etad yad ṛgvedo yajurvedah sāmavedo 'tharvāṅgīrasa itihāsaḥ purāṇam vidyā upanishadaḥ ślokāḥ sūtrāṇy anuvyākhyānāni vyākhyānāny asyaivaitāni sarvāṇi nīvasitāni*. The Brahman is *ekavṛt*, one-fold, because it is one and changeless; compare *Bh. Gītā*, 12, 3: *sarvatragam acintyam ca kūṭastham acalam dhruvam*³⁸ "The imperishable Brahman that is all-pervading, unthinkable, unchanging, immutable, eternal"; it is the *dhāma* or abode (of all); compare *ibid.* 11, 38: *vetāsi vedyam ca param ca dhāma* 'Thou art the knower, and the known; (thou art) the supreme abode'; *ibid.* 10, 12: *param brahma param dhāma pavitram paramam bhavān* 'Thou art the supreme Brahman, the supreme abode, the highest purifier'; *Gauḍapāda-kārikā*, 4, 100: *durdarśam atigambhīram ajam sāmyam viśāradam | budhvā padam andāntvam namas-kurmo yathābalam*; and *Maitryupanishad*, 6, 33: *tataḥ buddhaḥ sattvāntarastham acalam amṛtam acyutam dhruvam viṣṇu-saṅjñitam sarvoparam dhāma satyakāma-sarvajñatva-*

³⁸ And also perhaps because in it all the gods and other things become one; (compare AV. 13, 4, 13: *ete asmin devādekaevāḥ bhavanti*. "In him all these gods become one" said of the Supreme Being, called *Śaṇyit* in this hymn.

samyuktam . . . paśyati. In the Brahman are all *āśishah* or desires ; compare Ch. Up. 8, 1, 5 : *etat satyam brahmapuram asmin kāmāḥ samāhitāḥ* : ' In this citadel, namely Brahman (so Śaṅkara explains the word *brahmapuram*) are placed all desires ' ; Maitryupani-
shat, 6, 30 : *atra hi sarve kāmāḥ samāhitāḥ* : ' Here (in the Brahman) are all desires placed ' ;
Ait. Up. 5, 2 : *saṅkalpaḥ kratuḥ asuḥ kāmo vaśa iti sarvāṇy evaitāni prajñānasya nāmadhe-
yāni bhavanti . . . prajñānam brahma* : ' Saṅkalpa, kratu, asu, kāma, vaśa—all these are
names of only prajñāna . . . prajñāna is Brahman ' . The Brahman is *ekartu*, one-seasoned,
because perhaps there is no succession of days and nights in Brahmaloḥka or to the Brahman
there is but only one long unending day, and hence only one 'season' ; compare Ch. Up. 8,
4, 1 : *naitam setum ahordtre tarataḥ . . . etam setum tīrtvāpi naktam ahar evābhiniśpadyate
sakṛd-vibhāto hy evaiśha brahmalokaḥ* . " This bridge is not crossed by day and night ; having
crossed this bridge, even night becomes day ; in this Brahmaloḥka it is always day " ; *ibid.*, 3,
11, 3 : *na ha vā asmā uleti na nimlocati sakṛd divā hāmai bhavati ya etām evam brahmopani-
śhutam veda* " To him who thus knows the Brahma-mystery, there is no sun-rise and no sun-
set ; it is day to him once for all " . Compare also Gauḍapādakārikā, 3, 35 : *tad eva nir-
bhayam brahma . . . ajam anidram asvapnam . . . sakṛdvibhātam sarvajñam* : " That
is the fearless Brahman . . . unborn, sleepless, dreamless . . . all-knowing, to which
it is always day " ; and Muktikopanishat, 2, 73 : *sakṛd-vibhātam tv ajam ekam aksharam |
alepākam sarvagatam yad advayam tad eva cāham sakalam vimukta om* .

M. Boyer, in the course of his explanation of these verses, says (p. 419) that, *a priori*,
there is no reason to suppose that the five questions in v. 25 refer to the same person or thing,
but that, as a matter of fact, the answers in v. 26 are capable of being referred to one deity,
namely the sun. This is because he understands the last pāda of v. 26 to mean that ' the
marvel (as already said above, *yaksha* = merveille in M. Boyer's opinion) on the earth . . .
is not surpassed by any ' . It seems to me however that the words *nāti ricyate* should be
understood, not as ' is not surpassed ' but as ' does not remain over ; is not different ' , and
that therefore these words in v. 26 refer to the same subject, and that hence the questions in
v. 25 too refer to the same subject.

Ekadhāśishah means literally, ' the desires become one (in that being) ' , that is, that all
desires are found at once in that being ; see above.

AV. 10, 2, 31-33 : *aṣṭā'cakrā nāvadvārā devā'nām pū'r ayodhyā' |
tāsyām hiranyāyah kōśah svargō jyōtishā'vṛtaḥ || 31 ||
tāsmīn hiranyāye kōśe tryāre triprātishhite |
tāsmīn yād yakshām ātmanvāt tād vai brahmavido viduḥ || 32 ||
prabhṛd'jamānām hīriṇīm yāśasā samparivṛtām |
pūram hiranyāyīm brāhmā' viveśā' parājitām || 33 ||*

" The fortress of the gods has eight wheels (i.e., circumvallations) and nine doors and is inex-
pugnable ; in it is a sheath of gold, heaven, enveloped in splendour ; verily, the Brahma-
knowers know the animate being that is in this sheath of gold which has three spokes and is
thrice-supported. Into this resplendent, yellow, invincible fortress of gold, enveloped in
glory, entered the Brahman."

(To be continued.)

BUDDHIST WOMEN.

BY DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D.

(Continued from page 54.)

Uttarā came of a certain clansmen's family at Sāvattthī. When grown up she heard *Paṭācārā* preach the Norm. She became a believer, entered the Order and became an *arhat*. (*Th. Commy*, pp. 161-162.)

Uttarā was a *therī* who was 120 years old. She went to beg for alms. Once, while going for alms, she met the Buddha on the way and when going to salute him, she fell down. The Buddha delivered a sermon to her, and she having attained the first stage of sanctification died. (*D.C.*, vol. III, p. 110.)

Khujjuttarā was the maid servant of Sāmāvatī, queen of King Udena of Kosambī. Her daily duty was to buy flowers from Sumana, a garland-maker for eight *kahāpanas*. Once the Buddha together with the *bhikkhusaṅgha* was invited to take meals in Sumana's house. *Khujjuttarā* waited on her and heard the sermon delivered by the Buddha. She obtained *sotāpattiphalaṃ* after hearing the sermon. In former days she used to steal four *kahāpanas* out of eight *kahāpanas* given to her by her mistress for buying flowers. After having obtained *sotāpattiphalaṃ* she brought flowers to the value of eight *kahāpanas*. She confessed her guilt when asked why she brought such a large quantity of flowers. She told Sāmāvatī that she had acquired knowledge and came to realise that stealing things is a sin committed by a person who listened to the Buddha's sermon. Sāmāvatī after listening to the *dhmma* repeated by her obtained *sotāpattiphalaṃ*. She was well versed in *Tripitaka*. (*D.C.*, I, pp. 208 f.)

Dinnā was an *upāsikā* of the Buddha. She was the queen of King Uggasena. A king promised to the deity of a *nigrodha* tree that he would worship the deity with the blood of one hundred kings of Jambudīpa if he got the throne after his father's death. He then defeated all the kings gradually and went to worship the deity, but the deity, seeing that many kings would be killed, being compassionate to them, refused his worship on the ground that the queen of King Uggasena whom he had defeated was not brought. The king had her brought, and she preached a sermon on the avoidance of life-slaughter in their presence. The deity approved and the king refrained from life-slaughter, and released the defeated and captured kings, who praised *Dinnā* for this act. It was due to her that so many kings were saved. (*D.C.*, II, p. 15 f.)

Sonā came of a clansmen's family at Sāvattthī. In course of time, after marriage, she became the mother of ten sons and was known as *Bahuputtikā*. The *Dhammapada Commy*. says that she had seven sons and seven daughters (*D.C.*, II, pp. 276-278). On her husband renouncing the world she divided all her riches equally between her sons. In a very short time her sons and daughters-in-law ceased to show respect. She then entered the Order of the *bhikkhunīs* and began to practise insight strenuously in her old age. The master gave her suitable instructions. *Sonā Bhikkhunī* then attained arhatship. (*Th. Commy.*, 95.) She occupied the foremost place among the *bhikkhunīs*, making great exertion (*Manorathapūraṇī*, 218-219; cf. *A.N.*, I, 125).

Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakeśā came of the family of a banker at Rājagaha. When grown up, she one day saw *Satthuka*, the *purohita*'s son, being led to execution by the city guard. She fell in love with him at first sight. She resolved to die if she did not get him. Her father heard of this and got *Satthuka* released by bribing the guard heavily. *Satthuka* was brought to *Bhaddā*, who, decked in jewels, waited upon him. He saw her jewels and coveted them. He told *Bhaddā* to get ready an offering to be given to the cliff deity. *Bhaddā* did so. She adorned herself with all her jewels and accompanied her husband to the precipice with an offering. On reaching the top of the precipice, *Satthuka* told her to put off all her ornaments which he had come there to take. In vain *Bhaddā* pleaded that she herself and all her ornaments belonged to him. *Satthuka* did not take any notice of her pleadings. He wanted all her ornaments. *Bhaddā* then prayed for an embrace with all her jewels on.

Satthuka granted her prayer. Bhaddā embraced him in front and then, as if embracing him from the back, pushed him over the precipice. Satthuka died (cf. *Dhammapada Commy.*, vol. II, pp. 217 f.). Thereafter Bhaddā did not come home, but she left the world and entered the Order of the Niganthas. She learnt the doctrine of the Niganthas and left their company. Thereafter she found no one equal to her in debate. She setup the branch of a *jambu* tree on a heap of sand at the gate of some village or town, with the declaration that any body able to join issue with her in debate should trample on this bough. Sāriputta ordered some children who were near the bough, to trample on it. The children did so. When Bhaddā saw the bough trampled, she challenged Sāriputta to a debate before some Śakyan recluses and was advised to go to Buddha for refuge. She went to the Buddha who discerned the maturity of her knowledge. Buddha spoke a verse and she attained arhatship with analytical knowledge. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 99 f.) Bhaddā was assigned a chief place among the *bhikkhunis*: possessing ready wit. (*Manorathapūraṇī*, p. 375; cf. *Anguttara Nikāya*, I, 25.)

Sāmā came of a rich householder's family at Kosambī. She was moved by the death of her dear friend, the lay-disciple Sāmavati. One day she listened to Elder Ānanda preaching and acquired insight. On the seventh day after this she attained arhatship with a thorough grasp of the *Dhamma* in form and meaning. (*Th. Commy.*, 44-45.)

Another *Sāmā* who came of a clansmen's family at Kosambī, was a friend of Sāmavati, whose death afflicted her so much that she could not gain self-control for twenty-five years. In her old age she heard a sermon through which her insight expanded and she won arhatship with *pañisambhidā* (analytical knowledge). (*Th. Commy.*, 45-46.)

Ubbiri came of the family of a rich householder at Sāvattihī. She was very beautiful, and was brought to the palace by the king of Kosala. A few years later a daughter was born to her. This daughter was named Jivā. The king saw the child and was very much pleased. He then had Ubbiri anointed as queen. After a few years Jivā died. The mother used to go to the cemetery and shed tears. Questioned by the Exalted One as to why she was weeping, she said that she was shedding tears for her deceased daughter. She was questioned by the Exalted One as to which of the 84,000 daughters she was weeping for. She then spent a little thought and intelligence over the Norm thus taught by the Buddha. She was established in insight, and in due course she won arhatship by virtue of great merits. (*Th. Commy.*, 53-54.)

Kisāgotamī came of poor family at Sāvattihī. She was married to a rich banker's son who had forty crores of wealth. (*D.C.*, II., pp. 270-75). Bodhisatta was her maternal uncle's son. One day, while the Bodhisatta was returning home after receiving the news of Rāhula's birth, he was seen by Kisāgotamī from her palace. Buddha's beauty pleased Kisāgotamī so much that she uttered a stanza, the purport of which is, "the mother who has such a child and the father who has such a son and the wife who has such a husband are surely happy" (*nibbata*), but the Bodhisatta took the word *nibbata* in the sense of *nibbānam*. The Bodhisatta presented her with a pearl necklace for making him hear such auspicious and sacred words. (*D.C.*, vol. I, p. 85; cf. *Atthasālinī*, p. 34.) On the death of her only child she went to the Buddha with the dead body and requested him to bring the dead to life. Buddha asked her to bring a little mustard seed from a house where no man had died. Kisāgotamī went from house to house, but she came back to Buddha quite unsuccessful. The Buddha delivered a sermon which led her to become a *bhikkhuni*. Her insight grew within a short time and she attained arhatship. (*Th. Commy.*, 174 f.). Then the master assigned her the foremost place among the *bhikkhunis* who used very rough and simple robes. (*A.N.*, I, p. 25; cf. *Manorathapūraṇī*, p. 380.) Once Kisāgotamī went to Andhavana to meditate. Māra came to her and said, "You have killed your sons and now you are crying. Why are you not searching for another man?" Kisāgotamī replied, "I have completely destroyed my sons and my husband and I have no sorrow. I am not afraid of you, my attachment is destroyed and ignorance is dispelled. Killing the

army of death I live sinless." Māra then left her. (*S.N.*, I, pp. 129-130). Once Kisāgotamī was coming through the sky to worship the Buddha while Sakka with his retinue was seated before the Buddha. She did not come to the Buddha, but worshipped him from the sky and went away. Being questioned by Sakka, the Buddha answered that she was his daughter. Kisāgotamī, who was the foremost among the *bhikkhunis*, used very rough and simple robes. (*D.C.*, IV, 156-157.)

Paṭācārā came of a banker's family at Sāvattthī. In her youth she formed an intimacy with a servant of her house. On the day fixed for her marriage with another youth of equal rank she eloped with her lover and dwelt in a hamlet. There she used to perform household duties, and her lover used to bring wood from the forest and work in a field belonging to others. Shortly afterwards *Paṭācārā* gave birth to a child, but at the time of the birth of her second child, a storm arose. Her husband went to a forest to cut grass and sticks. While he cut a stake standing on an ant-hill, a snake came from the ant-hill and bit him. He fell there and died. The next morning *Paṭācārā* went to the forest with her two children and found her husband dead. She lamented and left the place. On her way to her father's house there was a river, the water of which was knee-deep. She lost her children while crossing the river. With tears of grief she came to Sāvattthī and learnt that her parents and brother had perished under the debris of the fallen house. She turned mad. Since then she did not wear clothing, and was therefore known as *Paṭācārā*. One day the Exalted One saw her in that plight and said, "Sister! Cover your shamelessness." She regained her consciousness, and the Lord taught her that sons, parents and kinsfolk were no shelter, and asked her to discern this truth in order to make clear quickly the way to *nibbāna*. Then she was established in the *sotāpatti-phalaṃ*. She attained arhatship with analytical knowledge (*Th. Commy.*, p. 108 f.; *Manorathapūraṇi*, pp. 356-360; cf. *A.N.*, I, 25). Thereafter she preached the Buddha's *dhamma* and converted many afflicted women to the Buddhist faith. The *Therīgāthā Commy.* says that *Paṭācārā* had five hundred female disciples, who came of different families of different places. They were married, bore children and lived domestic lives. Overwhelmed with grief at the loss of children they went to *Paṭācārā*, who asked them not to weep when the manner of birth and death was unknown to them. They were greatly moved by *Paṭācārā*'s teachings and renounced the world under her. They performed exercises for insight and soon became established in arhatship with *paṭisambhiddā*. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 122-123; cf. *Dhammapada Commy.*, II, p. 260 f.)

Vāsīṭṭhī came of a clansmen's family at Vaisālī. Her parents gave her in marriage to a clansman's son of equal position. She had a son. When the child was able to run about, he died. *Vāsīṭṭhī* went mad with grief. She came to Mithilā and there she saw the Exalted One, self-controlled and self-contained. At the sight of the Buddha the frenzy left her and she recovered her normal mind. The master taught her the outlines of the Norm. Performing all proper duties, she acquired insight, and struggling with the help of full knowledge, she soon attained arhatship together with a thorough grasp of the Norm in form and spirit. (*Th. Commy.*, 124-125.)

Dhammādinna came of a clansmen's family at Rājagaha and became the wife of a Setṭhi named Visākhā. One day her husband heard the master teaching, and after hearing him he did not hold converse with her as he used to do before, but renounced the worldly life. *Dhammādinna* too became a *bhikkhuni* and took up her residence in a village. One of the great merits acquired in her previous births was her subjugation of the complexities of thought, word and deed. By virtue of this merit, she soon attained arhatship together with thorough mastery of the form and meaning of the *Dhamma*. Then she returned to Rājagaha and was questioned by her husband on the *khanḍas* and the like. She answered so correctly that she was praised by the Buddha and was ranked as foremost among the sisters who could preach. (*Th. Commy.*, 15; cf. *Manorathapūraṇi*, pp. 360-363; *Aṅguttara N.*, I, 25.)

Dhammā came of a respectable family at Sāvattthi. Given in marriage to a suitable husband, she became converted. On her husband's death, she entered the Order. In due course she won arhatship with thorough knowledge of the Norm in form and meaning. (*Th. Commy.*, p. 23).

Mettikā was the daughter of a rich Brāhman of Rājagaha. She climbed a hill and lived like a recluse. She acquired insight and within a short time won arhatship (*Th. Commy.*, p. 35).

Abhayā came of a respectable family at Ujjain. She was a friend of Abhayamātā. She followed her in renouncing the world, and entered the Order. In course of time she attained arhatship at Rājagaha. (*Th. Commy.*, 41-43.)

Somā was born at Rājagaha as the daughter of the *purohita* of King Bimbisāra. When advanced in years she became a lay disciple. Afterwards she entered the order of the *bhikkhūṇīs*. She performed exercises of insight and within a short time won arhatship. Māra tried in vain to divert her from this path. From the *Samyutta Nikāya* we learn that Māra came to her and said, "What is to be obtained by the Rishis, you are, with slight wisdom, trying to have it. That which is difficult to be obtained by great sages, you being a silly woman, want to have." She replied: "If my mind is steadfast, I must acquire it, my womanly nature will not prevent me from acquiring it." Māra then left her. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 66-67; cf. *S.N.*, I, p. 129.)

Bhaddā Kapilānī came of a Brāhman family of the Kosiya clan at Sāgala. She was married to a young noble Pippali at the village of Mahātitttha. When her husband renounced the world, she made over her wealth to her kinsfolk. She then left the world and dwelt five years in the hermitage of the heretics. Thereafter, she was ordained by Mahāpajāpati Gotamī. Establishing insight she soon won arhatship. By the master she was ranked first among the *bhikkhūṇīs* who could remember previous births (*Th. Commy.*, 67 f.; cf. *Manorathapūraṇī*, p. 375; cf. *Aṅguttara N.*, I, p. 25). Besides the women who embraced a homeless life and became *bhikkhūṇīs* and *therīs*, there were others who were staunch believers in the Buddha's *dhamma*. These women used to lead a domestic life, offering charities in the shape of coin and kind to *theras*, *bhikkhūṇīs* and *bhikkhus* in the expectation of a happier rebirth or for the benefit of departed relations. The incidents in the life of some of these women are recorded in the Buddhist literature, and it would not be out of place here to mention them below.

Uttarā, daughter of Nandaka, Commander-in-chief of Piṅgala, king of Suratttha, was a believer in the Buddha. She used to offer to a saintly *thera* cold and perfumed drink as well as excellent cake and sweets for the benefit of her departed father. (*Vide my Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, p. 48).

Lakṣmā lived near one of the gates of Benares. She used to offer a spoonful of rice to the *bhikkhus* when they entered the town by that gate. Thus she acquired the habit of offering charity. In the *āsanasālā* (rest house), she used to prepare seats for, and supply water to, the *bhikkhus*. She was established in *sotāpatti*. After death she was reborn in the Tāvatinssa heaven. (*Vide my Heaven and Hell*, p. 50.)

A daughter of a certain *upāsaka* of Rājagaha was very much devoted to Mahāmoggallāna. One day she welcomed a *thera*, offered him a seat, worshipped him with a garland of *sumana* flower and gave him sweets, etc. On her death, she was reborn in the Tāvatinssa heaven. (*Vimānavatthu Commy.*, 179-179.)

(To be continued.)

NICOLAO MANUCHY'S WILL AND TESTAMENT.¹

By MONS. SINGARAVELOU PILLAI.

BEFORE publishing Nicolao Manuchy's testament, I wish to say a few words about this historical personage.

Others more competent than myself, such as—

- (1) Mr. Henry Davidson Love, late Lieutenant-Colonel, Royal Engineers, Hon. Fellow of the University of Madras, in his work (Indian Records Series) *Vestiges of Madras, 1640—1800*, in four volumes, 1913,
- (2) Miss L. M. Anstey in *The Indian Antiquary*, March 1920, under the title of "More about Nicolao Manucci."
- (3) The late Mr. William Irvine, Assistant Magistrate of Saharanpur, in the introduction to the translation of his book *Storia do Mogor, 1653—1708* (Indian Text Series, 4 vols., 1907—1808) and lastly (4) my intimate friend Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., Professor, Patna College, in his work *Studies in Mughal India*, have already related the life and work of this important personage.

So, as an addendum to their publications, I wish to lay before you the results of my historical researches concerning this celebrated Venetian diplomat.

Nicolao Manuchy was born at Venice in 1639 and visited India as a traveller during the reign of Shah Jahan in 1686. His knowledge of the art of *Æsculapius* made him the first doctor to the sons of the Great Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb. His profession retained him in the Great Mughal's Court for forty years and there he lived in close friendship with the Emperors and the viziers and he got even admittance into the seraglio, a privilege not easily bestowed. That intimacy and his sojourn in the Court for nearly half a century enabled him to complete his MS. in Portuguese with the French title of *Histoire Générale de l'Empire Mogol depuis sa Fondation*. It is those manuscripts that Father François Catrou of The Society of Jesus translated into French in 1705 and published in two volumes. It is also from those memoirs, that Jean de Laët prepared his notes on the Mughals which commence *Nos fragmentum e Belgico, quod e genuino illius Regni Chronico expreffum credimus libere vertimus*. Manuchy has also published a book called *Guerras de Golconda e Visapour com varios successos ate a era de 1700*, in three volumes.

We also owe to him the fine collection of Indo-Persian paintings which he took to Europe in 1691 and which have since remained deposited in the National Library in Paris.

His honesty, his impartiality and his scholarship in Eastern languages led to his appointment by the Madras Government, as well as by that of Pondicherry, as an ambassador and extraordinary messenger to the Nawab of Arcot and other princes, to carry them presents and seek easy ways of consolidating relations with them, and in critical moments to make use of his talent to settle delicate matters of diplomacy. He fulfilled with great cleverness such missions to the Nawab of Arcot in 1687-1712 under Thomas Pitt, Francois Martin, Dumas and Hebert. In support of the above assertion I refer to the Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book of 1701, page 3—"One Senr. Nicolas Manuchi a Venetian and an inhabitant of ours for many years, who has the reputation of an honest man, besides hee has liv'd at the King's Court upwards of thirty years and was a servant to one of the Princes, and speaks the Persian Language excellently well, for which reasons wee think (him) the propprest person to send at this time with our Chief Dubash Ramapah, and have unanimously agreed, with the advice of all that were capable of giving it, to send the following presents in order to their setting out to-morrow on their journey, and have deliver'd in our Instructions and Letters as enter'd after this Consultation."

¹ NOTE.—This article is reprinted, with kind permission, from vol. VIII of the *Proceedings of Meetings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, pp. 169-175. (Proceedings of Eighth Meeting held at Lahore, November 1925.) A few clerical amendments have been made.

In 1670 he resided in Lahore and practised his profession of doctor in the royal family. In the last days of his life he lived sometimes in Madras and sometimes at Pondicherry, choosing the latter as his favourite residence.

Testament.

Before the Secretary of the Conseil Supérieur and the Royal Company of France at Pondicherry, the undersigned and in presence of two witnesses mentioned in the sequel, was present Mr. Nicolao de Manuchy, inhabitant of Pondicherry, sound in mind, memory and sense, as it appeared to us and to the above witnesses, having for the following purpose repaired to the office of the above Secretary, who, willing to be ready for the certain hour of death, afraid of being caught by the uncertainty of death, without having put to right his concerns and disposed of his properties which God pleased to give him, has made and dictated to me, the above Secretary, his testament and statute of last will as follows :

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy-Ghost, at first, as a true Christian and good Catholic, has recommended and recommends his soul to God, the Creator, the Father, the Son and the Holy-Ghost, entreating His Divine Majesty by the infinite merits of death and passion of his only son our Saviour, Jesus Christ, by the intercession of the glorious Virgin Mary, of St. Nicolas, his good patron, and of all the saints and very happy souls, to receive his soul coming out of his body and to be willing to place it in His holy heaven.

Ditto has declared he desires that his body should be buried in the church of the Capuchin monks at Pondicherry very near Le Benistier, and that a high-mass may be sung over his body with ordinary service assisted by all the fathers who may then be present.

That his soul may rest in peace as early as possible, and for that purpose he gives and leaves by will to the above Capuchin Monks the sum of twenty current pagodas.

Ditto has declared that he gives to the said Capuchins of Pondicherry the sum of sixty current pagodas, to make them pray for the repose of his soul.

Ditto has declared he gives the poor five current pagodas, which will be distributed after the service, on the day of his burial.

Ditto has declared he gives Nicolas Beuret, Charles' son, his god-son in Pondicherry, the sum of five current pagodas.

Ditto has declared he gives and leaves by will to his god-son, Pierre Forchet, called Duquenola, similar sum of five current pagodas.

Ditto has declared he gives and leaves by will to the eldest daughter of Mr. Delalande, clerk, the sum of twenty current pagodas for her marriage.

Ditto has declared he gives ten pagodas to the Capuchins of Pondicherry to pray to God for the souls in Purgatory.

Ditto has declared he gives and leaves by will to one Patchy Ko, by name, residing in Madras, the sum of five current Pagodas.

Ditto has declared he gives and leaves by will to the children of one Reginal of Madras the sum of six current pagodas.

Ditto the testator in question has declared that the sums of six hundred and seventy pagodas and the eight hundred pagodas he has in the Treasury of the above Company of France at Pondicherry may be withdrawn with interest and formed into a capital, together with all the other assets which may be received after his death, the said capital to be used by Mr. le Chevalier Hebert and Counsellors of the Conseil Supérieur of Pondicherry in purchasing diamonds and other precious goods, the whole to be handed over to the ambassador of Venice or any other agent of Venice in Paris ; that the testator in question requests to have the above goods handed over to Mr. Andre Manuchy, his brother, or to his heirs at Venice, to whom he gives and leaves by will the above properties.

And for executing the present testament by increasing rather than diminishing the bequests he requests Mr. le Chevalier Herbert, the Governor of Pondicherry, to be pleased to take the trouble, and nominates him for the purpose, having entire confidence in him.

This will was so made, dictated and nominated by the testator in question to the above Secretary, who in the presence of the witnesses read and re-read this present testament, which he said he had heard well and wished to be executed according to its form and tenor.

Leaving aside any other testament and codicil which he might have made with his own hand, he wishes only this to have effect ; made and passed at Fort Louis in Pondicherry in the office of the above Secretary in the year 1712, the eighteenth day of January in the forenoon in the presence of Mr. François Moufle Ecuyer Delafosse, Lieutenant d'infanterie and Pierre Elyer de la Vaupalier, clerk of the above Royal Company of France at Pondicherry, who are the witnesses called by the testator. The testator and the witnesses have given their signatures along with me, the above Secretary ;

Signed : NICOLAO MANUCHY.

Signed : MOUFLE DELAFOSSE.

Signed : ELYER DE LA VAUPALIER.

Signed : DELORME.

Address of Nicolao Manuchy's relatives.

His two brothers, Andre and George Manouchy.

His two maiden sisters Angella and Francisca.

A third one who he is not sure is alive, Perine.

Residing at the quarters of St. Jean, Evangelist St., Stin, Venice.

NOTE.—This information about his family address has been found in a bit of paper attached to the present testament. I have found this testament among the notarial records of Pondicherry. The paper has become yellow and is so dotted with holes here and there that two or three words cannot be deciphered.

According to the will of the testator, he wished to die at Pondicherry and be buried there, but he lived long after making his testament, as is evidenced by the following events. No one is sure of the date of his death. Several have assigned it to the years 1711—1712, but they are quite wrong.

Mr. H. Dodwell, ex-curator of old Records, Madras, now professor in the School of Oriental Studies in the University of London, says in the preface to his book *Records of Fort St. George*, Minutes of Proceedings in the Mayor's Court of Madraspatam (June to December 1689 and July 1716 to March 1719) “. A still more interesting person who appears here, is ‘Dr. Manuch,’ with his characteristic suit against a ‘Moorman’ to recover winnings at Back-gammon. The date of the suit shows moreover that the time of Manucci's death must be assigned to a later period than Mr. Irvine supposed.”

Mr. Julian James Cotton, I.C.S., in his work *List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Madras*, page 3, No. 8 (6th October 1683) says “. . . “Clarke's widow married the Venetian Nicolao Manucci, who died at San Thome about 1709, aged 74. Manucci lived in Madras from 1686 till his death.”

It cannot be that he died in 1709, as he was alive in 1712 and made his will on the 18th January of the same year. Again it is said that he died at San Thome. But there is no proof of any tomb having been built there for him. I have gone through the notarial Records from 1712, the date of the above will, to 1725, five years after the first appearance of his second will and codicil of the 18th January 1719 (dated Madras). I have not found any record about the date of his death and bequests. After the discovery of his second will I made sure he was alive in the year 1719.

Miss L. M. Anstey in her article ; “More about Nicolao Manucci” (*Indian Antiquary*, March 1920, pages 52, 53) says : “On January 14, 1712, the president of (Madras) informed the Board that a special order had come to Pondicherry calling for Manucci's attendance at Shâh 'Âlam's court (then at Lâhor)”

However the Emperor Muazzam Bahadur Shah, the first, *alias* Shah-Alam the first, died at Lahore on February 27. Mr. Manucci lived then surely at Pondicherry, for it is there

he made his first will of the 18th January 1712. Therefore, he could not go to Lahore at the call of Shah-Alam the first. He could not make that journey, for on the 23rd January 1712, Mr. le Chevalier Hebert sent him on a mission to the Nawab of Arcot. That mission was the last one which he fulfilled to the entire satisfaction of the Governor of Pondicherry and his counsellors. From the 3rd December 1718 to the 30th January 1719, he was claiming by means of a law-suit the money that Cojee-Baba (Khwaja Baba) owed him. So he was still alive in 1719.

Mr. H. D. Love in the second volume of his *Vestiges of Old Madras* says on page 125 " the date of Manucci's death and the mode of disposal of his property are alike unknown" Therefore Mr. Love has ignored completely the existence of a will. Among the notarial records of Pondicherry, there is a contract of exchange between Mr. Manuchy and Dela Prevostiere, dated the 3rd July 1709. " Before the Secretary of the Conseil Supérieur of the Royal Company of France at Pondicherry, the undersigned, were present : Mr. Pierre Andre Dela Prevostiere, counsellor for the above Company and Nicolao Manouchy residing at present in Madras, who made together the following agreements namely : that the above Mr. Dela Prevostiere made over, released and transferred by right of selling and by interchange to the above Mr. Manuchy accepting of the present of a house situated in that town New Gate-Street of Goudelour, etc., and in exchange and for the payment for the above house the above Mr. Manuchy made over, released and transferred to the above Mr. Dela Prevostiere a house of Mr. Manouchy situated at Grand-Mont near San-Thome. That house was bought from Mr. François thro' contract of exchange passed before the Tabellion (notary) of San-Thome on the 9th of August 1697 ; which Mr. Guetty bought from one Jean Antoine Flaman by name thro' contract passed before the Tabellion (notary) on the 27th of July of the same year." (Note.—M. Dela Prevostiere was the Governor of Pondicherry from the 20th August 1718 to 11th October 1721).

22nd February 1711. Contract of sale made by Mr. Nicolao Manuchy to Mr. Edouard de la Cloche. Mr. Nicolao Manouchy residing in that town (Pondicherry) sold to Mr. Edouard de la Cloche, capitaine des vaisseaux, residing at present in Madras, some land closed with earthen walls, with a house and a garden situated at Madras beyond Thomas Clarke bridge (received from Thomas Clarke's inheritance thro' his wife) to the value of eight hundred pagodas.

The will being dated 12th January 1712, we may be led to think perhaps he died in the course of the year or in the ensuing years. Bearing this hypothesis in mind I went through the records of the " Etat-Civil," in which births, deaths and marriages are registered. It was a fruitless search. I found nothing about the date of his death ; but it was not all in vain ; because in the course of my researches, I discovered a second will with its codicil made at Madras on the 8th January 1719. It is in Portuguese. The paper has also turned yellow ; it is very difficult to read and make it out. For the paper is in a very bad condition ; as soon as it is touched, it crumbles. If the paper had been in good condition we might have found some changes he might have wished to introduce in the disposal of his properties mentioned in the first will. This will is in four pages signed by the testator Nicolao Manuchy and Mie de M. Famirante, and then comes the codicil signed by Nicolao Manouchy and Mr. Quiel de Lima. At the end of signatures two seals are affixed in red wax bearing the arms of the Company. Then it bears the following statement : The present will is on this day the 23rd August 1720, deposited by the Capuchin monk, Thomas, missionary, in the registry of the Conseil Supérieur of this town, to be kept as original and copies to be handed over and delivered to those whom it may concern.

Signed : F. THOMAS, CAPUCHIN MONK, M.A.,

Du Laurens.

According to the wish expressed in his first will, Mr. Nicolao Manuchy wished to die at Pondicherry and to be buried there. His desire was not fulfilled, because, if he had truly

died at Pondicherry, the record of his death would have been indubitably entered in the registers of the "Etat-Civil." This leads me to conclude that he died elsewhere. According to Mr. Cotton, he must have died at Mylapore. It is not proved by any inscription about him; nor was there any tomb built over his grave. Therefore nobody can say, with certainty, the exact place of his death.

I think, it is but a hypothesis, that Mr. Manucci in his second will would have also indicated the place where he wished to be buried and the properties which he bequeathed to his heirs.

As his will with its codicil was deposited in the registry of the Conseil Supérieur by the Capuchin monk Thomas on the 23rd August 1720, I suppose he must have died on the 22nd or 23rd August of that year; for such deposits are made the very day or the day after the testator's death. Till we find something to prove the contrary we may safely assume that the celebrated Venetian died on the 22nd or 23rd of August 1720.

I am still going on with my researches to find out the exact day of his death and shall publish in extenso any new discoveries I may make in the course of my studies.

NOTE.—Writers spell in different ways the name Manucci: Manuch Nicolas—Manucho Senhr' Nicola—Manuchee Monsr—Manuche Senor—Nicolao Mannuci—Manooch—Senhr Nichola Manuch—Signor Niccolao Manucci—Manoucha—Manuchy—Nicolas Manook—Manuch Dr. Nicola Manouchy—Manouchi—

The true spelling is Nicolao Manuchy in conformity with his signature found in different records which are in the Pondicherry archives.

MISCELLANEA.

IGNICOLES, A NAME FOR THE PARSEES.

The term Ignicole, obviously from the Latin *ignicola*, a fire-worshipper, appears to have been invented by Sir John Chardin, to describe the people now known universally as the Parsees or Persians. His books of travel in the seventeenth century, though famous, seem never to have become popular, and perhaps that is why Ignicole, as a descriptive name, fell flat. But it occurs twice in Lloyd's translation of Chardin's French account of his *Travels in Persia*, published in 1720 and reprinted in 1927 in a fine production of the Argonaut Press under that title, with an introduction by Sir Percy Sykes. Chardin had evidently a great admiration of the original inhabitants of Persia, and on p. 138 of the Argonaut Press edition he writes: "The religion of the Ancient Persians, who were Ignicoles, or worshippers of Fire, lay'd

upon them the strictest engagements to cultivate the Land; for according to their Maxims, it was a pious and meritorious Action, to plant a Tree, to water a Field, or to make a barren spot of earth yield Fruit. Whereas the Philosophy of the Mahometans, tends only to the enjoying of the things of this World, while one is in it, without having any more regard to it than a Highway, through which one is to pass quickly." Again on p. 129 he writes: "If Persia was inhabited by Turks, who are still more slothful, and less engaged in the things of this Life than the Persians, and cruelly severe in their manner of government, it would be still more barren than it is. Whereas, if it was in the hands of the Armenians, or of those people called Ignicoles, one could quickly find it appear again in all its Ancient Glory and Primitive Splendor."

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE GLORIES OF MAGADHA. By J. N. SAMADDAR. 2nd Ed. Kurlaline Press, Calcutta.

I am glad to see that Professor Samaddar's excellent book on the Glories of Magadha has run to a second edition, which it well deserves. I wish it every success, especially as it has been produced under sad circumstances of health. The excellence of the work is proved by the willing assistance the Professor has received from various well-known scholars and needs no further recommendation, but I must add that the many plates are very fine and most useful to those engaged in research. There is besides much new information carefully compiled which will go far to make the book one that scholars cannot ignore.

R. C. TEMPLE.

McCRINDLE'S ANCIENT INDIA AS DESCRIBED BY

PTOLEMY: reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary*.

By SURENDRANATH MAJUMDAR SASTRI, with Introduction and Notes. Calcutta 1927.

Professor Majumdar Sastri has produced a most useful book and done Indian Scholars a great service by this reprint of McCrindle's well-known work of over forty years ago. The original had become very scarce and is moreover not in a form that is pleasant to read, whereas this Edition is clear, if not so handy as the former one. Professor Majumdar's introduction is good and most useful, and his notes to Ptolemy's difficult text are up to date. What more can be said of a reprint?

R. C. TEMPLE.

BHAGAVADAJJUKIYAM, BY BODHAYANA, edited by P. AUNJAN ACHAN (with a preface by Prof. Winternitz).

This is a work called *Prahasana* in Sanskrit, usually regarded as a farce, one of the ten classes of dramatic composition known to Sanskrit. This work is perhaps very much more of a comedy than of a farce, and the element of comedy is made to appear not so much in the acting as in the subject-matter itself. It is a sort of a comedy of an error with just a satirical tinge in it. The story is very simple. A Parivrājaka, or hermit of the Yogic school, is introduced with a disciple of his by name Śāṇḍilya, who was a Buddhist Bhikṣu, but now a disciple of the Parivrājaka. These two are introduced in conversation on questions of higher religion and philosophy, and enter a garden conversing. A courtesan by name Vasantasēnā is introduced with two companions, expecting to meet her lover there. As the Parivrājaka and his disciple enter, Vasantasēnā is bitten by a serpent and rapidly collapses in death. The Parivrājaka exhibits his power of Yoga to his disciple by transferring his soul into the body of the dancing girl, who revives, but speaks and conducts herself not as her own real self, but as the Parivrājaka, whose dead body is lying some distance away in the immediate neighbourhood. The mother of the courtesan and her lover both arrive on hearing of her death, and are surprised to find her speaking, but not as she herself used to do, and take it that she has gone mad. In the meanwhile the discovery of an error is made by the messengers of death, viz., that they had carried off a wrong soul to the region of death, and they return to restore it to its body. But finding that it is already infused with life, they set it in the dead body of the Parivrājaka some distance away. The body of the Parivrājaka now revives, but the revived Parivrājaka conducts himself and talks not as he himself, but like the courtesan. This comic situation is what is intended to be produced, and in the end the whole error gets rectified by the messengers of death returning and effecting the exchange of souls, thus setting matters right.

It is a spirited poem throughout and the plot is worked up to the *dénouement* with great skill. The composition itself may be regarded as that of a master-poet, the dramatic effect produced is, notwithstanding the introduction of the supernatural, almost real and lifelike.

Nothing is known of the author, except that he is a Bodhāyana Kavi, which the comparatively late commentator notes. There is nothing else to lead to an identification, but there is the possibility that he might have been Bodhāyana the Vṛttikāra, not Baudhāyana the law-giver. The discussion of the Yoga and Yogic practice may lead one to the inference that it is a play later than the fifth century, to which is ascribed the *Yoga Sūtras* of Patañjali by some scholars. Such an argument would imply the non-existence of the practice of the Yoga before

the *Sūtras* of Patañjali, which is hardly warranted. This comic play figures very largely in the discussion relating to the Bhāsa problem, as this *Prahasana* has, in regard to certain features, considerable similarity to the plays of Bhāsa. But that by itself would not warrant the inference which has been built upon it, that it was an adaptation by the Chāṅkīyars of Kēraḷa, and on that untenable ground a late date has been ascribed to the comic play as well as the dramas of Bhāsa. This inference is hardly justified, as Professor Winternitz points out. Neither this play nor several of the Bhāsa dramas can be regarded as adaptations from the plays as they are. This opens out many other questions for discussion, which it would be out of place to take up in a review.

The editor has edited this work from six manuscripts, one of which also contains a commentary, which is printed. The commentary is ascribed to the sixteenth century. A feature of one of the manuscripts, written in the old Tamil-Malayalam style, is worth referring to here. Certain words in Prakrit, where the consonants double are written with the first vowel followed by a half cipher followed by the next following vowel. For instance the word for "Arya" is either 'Ayya' or 'Ajja.' In either case the manuscript writes A^oya and A^oa for the two words 'Ayya' and 'Ajja', which is interpreted as a slightly pronounced 'Ya' of the Prakrit grammarians. That may be all right for one form of the word 'Ayya'. But it hardly explains the 'Ajja' form. It may after all be a manner of writing in Tamil which sometimes does occur, where instead of a double consonant, sometimes a three dotted aspirate is introduced in Tamil. For instance *paḷ tūḷi* becomes *baḷḷuḷi*; whereas *kaḷ tūḷi* becomes *karyūḷi*. Perhaps the Malayalam writing of the peculiar character represents a phenomenon like this. This is only by the way.

The editor has done his work very well, and we congratulate him on the successful production of a very important work like the *Bhagavadajjukiyam*, a name which is given to the drama to indicate the confusion that was introduced between the Bhagavat, or ascetic, and Ajjukā the courtesan, owing to the confusion between the two that had been brought about in the course of the play.

S. K. ARYANGAR.

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION; PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS, vol. IX, December, 1926.

This volume, like so many of the preceding issues, contains several articles of interest. Inspired by a visit to Chambéry in Savoy, the birth-place and last resting place of Bénédict de Boigne, Sir Evan Cotton furnishes a fascinating sketch of the career of that distinguished soldier of fortune, who played such an important part in Hindustan between the years 1784 and 1795 in consolidating the power of Mahādaji Sindhiya. The article—for which an appropriate head-line appears in Tasso's words *Guerreggio in Asia, e non vi cambio o merco*, adds considerably to our knowledge of de Boigne's life. Another article

from the pen of the late lamented Mr. Julian J. Cotton throws many entertaining sidelights upon William Knighton's *Private Life of an Eastern King*. Mr. H. G. Rawlinson describes some old European tombs of the 17th century at Surat, Broach and Karwar. John Marshall, whose Notes and Diary kept in India in 1668-72 are being published by the Oxford University Press, is the subject of an article contributed by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan. In *Jahangir and the Portuguese* the Rev. H. Heras, S.J., gives a reproduction of a manuscript copy, with the Portuguese text and an English translation, of the remarkable treaty concluded between Jahangir and the Portuguese on the 7th June 1615, the whole of which had not hitherto been published. Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali presents a brief sketch of the career of Shujā'ud-daula, Nawāb Vazīr of Oudh (1754-75). A new, and practically unknown, chapter in the history of ancient India is dealt with by Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth in *Hindooism in Armenia 150 Years before Christ*, in which he quotes from the *History of Taron* (a province of Armenia) written by Zenob or Zenobias a Syrian and one of the first disciples of St. Gregory the Illuminator, where reference is made to the history of a Hindu colony that had existed in Armenia since the middle of the 2nd century B.C. till the beginning of the 4th century A.D. As will be clear from this synopsis, the Commission continues to do valuable work.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE BHAGAVAD GITA, or Song of the Blessed One, interpreted by FRANKLIN EDGERTON, Chicago, Open Court Publishing Coy. 1925.

Here we have yet another version of what Prof. Edgerton correctly calls in his Preface "the favourite sacred book of the Hindus as a whole." The Gandhi Movement has induced Prof. Edgerton, as a competent Sanskrit scholar, to give to his countrymen an account of "what the Gita's words mean to a professional Indologist." He has another object also in producing this book: "There are in this country [United States of America] at present a number of religious sects of recent origin, which derive many of their doctrines from Hinduism. Some of these sects revere the Bhagavad Gītā almost or quite as much as do the Hindus themselves." In his book, therefore, Prof. Edgerton has "tried to let the Gītā speak for itself as far as practicable," and in a footnote he tells us: "All quotations in this book have been translated by me, except in one case, where credit is given to the translator quoted."

Obviously in such a book everything depends on the translations from the original and I have accordingly compared them with those of another competent translator, Dr. Lionel Barnett, 1906. I will here give a specimen on a very abstract subject of the first importance—the Nature of

God (Edgerton, p. 44). Edgerton translates the *Bhagavadgītā*, XV, 16, 17 thus: "There are two souls here in the world, a perishable and an imperishable. The perishable is all beings. The imperishable is called the Uniform. But there is another, a Supreme Soul, called the Highest Spirit the Eternal Lord who enters into the three worlds, and supports them." Barnett here translates (pp. 156, 157): "Two males there are in the world a Perishable and an Imperishable. The Perishable is all born beings; the Imperishable is called the One set on high. And there is another and highest Male, called the Supreme Self, the changeless Sovran who enters and supports the threefold world."

The term here translated by two separate competent Sanskritists respectively a 'soul' and 'male' is *purusha*, and in a footnote Edgerton explains: "The word used is *purusha*, which elsewhere means strictly 'soul' and is not applied to the body or material nature. Yet here the 'perishable soul' can obviously mean nothing but *prakṛiti*, material nature. This is an example of the loose language which not infrequently confuses the expression of the Gītā's thoughts, and reminds us that we are reading a mystic poem, not a logical treatise on metaphysics." We are reading indeed popular metaphysics, the most confused description of thought in existence, and Prof. Edgerton has evidently felt the difficulty of the "perishable soul" of all beings as a doctrine, but Dr. Barnett gets out of it by translating *purusha* as "male." As a matter of fact, we see in this passage the great difficulty in getting at the thoughts of philosophical Hinduism—correct translation. Both Edgerton and Barnett evidently realise it, but one wonders if the teachers of the numerous sects in the United States, deriving their doctrines from Hinduism, equally realise it.

The above quotations clearly refer to the Hindu (*dvaita*) doctrine of dualism, and as to that Prof. Edgerton (p. 44) quotes the *Gītā*, XIII, 1, 2: "This body is called the Field: him who knows it, those who know the truth call the Field-Knower. Know that I am the Field-Knower in all Fields." Here Barnett (p. 147) translates: "The Lord spake; 'this body is high and the Dwelling: the Knower of it is called the Dwelling-Knower by them that have knowledge thereof. Know that the Dwelling-Knower am I in all Dwellings.'" Here again it is a question of correct translation.

However Prof. Edgerton's is a very good book and I do not intend to quarrel with it. I merely wish to draw attention to the intense difficulty of translating such a work as the *Bhagavadgītā*, though it is not so difficult to get at a correct sense of its meaning.

Prof. Edgerton has felt also the difficulty that the American sects must have in pronouncing Sanskrit words in their transliterated forms and

gives a short note to help them. No doubt he knows his own people, but I cannot say that his explanation would help me, were I a novice. He says that "some English-speaking people give it [short a] the sound of English a in man" when speaking Sanskrit words. I wonder if such realise how much they would puzzle an Indian. But the Professor is right in his statement. I have heard a highly educated English Museum official pronounce to another, as though it were the obviously correct pronunciation, the term *Bodhisattva* as if it were the English expression "Body sat." In fact one may expect anything from a European or an American when speaking Indian words.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BEGAM SAMRU, by BRAJENDRANATH BANERJEE, with a Foreword by JADUNATH SARKAR. 1926: Calcutta Mr. C. Sarkar & Co.

Begam Samru's career on the North Indian political stage, during the last half of the 18th Century was one that was only possible in the anarchical conditions in India at that time. The daughter of a broken-down Muslim noble, turned out of her home near Meerut in childhood by her step-brother, wandering in Delhi with her mother in very low circumstances, she became, in the height of her beauty, the wife of the German military adventurer William Reinhardt, alias Sombre or Samru, who had won a *jāgīr* from Shāh 'Alam II of Delhi in the Gangetic Doab from Aligarh to Mozaffarnagar, and had settled at Sardhana in the centre of it.

Begam Samru showed that she was a woman of parts from the beginning, and at her husband's death succeeded to his *jāgīr* and the command of his troops, as it were naturally, at about 28 years of age in 1778. In 1781 she was baptised as Joanna by Father Gregorio, a Roman Catholic priest. She proved a good military leader and had several well-known European adventurers in her service, including for a time, George Thomas, afterwards the well-known Rāja of Hansi. She then did some wonderful things, at one time, saving the feeble Delhi Emperor from Ghulām Qādir, and at another from Najaf Quli Khān. She thus became a prominent figure in Delhi politics. But in 1790 she did a very foolish thing; for as a woman of 40, who should have known better, she married one of her officers, a Frenchman named Levassoult, who was entirely unfitted to help her to govern her little State, and this affair very nearly put an end to her career, as it did to that of her husband. It did bring her to grief for a time, as she was in consequence for nearly a year the prisoner of her step-son, Zafaryāb Khān alias Louis Balthazar Reinhardt, and was disgracefully treated by him. From this dangerous position, which only a woman of her calibre could have supported, she was saved

by her former servant, George Thomas, and soon afterwards Zafaryāb Khān died.

Begam Samru had always been a friend of the English, but Lord Wellesley so mismanaged his relations with her that she very nearly broke with the English, being saved from that disaster just in time by his successor, Lord Cornwallis. He installed her as life ruler under British suzerainty of the Principality of Sardhana, as her estate had now become in 1805, after the defeat of Mahādji Sindhia, who had been *de facto* ruler of the possessions of Shāh 'Alam II.

The Begam then dropped out of general politics; though she lived 31 years longer to 86 years of age, spending her time in improving and in managing with great skill her principality, and in amassing enormous wealth. Having no children, she adopted as her heir, David Ochterlony Dyce, son of one of her officers, Col. G. A. Dyce. This gentleman became afterwards known to history as Dyce Sombre. On her death the Sardhana Principality lapsed to the British Government. Thereafter there ensued trouble over the property.

The adoption of Dyce Sombre was quite in order according to Indian ideas. Zafaryāb Khān who had been baptised into the Roman Catholic Church, as above noticed, married Juliana (Bahu Begam), daughter of Captain Lefevre, and had an only daughter, Julia Anne, who married Colonel G. A. Dyce, a Scotchman in the Begam's service. Their son was David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre. They had also two daughters; Anne Mary, who married Captain Rose Troup, Bengal Artillery, and Georgiana, who married Paul Solaroli, Marquis of Briona, both with handsome dowries. The bulk of Begam Samru's fortune went to Dyce Sombre, who proceeded to Europe and England to his undoing. In 1838 two years after his mother's death, he married in England, the Hon. Mary Anne Jervis, daughter of the second Viscount St. Vincent. They did not agree, and poor Dyce Sombre was eventually locked up as a lunatic, but escaped, and fought for his property. In the end, however, it went to his wife, who after his death married the third Lord Forester. So the final end of the immense property accumulated by the once penniless daughter of an Indian noble went to the daughter of an English peer as her sole right. Romance could hardly go further.

Begam Samru was wise, generous, extraordinarily open-minded and charitable. She gave her money alike to Roman Catholic and Protestant Christians and to Musalmans and Hindus, leaving behind a name blessed by many a poor Indian. Her story has been more or less well-known ever since she died, but now, owing to the patient research of Mr. Banerji, we have an authentic version culled from original sources.

R. C. TEMPLE.

DEVA RAYA II.

BY S. SRIKANTA SASTRI, M.A.

(Saka dates from inscriptions are used for the sake of greater accuracy.)

THE greatest Emperor of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara, Dêva Râya II, was the son of Vijaya Râya and Nârâyani Dêvi.¹ Vijaya is mentioned in inscriptions as Vijayadeva Râya, Vira Vijaya, and Vira Vijaya Bukka (or Bukka III). He was a staunch disciple of the hereditary Gurus of the first dynasty, the Kriyâsaktis. A grant of his, dated S. 1332 Vikriti, tells us that he founded in Hulinâdu a village called Kriyâsaktipura, near Dandapalli, in memory of Kâsi Vilâsa Kriyâsakti.² This is attested by a seal of Triyambaka Kriyâsakti. Vijaya's inscriptions begin as early as Śaka 1331 Virôdhi, three years after the accession of Dêva Râya I. Nuniz tells us that "Visa Rao . . . lived six years; he left a son Deo Rao who reigned twenty-five years." Since Dêva Râya II died in 1368 Kshaya³, he must have ascended the throne in 1342. From 1336 to 1342—a space of six years—Vijaya Râya seems to have been the ruler. Whether he was only the Vicegerent of the Emperor at Muḷuvâyil, or himself Emperor, we do not know; but in support of the latter supposition it may be noted that Dêva Râya is mentioned in inscriptions as having got the reins of power from his father (*pitryâm siṃhâsanam prâpyu*).⁴

Dêva Râya had numerous titles, some handed down from his forbears, others which he assumed. Chief among them are,—*Paramêśvara*, *Virapratâpa*, *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, *Bâsagē tappuva Râyara Gaṇḍa*, *Mâru Râyara Gaṇḍa*, *Aṣṭadigrâya Maṇôbhayankara*, *Gajavēṇṭegâra*, *Apratima birudânka*, etc. Much confusion has been caused by the fact that Deva Râya's son Mallikârjuna is also known as Immaḍi Dêva Râya. To make confusion worse confounded, the brother of Dêva Râya II is also termed Pratâpa Dêva Râya. Thus Immaḍi Dêva Râya had once been assigned a long reign of forty-three years. Pratâpa Dêva Râya, the younger brother of Dêva Râya II,⁵ had a wife Siṃhala Dêvi, who bore him Virûpaksha II, the successor of Mallikârjuna. This Pratâpa was also known as Vijaya.⁶

Dêva Râya had the good fortune to possess some of the greatest ministers that would have adorned any court. To mention some of them, Timmaṇṇa Oḍeya (1336), Chandrapparasa Oḍeya (1336), Annappa Oḍeya (1358), Naganna Oḍeya (1347), Perumâḷa Daṇḍa Nâyaka (1351), Baichappa Oḍeya (1329), Auchappa (1347), Lakkanna Daṇḍa Nâyaka, Madanna Daṇḍa Nâyaka, Saṅkara Dêva (1338), Narasimha Oḍeya (1347), Singanna Oḍeya (1358), Ballâla Dêva (1369), Śrigiri Bhupâla in Marataka Râjya⁶ (1346–8), Paṇṭamailâra (1351),⁷ Vallabha Dêva (1368). Kanara district was under Chandrappa Daṇḍa Nâyaka from 1354 to 1384, Mangalûra under Annappa Oḍeya in 1358, Gumma-Reddipâlya under Dodḍa Vasanta Nâyaka in 1358. Mâdappa Daṇḍa Nâyaka and Ballâla Dêva were at Tiruppattur, in 1368, Tanjore was governed by Vallabha Râya. Terkal Nâdu, first under the rule of Lakkanna and Mâdanna, was handed over to the representative of the new family that was already coming to the front—Sâlva Gopa Tippa. Talakâḍ from A.D. 1428 to 1440 was under Lakkanna, and then it was ruled by Rayanna and Perumaḷ Daṇḍa Nâyaka. Barakûr in 1338 was ruled by Saṅkara Dêva, in 1347 by Narasimha Daṇḍa Nâyaka, in 1353 by Chandra Râya, in 1372 by Râyaraṣa, and in 1380 by Guruvappa Daṇḍa Nâtha.

Lakkanna Daṇḍa Nâyaka was perhaps the greatest of Dêva Râya's ministers. He belonged to the Viṣṇu Vardhana Gôtra and was the son of Heggade Dêva and Bommâyamma.⁸ His brother was Madanna Daṇḍa Nâyaka. In A.D. 1430–33, he was ruling at Muḷuvâyil Nâdu. In A.D. 1434 he was asked to hand over the viceroyalty of Terkal Nâdu

¹ *Mysore Arch. Rep.*, 1923, p. 91.² *Madras Epigraphist's Reports* of 1912–13, C. P. grant No. 6.³ *Śr. Bel*, 328 (126) *Epi. Qœ.*, vol. II.⁴ *Mysore Arch. Rep.*, 1921, para. 62.⁵ *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, vol. I, p. 1051.⁶ *Im. II. Epi. Car.* vol. XII.⁷ *Epi. Ind.*, p. 307.⁸ *Mb.*, 2, 96, *Epi. Car.*, vol. X.

to Sālva Gopa-Tippa.⁹ Sālva Gopa continued to hold the viceroyalty from A.D. 1453 to 1468. Lakkanna makes a grant for the merit of a brother in Śaka 1360.¹⁰ In 1358, Madanna was at Tiruppatūr. Lakkanna was a staunch Vira Śaiva and is recognised as one of the *viraktas* (renounced) of the sect. He is the author of the Kannada work *Śivatatva Chintāmaṇi*, each verse of which ends with the words *vimala charaṇāmbujakkhe śaraṇaḥ*.¹¹ Therein he styles himself,

ಧರೆಗಧಿಕ ಮೂರುರಾಯರ ಗಂಡನ ಪ್ರತಿಮೆ |
 ಬಿರುದಾಂಕ ಗಜವೇಂದಿಕಾರ ದೇವೇಂದ್ರಭೂ |
 ವರನಮಹ ದೈತ್ಯಯ್ಯ ಶರಧಿ ಚಂದ್ರೋದಯನುದಾರ ಕರುಣಾಧಾರನು ||
 ನಿರುಪಮಿತ ಸಮ್ರಾಂಗ ರಾಜ್ಯ ವರ್ಧನಕಕಾ |
 ಧರನಮಲ ಕೀರ್ತಿಯುತ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಣ ದಂಡೇಶ |
 ನೀಕಲಿಯುಗ ದೊಳತಿ ಪೌಡ್ರಮತಿ ದೇವರಾಜೇಂದ್ರನ ಮಹಾಪ್ರಧಾನಂ ||
 ಇಭವೇಂದಿಕಾರ ದೇವೇಂದ್ರನುನ್ನತ ಕಳೆಯನು ||

The work treats of Vira Śaiva hagiology and theology. The style is mellifluous, and the narrative excellent. Judging from the covert allusions in the works of other Vira Śaiva writers¹² to the effect that a lakh of money was spent by him on the work, it is reasonable to suppose that he received considerable assistance in his pious undertaking from some other poets whom he patronised.

Lakkanna justly styles himself "the increaser of the wealth of Dēva Rāya, and *saptāṅga rājya vardhana kaḷādhara* and *unnata keḷeya* (intimate friend) of Dēva Rāya." We know from other sources that he conquered Ceylon and Gulbarga. Nuniz says that the kings of Quiloa, Ceylon and Pegu paid tribute to Dēva Rāya. Abdu'r-Razzāk writes "At the time the writer was at Kalikot (A.D. 1442 June) . . . The Danaik had gone to Ceylon, . . . when he returned, he made more than usual preparations to celebrate the festival of Mahānavami."¹³ Inscriptions of Śaka 1362 and 1366 give him the title of *dakṣiṇa samudrādhipati* (lord of the southern ocean).

"About this time the Danaik or minister departed on an expedition to the kingdom of Gulbarga, the reason of which was that the Gulbarga Sultan, Alaudin Ahmad Shah, learning of the attempt to assassinate Dēva Rāya, . . . was exceedingly rejoiced and sent a message—'Pay me 7,00,000 *varāhas* or I will send a world-subduing army into your country and extirpate idolatry.

It is interesting to note that Firishta, as might be expected, gives a false and distorted account of the expedition. Firishta not only lived much later, but also was a prejudiced writer. He says that Dēva Rāya wantonly made an unprovoked attack on Muslim territory and marched as far as Sagar and Bijapur before his progress could be checked. He also speaks of three pitched battles, in which the eldest son of Dēva Rāya was killed. At the close of the war Dēva Rāya engaged to pay the stipulated tribute, provided his territories were not harassed. He also paid arrears of tribute besides making an offer of forty elephants. Alaudin then "honoured the Rai with a handsome dress and presented him with several horses, covered with rich furniture and set with jewels." Since a contemporary, also a Muslim, gives quite a different account, it is impossible to believe Firishta.

This expedition to Gulbarga is also referred to in the *Bakhar* of the Gumma Reḍḍi Pāḷyam chiefs.¹⁴ It says that the country was harassed by the Muslim army of Gulbarga and a panic ensued. The Pāḷayagar of Gummaredḍipura and Pemmasāni Singappa Nāyaka promptly massed their forces and marched to the help of their liege-lord Dēva Rāya. The army marched to Gulbarga and laid siege to the city. During the siege, four thousand men perished on either side. The Imperial army was exhausted. Then the Pāḷayagar Dodḍa Vasanta Rāya went to the Emperor and said "It appears that the forces of the Empire are in need of rest. Please give permission for the Pāḷayapat army to show its strength." Dēva

⁹ Mr. 1 ; Mr. 3 ; *Epi. Car.*, vol. X.

¹⁰ *Madras Epi. Report*, 141 of 1903.

¹¹ R. Narasimhāchār's *Karnāṭaka Kavi Charitre*, vol. II—Lakkanna Dandanaṭha.

¹² *Karnāṭaka Kavi Charitre*, vol. II—Gubbi Mallanārya. ¹³ Payne's *Scenes from Indian History*, p. 68.

¹⁴ *Gummanāyakaṇa Pāḷaya Pāḷaygāra*, by M. S. Puttanna, Mysore University Extension lectures, 1925-6.

Rāya gladly consented. The siege was renewed with greater vigour. The Sultan grew desperate and, seizing a sword, rushed into the thick of the fight. Dodda Vasanta Nāyaka ordered that none should meet the Sultan but himself, and seizing a sword went to fight with the Sultan. In the duel that followed the Sultan's sword broke in two, and Dodda Vasanta Nāyaka gallantly threw down his sword also. Then the combatants wrestled with one another, till at last the Sultan was crushed and died vomiting blood.

Abdu'r-Razzāk also testifies to the victory of the Vijayanagar forces. "The king's Danaik, after ravaging the territory of Gulbarga, returned bringing some wretched people away with him as captives." This conquest of Gulbarga may be dated A.D. 1443. Evidently this victory increased the power of Lakkanna Daṇḍa Nāyaka more than ever, and he was given the privilege of issuing coins in his own name, containing the letter *lu* on the reverse and *kha ma na Daṇḍayakaru* on the obverse.¹⁵

To sum up, Lakkanna was not only a great administrator, but also a great conqueror. In the midst of his constant political activities, he found leisure to patronise art and religion by his own personal example. Not only was he a great author, but he was also a great Vira Śaiva *virakta*.¹⁶ His devotion to his master and to his religion stand forth clearly, marking him as a great historical figure.

Another great minister of Dēva Rāya was Chāmarasa or Chāmayāmatya.¹⁷ He was also a devout Vira Śaiva poet and scholar, who came into prominence at Court by the aid of Jakkanna Daṇḍa Nātha. Jakkanna is mentioned in an inscription of Hari Hara II as early as 1308. By the time of Dēva Rāya II he must have been rather old. The tradition goes that Jakkanna, after making Chāmarasa the prime minister, abandoned politics for religion. This Chāmarasa was evidently the patron of Siddhanna Mantri, who in turn patronised the Telugu poet Jakkanna, who wrote *Vikramarka Charitramu*.

దేవరాయ మహారాయ ధీవిధేయ ।

మంత్రివల్లభ చామనామాత్యదత్తే ।

చామరఫల భూపాదీశశంకరస్య ।

చిహ్నములనొప్పె జన్మయస్థిమంత్రి ॥

Chāmarasa had the titles *Vira Śaiva Sārōdhāra*, *Anyamattha Kolāhala* etc. He was one of the hundred and one *viraktas* who adorned the Court of Dēva Rāya. He was the author of the great Vira Śaiva work *Prabhulingalīlē*, which was translated into Telugu and Tamil. He defeated in linguistic disputations both the Vaishṇava Āchārya Mukunda Peddi and the Smārtha poet Kumāra Vyāsa.

Jakkanna was another notable minister. A staunch Vira Śaiva devotee, he was the disciple of Mahāliṅga Dēva and Kumāra Banka Nātha. Mahāliṅga Dēva wrote *Ēkōttara śatasthāḥa* and *Prabhudēvara śatasthāḥa jñāna chāritrā*, the latter work evidently so called after the name of the Emperor. Both were composed at the request of Jakkanna, who had the title "Bhakti Bhaṇḍāri". Jakkanna himself wrote his *Nārandusthāḥa* evidently on the model of the works of his Guru.

The Telugu author Jakkayya tells us that Siddha Mantri and his father Janna Mantri were ministers under Dēva Rāya II. As one Siddhappa Daṇḍayaka is mentioned as ruling in Bārakūru in Saka 1380 in the reign of Mallikārjuna, it is reasonable to suppose that his father was minister under Dēva Rāya II, while the son may have also been minister under Immaḍi Dēva Rāya Mallikārjuna. This tallies with the fact of Chāmayāmatya giving the insignia of office to Siddha Mantri.

Guru Rāya Mahāpradhāni, the patron of Chandra Kavi, was another minister. He was of Atrēyasagōtra and the son of Arasāmātya. He had the titles *Nūtana Bhōja Rāja*, *Rāya*

¹⁵ I.A., 1891.

¹⁶ Praṇḍha Dēvara Kāvya—*Karṇāḍaka Kavi Charite*, vol. II, Adriśya Kavi.

¹⁷ *Karṇāḍaka Kavi Charite*, vol. II, Chāmarasa.

Bhandāri, Nārāyaṇa Birudāṅka. Perhaps he is the individual mentioned under the name of Guruvappa in 1380 Bahudhānya as ruling at Bārakūr.

Panta Mailāra, who claims to be Dēva Rāya's lieutenant, has his inscriptions dated in Saka 1351, Kīlaka.¹⁸ He was the cousin of Śūra Nṛpati and had the significant titles *Dharaṇī-vardha*, *Ghaṇṭānāda*, *Chauhalla Malla*, which are distinctively Sāḷva titles.

Vallabhāmātya was the ruler of Vinukonda, who not only patronised Śrīnātha but also wrote in Telugu his *Kṛidābhīrāmamu*. He ruled over Mōpuru in Muliki Nādu. It was through his assistance that Śrīnātha was able to enter the imperial court.

Irugappa Dandanātha, the revered minister of Bukka II and Hari Hara II, seems to have been still living, as in A.D. 1422 he made a grant at Śravaṇa Belgola to the great Jaina scholar Paṇḍitārya Śruta Muni.¹⁹

Dēva Rāya served his apprenticeship as Viceroy of Muḷuvāy or Muḷbāgal.²⁰ He seems to have had definite leanings towards Vira Śaivism. All the kings of the first dynasty were the hereditary disciples of the Kriyāsaktis, the exponents of the Tartric Śaivism of Kashmir. Sāḷva Tippa, the brother-in-law of Dēva Rāya II, is spoken of as "*Kamsāri padāmbuja rāja hamsah*,"²¹ while Viṣṇu in the form of Rāma came to be definitely worshipped during the time of Virāpāksha II, who was converted to the worship of Rāma by Vaishṇava saints. Dēva Rāya in an inscription of 1340 Viḷambi, is spoken of as "*Vira Śaivāgama śāra sampanna*," (learned in the *Āgama* texts of Vira Śaivas).²² The vast Vira Śaiva literature which grew up in this and later reigns, speaks of a hundred and one *viraktas* who were a hundred and one Gaṇadharas of Śiva, born on the earth. Moreover Karasthala Virappa, one of the saints, is described as the son-in-law of Dēva Rāya.

Of the three prominent sects of the period, there was little antagonism between Jainism and Vira Śaivism, while Vaishṇavism was always at loggerheads with the other two. Dēva Rāya, like the great Mughal, took intense delight in watching disputes between the rival theologians, and if any sect presumed to dominate the others, he promptly snubbed it. He dealt out justice fairly equally, and would not brook any breach of the peace. The Vaishṇava teacher Kandāla Peddayāchārya expounded the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana* for nine months and took the works eighteen times in procession. Jakkappa, the Vira Śaiva saint, wrote his *Nūronduṣṭhala* and took the book in procession at night, surrounded by the hundred and one *viraktas*. Thereupon ensued a contest in which Chāmarasa, aided by Jakkappa, was successful and was rewarded with the post of minister to Dēva Rāya.

Dēva Rāya later in the reign became more eclectic. Not only is he supposed to be the author of *Mahā Nāṭaka Sudhānidhi*, treating of the story of the *Rāmāyana*, but we know that his wife Annalā Dēvī and he together built the exquisite Hazāra Rāma Temple in honour of Śrī Rāma. His Jaina minister, Irugappadandanātha, patronised Jaina scholars, while the fact that an epigraph at Śravaṇa Belgola bewails his death is a proof of his good will towards Jains also.²³

Dēva Rāya was supposed to be Indra himself, the ruler of the Gods, born on earth. Gangādāsa terms him "*विजयनगरपुर*"²⁴ and Lakkaṇṇa calls him "Dēvēndra". The *Channa Basava Purāṇa* plainly asserts that Indra was born as Praudha Dēva Rāya. Dēva Rāya's wealth was far-famed, and struck Abd'ur-Razzāk as marvellous. Nuniz also affirms that Dēva Rāya was immensely rich and "gained eight hundred and fifty millions of gold besides precious stones. The kings of Coullao, Ceyllao, Paleacate, Pegua and Tanacary paid tribute to him." In fact Vijayanagar was at the zenith of its prosperity during this king's reign.

¹⁸ *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, vol. I, p. 1051.

²⁰ Bp. 15, *Epi. Car.*, vol. X.

²² *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 92 of 1923, p. 91.

²⁴ S. Krishnaswāmi Aiyangar's *Sources of Vijayanagar History*—Gangādāsa's *Pratāpa Vilasam*.

¹⁹ Śr. Bel. 253 (82), *Epi. Car.*, vol. II.

²¹ Cd. 29, *Epi. Car.*, vol. XI.

²³ Śr. Bel. 328 (125), *Epi. Car.*, vol. II.

Justice was impartially administered. An inscription of Śaka 1349, Plavanga,²⁵ says that the king's officers unjustly collected *kānikkai*, *araśuppēru*, *karanakkarjōdi*, and *viśeshāddāyam*. The ryots in consequence deserted the village. Cultivation ceased and the worship in the temple was at an end. The king promptly held an inquiry and issued a declaration of toleration and restitution. That there was also an attempt at social reform during the reign is evident from an inscription of Śaka 1347, Visvāvasu,²⁶ when all the Brāhmaṇas of Padaivīḍu Rājya—Kannadigas, Tamiḷas, Telugas and Ilāṭas, of all *gōtras*, *śūtras* and *śākhās*, met before the God and settled the sacred law that they should conclude marriage by *kanyādāna* and not after receiving gold. The penalty for breach of the rule was first excommunication and afterwards punishment by the king. If this decision had been rigidly enforced, it would have done away with an evil blight on the social life of to-day.

The whole Empire was divided into provinces, each under a Daṇḍa Nāyaka whose term of office at a particular place seems to have been eight years, after which he was transferred to another province. This was a wise and prudent policy—the violation of which by Virūpāksha II proved disastrous to the first dynasty. In A.D. 1434 Lakkanna was forced to give away Terkal Nāḍu. To take Barakūras an instance. In 1338 Saṅkara dēva was its governor; in 1347, Narasiṅha Daṇḍanātha; in 1353, Chandra Rāja. In 1361 Rāyarasa was at Terkal, and in 1372 at Barakūr. Thus the governors were constantly transferred from place to place, so that no individual could prove too powerful for the Central Government and successfully usurp power, like Sālva Narasiṅha.

Abdu'r-Razzāk says that the king possessed an army of eleven lakhs. Dēva Rāya had many elephants which he hunted and captured himself, thus acquiring the titles of "Gaja Vēṇṭekāra" and "Gaja Gaṇḍa Bhērunda."²⁷ He was aware of the defect of the Hindu armies, which were unwieldy, and did not hesitate to borrow from his enemies means of improving them. He encouraged Arab merchants to bring good horses by way of Honāwar. Abdu'r-Razzāk says that Dēva Rāya paid handsomely and encouraged the trade. An inscription also testifies to the fact that Dēva Rāya possessed a cavalry force of "ten thousand Turkish horses in service." For the accommodation of his Muslim soldiers, he seems to have erected the mosque at Hampi.

There were three hundred ports in the Empire which extended from Gulbarga to Cape Comorin, Ceylon and Pegu.²⁸ The very fact that Lakkanna Daṇḍa Nāyaka was a great naval commander shows that there must have been a powerful fleet in existence. In A.D. 1419 Dēva Rāya is styled only the "Paśchima Samudrādhipati". In A.D. 1420-24 Lakkanna is called "the Lord of the Southern Ocean."²⁹ In 1442-43 Ceylon was conquered; Pegu and the Eastern Archipelago also came under his sway. Dēva Rāya got his precious stones from Quilon, Ceylon and Pulicat. His collection of pearls is also extolled by Śrinātha.

The conquest of Golconda and Ceylon has already been referred to. During Dēva Rāya's time, the Telugu kingdom of the Reddis who ruled at Rājamandri, passed into his hands about the year A.D. 1443. Konḍaviḍu had been under a branch of the Reddi family—Pedda Kōmaṭi being the last ruler. His son Rāchavēma was of dissolute character and was promptly murdered. In Śaka 1377, Yuva, we find an inscription of Gaṇa Dēva Rāhutta Rāya whose capital was Konḍaviḍu.³⁰ Gaṇa Dēva claims to be of the same lineage as Kapileśvara Gajapati. It is probable that after the murder of Rāchavēma the Gajapatis ruled at Konḍaviḍu under the suzerainty of Dēva Rāya. Allāda Reddi of the Rājamandri branch claims alliance with the Gajapati and Kaṛṇāṭa king in the wars with Pedda Kōmaṭi.³¹

²⁵ *Madras Epi. Report*, 376 of 1913; *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, vol. I, p. 149.

²⁶ *S.I.I.*, vol. I, p. 84; *Madras Arch. Rep.* 49 of 1887.

²⁷ *I. A.*, 1891.

²⁸ *Sewell, A Forgotten Empire*, p. 307.

²⁹ *Mysore Arch. Report* of 1923, p. 91. *Madras Epigraphist's Report*, 141 of 1903, 100 of 1911.

³⁰ *I. A.*, 1891.

³¹ *Virśālingam's Andhra Kavula Charitra*, vol. I—Śrinātha.

ಜೆತ್ವಾನಲ್ಪವಿಕಲ್ಪ ಕಲ್ಪಿತಬಲಂ ತಂಚಾಲ್ಪಭಾನುಂ ರಣೇ |
 ಮಿತ್ರೇಕೃತ್ಯ ಸಮಾಗತಂ ಗಜಪತಿಂ ಕರ್ಣಾಬ ಭೂಪಂಜತಂ |
 ಹತ್ವಾಕೋಮಟವೇಮ ಸ್ಯ ಸ್ಥನಿಕರಂ ಭೂಯೋಪ ರಾಮೇಶ್ವರಾದ್ |
 ರಾಜ್ಯಂ ರಾಜಮಹೇಂದ್ರ ರಾಜ್ಯಮಕರೋ ದಲ್ಲಾಡ ಭೂಮೀಶ್ವರಃ ||

As soon as the powerful hand of Dēva Rāya was removed by death, the Bahmani Sultan and Kapilēśvar Gajapati attacked the city of Vijayanagar, as testified by Gangādāsa. Mallikārkjuna sallied from the fort walls and chased the enemy out of the country.

Dēva Rāya came to the throne as a child; for Abdu'r-Razzāk speaks of him as "exceedingly young" when he visited him in A.D. 1443.³² He gives this graphic description of the great sovereign: "The king was seated in great state in the forty-pillared hall and a great crowd of Brahmins and others stood on the right and left of him. He was clothed in a robe of Zaitun, Satin, and he had round his neck a collar composed of pure pearls of regal excellence, the value of which a jeweller would find it difficult to calculate. He was of an olive colour, of a spare body and rather tall. He was exceedingly young; for there was only some slight down on his cheek and none on his chin. His whole appearance was very prepossessing." Again he says that the Rāya possessed very excellent qualities indeed.

Abdu'r-Razzāk in A.D. 1442 speaks of a treacherous plot to murder the Emperor. The king's younger brother had constructed a new house and invited the king and nobles to a banquet. Many of the nobles were killed, but the king by his own prowess and good fortune escaped. The treacherous brother was slain by the furious populace. We know only of two brothers of Dēva Rāya,—Pratāpa Dēva, called also Vijaya, and Śrīgiri Bhūpāla, who was viceroy at Maratakanagara, identified with Virinchipuram by Mr. Venkayya. Pratāpa Dēva was also at Maratakanagara after his younger brother from Śaka 1346 to 1368 Kshaya. Since Pratāpa Dēva lived on to Śaka 1370 Vibhava, it is not possible to identify him with the younger brother of Dēva Rāya who, Abdu'r-Razzāk asserts, was killed by the populace in A.D. 1442. Therefore the expression in the Śrī Sailam plates "निजाभजा प्राप्त धनत्रि रज्यः" must be interpreted to mean the elder sister of Dēva Rāya, who is referred to in C.D. 29.³³

तस्याभजाया हरिमंगलाया ।

प्राणेश्वरः साङ्गवतिष्ण राजः ।

कंसारि पादांजुज राज हंसः ॥

This is dated Śōbhakrit, Kārtik B. 10, Sōmavāra, (Monday, November 9, A.D. 1422). The growth of Sālva power is very significant. To provide a place for his nephew, Dēva Rāya ordered Lakkanna and Mādanna to hand over Terkal Nādu.³⁴

Abdu'r-Razzāk speaks of the following coins as current in the realm.³⁵ Gold coins: (1) Varāha, (2) Pratāpa (half varāha), (3) Panam ($\frac{1}{16}$ pratāpa); Silver—Tār ($\frac{1}{8}$ panam); Copper—Jital ($\frac{1}{4}$ tār). The obverse on most of the coins has a god and goddess seated like those on the coins of Hari Hara, sometimes with the attributes of Vishṇu, at others of Śiva. Of the gold coins, there are double pagodas, pagodas, half-pagodas and quarter-pagodas. Certain other coins bear on the obverse the figure of an elephant with the legend "Raja Gaja Gaṇḍa Bhērunda," commemorative of the elephant hunts in which Dēva Rāya took delight.

His silver coins are perhaps the earliest of the dynasty. They have an elephant on the obverse and on the reverse a sword, and to the right the legend देव राज.³⁶ Copper coins of his are numerous. They usually contain on the obverse, in addition to the usual elephant, the letter के and in one case "La" which, coupled with the legend on the reverse, formed the well-known name of Dēva Rāya's minister Lakkanna Gaṇḍa Nāyaka. Some coins have the figure of Nandi—a proof of Dēva Rāya's Śaiva inclinations, others have Vaishṇava symbols, and on

³² Payne's *Scenes from Indian History*, p. 66.

³⁴ Mb. 2, 96, *Epi. Car.*, vol. X.

³⁵ I.A., 1896, p. 318.

³³ Cd. 29, *Epi. Car.*, vol. XI.

³⁶ Elliot and Dowson, vol. IV, p. 109.

one coin Nandi is represented with the Vaishnava symbols—*śankha* and *chakra* on either side—at proof of the king's eclecticism. One coin has the figure of Nandi and the legend *Nilakantha*.³⁷

This period was one of great literary activity. Sanskrit, Telugu and Kannada scholars of every sect—Vaishnavas, Smārtas, Vira-Śaivas and Jains, produced a vast literature, secular as well as religious. Among them we may mention Lakkanna, Jakkanna, Bhāskara, Dharaṇoja, Mahalinga, Kumāra Bankanātha and Śrinātha. It is probable that *Mahāndātaka Sudhānidhi* is not the work of Dēva Rāya II, but of his son Immadi Dēva Rāya Mallikārjuna, who was a great scholar. Nuniz says that Pina Rao "was a great scholar and made many books . . . He was a very wise man." In Kannada there is a work by one Kallārasa called *Jana Vasya*, which treats of erotics.³⁸ There the author says "ಧಾತ್ರೀಶ ದೇವನೈ ಸ ಪುತ್ರ ಮೂರುರಾಯರಗಂಡ, ವೈರಿನೈ ಗಜಗಂಡ ಭೇರುಂಡ ನಾದಯದು ವಂಶವನಧಿವಿಧು." "Mallikārjuna, the son of Dēva Nripa, first wrote the work on erotics in Sanskrit, addressed to his wife; Kallārasa translated it into Kannada with the king's permission, and gave it another title "*Mallikārjuna Vijaya*" or "*Madana Tilaka*." There is a work in Sanskrit on erotics called *Rati Ratna Pradīpika*, the colophon of which runs as follows! "*Iti Śrī Rāja Paramēśvara Praudha Dēva Rāya Virachitāyām Rati Ratna Pradīpikādyām*."³⁹ The authorship, I venture to state, has been erroneously attributed to a Mysore sovereign. I think the author was Mallikārjuna himself, whose book was translated into Kannada by his court poet Kallārasa. Whether this Kallārasa is identical with Kallinātha (A.D. 1453), who was the court-musician of Immadi Dēva and wrote a monumental commentary on the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* of Śāranga Dēva, it is difficult to say.

We have already referred to the dispute between Mukunda Peddi and Chāmarasa. Literary history presents us with two more illustrations of such a contest. Śrinātha completed his *Śivarātri Māhātmyamu* about the year 1420, and went on a pilgrimage to Śrī Śailam. Thence he went to the Karnāṭa country with the help of Vinukonda Vallabha Rāya. In spite of this help Śrinātha was not received graciously at Court, where the poet-laureate Dindima zealously excluded every dangerous rival. Śrinātha, a pleasure-loving man, to whom the good things of the world mattered much, describes his wretched condition and besought "Kannada Rājya Lakshmi" to take pity on him.

ಕುಲ್ದಯುಂಚಿತಿ ನೌಕುಸುತ್ಪಿತಿ ಮಹಾಕಾರ್ಪಸುನ್ ದೌಡ್ಡಿತಿ |

ಜಿಲ್ಲೆನ್ ದಿಲಪಿವ್ವುನ್ ಮನವಿತಿನ್ ವಿಶ್ವಪ ಪಡ್ಡಿಂ ಗಾನ್ |

ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಂಬಿಲ್ದಾವಿತಿನ್ ರುಮಲಿಂ ಸಂಬಂ ಬೊನಾದಿತಿನ್ |

ದಳ್ಳಿ ಕನ್ನಡರಾಜ್ಯಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿ ದಯರೆದಾ ನೆನು ಕೆನಾಘಡನ್ |

Arunagirinātha Dindima was no mean scholar. He is the author of *Yogānanda Prahasana*, a commentary on Śaṅkara's *Saundarya Lahari*, and of *Vibhāga Ratna Māla*.⁴⁰ In *Sōmavallī Prahasana* he calls himself *Śrī Dindima Kavi-Sārva-Bhauma iti prathita biru-dānka nāmadhēyah Sarasvatī prasāda labdha Kavītāsānāthah Śrīmān Arunagiri Nāthah tēna kritēna yogānanda nāmnā prahasānēna, Sabhā niyōgamanutishṭhāmi*. He was a native of Mullandram, which was granted to him and several others, after changing its name to Praudhadēvarāyapuram, after the king. Dindima had also the titles *Abhinava Bhavabhāti*, *Ashṭabhāṣhāparamēśvara*, *Chera-Chola-Pandya Prathamārādhyā*, and *Kavi Malla Galla Tāḍana paṭu*—probably referring to the author of *Uddara Rāghava* or to the Kannada poet of the same name, who calls himself a Lakshana Kavi, disciple of Puttanānka Paṇḍita, and wrote *Madana Tilaka* in Kannada. The Kannada poet Chandra Kavi, who wrote "*Virūpāksha Sthāna*" at the Court of Dēva Rāya, also calls himself, like Dindima, *Ashṭa bhāṣhākavitā Praviṇa* (proficient in writing poetry in eight languages).

³⁷ I.A., 1891.

³⁸ *Karnāṭaka Kavi Charitre*, vol. II—Kallārasa.

³⁹ *Rati Ratna Pradīpika*. (Mysore Oriental Library Edition for Private Circulation).

⁴⁰ I.A., 1918, p. 97.

Śrinātha, however, was fortunate in securing the favour of the royal guru Chandra Bhūṣhaṇa Kriyā Śakti, and challenged Arunagiri to put up a fight for his title of *Kavi sārva bhauma*. In the contest that ensued Śrinātha was declared the winner.

దీనానటంకాల దీర్ఘమాడిందిరి సత్కీర్తనాధీశు మురార్జునశాల ।

బసులకొట్టింది ముచ్చటవివాదప్రాశ్ని గౌడ దిండిమ భట్టు కంచుధక్క ।

చంద్రశేఖర క్రియాశక్తి రాయలయొద్ద పాడుకొల్పితి సారస్వతామబిరుద ॥

Thenceforth Śrinātha proudly styles himself *Kavi sārva bhauma*.⁴¹ It was after this victory that Dēva Rāya bathed him in gold in his pearl-hall.

కర్ణాటకీతి నాథమాక్తిక సభాగారం తరాకల్పిత ।

స్వర్ణస్నాన జగత్ప్రసిద్ధ కవిరాజ్ ।

This is also referred to by the brother-in-law of Śrinātha, Duggapalli Duggayya, "*Kavi Sārva Bhaumudu Karnāṭa Vībhuṣhēta Kanakābhishēkamulu ganina Śrinātha*."

The third contest was between Kumāra Vyāsa and Chāmarasa.⁴² Both of them wrote their *Mahābhāratas*, but Kumāra Vyāsa's work was considered inferior. Thereupon he told his wife who was Chāmarasa's sister, that unless Chāmarasa's work was destroyed, he would commit suicide. His wife stole the rival work and burnt it. Chāmarasa consoled himself by writing about immortal people in his *Prabhulingalīlē*. The king, who had determined to have Kumāra Vyāsa bathed in gold, changed his mind and took Chāmarasa's work *Prabhulingalīlē* in procession on the state-elephant, and became a disciple of Chāmarasa.

I give below a list of Poets who flourished under the patronage of Dēva Rāya :—

(1) Mahāliṅga Dēva, (2) Lakkanna, (3) Jakkanṇa, (4) Kumāra Bankanātha, (5) Chāmarasa, (6) Kallumathada Prabhu Dēva, (7) Śrīgirindra, (8) Karasthala Nāgi Dēva, (9) Maggeya Māyi Dēva, (10) Gurubāsava, (11) Battalēśvara, (12) Chandra Kavi, (13) Irugappa, (14) Bhāskara, (15) Dharaṇōja, (16) Kalyāṇakīrti, (17) Jinadēvaṇṇa, (18) Kavimalla, (19) Kumāra Vyāsa, (20) Paranjyōti Yati, (21) Sarvajñā Siṅgama, (22) Śrinātha, (23) Vallabha Rāya, (24) Gauranna, (25) Bammera Potanna, (26) Kolachāla Mallinātha Sūri, (27) Peddabhāṭṭa, (28) Kallinātha, (29) Nāganātha, (30) Viśvēśvara Kavi, (31) Arunagirinātha Gauda Dindima Bhāṭṭa, (32) Niśśanka Kommanṇa, (33) Sālva Gopa Tippa, (34) Nēmichandra Prachanda Tārkaika Ratna "who conquered the pride of scholars in Dēva Rāya's court and secured a certificate of victory."

Of the architecture of the time—blending together Chālukyan and Eastern elements—the Hazāra Rāma temple and Pārśvanātha Chaityālaya in *Pānsupāri* street,⁴³ of the year Śaka 1348, Parābhava, are the outstanding monuments. Of the irrigation works of his reign we have an inscription at Dāvanagere,⁴⁴ dated A.D. 1424, which states that Daṇḍa Nāyaka Ballappa dammed the Haridrā and constructed a net work of canals. The poet considers the work of Ballappa greater than that of Bhagīratha's bringing of the Ganges. Everywhere the red water of the *nālas* was like the *tilaka* of the Earth Goddess.

At least two of Dēva Rāya's girl children are referred to in Kannāḍa literary tradition. Vira Śaiva tradition tells us that Karasthala Viranna was the son-in-law of Dēva Rāya. Similarly, Liṅga Mantri, a Kannāḍa author patronised by the Rāyōdaya of Nuggēhalli (1530), tells us that the father of his patron was the son-in-law of Pratāpa Dēva Rāya and was named Tirumala Rāya.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Virṭesalingam's *Andhra Kavula Charitra*, vol. I—Śrinātha.

⁴² *Karnāṭaka Kavi Charitre*, vol. II—Kumāra Vyāsa.

⁴³ *S.I.I.*, vol. I, p. 160.

⁴⁴ *Dg.* 29, *Epi. Car.*, vol. XI.

⁴⁵ *Karnāṭaka Kavi Charitre*, vol. II—Liṅga Mantri (1530).

An epigraph at Śravana Belgola thus refers to the death of Dēva Rāya.⁴⁶

Kṣayādhvayē kuvatsarē dvitayayukta Vaiśākhakē |
Mahītanaya Vārakēyuta Valakṣa pakṣhē tarē ||
Pratāpa nidhi Dēva Rāṣṭra prajāya mā pahantāsamo |
Chaturdaśa dinē katham pīṭy patē dhi Vāryāgatih ||

Writing in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1896, Dr. Kielhorn takes it to have occurred in the dark half, and says that the fourteenth *tithi* ended fourteen hours and fifty-seven minutes after mean sunrise on Tuesday. But it must have been on the fourth week day, and not on the third. Taking the bright half of the month,

(*Svāmikannupillai's Tables.*)

New Moon <i>tithi</i> Vaiśākha	(3) April 26.08
14 <i>tithis</i>	(14) „ 13.78
	(17) April 39.86
First New Moon in Solar year	4016
Vaiśākha 14th	13.78
	14.1816
Sun's equation for anomaly of	14.1816
Anomaly of first New Moon in Solar year	10.729
Vaiśākha 14	13.78
	24.51
	.16
	24.67
Moon's Anomaly for equation of	24.67
	= +.24
	+ .16
	+ .40

(17) April 39.86

.4

(17) April 40.26 i.e., 3rd week day (Tuesday) May 10th, 6 hours and fifteen minutes after mean sunrise.

Since Śaka 1368 (expired), Kṣaya⁴⁷, is the date of the grant of Mallikārjuna prohibiting extortion from the poor ryots of the Idangai and Valangai sects at the coronation of each emperor, we must perforce conclude that it is Dēva Rāya II who is referred to in the Śravana Belgola inscription, and not his younger brother, whose "setting" is referred to in an inscription of Śaka 1370 (Sorab 18).⁴⁸

Thus ended Dēva Rāya's reign. It is not characterised by great spectacular effects; but he laid the firm foundation of a policy of toleration and of suppression of overweening feudal vassals—a policy, the violation of which brought disaster. Literature flourished; the seas were conquered; commerce furthered; the enemy in the north and north-east was thoroughly beaten; toleration was extended to every community irrespective of caste, creed and nationality; oppression and nepotism, torture and extortion were firmly suppressed; social reform was given an impetus; local autonomy was safe-guarded in such a way as not to encroach on the central power; centrifugal and centripetal tendencies were balanced to a nicety. In short peace and prosperity were assured. These are the achievements of a prince who deserves a high place among the rulers of India.

⁴⁶ Śt. Bel. 328 (125), *Ep. Car.*, vol. II.

⁴⁷ *Mad. Ep. Rep.*, 23 of 1905; *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, vol. I, p. 212.

⁴⁸ Sorab 18, *Ep. Car.*, XII, pt. II.

BUDDHIST WOMEN.

BY DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D.

(Continued from page 68.)

Mallikā was the daughter of a Brāhman steward of the Śākya Mahānāman. On her father's death she was taken by Mahānāman to his house. She was at first named Chandrā. She made a wreath which satisfied Mahānāman so much that he changed her name to *Mallikā*. One day *Mallikā* went to the garden with her food, and just then the Blessed One passed them collecting alms. *Mallikā* thought of offering her food to the Buddha, and the latter knowing her thought held out his bowl. She put her offering in it and wished at the same time that some day she might be free from slavery or poverty. One day Pasenadi carried away by his horse in the heat of the chase came to Mahānāman's garden. There he saw *Mallikā*. Requested by the king, *Mallikā* rubbed his feet with a towel. As soon as she did so the king fell asleep. When he awoke he found out who she was, went to Mahānāman and married her. She was then taken to Śrāvastī and in time she brought forth a son named Virūdhaka (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 75-77), and also a daughter. (S.N., I, p. 86). This story is nothing but a Tibetan version of the story of Pasenadi and Vāsabhakhattiyā. (Cf. Svapna-vāsabhadattā of Bhāṣa.

Again we read that *Mallikādevī* went to the Buddha and asked him thus, "What is the cause of a woman's getting an ugly appearance, bad habit, wretched state and poverty in this world? What is the cause of a woman who is of this nature becoming very rich and influential? What is the cause of a woman who is of good appearance and lovely becoming poor and uninfluential, and *vice versa*?" The Buddha answered thus: "The woman who is very hot-tempered and who gets angry for slight reason becomes poor and ugly if she does not offer any charity to the Samāṇas or Brāhmanas, but if she offers charity to the Samāṇas or Brāhmanas, she becomes rich and influential although she is hot-tempered." The Buddha further said "She who is not hot-tempered and does not become angry for slight reason becomes poor and influential if she does not offer any charity to the Samāṇas or Brāhmanas." *Mallikā* admitted that on account of her hot temper and peevish nature she had an ugly appearance, but she, on account of her previous charities, became a queen. She further said that she would treat properly the daughter of the Kṣatriyas, the Brāhmanas and the other householders who were subordinate to her. She became a devotee of the Buddha, being very pleased with him. (*Āṅguttara Nikāya*, II, pp. 202-205). It is noteworthy that once *Mallikā* was asked by Pasenadi whether she had anybody dearer to her than her own soul. She replied in the negative. Pasenadi was asked the same question by his wife, and he too answered it in the negative. She then went to the Buddha and related the matter to him. The Buddha said that they were right in holding that there was nothing more favourite than one's own soul. (*Uddāna*, p. 47; cf. also S.N., I, p. 75.) Once Pasenadi invited Buddha to teach Dhamma to queens *Mallikā* and Vāsabhakhattiyā as they were desirous of learning it. Buddha asked the king to engage Ānanda for the purpose as it was not possible for him to go every day. *Mallikādevī* learnt it thoroughly, but Vāsabhakhattiyā was not so mindful of learning Dhamma. (D.C., I, 382). It was *Mallikā* who saved the life of many living beings who were brought for sacrifice to save Pasenadi from the evil effect of hearing four horrible sounds at midnight by inducing him to go to the Buddha to take instructions from him. (D.C. vol. II, pp. 7-8). After her death, *Mallikādevī* had to suffer in the Avīci hell because she deceived her husband by telling a lie about her misconduct. (D.C., III, 119f.).

Mallikādevī made the following arrangements on the occasion of Pasenadi's offering a unique gift to the Buddha and the *bhikkhus*:

1. She made a canopy with Sāla wooden parts, under which five hundred *bhikkhus* could sit within the parts and five hundred outside them.
2. Five hundred white umbrellas were raised by five hundred elephants standing at the back of five hundred *bhikkhus*.

3. Golden boats were placed in the middle of the pandal, and each Khattiya daughter threw scents standing in the midst of the two *bhikkhus*.

4. Each Khattiya princess fanned standing in the midst of two *bhikkhus*.

5. Golden boats were filled with scents and perfumes. (*D.C.*, III., pp. 184 f.)

The daughter of queen Mallikā was also named Mallikā. She was the wife of General Bandhula. She was childless for a long time. Bandhula sent her to her father's house. On the way she went to the Jetavana to salute the Buddha who was informed by her that her husband was sending her home as she was childless. The Buddha asked her to go to her husband's house. Bandhula was informed of this fact and thought that the Buddha must have got the idea that she would be pregnant. The sign of pregnancy was visible in her, and she desired to drink water and bathe in the well-guarded tank of the Licchavis. Bandhula with his wife visited the tank and he made his wife bathe and drink water therefrom. (*D.C.*, I, pp. 349-351.) Mallikā, wife of Bandhula, and daughter of a Malla king of Kuśinārā, offered worship to the relic of the Buddha with plenty of perfumes and garlands and also an ornament named *mahālatā* which was very valuable. In consequence of this, she, after death, was reborn in the Tāvātimsa heaven where she was bedecked all in yellow. (*Vimānavatthu Commy.*, 165.)

Vajirā was a *bhikkhū* who was tempted by Māra when she went to Andhavana to meditate. Māra came to her and asked her, "Who has created the being? Wherefrom it has come, and where will it go?" She said, "The aggregation of five *khandhas* constitutes the *sattas*." Māra then left her. (*Saṃyutta Nikāya*, I, pp. 134-135.)

Cirā bhikkhū was given a robe by an *upāsika* of the Buddha. This message was declared by a Yakkha in the streets of Rājagaha saying that the giver by giving a robe to Cirā who was free from fetters, could acquire much merit. (*Saṃyutta Nikāya*, I, p. 213.)

Uttarā and her husband were serving a banker at Rājagaha. Once the banker went to attend a famous ceremony, and Uttarā with her husband was at home. The husband of Uttarā went to cultivate in the morning. Uttarā was going with cooked food to her husband in the field. On the way she met Sāriputta, who was just rising up from *nirodha-samāpatti* (meditation on cessation) and offered the food to him, with the result that she became the richest lady of Rājagaha, and her husband became a banker named Mahādhanaseṭṭhi. (*D.C.*, III, pp. 302 f.)

Puṇṇā was the maid-servant of a banker of Sāvattihī. Once she was asked to husk a large quantity of paddy. While engaged in husking the paddy at night, she went outside the house to take rest. At this time Dabba, a Mallian, was in charge of making arrangements for the sleeping accommodation of the *bhikkhus* who were guests. Puṇṇā with some cakes went out to enquire of the cause of their movements with lights at night. The Buddha went out for alms by the way in which Puṇṇā was. She offered all the cakes to the Buddha without keeping any for herself. The Buddha accepted them. Puṇṇā was thinking whether Buddha would partake of her food. The Buddha did partake of it in her house. The effect of this offer was that Puṇṇā obtained *sotāpatti-phalaṃ* where the offer was made. (*D.C.*, III, pp. 321 f.)

Rohiṇī was Anuruddha's sister. She was suffering from white leprosy. She did not go to her brother as she was suffering. Anuruddha sent for her and asked her to build a rest-house for *bhikkhus* to get rid of her sin. She kept the rest-house clean even when it was under construction, and she did this with great devotion for a long time. She became free from her disease. Shortly afterwards the Buddha went to Kapilavatthu and sent for Rohiṇī. The Buddha told her that she was the queen of the king of Benares in her former birth. The king was enamoured of the beauty of a dancing girl. The queen knowing this, became jealous of her, and to punish her she put something in her cloth and bathing water which produced terrible itching all over her body. On account of this sin, she got this disease. She obtained *sotāpatti-phalaṃ* and the colour of her body became golden. (*D.C.*, III, pp. 295 f.)

Suppavāsā, a daughter of a Koliyan was pregnant for seven years, but she did not give birth to any child. After seven years, labour pain began and she suffered terribly for seven days, but no child was born. She requested her husband to go to the Buddha and to salute him on her behalf, reporting the matter to him. Her husband went to the Buddha and informed him. The Buddha desired that *Suppavāsā* would give birth to a son without any pain and disease. While the Buddha was expressing this desire, a son was born. Her husband was sent again to invite the Buddha to her house for seven days. The Buddha accepted the invitation. The Master took his meal there for seven days and converted both of them (*Udāna*, pp. 15-17; Cf. *D.C.*, IV, 192-193). *Suppavāsā* used to give alms daily to five hundred *bhikkhus*. (*Dhammapada Commy.*, I, 339.) She became the foremost of the *upāsikās*, offering the best food to the Buddha. Buddha told her the good effect of offering food, and he further said that an offerer by offering rice offers the lease of life, beauty, happiness and strength. The offerer in return obtains celestial life, celestial beauty, happiness and strength. (*Āṅguttara Nikāya*, II, pp. 62-63).

Another *bhikkhunī* of some repute was *Nakulamātā*. When her husband was ill and was ready to die, free from anxiety, she told him that she knew spinning and weaving and management of household affairs and children. She also told her husband that she would never remarry after his death, as both of them lived the life of a recluse for sixteen years. She informed her husband that after his death she would meet the Buddha and the *bhikkhusaṅgha*. She also promised to observe the precepts. She also told her husband that she was one of the female devotees who fully observed the precepts, controlled the mind, had strong faith in the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, and who became fearless and did not depend on others except the Buddha for support. (*A.N.*, III, 295 f.)

Bojjhā was a devotee who approached the Buddha, who preached to her the reward of observing the precepts and the Sabbath. The Master said to her, "Happiness obtained by observing Sabbath is sixteen times greater than that enjoyed by the sixteen countries." (*A.N.*, IV, pp. 259-260.)

Velukaṇṭaki Nandamātā was a devotee of the Buddha. She gave offerings to Sāriputta and Moggallāna. Referring to this the Buddha said, "A giver must be pleased before he gives *dāna*; his mind must be pleased while giving *dāna* and after giving *dāna*. The receiver of the offering must be free from passion, hatred and delusion. The consequence of such a gift is immeasurable". *Nandamātā* gave such a gift to Sāriputta and Moggallāna, and she obtained immeasurable consequence of the gift. (*A.N.*, III, 336-337.) There was another *bhikkhunī* named *Nandamātā* who was once repeating the *Pārāyana Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta* in a sweet voice. King Vessavana was going from north to south, and he waited there till *Nandamātā* finished her repetition and praised her much. *Nandamātā* told Vessavana that the merit acquired by the act would be beneficial to him. Vessavana gladly assented and said that the merit which would be acquired by her through the gift made to Sāriputta and Moggallāna would prove beneficial to him. (*A.N.*, IV, p. 63 f.)

Migasālā was an *upāsikā* who went to Ānanda and said, "According to the instruction of the Buddha, a *brahmācārī* and an *abrahmacārī* go to the same place after death and enjoy the same amount of happiness." Ānanda went to the Buddha to have this problem solved. The Buddha said that the lay devotee was ignorant and uneducated and therefore she could not realize it properly. The Buddha further said, "Even a householder may acquire the same amount of merit as acquired by a *brahmācārī* who does not fulfil his duties properly." (*A.N.*, III, 347 f.)

Dinnā, a *bhikkhunī*, was asked by her husband about *sakkāyadiṭṭhi*, *sakkāyanirodha*, *ariyāṭṭhaṅgikamaggo*, *saṃkhāra*, *nirodhasamāpatti*, manner of rising up from *nirodhasamāpatti* and *vedanā*. Dhammadinnā gave satisfactory answers to all the questions. She said, "Five *upādāna khandhas* constitute *sakkāyadiṭṭhi*. *Tanhā* means *sakkāya samudayo*. Destruction of *tanhā* means *sakkāya nirodha*. The noble eight-fold path is

the means of attaining *sakkāyanirodha*. Ignorant people take the five *upādāna khandhas* jointly and separately as *attā* (soul); the learned and noble disciples do not take them in this sense. Those who obtain *nirodha samāpatti* are stopped one after another. The three kinds of *vedanā* are *sukha*, *dukkha* and *adukkhamasukha* (*M.N.*, I., 299 f.)

There was an *upāsikā* named *Suyātā* who destroyed three bonds and obtained the first stage of sanctification. (*S.N.*, V, p. 356.)

Nandā, sister of the king of Kōśala, was a *bhikkhuni*. While going through the sky at night she instructed *Kālāsoka* and *bhikkhusaṅgha* to purify *bhikkhusaṅgha* by driving out bad *bhikkhus* and protecting good *bhikkhus* (*Sāsanavaṁsa*, p. 6).

There was another woman named *Nandā* who was the wife of a householder named *Nandasena* who lived in a certain village near *Sāvattthi*. She had no faith in the Buddha. She was very hot-tempered and used to abuse her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law. On her death she became a *peti*. One day she appeared before her husband and gave him an account of her past misdeeds. The husband made gifts for her sake to the *bhikkhus*, and *Nandā* was released from her miseries. (*P.D. on the Petavatthu*, pp. 89-92.)

Revatī was the daughter of a householder of Benares. She had no faith in the Buddha, and was very uncharitable. For some days she was forced by her parents to do meritorious deeds in order to win *Nandiya*, a neighbour's son, as her husband. After marriage, *Nandiya* made her follow him in his meritorious deeds. Thereafter *Nandiya* had to go abroad. He asked his wife to continue all the meritorious deeds. *Revatī* did so for seven days. Then she stopped all meritorious deeds and began to abuse the *bhikkhus* who had come to her house for alms. *Nandiya*, on his return, found that all his acts of charity had been discontinued. After death *Revatī* became a hellish creature. On his death *Nandiya* became a *devata*. He saw with his divine eyes that *Revatī* had become a hellish creature. He then went to her and asked her to approve of the meritorious acts done by him. As soon as she did so, she became a *devatā* and resided with *Nandiya* in heaven. (*B.C. Law, Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, p. 79.)

Sāmāvatī was the queen of king *Udena* of *Kosambi*. The harem containing *Sāmāvatī* with 500 female attendants was burnt while *Udena* was in the royal garden. The matter was referred to the Buddha, who said, "Each *upāsikā* had gone according to her *kamma*, some have become *sotāpanna sakadāgami* and *anāgami* and so forth (*Udāna*, p. 79).

There was a maid-servant named *Birani* engaged by *Asoka Brāhmaṇa* to give food daily to the *saṅgha* which was enough for eight *bhikkhus*. This she used to do with devotion, with the result that after her death she was born in *avimāna* in the sky. (*Mahāvamsa*, p. 214.)

Rūpanandā was Buddha's step-sister. She thought that her eldest brother renounced the world and had become a Buddha. Her younger brother *Nanda* was a *bhikkhu* and *Rāhulakumāra* had obtained ordination. Her husband too became a *bhikkhu* and her mother, *Mahāpajāpatigotamī*, became a *bhikkhuni*. She renounced the world thinking that so many of her relatives had renounced the world. She did not go before the Buddha as she was proud of her beauty, while the Buddha used to preach the impermanency and worthlessness of form. The other *bhikkhunis* and *bhikkhus* always used to praise the Buddha in her presence and tell her that all having different tastes became blessed by seeing the Buddha.

Nandā thought of going to the Buddha with other *bhikkhunis* but she would not show herself to the Buddha. *Ānanda* came to know that *Nandā* had come with the *bhikkhunis*. The Buddha desired to lower her pride in her beauty by showing the bad effect of it. By his miraculous power the Buddha created a most beautiful girl who was engaged in fanning the Buddha. *Nandā* seeing her beauty found out that her own beauty was much inferior. The girl was seen gradually attaining youth, the state of a mother of a child and then old age and disease and death. *Nandā*, seeing this, gave up her pride in her beauty and came to realize the impermanence of beauty. The Buddha, knowing the state of her mind, delivered a suitable sermon and she became an *arhat* after hearing it. (*D.C.*, III, pp. 113 f.)

NOTES ON CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

By SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt.

(Continued from page 45.)

D-III. Coins of Thibò (Thibaw).

It used to be confidently asserted that Thibaw never had a coinage in his own name, but I have so far doubted the truth of this statement as to think it possible that he coined, or his officials coined for him, the *shwé-ngámúzi*, already described under Mindôn Min, as it bears date the year of his accession B.E. 1240=1878, and his sign the *tó*.

Concurrently with this gold coin, which tradition has assigned to Mindôn Min, there was a copper and a brass coinage, bearing the *tó* effigy and the date 1240. I think this should be attributed to Thibaw, unless it can be proved to be Mindôn's.

A copper coin of Thibaw is shown in fig. 35, Plate II. Obverse: a *tó*; and *tó*: *tazéktò* (royal stamp of the *tó*:). Reverse: a wreath, outside it *Yedanábôn Nêbyidò*, and inside it *l mû yóng*: *dingá*: 8 *pôn tabôn* (coin to be used as an eighth part of 1 *mû*, A.D. 1878). The eighth of a *mû* is the fourth of a *pè*.

The brass coinage of Thibaw⁴⁹ is very interesting. I had two specimens, evidently struck from the dies used for the *tó*: copper coins just described. The Burmese imported their copper in sheets for coining; and being unable to roll copper, which requires costly machinery capable of enduring great heat, they mixed zinc with the waste copper resulting from punching the sheets for minting, and then rolled it. The brass coinage resulting was forced into currency. Specimens used to be common showing zinc alloy in various quantities.

The copper coinage, both of Mindôn and Thibaw showed early signs of becoming rare, because of withdrawal from currency by the British Government in 1889. The effect of the withdrawal in Mandalay, as I saw for myself, was to drive them out of use in a week, though of course in the villages they were likely to pass for many a year later.

A general remark by Sir George Scott (Shwe Yoc, *The Burman*, 1882, vol. II, pp. 299-300) on Burmese coinage and its use in everyday life, will not be out of place here:— "Formerly the Burmese had no stamped coinage, and the silver and gold used, mixed in greater or less amount with alloy, which necessitated the calling in of an assayer for every transaction, was always dealt out by weight. Now, however, there are gold coins stamped with the lion and the peacock, silver and copper with the royal peacock, and lead with the hare . . . Mandalay rupees, though the same size as those of the Indian Government, are not in favour in Rangoon. They only run to fourteen annas, so that you lose two annas on each. The gold coins are practically not in circulation at all. Englishmen buy them as curiosities in the bazaar and get cheated if they do not carefully ring every one. The smaller ones, struck from the same die as the silver two-anna bit, are principally used by the king to fill silver cups presented to distinguished visitors."

E. Coin.

Going back now to consider coins and tokens stamped to mark exchange value only, which form the links between lump currency and coin of the realm, it may be as well in this division of the subject to keep our minds clear as to the difference between tokens, coin and coin of the realm.

Section 230 of the *Indian Penal Code*, (Indian) Act XLV of 1860, is of much use in this respect, when read with Section 3 of the *Metal Tokens Act* (Indian) Act I of 1889. The *Indian Penal Code*, when speaking of offences relating to coin and government stamps, says, Sec. 230:— "Coin is metal used for the time being as money, and stamped and issued by the authority of some State or Sovereign Power in order to be used. Coin stamped and issued by the authority of the Queen [Victoria], or by the authority of the Government of India, or of the Government of any Presidency, or of any Government in the Queen's Dominions, is the Queen's coin."

⁴⁹ There is a brass coinage (*sapèques en laiton*) current in the Upper Laos States. *Toung Pao*, vol. I, p. 51.

Illustrations: (a) cowries are not coin: (b) lumps of unstamped copper, though used as metal tokens, are not coin: (c) medals are not coin, inasmuch as they are not intended to be used as money: (d) the coin denominated as the Company's rupee is the Queen's coin." All this is to say: coin stamped and issued by the authority of the ruler of a country is coin of the realm he rules. Coin stamped and issued by the authority of other rulers is coin; all other metal used as money is a metal token.

These definitions apply to completely civilized states, and practically, though not altogether, to such countries as Upper Burma was before the annexation; and I here describe the two species of currency now to be discussed respectively as "tokens" and "coin," though both are strictly speaking tokens.

E.-I. Tokens.

In this category must be reckoned silver, copper and other discs made in the royal mint but never stamped. Either through carelessness or theft these discs got into circulation in large quantities, and owing to the habit, common in the East, and described *ante*, vol. XXVI, pp. 157 ff., of receiving any kind of token as currency, and also because of the knowledge that they were made at the royal mint, they were freely used as tokens of the full value of coin of the realm.⁵⁰ A specimen is shown in fig. 39, Plate II.

E.-II. Taungbànni Coins.

As unquestioned coins that were acknowledged not to be coin of the realm, but still had a ready currency at about 75 per cent. of the royal mint currency, were the *taungbànni* coins. They were in silver, copper and brass, and copied all the issues from the royal mint. I was never able to account satisfactorily for the minting of the *taungbànni* currency. Everyone in Mandalay of any importance, or likely to know really, always for some reason denied all knowledge of its origin. I suspect that private persons, either for a consideration or with the connivance of the Mint-master, obtained a right to issue coins, or that downright illicit coining was common. Some Burmans called the *taungbànni* currency *p'ônji* or monk's money, and asserted that certain monasteries coined as of right. Among the monks who had the right to coin I understood were the Nān-ū Sayādō of the Mōzaung Kyaungdaik (Monastery) near the Engdōyā Pagoda at Mandalay, and a Sayādō whose title I have forgotten, but who had been tutor to King Thibō.⁵⁰ Others said that the *taungbànni* coins were issued by great personages.

A silver *taungbànni* piece of one *mū* is shown in fig. 40, Plate II. It bears the legend on the true 1 *mū* piece and the date 1214=1852 A.D. Similarly the copper specimen shown on fig. 41, Plate II is a copy or the *tō*: copper coin, and bears date 1240=A.D. 1878. The brass *taungbànni* coinage was common. All the specimens I saw were copies of the *tō*: copper coins, and all bore the date 1240.

E.-III. Irregular Tokens.

The next point for enquiry is the token whose appearance and apparent weight gives it an exchange value without further test. These I have already called irregular tokens,⁵¹ and defined as lumps of metal made into certain forms and used as coins though never intended for that purpose. Crawford referred to something of the kind when he says that the king's treasure was in bars of gold reckoned at 238 Spanish dollars each.

E.-III (a). Shan Shell-Money.

First in this category comes the *chūlōn* (*k'ayūlōn*, round shell) or *chaubinbauk*, the well-known Shan Shell-money. See Plate II, fig. 16. Sir George Scott, writing to me in 1889, called the "shells" Siamese money, "still current among the Siamese and a large portion of the Lao [Shan] States." Ma Kin, a well-known female dealer in Mandalay, told

⁵⁰ So probably also were Phayre's Plate III, figs. 5 to 10; see p. 38. Compare the Greek temple coinage. Poole, *Coins and Medals*, p. 12. Also the Roman *moneta castraneæ*, and the coins issued *extra muros*: *op. cit.*, pp. 56 ff.

⁵¹ See *ante*, vol. XXVI, pp. 156, 157 ff.

me that the Shan Shells came from Bawdwin (the Bortwang of Crawford's *Ava*, p. 444) near Nyaunggywé in the Southern Shan States.

They are on the borderland between real tokens and lumps of metal marked for fineness, as their shape proves. They are not deliberately manufactured, but are the result of the natural efflorescence of silver under certain methods of extraction. They are necessarily as pure as *bò* silver and their weight was tested by handling, so they passed as tokens. In fig. 1, Plate I, and usually in specimens of *Shân bò*, efflorescence in this form is to be seen adhering to the silver from which it springs. Yule (*Ava*, p. 260) alludes to this: "The variety next to *bò* is *K'ayùbàt*,⁵² so called from *k'ayà*, a shell and *pàt*, circle or winding, in consequence of the spiral lines of efflorescence on the surface." Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 31, expresses the same opinion and says that *k'ayùbàt* is "a silver cake with marks upon its surface, produced by the crystallization of the lead scoræ in the process of refinement."

Owing to a mistake in Ridgeway's *Origin of Currency*, pp. 22, 29, in which he states that the Shan silver shells are about the size of a cowry and argues that they are survivals of the cowrie currency of Siam, etc., I may as well state clearly that true *chûlôn* are of all sizes, and I had one in my possession which was many times the size of a cowry shell. In 1888 about 500 specimens of *chûlôn* passed through my hands at Mandalay and I tried to "size" them and found that the size of any particular shell was purely accidental and an incident of construction, human intention having no concern in it.

E.-IV. *Majîzî* Knuckle-Bones.

Next to the Shan silver shells come the *majîzî*s or tamarind seeds in gold and silver. Burmese children, especially little girls, are very fond of a game of knuckle-bone, which consists in throwing a tamarind seed into the air with one hand and seeing how many more can be picked up by the same hand before it falls and is caught. The royal children used those made of gold and silver, and King Mindôn used significantly to impress upon the little princesses the importance of keeping those that he gave them against a rainy day. They were soon mostly melted down or sold after the British annexation and became exceedingly rare. They were tokens, owing to their weight and fineness being assumed, and when, as subsequently happened, the *majîzî*s assumed a uniform and conventional shape, size and fineness, we are brought to a point very near the true coin.

The figures 17, 18 and 19, Plate II, show the whole process. Fig. 17 is a dried tamarind seed: fig. 18 is its imitation in gold with little dotted circles in the centre of each face to represent the pit marks of a similar kind often seen in fresh tamarind seeds, and fig. 19 is the conventional silver *majîzî* in which the dotted ring has taken a fixed form with that of the represented seed itself. It was in this form that silver *majîzî*s were usually met with.

E.-V. Shan Silver *Majîzî*.

Tàndông, or Shan (silver) *majîzî*, used as customary gifts, like the *chûlôn*, are still nearer to true coin, as they are conventionally stamped to show fineness. See fig. 20, Plate II. This particular form of *majîzî* had become rare in Burma by 1890.

Regarding such *majîzî* Mr. H. S. Guinness in his letter from the Shan State of Wuntho in 1894, already quoted, says:—"Sometime ago I weighed 18 silver *magyîzî* [*majîzî*], which I bought in Mandalay. The bazaar weight thereof varied between 59 and 66 grains per *magyîzî*: the average for the 18 being 61.92 grains. This made me think that *magyîzî*s were meant to run three to a *tolâ* or four to a tickal. If the former, the weight of a *magyîzî* should be 60 grains: if the latter, 64 grains."

E.-VI. Siamese Tickals.

Fig. 21, Plate II, shows a Siamese tickal, and the remarkable resemblance of this coin-token to the *majîzî* in its several developments will become apparent to the reader. Crawford

⁵² But see *ante*, vol. XLVII, p. 41.

(*Siam*, p. 331), however, describes the tickal and its parts as nothing more than bits of silver bar bent and the ends beaten together, impressed with two or three small stamps.⁵³

E.-VII. Ancient Tokens.

That lump currency in fixed forms, like the Shân silver shells, is very ancient in the East is shown by the following quotation from the *Jâtakas* (Buddhist Birth Stories), where golden bricks, ploughshares, elephant's feet, bricks and tortoises are mentioned. That it was continuously used amongst Far Eastern Nations there is much evidence from Chinese, Tongkingese, Annamese, Cambodian, Siamese, Shân and Malay sources, besides Burmese.⁵⁴ In the *Nidânakathâ*,⁵⁵ a Sinhalese composition in Pâli of the fifth century A.D. is an account of the land on which Anâthapiṇḍika built the famous Jêtavana Vihâra, referring to a lump currency in gold which existed in and before the writer's time:—"Long ago in the time of the Blessed Buddha Vipassin, a merchant named Punabbasu Mitta bought the very spot by laying golden bricks over it, and built a monastery there a league in length. And in the time of the Blessed Buddha Sikhin, a merchant named Sirivadḍha bought that very spot by standing golden ploughshares over it, and built there a monastery three quarters of a league in length. And in the time of the Blessed Buddha Vessabhû, a merchant named Sôthiya bought that very spot by laying golden elephant feet along it, and built a monastery there half a league in length. And in the time of the Blessed Buddha Kakusandha, a merchant named Achchuta also bought that very spot by laying golden bricks over it, and built there a monastery a quarter of a league in length. And in the time of the Blessed Buddha Kôṇagamana, a merchant named Ugga bought that very spot by laying golden tortoises over it, and built there a monastery half a league in length. And in the time of the Blessed Buddha Kassapa, a merchant named Sumaṅgala bought that very spot by laying golden bricks over it, and built there a monastery sixty acres in extent. And in the time of our Blessed One, Anâthapiṇḍika, the merchant, bought that very spot by laying *kahâpanas* over it, and built there a monastery thirty acres in extent. For that spot is a place which not one of all the Buddhas has deserted."

The writer of the above passage, in bringing in his own way the history of the Monastery down to these comparatively modern times, clearly indicates, by the expressions 'bricks', 'ploughshares', 'elephant feet', 'tortoises', ingots of certain shapes, current as weights in his own time, till he comes to the last payment, which he states in terms of a then recognised weight. The *kahâpanam* Skr. *kârshâpana* was, as a gold weight, equal to 16 *mâshas*—about 176 grains.

Plate LVII of Cunningham's *Barhut Stupa*, 1879, contains a bas relief,⁵⁶ which represents Anâthapiṇḍika, making over to Sangha the park at Jetavana, which he had purchased by covering the ground with a layer of crores (*kôṭis*) of bricks. At p. 84 ff. there is an elaborate account of the story with many references. See Hultzsch, *Bharhut Inscriptions*, No. 38, ante, vol. XXI, pp. 226, 230.

Compare also Fausbøll, *Jâtaka*, vol. I, p. 92, where the text runs: "*Anâthapiṇḍiko . . . Jetavanam kôṭisanthârena (atthara sahisāñña kôṭhi) kinīva*." On comparing this statement with the inscriptions at the Stupa: "*Jetavana Anadhapediko deti kôṭi-samthâtena ketā*," we may reasonably conjecture that the very precise expression I have placed in brackets got into the story later than the date of the Bharhut sculptures, of the second or first century B.C.

⁵³ For a remarkably good note on the *larin* or hook-money, closely allied to the tickal in principle, see Pyrrard de Laval, *Hak : Soc : Ed.*, vol. I, pp. 232 ff. Good specimens of tickals are to be found in the Indian Museum, Calcutta Mint Collection, Nos. 887, 888, 902-905, 993. At p. 85 of the (old) Catalogue (before 1890), Nos. 1759 and 1760, there is a queer entry: "tickal or takel, Arakan." Sarat Chandra Das, *JASB.*, Proc. 1887, p. 148, says tickals were made in gold, silver and lead in the reign of "Somdetch Pra Charem Klow." See also Bowring, *Siam*, vol. I, pp. 257 ff.

⁵⁴ See "Obsolete Malay Tin Currency," ante, vol. XLII, p. 92 f. ⁵⁵ Rhys Davids, *Birth Stories*, p. 132 f.

⁵⁶ In Hutchinson's *History of the Nations*, there is a drawing (p. 124) in modern perspective, by Horace van Ruith, of this relief.

In translating and explaining this text Cunningham, Hultzsch and others have used expressions like 'crores of gold coins', but I take it that such are merely a loose way of expressing the currency of the period, which may be almost certainly taken to have been bullion in some special shape, as the *Nidāna* version seems to prove.

F. Forgeries.

Having described the Burmese coinage and currency itself, I pass on to other allied matters. Irrespective of the proceedings of Bôdôp'ayâ, the Burmese were great tamperers with their coinage, even though it was of such recent issue, and in this connection I gave a word of warning to collectors and those interested in numismatics as early as 1893. "Peacock" coins were even then already beginning to command a price far beyond their intrinsic value in Mandalay, and a factory of sham "peacocks" had sprung up, especially of the smaller values. I had been able to purchase one *mû* pieces purposely in the Zêjô (the great market at Mandalay, then known to Europeans as the King's Bazaar, though it was never anything of the kind) for more than their intrinsic market value, and I felt sure they were manufactured to sell as curios.

Of course, this is a very old story in India, and from all over Central Asia there have been many complaints from scientific enquirers that forgery has always been rampant. There is a good instance of the situation in a letter to the *Pioneer*, dated October 4, 1893, on the Gwalior Currency. The writer, obviously an expert, gives an excellent account of the currency in the Gwalior State at the time and in the course of his statement he writes: "All these [Gwalior State] rupees are old fashioned, thickish, roughly rounded pieces of silver, having a legend of the Emperors of Delhi and the date stamped on them. They are unsightly and cause a great deal of annoyance and loss, owing to the very great facility with which similar light and base coin can be, and to a great extent is, manufactured by ordinary goldsmiths: and also from the chips, which are at times stuck in them to make up their proper weight, getting loose and lost. In some cases as many as four or five in a hundred have been found to be base coin. Of all these coins, eight, four and two anna pieces are also current."

Forgery of coins of the common criminal type became a serious nuisance in Upper Burma before the native coinage was withdrawn. The crime was helped—one might almost say created—by the taking of Mandalay, when, in the first confusion, the royal mint dies passed into the hands of anyone who chose to take them. They were frequently and extensively used by British officers as paper weights during the war and I have bought them in the Zêjô. The result was that the criminally forged coins were admirably executed.

In China forging was skilful, even in the most ancient times, and has, indeed, had a distinct effect on the currency question in that country. Terrien de Lacouperie writes of it (*Catalogue of Chinese Coins*, 1892, pp. xxii-xxv) in strong terms:—"In the preliminary notices on the series of coins in the present volume we have had to relate repeatedly the evils resulting in the Chinese currency from the plague of counterfeiters; and until the present time the same doleful history has continued. An increase in the proportion of tin, the legal alloy, the substitution for it of lead, or tin pieces, which, when strung between genuine coins, might pass unperceived, were the various means resorted to by the forgers. The unusual skilfulness of the Chinese counterfeiters has been the insuperable obstacle to the issue of coins of gold or silver."

Forgery of coins has always been common everywhere in the East, largely facilitated by the imperfections of the authorised mints, and its punishment has been proportionately severe. Crawford, *Embassy to Siam and Cochin China*, 1928, p. 395, says that the punishment was usually death. "Murder is always punished with death, and the mode of execution is by decapitation with a sword. Forging the royal signet and counterfeiting the current coin, are also, by law, punishable with death; but in these cases, too, the punishment has of late been commonly commuted for imprisonment for life, and the heaviest infliction of the bamboo."

Elsewhere Crawford, p. 517, tells us that the punishment of death is inflicted for forging [zinc coin].

Nearly every traveller has complained of forgery and warned successors against it, but Anderson, *Mandalay to Momein*, 1876, p. 386, gives an interesting instance of forging sycee which must be a difficult operation: "Elias and I arrived [at Sawadi] while the payments were being made in lumps of sycee silver, one of which was declared by a *pawmine* (*pōmaing*, money-changer) to be bad, and, being bitten, proved to be hollow, and filled with sand.

The crime of forgery was not always committed by Asiatics upon Europeans, and at least one instance of a dastardly attempt on the part of Europeans to cheat unsophisticated Islanders is recorded in the *Voyage of Pyrrard de Laval*, (1888, Hak. Soc., vol. II, pt. I, p. 159 made in the seventeenth century: "But in truth what did us much harm at the first, and took away much of the good repute of the French, English and Hollanders in this country [Maldivé Islands] (for in the Indies we are all considered alike, seeing that we are all friends among ourselves and enemies of the Portuguese) was, that there was brought to Sunda, or islands of the South [Malay Archipelago], a quantity of false pieces of forty Spanish sols, which were made on board the ships. The Hollanders accused the English, and English cast the blame on the others: however, the fact was, the Hollanders paid dear for it, for the voyage after, a goodly number of them were killed at several places; and since then the Indians have not trusted them so much, and the rumour has spread over the whole of India that we are all cheats."

G. Siamese Porcelain Tokens.

Although a large number of these interesting tokens have passed through my hands at times, since I presented specimens to the British Museum and other Institutions, I have not been able to ascertain much about them from literary sources. What I have unearthed I now publish, but these curious specimens of currency seem to me to be worth better exploration than has apparently been so far bestowed on them.

These porcelain tokens are really tokens issued by apparently authorised gambling houses and as they have a pecuniary value to the possessor, they are passed from hand to hand as negotiable money for their known value. Holt Hallett (*A Thousand Miles on an Elephant*, 1890, p. 234) says of them: "On our return [to Penyow, 130 m. from Zimmè] Jewan came to me with a long face, complaining that the people in the town had given him some pieces of pottery instead of change, and asked what he should do. On looking at them I found they were octagonal in shape, and stamped on one side with Chinese letters. After showing them to Dr. M'Gilvary, he said they were the ordinary gambling currency of the place and represented two-anna and four-anna pieces. It appears that the gambling monopolist has the right to float them, and they are in general use amongst the people as small change.⁶⁷ They remain current as long as the Chinese monopolist is solvent or has the monopoly. If he loses it, he calls the tokens in by sending a crier round, beating a gong and informing the people that he is ready to change the tokens for money. Dr. M'Gilvary said that such tokens formed the sole small change at Zimmè before the Bangkok copper currency supplanted them."

Bock (*Temples and Elephants*, 1884, p. 142) supports him by the following remark:—"In all parts of the country I found a number of porcelain coins of all shapes and sizes, bearing different Chinese characters and devices. These are issued by Chinamen holding monopolies, and are only current in their respective districts."

And this remark he follows up by another reference to them; (pp. 598-9): "Of antiquities and curiosities [at the Siamese National Exhibition, Bangkok] there was a fine collection of weapons and arms from hill-tribes scattered throughout Siam and Lao, and an equally interesting show of the ancient coins, some flat and some spherical, solid bars of silver or gold with a stamp at one end, side by side with old paper currency, lead, crockery, and *porcelain tokens* and cowries."

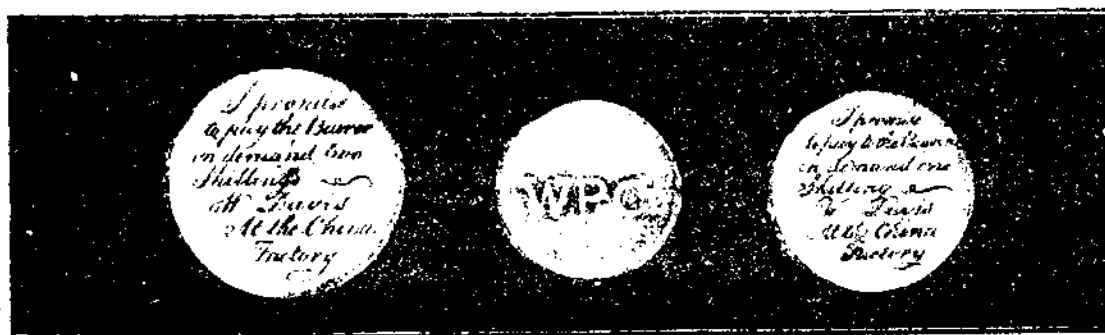
⁶⁷ For an account of the games played in Siam, see *ibid.*, p. 235.

To this Sir George Scott, in a letter to myself, dated March 11th, 1889, added:—"The porcelain money introduced by the Chinese as gambling counters were used in the Siamese Shan States [Lao] as actual money." And finally Parker, in a Sketch of Burmese History in the *North China Review*, 1893, p. 48, says, in identifying the Caravan of Marco Polo with Yunnan:—"The money formed of porcelain such as is found in the sea" described by Marco Polo was, "according to the *Annals of Yung-ch'ang* in use until quite recently. Cowries are meant, and both cowries and real porcelain or *mug coins* are still used by the Laos."

On a personal enquiry from some Shāns as to some specimens that I showed them, they at once recognised them as tokens of currency and gave them names according to a denomination they recognised: *ngūnmal* or *ngūnhēmū*. These are names for real money of a low denomination.

My last quotation here is from *Siam*, where Bowring says (*Siam*, 1857, vol. I, p. 257) "Copper Coins are issued by individuals in the provinces; and stamped glass, or enamel⁵⁸ bearing inscriptions is also used as a circulating medium."

A parallel to the Siamese porcelain gambling tokens is to be found in England at the famous Worcester China Works, where about 1760 china tokens in Worcester porcelain were given to the work people for wages. The Block-plate hereunder shows three of such tokens from Worcester:—



(To be continued.)

BOOK-NOTICE.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA, vol. XIX, Pt. I, January, 1927.

This number contains some important records. The first is a revised reading by Dr. Sten Konow of *The Zeda Inscription of the Year II*. The learned scholar takes the opportunity to discuss afresh the long-disputed question of the initial date of the Kanishka era. He quotes the results of certain calculations made by Dr. W. E. Van Wijk, which seem to indicate that the 19th June 139 A.D. is the only date that fulfils the astronomical data of the Zeda record, and the 26th February 180 A.D. the only date that fulfils the conditions of the Und inscription. According to these findings the initial date of the Kanishka era would be 128-9 A.D. Such a date would explain the absence, so far as known, of any reference to Kanishka in Chinese historical literature, and thus fits in with the views of several authorities who have suggested a date subsequent to

125 A.D., when China was cut off from Eastern Turkistan.

The second is a reading by Mr. Hirānanda Śāstri of the Barah copper-plate of Bhojadeva discovered in 1925 in the Cawnpore district. Mr. Śāstri, for the reasons stated by him, reads the date of this record as Vikrama-samvat 893. This reading is not altogether free from doubt; but if it be correct the plate contains the earliest record so far obtained of this great Pratihāra king, and carries his long reign back another four years, i.e., to 836 A.D.

In the third article Dr. L. D. Barnett gives a careful edition of the text, with a translation in English, of the Mamdāpur inscription of the reign of Kanhara (Śaka 1172) containing useful genealogical and geographical information, from an ink-impression preserved in the British Museum.

C. E. A. W. O.

⁵⁸ He clearly means by this the porcelain gambling tokens.

VEDIC STUDIES.

By A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., Ph.D.

(Continued from page 64.)

The fortress of the gods is, as Sāyaṇa (on TA. 1, 27, 114) explains, the human body; the nine doors are the nine apertures of the body, namely, the two ears, the two eyes, the two nostrils (or according to others, the nose and the *brahma-randhra*), the mouth, the *upastha* and *pāyu*; and the eight wheels are the eight *dhātavaḥ* or 'elements' of the body—*tvac* (skin), *asrj* (blood), *medas* (fat), *asthin* (bone), *majjan* (marrow), *śukra* (semen), *māmsa* (flesh), and *ojas*. The sheath of gold within it is the heart which is the abode of the *ātman*: compare TA. 10, 11, 2: *padmakōśa-pratikāśaṃ hṛdayam cāpyadhōmukham | ādho nisṭhīd' vīṭastyānte nābhya'm upari tiṣṭhati || jvālamāla-kulam bhāti viśvāsyaṭatanīm mahat || . . . tasmīn sarvīm prātishṭhitam . . . tāsyā mādhye mahā'n agniḥ . . . tāsyā mādhye vāhni-śikhā . . . tāsyā śikhāyā' madhye parāmātmā vyavasthitaḥ | sā brāhmā sā hārīḥ sēndraḥ sōksharāḥ paramāḥ svarāḥ ||* "Like to a lotus-bud, the heart facing downwards, is (situated) one span below the neck (that is, below the top of the windpipe), and above the navel. This great abode of all (of the world) is shining, being full of rings of flames . . . in it is established everything . . . in its midst is a great fire . . . in it is a flame . . . in the midst of this flame is established the supreme *ātman*; he is *Brahmā*, he *Hari* (*Vishnu*), he *Indra*, he the imperishable supreme lord." Compare also *Yogatattvopaniṣat*, 1, 9: *hrdi sthāne sthitam padmam tac ca padmam adhomukham*; *Dhyānabindūpaniṣat*, 12: *ūrdhvanālam adhomukham | kālālipushpasamkāsam sarvadevamayāmbujam*; *Ch. Up.* 8, 1, 1: *asmin brahmapure daharam puṇḍarikam veśma* "In this abode of Brahman (i.e., the body) is a small lotus chamber."

The epithets *tryara* and *tripratishṭhita* are not very clear. In *Ch. Up.* 8, 1, 3³⁹ we read that the *ākāśa* of the heart contains everything, heaven, earth, *agni*, *vāyu*, etc. The word *tryara* may therefore perhaps refer to the three worlds and all other similar triplicities as being contained in the heart; compare *Yogatattvopaniṣat*, 1, 6: *trayo lokāḥ trayo vedāḥ trayāḥ sandhyāḥ trayāḥ surāḥ | trayagnayo guṇāḥ trīṇi sthīlāḥ sarve trayākshare*. The *trayākshara* or *praṇava* is thus said to contain within itself the three worlds, the three Vedas, the three *sandhyā*s, etc.; and as the heart is, like the *praṇava*, a seat, *adhishṭhāna*, of the Supreme, these triplicities may all be regarded as being contained in the heart and as forming the *arāḥ* or spokes thereof referred to by the epithet *tryara*.

The epithet *tripratishṭhita* refers perhaps to the three states of the heart spoken of in *Yogatattvopaniṣat*, 1, 1: *akāre śocitam padmam ukāreṇaiva bhidyate | makāre labhate nādam ardhamaṭrā tu niścalā* which seems to mean: "When *a* is pronounced, the lotus (of the heart) brightens (becomes ready to open?); it opens when *u* is pronounced; and begins to hum when *ma* is pronounced; it is immobile when the *ardhamātrā* is pronounced." Now *a*, *u*, and *ma* are said (in the *Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣat*, *Gauḍapāda-kārikā*, and elsewhere) to be the *pādas* or feet of the *praṇava* which thus rests or is supported on them. Similarly, the heart when it brightens, the heart when it opens, and the heart when it is humming, may be considered the feet or supports of the heart.

The word *svarga* in the fourth *pāda* of v. 31 is usually interpreted as 'heavenly,' *svarga-tulya*, etc. There is however no necessity for abandoning the usual meaning of the word, namely, 'heaven'; for this word is often used to denote the supreme heaven or *Brahmalōka* where the Brahman dwells (compare *Bṛhad. Up.* 4, 4, 8: *dhīrā apiyanti, brahman vidah svargam lokam* and Śaṅkara's comment: *svargaloka-śabdāḥ trivishṭapa-vācyā api tann iha prakaraṇaṁ mokṣābhidhāyakah*; *Ch. Up.* 8, 3, 2-3: *imāḥ prajā ahar-ahar gacchantya etam brahmalokam*

³⁹ *esha 'mar-hṛdaya ākāśaḥ | ubhe asmin dyāvāprthivī antaḥ eva samāhite | pūṣṭv agniḥ ca vāyus ca sūryā-vandramasāv ubhau ||*

na vindanti tasmād dhr̥dayam ahar-ahar vā evamvit svargan lokam eti and Śaṅkara's comment thereon). It is so used here also as is made quite clear by the reading of the parallel passage in TA. 1, 27, 3 : *tasyāñ hiraṇmayah kośah svargo loko jyotiṣhā vṛtah*.

With regard to the word *aṣṭācakra*, it has been observed by M. Boyer (l.c. p. 436) that Śāyana has explained the word *cakra* in it as *dvārāṇa*, or circumvallation enclosing the body that is regarded as a fortress, in his commentary on TA. 1, 27, 3,⁴⁰ while in his commentary on AV. 11, 4, 22 he has explained the word as 'wheel' serving as the means for locomotion of the body that is here regarded as a chariot. This is because TA. 1, 27, 3 refers distinctly to a fort, *pūh*, while AV. 11, 4, 22 refers equally distinctly to a chariot (compare the words *ekanemi* 'having one rim' and *sahasrākshara* which Śāyana explains as 'having a thousand axles' used in it). The discrepancy therefore, if any, is to be attributed to the texts themselves and not to Śāyana who had to explain them faithfully as they stood. But is there really a discrepancy here? I am disposed to think that there is none; the meanings 'circumvallation' and 'wheel' are not mutually exclusive, and in all probability they are both intended (see p. 230 in vol. LV, ante) by the word *cakra* in *aṣṭācakra* which would thus mean 'having eight circumvallations and eight wheels to move with' or 'having ramparts and moving.' In other words, the fort, *pūh*, spoken of in AV. 10, 2, 31, seems to be a mobile fort, *ja gamo durgah* or *carishnūh pūh*. Such a mobile fort is, besides the 'firm' forts, *dṛḍhāḥ purah*, that are frequently mentioned, known to the RV. which refers to one in 8, 1, 28 : *tvam puram carishnavam vadhaiḥ śuśnasya sam pinak* "Thou (O Indra), didst shatter with thy weapons the mobile fort of Śuśna." Such forts are occasionally mentioned in later books also: compare Bhāgavata, 10, 76, 6f. :—

devāsura-manushyānām gandharvoraga-rakshasām |
abhedyam kāmagam vavre sa yānam Vṛṣṇi-bhīṣanam ||
tatheti Gīrīśādīṣṭo Mayah para-purāṇijayah |
puram nirmāya Sālvadya prāddi Saubham ayasmayam || ;

Mahābhārata, 8, 25, 13f. [The three sons of Tārakāsura said to Mahādeva] :

vastum icchāma nagaram kartum kāmagamam śubham |
sarvakāma-samrddhārtham avadhyam deva-dānavaiḥ || 13 ||
yaksha-rakshoraga-gaṇair nīnā-jātibhir eva ca |
na kṛtyābhir na śāstraiś ca na śāpair brahma-vedinām ||
vadhyeta tripuram deva prayaccheḥ prapitāmaha || 14 ||

te tu labdha-varāḥ prītāḥ sampradhārya parasparam |
puratraya-viśṛṣṭyartham Mayam vavrur mahārathāḥ || 19 ||
tato Mayah svatapasā cakre dhīmān purāṇi ca |
trīṇi kālānam ekam vai raupyam kārṣṇādyasam tatidā || 20 ||

ekaikam yojanaśatam viśṛṣṭam tāvad āyatam |
dṛḍham cātīḍlaka-yutam brhat-prākāra toraṇam || 22 ||

prāsādair vividhaiś cāpi dvārāiś caivopasobhitam || 23 ||

and ibid., 3, 176, 1ff. :

nivartamānena mayā mahad dṛṣṭam tatoparam |
puram kāmagamam divyam pāvakārka-sama-prabham || 1 ||
ratnadrumamayaiś citraiś bhāṣvaraiś ca potatribhiḥ |
paṇḍumaiḥ kḍlakeyaiś ca nitya-hṛṣṭaiś adhishṭhitam || 2 ||

⁴⁰ There is no commentary of Śāyana on AV. 10, 2, 31-33 or in fact on any passage of the tenth Kāṇḍa of the AV.

gopurāṭṭīlakopetaṃ catur-dvāram durāsadam |
sarva-ratnamayaṃ divyaṃ adbhutopama-darśanam || 3 ||

durāharṣam amarair api |
maharṣi-yakṣa-gandharva-pannagāsurarākṣasaiḥ || 10 ||
sarvakāmaguṇopetaṃ vīta-śokam andmayam |
brahmaṇo bhavandī chreṣṭham . . .

From the descriptions given of the Tripura and of the *pura* of the Paulomas and Kālakeyas (this was named Hiranyapura), it will be seen that not only were these mobile forts, moving in the sky according to the desire of the kings dwelling in them, but they were also provided with high ramparts and gates and they were impregnable to the assaults of gods (*deva*), Dānavas, Yakshas, Gandharvas, etc. The fort named Hiranyapura was, in addition, 'as bright as Agni (fire) and Sūrya (sun)' and 'better than the abode of Brahman'; and these descriptions recall the expressions *devānām ayodhyā pūh*⁴¹ (in v. 31), *aparājita pūh* (in v. 33), *hiranyayaḥ*, *jyotiṣhā vṛtaḥ*, *svargaḥ*, *prabhrājamāna*, *yaśasā samparivṛta* in the above verses as also the expressions *aśtācakra* and *navadvārā*. All these traits and especially the one about Hiranyapura being better than the abode of Brahman seem to me to point particularly to the description of the *brahmapura* and the *kośa* therein that is brilliant, *prabhrājamāna*, yellow, *harinī*, surrounded with glory, *yaśasā samparivṛta*, and golden *hiranyayi*, that is contained in the above verses (AV. 10, 2, 31-33) and to be based thereon. In any case, they make it probable that the word *cakra* in *aśtācakra* signifies circumvallations and at the same time mobility also. Compare Kāthopanishat 1, 3, 3 : *ātmānam rathinam viddhi śarīram ratham eva ca | buddhim tu śārathim viddhi manas pragraham eva ca*, and other similar passages which compare the body to a chariot.

This mode of interpretation which makes the verses refer to the human body does not find favour with M. Boyer, who has observed (l.c. p. 438) that the wording of verses 31 and 33 is such that they can not but both refer to the same thing. The expression *aparājita pūh* in v. 33 therefore must denote the same thing as the expression *ayodhyā pūh* of v. 31; and though the epithets *aśtācakra* and *navadvārā* may be said to be quite appropriate to the human body, it is hardly possible, he observes, to say the same of the epithets *prabhrājamāna*, *harinī*, *yaśasā samparivṛta* and *hiranyayi* used in v. 33. M. Boyer therefore thinks that the verses refer to a celestial citadel of Brahman, and that the *kośa*, sheath, which is referred to as being within the citadel, is the sun. According to this interpretation, too, the citadel referred to is a mobile one provided with gates and *cakras* or means for locomotion (the numbers nine and eight, however, in the epithets *aśtācakra* and *navadvārā*, says M. Boyer, have no particular significance beyond that of multiplicity). The 'sheath' spoken of being the sun, the epithets *svarga* (which M. Boyer explains as 'celeste'), *jyotiṣhā vṛta* and *hiranyaya* are quite in place; the epithets *tryana* and *tripratishṭhita* refer to the three worlds as being contained in the sun and as being the support (*pratishṭhā*) of the sun.

This interpretation of M. Boyer or one very like it, is, for a reason that will presently be mentioned, quite possible. The objection however that he has raised against referring the verses to the human body can, it seems to me, be easily met. The 'fortress that is impregnable to the assaults of the gods even,' *devānām ayodhyā pūh*, mentioned in v. 31 as having eight circumvallations and nine gates is not the same as the *aparājita pūh* mentioned in v. 33. The fortress spoken of in the former verse is the body that is elsewhere also referred to as *pūh* or *pura* (compare Bh. Gītā, 5, 13 : *navadvāre pure dehī naiva kurvaṇ na kāraṇa*; Svet. Up. 3, 18 : *navadvāre pure dehī haṃso lēlāyate bahiḥ*; Brh. Up. 2, 5, 18 : *purāḥ puruṣa dviśad iti | sa vā*

⁴¹ This has been explained by Bhāskaraśāya, in the course of his commentary on the Lalitā-sahasranāma, s. v. *yonī-nīlayā* (in v. 217) as *devānām apy ayodhyā aśādhya durlabhā pūh nagarī . . . | tēvarāṭṭīlakopā Ayodhyā-nagarī tu martyānām ayodhyā | iyaṃ tu devānām apity arthah |*

ayan purushah sarvasu pārshu purīṣayah; TA. 10, 10, 3: yat puṇḍarikam pura-madhyasaṁsthā; Ch. Up. 8, 1, 1 yad idam asmin brahmapure daharam puṇḍarikam veśma, etc.), while the fortress mentioned in v. 33 is the heart that is also sometimes referred to as *pura* or *brahmapura*, compare Mundakopanishat, 2, 2, 7: divye brahmapure hy eṣa vyomny ātmā pratishṭhitah (Roth in the PW. s. v. explains *brahmapura* as 'heart'); Ātmabodhupanishat, 1: yad idam brahmapuram puṇḍarikam tasmāt tadid-ābha-mātram; Nārāyaṇopanishat, 5: tad idam puram puṇḍarikam. This is shown by the epithet *hiranyaya* that is common to the *kośa* of vv. 31, 32 and the *pūḥ* of v. 33, as also by the parallelism of the expression *vyotishā vṛta* in v. 31 with *yaśasā samparivṛta* in v. 33. Now this heart has been described, in TA. 10, 11, 2 cited above as 'shining' and 'full of rings of flames.' It is described as *hiranyaya* 'golden' in Mundakopanishat 2, 2, 8. The epithets *prabhṛdjamāna*, *harita*, *yaśasā samparivṛta*, and *hiranyaya* of v. 33 can all be therefore appropriately used of the heart, and the incongruity pointed out by M. Boyer does not in fact exist.

These verses, as also the corresponding ones in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (1, 27, 2) are explained by the writers on Śākta Tantrism—e.g., by Lakshmīdhara in his commentary on v. 11 of the *Saundaryalaharī* or *Ānandalahari*, by Bhāskararāya in his commentary on the *Lalitāsahasranāma* and also in his commentary, named *Setubandha*, on the *Vāmakeśvara-tantra* of *Nityāśhodāśikāraṇa*—as referring to the Śrī-cakra. As the Śrī-cakra is, as is well-known, a symbol of the human body (see on this point the *Bhāvanopanishat*; *Tantrarāja-tantra* edited by A. Avalon and the *Vāmakeśvaratantra* mentioned above), such interpretation is not so far-fetched as it may at first sight seem to be; and what is more, it has also to be admitted that the Tāntrik interpretation brings out the meaning of the various epithets more strongly and clearly than the usual interpretation does. I reproduce⁴² here as a specimen that given in the *Setubandha* (p. 189) where, as I have already observed, Bhāskararāya explains the term *yakṣam* as *mahābhūtaṁ pūjanīyam*: *tathā cātharvaṇāḥ Śaunaka-sākhīyā āmananti | aṣṭācakraṁ navadvārā devānāṁ pār ayodhyā | tasyām hiraṇyayāḥ kośaḥ svargo jyotiṣhā vṛtaḥ | tasmin hiraṇyaye koṣe tryare tripratiṣṭhite | tasmin yad yakṣam āmanvat tad vai brahma | taittirīya-sākhīyāṁ prathamāntam iti viśeṣaḥ | trilokyamohandī-sarvasiddhipradānta-cakrāṣṭāka-yuktaṁ nava-yoni-ghaṭitaṁ anyeṣhām asādhyāṁ devatāvāsa-bhūtaṁ Śrī-cakra-nagaram yat tatṛāpy uttamaḥ koṣo jyotirmayāḥ svarga-tulyas trikoṇa-nāmaḥ 'sti | tasmin kone tridhā pratishṭhitam tri-samashṭi-svarūpaṁ bindu-cakram asti | tasmin bindu-cakre svātmanīva yad yukṣam mahābhūtaṁ pūjanīyam tad brahmaiveṣi vāsanām ajñā (sic) jānanti*. Substantially the same explanation⁴³ of these two verses is given by him in his *Lalitāsahasranāma-bhāṣya* (p. 179 of the *Nirṇayasāgara* ed.); but *yakṣa* is here explained as *pūjyam* only.

I have said above that the explanation of M. Boyer or one similar to it, which makes the verses refer to the sun as being the citadel in which Brahman dwells, is a quite possible one;

⁴² Correcting the mistakes that are found in the verses quoted in the edition.

⁴³ *anayorrecor arthah | devānām apy ayodhyā asādhyā durābhā pūḥ nagari Śrī-cakram ity arthah . . .*
īśvarāvāsa-rūpā Ayodhyā-nagari tu martyānām ayodhyā | iyaṁ tu devānām apity arthah | sā kīdrī
aṣṭācakraṁ aṣṭau cakrāṇi aṣṭāraṁ doe dasāre manvasram aṣṭādala-śhodaśadale padme bhramitrayam
bhūgṛhatrayam ceti yasyām sā | nava-sākhīyāni dvārāṇi yonidvāravat trikoṇāni yasyām sā | pañcāśakti-
caturvahnī-samyopāde-cakra-sambhava iti Nityāhṛdaye | svabhīmukhāgra-trikoṇam śaktiḥ parāmukhāgra-
trikoṇam vahnir iti mantrasāstrīyā paribhāṣā | tasyām ayodhyāyām hiraṇyayas trjmayāḥ koṣo nidhānam
trikoṇa-rūpaṁ sa eva svargāḥ sukharūpatvāt | Taittirīyānām svargo loko iti pāṭhaḥ | tasyāpy ayaṁ
evārthah | tasmin hiraṇyaya ūyādi saptaṁyanam pañcakaṁ samāndāhikarāṇam spāṣṭārtham | trikoṣe
yad asti bindurūpaṁ cakram tasmin yakṣam pūjyam tat prasiddham brahmaiveṣi āmanīva viduḥ.

To understand these explanations of Bhāskararāya, it is necessary to have a correct notion of how the Śrī-cakra is written, of its divisions and of its worship. These can be learnt from the *Vāmakeśvara-tantra* and the *Tantrarāja-tantra* in detail, and then it will become evident that the Tāntrik explanation of the various epithets found in these verses is superior to that of Śāyaṇa and of others who proceed in the same way.

and I have also said that the explanation of Bhāskararāya and other Tāntriks that makes them refer to the Śrī-cakra, is not a far-fetched one. I have further given an explanation of these verses above on the line followed by Sāyaṇa, which makes them refer to the human body. The reason why so many explanations are possible of these verses is this: the verses refer to the *ātmanvad yaksham* (= *ātmanvad bhūtam* or *bhūtātman*) or the soul dwelling in a *kośa*. Now the soul in the body is identical with the *puruṣa* in the sun according to the teaching of the Upanishads; compare Taitt. Up. 3, 10, 4: *sa yas cāyam puruṣe | yaś cāsāv āditye | sa ekaḥ*; Maitryupanishat, 7, 7: *yaś cāyam hṛdaye yaś cāsā āditye sa ekaḥ*; and this explains why the *kośa* mentioned in v. 32 can be understood as the human heart or as the sun. The Śrī-cakra, too, as I have said above, is a symbol of the human body, and therefore the Tāntrik explanation of the verses is, in essence, one that refers to such body. Similarly the Upanishadic doctrine of the sun being identical with Brahman (compare Ch. Up. 3, 19, 1: *ādityo brahmety ādeśaḥ* and TA. 2, 2, 2: *asāv ādityo brahma*) explains why some verses of the AV. where the word *yaksha* occurs have been referred to the sun by MM. Henry and Boyer, and to Brahman by Geldner. In these verses *yaksha* in effect refers to the Brahman, even where the interpretations do not contain that word at all, but refer instead to the sun or the soul.

AV. 10, 8, 43: *puṇḍarikam nadvadvāram tribhīr guṇēbhīr āvṛtam |*
tāsmīn yād yakshām ātmanvāt tād vo' brahmanīdo viduḥ ||

"The lotus that has nine doors and that is enveloped thrice,—verily the knowers of Brahman know the animate being in it." The 'lotus with nine doors' is, like the sheath, *kośa*, in the 'fortress with nine gates' in the verse explained above, the heart in the human body. The 'nine doors' are those of the human body, and the 'lotus' can be said to have them in a figurative sense only. The 'triple envelope' seems, as suggested by M. Boyer, to consist of *satya* (truth), *yaśas* (glory) and *śrīḥ* (beauty) which are said in AV. 12, 5, 2: *satyenāvṛtā śrīyā prāvṛtā yaśasā parivṛtā* to be the envelopes of the Brāhmaṇa's cow, *brahmagavī*; compare the epithet *jyotiṣā vṛtaḥ* of the *kośa* mentioned in AV. 10, 2, 31 and the epithet *yaśasā samparivṛta* used (in v. 33 of the same hymn) of the *aparājitā pūḥ* which, as I have said above, refers to the heart. Geldner explains the expression *tribhīr guṇēbhīr āvṛtam* as 'enveloped by the three *guṇas* (i.e., *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*).'

AV. 10, 7, 38: *mahād yakshāḥ, bhūvanasya āmḍhye*
tāpasi krāntām salilāsya pṛsthē |
tāsmīn chrayante yā u kēca devā'
vṛkshāsya skāndhah parita iva śā'khāḥ ||

"The great being in the centre of the world has passed into *tapas* and into the back of the water; they that are gods (that is, all the gods) rest attached in it as the branches of a tree round the trunk." The hymn 10, 7 in which this verse occurs is addressed to Skambha which, according to the Cūlikopanishat (v. 11), is another name of Brahman. The 'great being in the centre of the world,' referred to here, is therefore the Brahman; and the word *krāntām* in the second *pāda* refers to the 'passing' or transformation of Brahman into *tapas* and water—an idea which we have met with above (p. 62), where it was said that *tapas* and water were first created by Brahman or were first born of Brahman. This verse, however, speaks instead of 'creation' or 'birth' (*utpatti* of the later Naiyāyikas; compare the preceding verse but one: *yāḥ śrāmāt tāpaso jātā lokān sāvān samānāśē | tāsmāi jyeshṭhā ya brāhmaṇe nāmaḥ* referring apparently to water) from Brahman, of the 'passing' or transformation (*pariṇāma* of the Sāṅkhya system,) of Brahman into *tapas* and Water; and it is very remarkable that the *pariṇāma* doctrine of the Sāṅkhyas should be thus met with in the AV. With regard to the gods resting in the Brahman, compare RV. 1, 164, 39: *rcō akshāre paramē vyōman yāsmīn devā' ādhi viśve nisheduḥ*; Kathopanishat, 2, 1, 9: *taṁ devāḥ sarve 'rpitāḥ*; Kaushitaki Up. 2,

0 : *sa tad bhavati yatraite devāḥ*. The word *prsthī* has no particular significance here : the expression *salilasya prsthī* is simply equivalent to *salile*.

AV. 10, 8, 15 : *dūrē Pūrṇēna vasati dūrā ūnēna hiyate |*
mahād yakshām bhūvanasya mādhye
tāsmāi balim rāshtrabhṛto bharanti ||

"It lives far from the full ; it is abandoned in the distance by the not-full. The great being in the centre of the universe—to it bring tribute the rulers of kingdoms." The great being at the centre of the universe is of course the Brahman that is far removed from the full and the not-full, from the big and the not-big, from the small and the not-small, etc., compare the passage *nyūnam anyat sthānam sampūrṇam anyat* (the author of the *Ratnaprabhā* calls this a *śruti*) cited by Śaṅkara in the *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya* in the course of his introduction to the *Anandamayādhikaraṇa* along with *Bṛhad. Up.*, 3, 8, 8 : *asthūlam anaṇv ahrasvam adīrgham* "It is not big, not small, not short, not long." *Rāshtrabhṛtaḥ* means, not feudatories (as M. Boyer understands), but those who rule kingdoms or kings, that is, as Geldner has pointed out, the gods, the chief gods ; compare AV. 13, 1, 35 : *yé devā' rāshtrabhṛto 'bhūto yānti sūryam* "The kingdom-ruling gods who go round the sun" ; and *ibid.* 10, 7, 39 : *yāsmāi hāstābhyām pādābhyām vācā' śrōtreṇa cakshuḥ śrotam ca* "How many gods, O venerable, uphold the creature (i.e., the body) ? Which of them illumine it ? And which again of them is the greatest ? These gods verily are Akāśa, Vāyu, Agni, Water, Earth, Speech, Mind, Eye and Ear," that is to say, the *prāṇas*. Compare the story related in *Bṛhad. Up.* 6, 1 about the dispute that arose amongst the *prāṇas* as to who was the best and how the *mukhya-prāṇa* in whose favour the dispute was settled, made the others pay tribute to itself (6, 1, 13 : *tasyo me balim kuruteṭi tatheti*) : compare also *Kaushītaki Up.* 2, 1 : *tāsmāi vā etasmai prāṇāya brahmaṇa etāḥ sarvā devāḥ ayācamāndya balim haranti* and *Praśnopanishat*, 2, 7.

VS. 34, 2 : *yēna karmāny apāso manīṣiṇo*
yajñe kṛvānti vidāthesu dhīrāḥ |
yād apūrvam yakshām antāḥ prajā'nām
tān me mānaḥ kīvasamkalpam astu ||

"May the *manas* (mind), that wonderful being that is in men, by means of which, the wise ones, clever and intelligent, perform the rites in the sacrifice, in the religious ceremonies—may the *manas* that is in me, be auspiciously inclined." This *mantra* is the second of the six *śiva-samkalpa-mantras* that are found in the beginning of ch. 34 of the VS. The epithets applied to *manas* in these verses show that the *manas* spoken of is not the mind in men, but the ego or soul or Brahman ; compare for instance, the epithet *vyotishām jyotiḥ* in v. 1, *hṛt-pratishtham* in v. 6, and the description *yat prajānām uta ceto dhṛtiś ca yaj jyotiḥ antar amṛtam prajāsu* in v. 3, and *yasminn reṇa sāma yajūṇāḥ yasmin pratishthitā rathanābhāv ivārāḥ | yasminś cittaṁ sarvam oṣam prajānām* in v. 5. Hence the description of this *manas* in this verse as *apūrvam yakshām* which means not only 'wonderful being,' as interpreted above, but also 'the being before which none existed ; first born being' ; compare *Bṛhad. Up.* 2, 5, 19 : *tad etad brahmāpūrvam anaparam anantaram abādhyam*. Compare also *Ait. Br.*, 5, 1, 1 : *mana ivāpūrvam vāyur iva ślokaḥ bhū bhūyāsam* "May I be ever new like *manas* (mind) the origin of *śloka* (sound ; fame ; Sāyana, however, explains as *saṅgha*) like Vāyu", and Sāyana's comment thereon : *uttarottaram abhivṛddhikāṅkshayā prayatamānam sat tat-tat-phala-praptyā nūtanam rūpam pratipadyate*.

(To be continued.)

THOMAS CANA.

By T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

(Continued from vol. LVI, page 166.)

Literal Translation of Malayalam Documents (No. 3).

- Have you forsaken us³⁹ to-day, oh Lord ?⁴⁰
 To-day we have none⁴¹ behind to support us ;
 We have neither city nor language ;⁴²
 Our beauty will lie only in our ornaments ;
 5 Your jurisdiction must be extended to our abode.⁴³
 The lord⁴⁴, on hearing this request,
 Was filled with joy, and he answered :—
 As occasion demands, good *ābūns* (= bishops),
I shall send you within twelve years.
 10 The seventy-two families of seven clans,
 You must go united.
 My children, go you in joy.
 With jacket, veil,⁴⁵ rosary, and cloth for the head,⁴⁶
 Chain,⁴⁷ wristlet, and beautiful cross,
 15 And good provision got together,
 They went in a multitude some distance with umbrellas.⁴⁸
 Then, when they reached the sea-shore to go on board,
 Friends, masters, and relatives all
 Embrace one another kindly.
 20 Tears are on the chest, and it is wet ;
 None is witness but God.
 My children, shall we meet again after you go to India ?
 Rememeber us always, that relationship may not be sundered.
 Always bear the ten and the seven⁴⁹ in mind ;
 25 Do not turn away (from the faith).
 By the grace of God
 The three ships sail side by side.

(Another tune.)

- By the will of the Triune God St. Thomas (is) in Mylapore.⁵⁰
 Without mishaps we⁵¹ arrived in Cranganore.
 30 In the land of the Malabar king our reputation to-day
 Must be fittingly recognised by the monarch.

³⁹ The 400 emigrants from Jerusalem and other places, about to start for Malabar.⁴⁰ 'Lord' refers here to the Catholicos of the East.⁴¹ None, like the Catholicos.⁴² Their language would be of no use in Malabar.⁴³ In Malabar.⁴⁴ The Catholicos.⁴⁵ Veils are not in use to-day even among the Southists, who claim descent from Thomas Cana and the foreigners that came with him.⁴⁶ The Malabar Christian women, both Southist and Northist, cover their head with a piece of fine cloth while at church or at prayer meetings. This is a Jewish custom, cf. 1 Cor. 11 : 5, 6, 13.⁴⁷ A gold chain for the neck or used as a belt.⁴⁸ Umbrellas, not as a protection against the heat of the sun, but as a mark of dignity. Such umbrellas are made of brightly coloured silk and adorned with gems and gold-lace. These are used in Africa, Burma and China also to-day.⁴⁹ The ten Commandments and the seven Sacraments.⁵⁰ This line seems to have no connection with the others. In fact, the whole song is disjointed and difficult to interpret.⁵¹ We, i.e., those that came with Thomas Cana.

- At the sight of the king the heart was gladdened.
 To clear the way for the heirs⁵² of St. Thomas
 I⁵³ found you to-day not transgressing the commandments.⁵⁴
 35 They offered presents of coins and good gems.
 Give us according to our presents, and write in the presence of witnesses.
 We were given enough religious privileges ;
 The Malabar monarch that day engraves on a copper-plate.
 The king went, and saw the land and gave it away.
 40 In the year Šôvâl⁵⁵ after the birth of the Lord,
 The honoured Kinâyi Tomman received the copper-plate document.
 Willingly did carpenters come and build a church and city.
 After having lived in comfort for some time,
 To our joy there came two ships⁵⁶ in the outer sea.⁵⁷

Literal Translation of Malayalam Documents (No. 4).

*Strophe VI.*⁵⁸

- To preach the religion to Coromandel and Malabar
 Men were appointed in good Mylapore.
 To preach the religion except in Coromandel
 The Taniās (Christians) failed, and Bagudāsi (Bagdad) heard of it.
 5 The Catholicos was sorry and his heart grew weary.
 In all the eight directions—in Pāṇḍya's land, and in Coromandel (=in Chōḷa's land) and
 in China—
 The sole truth was spread according to the way of St. Thomas.
 May Jesus help those who did so !

Strophe VII.

- The Catholicos and the Rampāns (monks) were all sorry.
 10 Who will now go in time to govern Malaṅkara (Malabar ?)
 One from those seated in the assembly answers :—
 One of the twin-born⁵⁹ must go to Malaṅkara ;
 We are the sons and nephews of the same⁶⁰ person.
 And Kinâyi Tomman made up his mind to go.
 15 Seventy-two families go on board the ship ;
 There is ābānān (= bishop), priests and deacons ;
 And there are 400 persons, including men and women.
 By the blessing of the Catholicos the ship sails through the sea.
 The sea-shore is thronged with (people) shedding tears.

⁵² Perhaps those St. Thomas Christians who were already in Malabar. 'To clear the way' may also be 'to expound the way' (Christianity).

⁵³ I, i.e., the Malabar monarch.

⁵⁴ This line and the previous one are very difficult to reconstruct ; the text is so dislocated.

⁵⁵ Šôvāla is the usual form of the chronogram. But in the original song there is only Šôvāl, which would give only A.D. 45, instead of A.D. 345. Šôvāla will not suit the metre. The word has no meaning in Malayalam or in Sanskrit or Tamil. It may be the Syriac word šuvālā (šuvōlō) meaning question, enquiry. šuvālā or šôvāla would give A.D. 345.

⁵⁶ Two Portuguese ships. The reference is to the coming of the Portuguese in A.D. 1498.

⁵⁷ The rest of the song deals with subsequent events, which have nothing to do with Thomas Cana and his 400.

⁵⁸ The lines translated here form part of a lengthy song about the church of Marutōlil in Travancore, consecrated in A.D. 1652.

⁵⁹ I cannot say how Thomas Cana was twin-born and how he was both son and nephew to the same person. The St. Thomas Christians may be said to be both Christ's spiritual children and the children of St. Thomas, who in the *Acts of Thomas* is represented as the twin of Christ.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

- 20 The ship sails through the waves of the red sea and the black sea.
Mahôdêvar⁶¹ of the Malabar king was sighted and forthwith the sails were furled.

Strophe VIII.

- The foreigner (Thomas Cana) saw the king and received land ;
The noble city and church were finished.
Those who heard of this came and entered the fort,
25 Saw the good *âbûnân* (= bishop) and received his blessing⁶².

Literal Translation of Malayalam Documents (No. 5) (On Mar Joseph.)⁶³

- In the good city of Jerusalem,⁶⁴
In the land where emeralds and pearls grow,
Of the lord, resplendent as a dancing peacock,
The complexion, I may say, resembles gold of ten and a half carats.⁶⁵
5 He speaks like a Chinese flute ;
He is not lacking at all in religious zeal.
That noble lord wants to go and govern Malabar.
He started by Bâvâ's (the Father's)⁶⁶ command ;
He obtained his permission and forthwith set out on his journey.
(Another tune.)

- 10 He was given high social rank,
He was given the several privileges of a Catholicos,
And he was fittingly sent off with regal musical instruments.
In his holy hand he received the Book,⁶⁷
The holy Catholicos, according to the custom instituted by St. Thomas.
(Another tune.)

- 15 He went to Esrâ⁶⁸ and obtained permission.
He received the good signet ruby.
In his wish he was in Cochin,⁶⁹ in excellence he was in Rome⁷⁰.
(Another tune.)

- Together they⁷¹ started and embarked in a ship,
Set sail in the direction of Malabar,
20 And landed in Cranganore.
On their sighting the Cochin⁷² harbour,

⁶¹ The city of Mahôdêvar Paṭṭanam (Cranganore).

⁶² (The remaining lines have no bearing on Thomas Cana.) *Abân*, *âbânân*, and *âbânâ* are from Syriac, and mean 'our father.' The Lord's prayer in Syriac begins with *Abân*, Our Father. Bishops also are addressed as *âbân*. *Abân* is related to *Abba* in "Abba, Father" of Mark, 14 : 36.

⁶³ Mar Joseph, Bishop of Edessa, was the person who saw a vision in the night about the pitiable state of the Malabar Christians, and prevailed on the Catholicos of the East to send him to Malabar along with a body of Christians under the leadership of Thomas Cana in A.D. 345.

⁶⁴ Mar Joseph of Edessa is here said to be in Jerusalem. Was he a native of Edessa, consecrated bishop of Jerusalem ?

⁶⁵ Gold of 10½ carats is regarded as pure gold. Bodies of the colour of pure gold are regarded in Malabar as the most beautiful. To acquire that colour kings and other rich persons take every day a mixture of sandalwood and gold made into a paste.

⁶⁶ The Catholicos of the East. Bâvâ is now generally applied to Patriarchs and Catholicos.

⁶⁷ The Bible.

⁶⁸ This is presumably the seat of the Catholicos of the East. Which place is this ? Is it Osrône, the district of which Edessa was the capital ?

⁶⁹ He was so eager to be in Malabar that he transported himself there (to Cochin) in imagination.

⁷⁰ He was equal to the Pope in grandeur.

⁷¹ Mar Joseph, Thomas Cana and others.

⁷² Cochin harbour is close to Cranganore, where they are said to have landed.

- Eighteen salutes were fired.⁷³
 When he enters the city gate, after the firing of the salutes,
 The sepoy⁷⁴ they give a shout,
 25 And all their limbs languish.
 On the royal palanquin a flag was raised,
 And in it sat Rāja Varma.⁷⁵
 Chempakaśśēri⁷⁶ also is with him,
 And the king of Vettattunād⁷⁷ too.
 30 Mār Joseph of Urfa⁷⁸ goes.
 Four priests are near him,
 There are many deacons too.
 Sepoy⁷⁹ are close to him,
 And Tomman Kinān⁸⁰ is with him.
 35 You⁸¹ came and obtained a permit,
 And went there⁸² early,
 And held him by the hand to disembark.
 A royal palanquin⁸³ plated with gold
 He mounted, and sat down,
 40 And proceeding in pomp, entered the fort.
 In the fort was the Perumāḷ, the king.
 (*Another tune.*)
 The daytime-lamp,⁸⁴ the foot-cloth,⁸⁵ and regal musical instruments.
 We have come with the desire to govern Malabar,
 Longing to see my children well.
 (*Another tune.*)
 45 By the grace of the loving Mother,⁸⁶
 He slowly got ready and to the king of the solar race⁸⁷
 Narrated the facts,
 And obtained a house and compound and slaves.
 Those who visited him bowed and received his blessing.
 50 And wearing the mitre, he governed three years.⁸⁸
 (*To be continued.*)

⁷³ This seems to be an individual touch by the author of the song. Firing of guns or petards was not in vogue in A.D. 345, although gunpowder seems to have been known at that time.

⁷⁴ The soldiers in Cranganore.

⁷⁵ Rāja Varma who received the Bishop at the city gate has to be taken as the then Malabar king. I think I have seen the name Resovarman in some Portuguese account. Where?

⁷⁶ The king of that principality in Travancore. ⁷⁷ This principality is in British Malabar.

⁷⁸ Uṣhā in the original is modern Urfa, old Edessa.

⁷⁹ Mār Joseph's own retinue or the king's soldiers sent as an escort.

⁸⁰ Thomas Cana. In Malayalam he is known as Tomman Kinān, Knāyi Tomman, and Kānā Tōmma.

⁸¹ The poet addresses Thomas Cana, who is supposed to have landed first to go and obtain the permit.

⁸² To the ship.

⁸³ Sent from the palace.

⁸⁴ Lamp lit by day for processions. This is a special privilege.

⁸⁵ Cloth spread on the ground for the bishop to walk along. Another privilege. ⁸⁶ St. Mary.

⁸⁷ Hindu kings of ancient times are said to have belonged to two races, the solar race and the lunar race. Śrī Rāma, the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa, belonged to the solar race.

⁸⁸ These five documents may, from their style and language, be assigned to the 17th—19th century. All the five are from the *Ancient Songs* of the Syrian Christians of Malabar (in Malayalam), Kottayam, 1910. The theory that these in their original form had been composed in A.D. 345, but were successively changed in wording as the centuries went by, is quite untenable. Nothing peculiar is there in the language and style and wording of them, that may be said to have come down from the fourth century A.D. or even the fourteenth. On the other hand all indications point to their origin in the 17th—19th century.

L. M. Zaleski's *The Saints of India*, Mangalore, Codiabail Press, 1915, pp. 215—226, has extracts from the above four songs as well as from others. But the translation there is wrong in almost every line.

SOME NOTES ON MAGIC AND TABOO IN BENGAL.

BY BIREN BONNERJEA, D.LITT. (PARIS).

IN the earliest stage of the evolution of mankind, magic, as has been pointed out by the great German philosopher Hegel¹, was the primary form of religion. Gradually, when men found out that they were unable to direct nature to their own will, religion, which assumes the existence of a superior being or beings, dawned upon them, and was practised simultaneously with magic in its primitive form. Religion alone is the last developmental phase in the history of human faiths.

The mind of the primitive man is wayward; he does not distinguish between similarity and identity; his powers of analysis and discrimination are limited; his ideas are formed by chance impressions; and his conclusions are based on superficial analogies. Magic with him assumes that all things which are alike to each other are the same, or that things which have been in contact with each other are always in contact². In India, from very early times, there has been confusion between religion and magic, and we find that the sacrificial ritual of the Vedic period was pervaded with practices breathing the spirit of the most primitive magic³. It is therefore necessary to see if it is possible to draw a definite line of demarcation between religion and magic. The main difference between them seems to lie in the fact that in religion the worshippers belonging to a group of persons are bound together by a common faith, whereas in magic there is no such faith to unite them. Religion assumes the world to be directed by conscious beings who, by means of conciliatory methods, may be induced to use their powers for the good of the worshipper; magic does not admit it, but says that the course of nature is determined by immutable laws acting mechanically. Again, religious and magical rites do not differ from each other, and it is often very difficult to distinguish the one from the other; magic, however, takes a sort of pleasure in profaning all sacred things, as also there is something profoundly anti-religious in all the actions of a magician⁴. Without going deeper into the subject, religion may be defined as "a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life"⁵; while Messrs. H. Hubert and M. Mauss define magical rites as *tout rite qui ne fait pas partie d'un culte organisé, rite privé, rite secret, mystérieux, et tendant, comme limite, vers le rite prohibé*⁶.

Magic has two different aspects which we may conveniently call positive and negative. The former which aims at arriving at some definite object by the performance of certain acts is called Sorcery, the latter which protects from certain dreaded consequences by means of non-performance of certain acts is known as Taboo; thus, if we consider sorcery as the positive pole of sympathetic magic, taboo is its negative pole. The theory that taboo was negative magic was first distinctly formulated more than twenty years ago by Messrs. Hubert and Mauss⁷.

Magic is practical; it assumes that like produces like, hence it is a common enough custom in Bengal even to-day⁸ for those desirous of winning love to make a little clay image

¹ *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion*, Berlin, 1832, vol. I, pp. 220 sq.

² (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, London, 1920, vol. I, p. 53.

³ H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, p. 59.

⁴ W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, 2nd ed., pp. 264, 265; Hubert and Mauss, "Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie," *Année Sociologique*, vol. viii (Paris, 1904), p. 19; Emile Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Swain's tr., p. 43.

⁵ (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art*, vol. I, p. 222.

⁶ Hubert and Mauss, *op. cit.*, p. 19; cf. P. Huvelin, "Magie et droit individuel," *Année Sociologique*, vol. X (Paris, 1905-1906), p. 2, quoted by Biren Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, Paris, 1927, p. 120.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 56. A year later, in 1905, the same conclusion was independently arrived at by Sir James G. Frazer (*Lectures on the Early History of Kingship*, London, 1905, pp. 52-54); see also *Man*, vol. VI, (1906) pp. 55 sq.

⁸ For a similar ancient Hindu ceremony see M. Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharva Veda*, Oxford, 1897, pp. 358 sq.; W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberritual*, Amsterdam, 1900, p. 119.

representing the beloved, and to shoot an arrow tipped with a thorn in its heart. This is clearly a sort of homœopathic magic⁹, for does not Kāma, the Indian god of Love corresponding to Cupid of classical mythology, shoot his darts at the hearts of young people so that they fall in love? By the same process of reasoning that like produces like, among some of the degraded Hindu sects of Bengal, when it is desired to injure or to kill an enemy, a small clay image is made to represent him, and then a knife or a pin is stuck through the heart; the person whose image is thus mutilated is sure to feel the effects and die in consequence¹⁰. "*Nijer nâk keje parer jâtrâ bhoṅga karâ*" (To cut one's own nose in order to make another person's journey abortive) is a common enough expression in Bengali, which may be interpreted in the same way, though the desired effect, we should in justice admit, would be very dearly bought.

A curious application of homœopathic magic is to be met with in the widespread custom in Bengal of curing night-blindness, an affliction of the eye which renders a person incapable of seeing anything distinctly at night, by the internal use of a fire-fly. The process is extremely simple: get hold of a living fire-fly and enclose it alive within the pulpy inside of a banana, then give it to the sufferer to eat; as the fire-fly lights up its own way in the dark, so it is sure to impart some of its virtue to the eater, who will consequently be cured of his affliction¹¹. A splinter in a child's eye is effectually removed by rubbing the upper eye-lid and repeating the following verse:

" *Dhulo has, ure jâ ;
Mâfi has, gale jâ ;
Kâth has, bheshe jâ ;
Pâthar has, bheṅge jâ.*"

which may be translated into English doggerel verse thus:

If dust thou art, fly away ;
If thou art clod, melt I pray ;
If wood thou art, float away,
But if stone, break I say.¹²

By an association of ideas, the *pîpal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*¹³) and the tortoise¹⁴ are the objects of a cult in Bengal, for it is believed that longevity may thus be attained.

The Hindus do not burn the body of a still-born child or of a child which has died before attaining the age of two years, but bury the body in the house itself. This unusual method of disposing of the dead—the custom of cremating a dead body is universal among the Hindus—is followed in the belief that, if this be done, the mother will bear another child¹⁵. In the

⁹ I have adopted the terms Homœopathic Magic and Contagious Magic in accordance with Sir James G. Frazer (*The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, pt. I of "The Golden Bough," vol. I, pp. 52 sq.) for the charms based on the Law of Similarity and the Law of Contact respectively.

¹⁰ Cf. W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, Westminster, 1896, vol. II, pp. 278 sq.; *The Tribes and Castes of North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, Calcutta, 1896, vol. I, p. 137; E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, pp. 328 sqq.

¹¹ *Ethnologic du Bengale*, p. 141.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Cf. among the Chinese, S. Wells Williams, *Middle Kingdom*, New York, 1883, vol. II, p. 259; in Ceylon, (Sir) J. E. Tennent, *An Account of the Island of Ceylon*, London, 1859, vol. II, p. 632 sq.

¹⁴ "Divers marvellous tales are narrated with regard to its (the tortoise's) fabulous longevity and its faculty of transformation"—W. F. Meyers, *The Chinese Reader's Manual*, Shanghai, 1924, p. 101, No. 299, s.v. "Kwei."

¹⁵ *Ethnologic du Bengale*, p. 71 quoting J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, Strassburg, 1896, p. 155; R. Hertz "La représentation collective de la mort," *Année Sociologique*, vol. X, (Paris, 1905-1906), p. 132, n. 1, where, on the authority of the Code of Manu (*Sacred Books of the East*, XXV, p. 180), he says, that such children are buried in a forest immediately after death occurs, and their bones are never recovered,

Bilaspur district, with the same object in view, the body of such a child is placed in an earthenware pot and buried in the doorway or in the yard of the house¹⁶. In the same manner, in every phase of religious life we find traces of sympathetic magic. When a Brahman has his initiation ceremony, he is made to tread with his right foot on a stone, while the words are repeated: "Tread on the stone, be firm like the stone"¹⁷.

Contagious magic¹⁸ is that which is based on the assumption that all things which have once been in contact with each other must always remain so. The most widely spread example of this form of magic is the sympathy which is believed to exist between a human being and the different parts of the body. Hair and nail in the folklore of every nation play an important part in magical rites¹⁹. Similarly names are intimately connected with the body, and therefore, in Bengal, every care is taken to hide the real name of a person by giving him a nick-name, or a pet-name (*ādure nām*, as it is called). If evil-disposed persons become aware of the real name, they thereby obtain a part of his soul, and may perform magical operations to the prejudice of the owner of the name²⁰. Moreover, Hindus rarely call a woman by her real name; she is usually known as the daughter, wife or mother of such and such a person²¹, as the case may be. The placenta is intimately connected with the body of an infant; therefore, on the birth of a child, the midwife carefully takes the placenta away in an earthenware pot, and hides it in a secure place or buries it somewhere away from human gaze. If some animal were to devour it, or if it were to be destroyed in some other way before the *annaprāsān* ("the taking of the rice") ceremony, which is also the naming ceremony, the child will fall dangerously ill, if not die²². An ancient Hindu magic rite is mentioned in the *Kaushika-sūtra*, a book of sorcery, where it is directed that, if you wish to harm an enemy, you should make cuts in his footprints with a certain leaf, then collect the dust from the footprint in a leaf of the *Butea frondosa* and throw it into the frying pan; as the dust gets hot, and it crackles, so will your enemy be powerless²³. Here the footprint is supposed to be in reality a part of the man himself.

From the above examples the magical character of the ancient Hindu rites is clearly apparent. Dr. Caland justly remarks on this subject that those who have been accustomed to regard the Hindus as a highly civilised people will be surprised to find evidences of savagery amongst them and the remarkable resemblance of their rites with the shamanism of the North American Indians²⁴. In Calcutta, a well-known charm for stopping a downpour of rain is to make a first-born child roll a candle of cloth and burn it²⁵. This is based on the belief that, since fire and water are enemies, and since water puts out fire, so, conversely, fire must also in some inexplicable way act inimically towards water, in this case rain. Various other people besides the Hindus have used fire as a charm against rain; it is known among the Australian tribes, the Toradjas of Celebes, the Arabs, and so on²⁶. Again, rain suggests tears; the birth of a female child is a matter for regret among the Hindus, therefore, this also suggests tears. Hence, the logical conclusion follows that if it is raining at the time

¹⁶ (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art*, vol. I, p. 104 quoting E. M. Gordon, *Indian Folk Tales*, p. 49.

¹⁷ *Grihya Sūtras*, tr. by H. Oldenberg, pt. I, pp. 168, 282 sq., pt. II, p. 188. ¹⁸ See above p. 108, n. 9.

¹⁹ Cf. Lal Bihari Day (De), *Folk Tales of Bengal*; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*², vol. I, pp. 367 sq.; Biren Bonnerjea, *A Dictionary of Superstitions and Mythology*, London, 1923, pp. 116 sq., 175 sq.

²⁰ *Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 83; *Dictionary of Superstitions*, p. 176.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Among the Khasis, see P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, London, 1907, p. 124; for various superstitions about the placenta see (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art*, vol. I, pp. 182-201 and authorities given there; *ibid.*, *The Golden Bough*, 2nd edition, vol. III, pp. 350 sqq; H. Ploss, *Das Kind*, vol. I, pp. 15 sq.; E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, London, 1902, p. 119.

²³ W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberritual*, Amsterdam, 1900, pp. 162 sq.

²⁴ *Altindisches Zauberritual*, Introduction, p. IX.

²⁵ *Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 125, quoting *North Indian Notes and Queries*, I, (1891), p. 378; *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. VIII, pp. 290, 291.

²⁶ See (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. I, pp. 252, 253.

conception takes place, the fruit will be a baby girl, but, should the weather be fine, a boy²⁷. Similarly, rain on one's wedding day foretells tears for the bride²⁸.

Propitiatory rites have always been regarded as conducive to good results. In some places, however, much virtue is attributed to abuse. On the day of the *Nashthi-chandra* in the month of *Bhādra* (July-August) people play practical jokes with the intention of drawing down vituperation on themselves, and along with it good luck²⁹. It is inauspicious to look at the new moon in the month of *Bhādra*; those who have inadvertently done so, try to avert the evil by throwing stones and brickbats into their neighbours' houses in order that they may revile them. If they are successful, the neighbours who abuse them will themselves be the sufferers. In European superstition, the surest way of driving away Jack-o' Lanterns is by cursing them³⁰.

The influence of the evil eye, as I have explained elsewhere³¹, is much feared by the inhabitants of Bengal, and, in order to avert it, divers subterfuges are resorted to. Iron is distasteful to evil beings, hence it is said to be an infallible charm for the evil eye³². The use of the *tulasi* (sweet basil) plant as a powerful charm is universal among the Hindus. It is to be seen growing before the doorway of every Hindu house; every morning the earth around its stem is carefully cleaned over with cowdung³³ thinned with water, and every evening incense is burned near it. In many places pious Brahmans sit in front of the *tulasi* plant, and recite their daily prayers; it is, in fact, the object of a cult. In this connection we may mention that it is a noteworthy fact that the basil plant, which is said to have grown on Christ's grave, is also worshipped in the Eastern Church, and in Greece many magical virtues are attributed to it³⁴. Most of the precautions against the evil eye are of a negative character, and consequently they are taboos.

At the beginning of our article we have seen that taboo is the negative pole of sympathetic magic. We shall now enumerate some of the general taboos of Bengal. The belief that excessive admiration of the state of health of an individual is prejudicial to him, is universal³⁵. Hence it is an unwritten law in Bengal not to be too enthusiastic in praising anything, or, if inadvertently anything be highly praised by another, immediately to rectify the error by positively denying its merits. Euphemism, which is so general in all eastern countries, no doubt owes its origin to the same reason, namely not to mention a bad thing by its right name, but to give it a high-sounding title³⁶. One of the lowest castes in India is that of the

²⁷ *Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 123. For a similar European superstition, see H. Ploss, *Das Weib in der Natur und Völkerkunde*, 4th edition, Leipsic, 1895, vol. I, p. 551.

²⁸ *Ethnologie du Bengale*, *ibid.*; H. Ploss, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 451.

²⁹ Cf. W. W. Hunter, *Orissa*, London, 1872, vol. II, pp. 140 sq.; W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, vol. I, p. 17.

³⁰ Benj. Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*(?); *Dictionary of Superstitions*, p. 252, cf. pp. 133, 289.

³¹ *Ethnologie du Bengale*, pp. 81, 84, 85, 131, 133, 137.

³² Cf. J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, pp. 435, 465, 1056; A. Bastian, *Der Mensch in der Geschichte*, Leipsic, 1860, vol. II, pp. 265, 287, vol. III, p. 204; A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, Hamburg, 1880, pp. 15, 20, 122, 220; Benj. Thorpe, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 39; (Sir) J. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx*, Oxford, 1901, p. 325; *Ethnologie du Bengale*, pp. 92, 131, 133; J. G. Dalyell, *The Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 120; L. Strackerjan, *Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogtum Oldenburg*, Oldenburg, 1867, vol. I, p. 154; vol. II, p. 17; E. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, London, 1871, vol. I, p. 127; F. Bassett, *Legends and Superstitions of the Sea and Sailors*, London, 1885, p. 19; *Jewish Encyclopædia*, vol. IV, p. 486; Hubert and Mauss, *op. cit.*, p. 62; Aubrey, *Remains*, p. 57; E. Lana, *1001 Nights*, vol. I, p. 30.

³³ In Bengal cowdung is said to be a panacea for all evils. (Cf. L. Day, *op. cit.*; *Ethnologie du Bengale*, pp. 63, 65; A. M. T. Jackson, *Folklore Notes*, Bombay, 1914, vol. II, p. 79; J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 157; Lérrouse, *Dict. universel du XIX^e siècle*, vol. XIV, p. 1255, c. 2.).

³⁴ Cf. J. F. T. Bent, *The Cyclades*, London, 1885, p. 328.

³⁵ See F. T. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, London, 1895, pp. 8, 10, 22; Jahn, "Über den Aberglauben des bösen Blickes", *Berichte der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Leipsic, 1885, p. 35.

³⁶ Cf. Lt.-Col. D. C. Phillott, *Hindustani Stepping Stones*, Appendix, "Euphemisms."

scavengers or sweepers. They are regarded as thoroughly unclean, and most people would hesitate even to tread on their shadows, fearing to be polluted by thus coming into magical contact with them; they however glory in the euphemistic name of *metar*³⁷ (from Persian *mihtar* مهر, 'a great personage'). In a similar manner the name of a water-carrier is taboo, and he is popularly known as *bhisti* (from Persian *bihishti* بهشتی, 'a dweller in paradise'). Taboos of a different nature are those which prohibit the use of the names of snakes, thieves, robbers, tigers and so on after nightfall³⁸. The beings which these names represent are all dreaded; things which are dreaded need to be conciliated; therefore their names are taboo for fear of being visited by them. Not only fear but respect also forbids mentioning names of certain persons and objects. Hindu women are loth to mention their husbands' names; should this be for some reason absolutely necessary, they would change the initial letters before pronouncing them, and, if this should prove unsuccessful, write them down. For the same reason, whenever the name of a deceased person is uttered, the prefix *isvar* ('God') is put before it³⁹. In different parts of the country, as at Bilaspur⁴⁰, when the *pañchayat* ('village council') meets, no one of the assembly is allowed to twirl a spindle, for, if this be done, the discussion, like the spindle, will go round in a circle and no definite conclusion will be arrived at. If we look up any Bengali dictionary we find that the verb *jāloyā* or *jāon* means 'to go, to go away'; in practice the signification is modified to 'to go away for ever', and hence its use is limited. Thus for example, when a boy is taking leave of his mother on his way to school, he will never say '*jāchchhi*' ('I am going'), because that suggests an inauspicious omen, but will say instead '*āsi*' ('I am coming'), which is cheating fate.

Among the taboos observed by primitive people none are more numerous or important than the prohibitions against eating certain foods⁴⁰. In abstaining from these foods, he is in reality performing negative magic; therefore I shall give a few examples of food taboos in modern Bengal. Beef is forbidden to all Hindus⁴¹, as also the flesh of those animals which are respected by them. Among vegetables, the principal taboos are onions, garlic, palm, mushrooms and plants growing in unclean places⁴². Lentils are taboo to all good Brahmans, because, when cooked, they look red and thus suggest blood. Moreover, it is forbidden to partake of food while standing or lying down, or in a naked state, or in wet clothes⁴³. They must not also sit to a meal with their wives, although an ancient ritual prescribed it during the marriage ceremony⁴⁴.

From the above sketch, which has necessarily been short, we find that magic, both in its positive and negative form, enters largely into the public and the private life of the Bengalis.

³⁷ This name "has been applied to the class in question in irony or rather in consolation. . . . But the name has so completely adhered in this application, that all sense of either irony or consolation has perished." (Col. [Sir] H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson Jobson, A Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases*, 1st edition, London, 1886, pp. 432 sq.)

³⁸ *Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 83; *North Indian Notes and Queries*, I, 15.

³⁹ Can this be attributed to ancestor worship, or is it through the fear of being followed by the ghost of the dead? Cf. the German custom of prefixing *der selige* with an almost identical meaning. The Muhammadans abstain from mentioning the Qur'an by name; they call it *barī chiz* (Lt.-Col. D. C. Phillott, *ibid.*). In the Decalogue (*Exodus*, XX, 7) we find it expressly mentioned "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain."

⁴⁰ (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art*, vol. I, p. 117.

⁴¹ (Sir) M. Williams, *Hinduism*, London, 1878, pp. 155-157; J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 153. See my *Ethnologie du Bengale*, pp. 63, 85, 85 n. 3.

⁴² "Von vegetabilischer Nahrung soll man Knoblauch, Lauch, Zwiebeln, Pilze und auf dem Miste gewachsene Pflanzen meiden. Auch von unwürdigen Personen geschenkte, abgestandene Speisen, wie Überreste einer Mahlzeit, von unreinen Tieren oder Menschen berührte Speisen u. dgl. dürfen nicht genossen werden." (J. Jolly, *op. cit.*, pp. 157 sq.)

⁴³ J. Jolly, *op. cit.*, p. 158. But why?

⁴⁴ E. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, London, 1894-1896, vol. II, p. 345, quoting *Sacred Books*, XXX, 49.

To understand the Hindu caste system, and especially the unchallenged supremacy of the Brahmans, we must not expect to find a clue in their traditional intellectual superiority as law-givers and priests, but in their rôle as magicians, for magicians they undoubtedly were; the very word Brahman derives its origin from *brahmana* "a magic spell"⁴⁵. Nay, not only was the Brahman a magician in the hoary past, but he is so in our own days. He is not simply a priest performing his daily duties in the temples, but he is a wizard who, with his curses and incantations, can make or mar all around him. Is not the picture of an enraged Brahman with his right arm outstretched, holding in his hand the sacred *upavita*, and cursing a terrified individual familiar to all who have spent some time of their lives in the "magical land" of India? Can it be possible that at last we are on the threshold of the long-lost mystery of the origin of the caste system in India? It is only a hypothesis to be followed or rejected as subsequent researches may direct us.⁴⁶

BOOK-NOTICES.

ĀCARYACĀPĀMANI, by ŚAKTIBHADRA, published by Sri Mala Manorama Press, Mylapore.

This is a dramatic work based on the story of the *Rāmāyana* and has been brought into prominent notice in the discussions on the authenticity of the works of Bhāsa, the thirteen dramas published by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṇapati Sastrigal of Trivandrum. It is published by collation of six manuscripts and with a commentary. It has an introduction by Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppuswami Sastrigal in English, and is, on the whole, brought out creditably so far as the printer's part of it is concerned, although it does not reach up quite to the level of the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press. The story begins with the *Āraṇyakānda* of the *Rāmāyana* and carries it almost to the end. The plot is modified to suit the taste of the author, or perhaps dramatic needs according to him, and the peculiar feature is the almost miraculous powers of the two jewels concerned in the story, the signet ring of Rāma and the head-jewel of Sītā. It would be remembered that in the *Rāmāyana*, Hanumān carries the signet ring as evidence of his character as messenger from Rāma and returns to Rāma with the head-jewel of Sītā as evidence of his having seen her. There they are treated as ordinary jewels. Here they are given a somewhat-miraculous character, probably with a view to producing wonderment in the treatment of the plot. The introduction is interesting and informing. According to the professor, the commentator must have lived about the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, as he quotes from the *Śrīmat Bhagavata*. This by itself cannot make him so late, but the professor couples with it that he was influenced by the work *Nārāyaṇīya* of one Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Malabar, whose date is A.D. 1590. But he does not give any reference to where

he finds this influence, nor does he point out whether it is quite decisive. In regard to the date of Śaktibhadra himself, the learned professor is of opinion that he was an immediate disciple of the first Śaṅkarāchārya, circa A.D. 788-820. But he notes, none the less, that rhetoricians like Bhāmaha and Jagannātha do not quote from him. In trying to fix the downward limit, he places Śaktibhadra anterior to the Travancore sovereign, Kulaśēkara Varma, the author of *Tapatī Samavaranaṃ*, *Subhadrā-Dhananjayam* and of a third work, *Āścharya Mañjarikathā*. Two histrionic directories are said to have been compiled in his reign, namely, *Krama-dīpika* and *Aṅgaprakāram*. The latter work mentions fourteen plays, of which the first five include the two dramas by Kulaśēkara himself, *Nāgānanda* of Śrī Harsha, *Āścharya Chūḍāmani* and *Kalyāṇa Saṅgandhikā*. The sixth is an anonymous work, *Śrī Krishna Charita*. The remaining eight are included in the thirteen dramas ascribed to Bhāsa.

Here comes in the contribution of this drama to the discussion of the authenticity or otherwise of Bhāsa. Since this drama figured so much in the discussions, one would have expected that the opportunity would be taken advantage of by the learned professor to consider the Bhāsa problem as a whole, and restate it in the light in which it is placed by the publication of this work. Although the Bhāsa problem was started by the late Paṇḍit Gaṇapati Śāstri, it has long since ceased to be entirely a question of his own. The mere pointing to weak spots in his arguments or overstatement in respect of particulars cannot settle the question. Nor is it fair criticism to state that everybody that took the view of the late learned editor of these plays has taken it on trust and has been gulled into his belief. The question stands on entirely another footing now, and the problem must be considered

⁴⁵ O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, pp. 637 sq.; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art*, vol. I, p. 229.

⁴⁶ Only the Aryan population (see however my *Ethnologie du Bengale*, Introduction, p. xli; Appendix A, "Cartes Ethnographiques," Map No. 1; Appendix B, "Tableaux Anthropométriques," Nos. 2, 3) of Bengal has been dealt with in this article. An account of the magic and taboo of the Kolarian and Dravidian tribes will be given later.

as a whole rather than in the unsatisfactorily peace-meal style the professor has chosen to treat it. The least that was expected is that he should meet the theses of Dr. Sukthankar and Mr. Lakshman Sarup, neither of whom could be charged with having swallowed without judgment the findings of the late Pandit.

One may perhaps readily accept the learned professor's estimate of the merits of the new drama. But the management of the plot and the alterations introduced do not all of them strike a lay reader as making for improvement. Some of these details may be regarded as indicating decadence in art. The tendency to introduce the element of wonder seems occasionally to lead the author into excess and perhaps thus pass the bounds of good taste.

In regard to the time of Kulasekara Varman, there is a good deal to be said in favour of his identification with Ravivarman Kulasekara, who was responsible for turning out the Muhammadan cantonments from the south soon after the invasions of Malik Kafur. But Mr. Sastriar prefers to take the commencement of the tenth century for his era. There is one point that may have an indirect bearing upon this question, the defeat of Ravana by Karta-virya and his imprisonment. There is no reference to it as far as we remember in Valmiki. But the Tamil poet Kamban, who follows Valmiki and who makes his own alterations off and on, introduces this incident. He makes Sitā point out to Ravana that the possession of merely two hands is not necessarily a sign of inferiority, as the thousand-armed Arjuna, who threw Ravana into prison was deprived of all his arms by the two-armed Parasurama, to the great chagrin of Ravana, in the guise of the hermit who was extolling Ravana's power and prowess. There is a reference to that same incident almost on the same occasion, but it is put into the mouth of another character. It would be rather difficult to state whether there was any borrowing as between the two. But the similarity of sentiment involved in this perhaps argues for closeness of time between the two.

Whatever be the ultimate result, the publication of this drama is a welcome addition to the literature of the Bhāsa problem, and let us hope that this will prove the means of advancing the question a stage further.

S. K. AIYANGAR.

THE JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY, edited by
RAO BAHADUR S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.
April 1925, Madras.

Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar has come to the rescue of this *Journal*, which Prof. Shafaat Ahmad Khan of Allahabad was obliged to discontinue, and has started his work on it by a Double Number—vol. III, pt. IV, and vol. IV, pt. 1. It is to be hoped that students of Indian History will assist Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his gallant endeavour.

The first article by A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, is on the interesting history of the Āruvāymoli Pass into Travancore from Southern India. Of the three main passes over the *ghāts* into the sea-board State—the Achchancōil, the Āryankāvu, Āruvāymoli—the last is the southernmost and not far from Cape Comorin and is quite well known to Europeans as the Aranboly. It has, however, been the chief gate into Travancore from all time and its story is traced, in an informing article, from the days of the early Pāndyas, the Cholas, the mediæval Pāndyas, the Vijayanagara kings, the Madura Nāyakas, the Mysore Sultāns (Haider Ali and Tippu) to the modern times.

The next article is by Dr. de Lacy O'Leary of Bristol University, on the Source of Arabic Culture, which the author traces primarily to Greek, but also to old Persian and Indian elements, with their cradle in the ancient kingdom of Hira under Hellenistic influence brought to bear on Islām through a Syriac medium. The culture was, therefore, like every other known form, a combination.

Next Dr. A. S. Tritton of Aligarh discourses on Arab Theories of Education. He begins with Ibn Khaldun and describes his ideas as they appear in the introduction to his *History*. These Dr. Tritton explains in an interesting manner, and then describes the system of education proposed by Qadi Abu Bakr *ibn* al-Arabi, which Ibn Khaldun viewed with but qualified approval. Of this system Dr. Tritton gives an outline, remarking on the influence of Sufi teaching in it. He then reverts to Ibn Khaldun and his ideas, which are most interesting, as that old philosopher saw the difficulties created by words and confused thinking in all education, and carefully thought out means for overcoming them—coming quite close to modern doctrine in the process.

The following article on the Beginnings of the Silk Industry in India by Dr. Balkrishna deals with a very different subject. This is a controversial essay to show that Cooper in *Silk, its Production and Manufacture*, *Arbousset*, and the *Encyclopædia Britannica* are all wrong in asserting that silk was introduced into India between A.D. 300 and 500. The object of the article is to bring together evidence to show that sericulture and silk manufacture are of great antiquity in India, and evidence is adduced to show that it was known there at least in B.C. 1000. The article is worth careful study.

This study of the history of silk is followed by Prof. Heras's Palace of Akbar at Fatehpur-Sikri, where he once more gives us an illuminating discourse on to him now familiar ground. Its nature is sufficiently described by the opening sentence: "The identification of the palace of Akbar among the remaining buildings of romantic Fatehpur is of great importance for an historian." In the course of a delightful study of these famous ruins, full of valuable information, Prof. Heras identifies the Palace of Akbar with the familiar Jodh Bai's

palace of the existing authorities and the guide books.

Next comes Mr. W. H. Moreland on a subject connected with the research with which his name is identified: "A Dutch Account of Mogul Administrative Methods." This account is contained in a Report on Gujarāt difficult to translate. It was completed in the year 1629 and is unsigned, but it was used by de Laet in his *Account of the Mogol Empire* in 1631 and by Van Twist in his *General Description of India* "drawn up a few years later." From this invaluable MS. Mr. Moreland gives us "a version of all the references it contains to the practical working of the Mogul administration in Gujarāt." He has thus once again materially aided the advance of our knowledge of the Mogul period of Indian History.

Then we are treated to a similar article on the Settlement of Baramahal and Salem from the Records by Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari. It is worth while to quote the opening sentences of this important discourse: "When Lord Cornwallis concluded the treaty with Tippu Sultan on March 17, 1792, the Ceded Districts of Salem and Baramahal were, within eighteen days after the treaty, entrusted to the organising genius of Captain Alexander Read, in preference to any of the Revenue Officials of the Madras Presidency, who lacked the necessary qualifications for administering a newly annexed country. For the same reason Read chose as his assistants, Captains Munro, Graham, and McLeod to administer respectively the countries of Dharmapuri (central division), Krishnagiri (northern division) and Salem (southern division). It is superfluous to write of the great qualities that Munro displayed even thus early; while the other two did remarkably good work." Prof. Srinivasachari has himself done good work in reminding us of the manner in which the British Indian Empire was built up in its earlier days by men whose very names are now largely forgotten, and whose many difficulties, failures and successes he so well describes.

The last communication is an interesting one: The operations leading to the Capture of Almora in 1815, by Mr. J. C. Powell Price. It is a useful contribution to the history of Ochterlony's war with the Gurkhas, as it is a sketch of what actually took place then, in view of the somewhat confused accounts that are available of the operations in Kumaon during the war. Not the least of the services rendered to historians by Mr. Powell Price is a statement at the end of his paper as to the whereabouts of existing original documents relating to the Nepal War which made Ochterlony a famous man.

On the whole Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar is to be heartily congratulated on this first instalment of his effort to keep the flag flying for the *Journal of Indian History*.

R. C. TEMPLE.

MOLIERE, with a Hindi translation of *LE BOURGEOIS GENTILHOMME*, by LAKSHMAN SARUP. Rajpal, Sarasvati Ashram, Lahore.

There is a Renaissance Movement progressing in Indian vernacular literature, which has arisen out of a spirit of revolt against the old tradition. Signs of it are visible in the Urdu verse of Sir Muhammad Iqbal and in the Hindi productions of the School of *kharī bolī* writers. Taking advantage of the existence of the feeling visible in such and similar works, Professor Lakshman Sarup has bethought him of making an attempt to bring this new spirit in vernacular literature into contact with European classics, in the hope, no doubt, that such contact will have a guiding and controlling influence over it. He seems to have been moved thereto by the consideration that in the beginning of the nineteenth century French translations of English and German writers had a remarkable influence for good on the French romantic movement of the period. If I am right in this conjecture, a series of studies of European dramatists, if wisely chosen, should have a similar influence on the new movement in India. With such ideas at the back of it, this study of Molière might well be followed by studies of Shakespeare, Ibsen, Tchekov, Goethe, Schiller, Brieux and others, in course of time.

A knowledge of such writers could not but have a beneficial influence on the Hindi reading public, which would thus have brought before it specimens of European thought as concentrated in drama. For it must be borne in mind that Hindi authors are at present driven to Sanskrit literature for inspiration, and contact with European drama will broaden their intellectual horizon, will suggest literary models of character and manners for tragedy and comedy, and will open to them new literary channels.

Professor Lukshman Sarup has no doubt chosen Molière's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* for his first attempt, as it lends itself peculiarly to existing conditions in India, since it portrays the efforts of a successful but vulgar man of business to imitate the life of the aristocracy of his day. I observe that the Professor, in his preface, remarks that "many of our uneducated young men make foolish attempts to ape European dress and manners to the extent of making their own lives, as well as the lives of their relatives, miserable. Such ignorant imitation is partial and always produces ludicrous results."

In "translating" the French play the object which the Professor has kept before him has been to render the text so that it will appeal to an ordinary Indian audience rather than to scholars searching for a scientific translation, and this is a wise endeavour. His title for the play, *Baniyā chāl Naudā ki Chāl*, is an earnest of the spirit in which the whole problem is worked out.

R. C. TEMPLE.

STRESS-ACCENT IN INDO-ARYAN, by BANARSI DAS JAIN, Oriental College, Lahore, 1927.

I would draw attention to this thoughtful little brochure reprinted from the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. IV, pt. 3, on an abstruse and difficult question in the phonology of languages descended from the Indian Prakrits. The desire has arisen from the fact that it seemed to me, when I sat at the feet of *bhagāns* and other rough bards in the Panjab about half a century ago, to collect the *Legends of the Panjab* as they were actually sung, that stress-accent had much more to do with the language of the people than was admitted by those who read the highly sophisticated language affected by the orthodox Hindu poets and followed their ideas. I have often thought that in "scientific" transliteration it was a pity that accent was left unmarked when long vowels were specially noted in writing. However, the impressions I acquired were then too heterodox for general adoption, but they seem now to have been more or less right, and hence the interest of Mr. Banarsi Das Jain's remarks.

R. C. TEMPLE.

A GUIDE TO THE QUTB, DELHI, by J. A. PAGE, Superintendent, A.S.I. 8½ x 5½, with 12 Plates; Calcutta, 1927.

The Archaeological Department is supplying a real want in issuing authoritative guides, in a handy size like this, to sites of archaeological and historical interest. Though nowhere so stated, this little volume is but a reprint of most of Chapter II and the whole of Appendix IV (a) of Memoir No. 22 of the A.S.I. The excellent drawings and photographs are also reproductions of some of those appended to the Memoir. It is a pity that the opportunity was not taken to correct some clerical errors that appeared in the original. For example, on page 2 we find Narain, instead of Tarain, as the name of the battlefield where Prithirāj was defeated in 1192. More than fifty years ago Raverty exposed Briggs' misspelling of this name. On the same page the *azān*, or call to prayer, is called "the azam." The Asoka *lat* (p. 8) should read *lāṭh*; and Inam Zamin (*passim*) should be Imām Zamin. "Mutakha", on pages 10 and 12, is possibly meant for *mutakā*. The terms *liwān*, *mīhrāb*, *jālī*, *kungura*, etc., should at least be italicised, if not explained for the benefit of the average reader, who would also doubtless have welcomed a sketch map of the surrounding area, such as Sir John Marshall has provided in his delightful guides to Taxila and Sanchi. The chief interest attaching to Mr. Page's work, which is obviously not intended for the mere "globe-trotter," lies perhaps in the plans and sketches indicating—of necessity conjecturally—the original mosque of Qutbu'd-din and the extensions carried out, or projected, by "Altamish" and Alau'd-din. Mr. Page is to be congratulated on his careful examination of this subject, and on the admirable sketches

he has drawn to illustrate it. A visitor to the precincts of the Qutb Minār who has not been there for fifteen or twenty years will be astonished to observe the improvements effected by the excavation and conservation work carried out by the department.

C.E.A.W.O.

THE EMBASSY OF SIR THOMAS ROE TO INDIA, 1615-19, as narrated in his Journal and Correspondence. Edited by SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E. New and revised edition, with illustrations and two maps. Oxford University Press, 1926.

Roe's journal and letters were first critically edited, with an introduction and notes by Sir W. Foster for the Hakluyt Society in 1899, appearing as vols. 1 and 2, second series, of that society's valuable publications. These volumes have been out of print for some time, and the University Press is to be congratulated on its enterprise in bringing out this revised edition and in having secured for the task the services of Sir William, than whom no more competent editor could have been found.

The chief value of Roe's narrative to the historian undoubtedly lies in his descriptions of life at the Mughal's court while at provincial capitals and in camp, and in the light thrown upon the characters of Jahāngir, Asaf Khān and Khurram and of the noble but ill-fated Khurrau. In estimating the value of Roe's work for the Company we are handicapped by the want of the final text of the "articles" accepted by Khurram, after protracted discussion and bickering, as well as of the agreement and contract granted by Jahāngir that is referred to in Roe's endorsement on the emperor's letter of the 8th August, 1618, to King James (p. 506, note). Sir W. Foster has stated fairly all that can be said in Roe's favour. There is a good deal to be said on the other side, which need not be discussed here. Living for more than three years at court in close relations with Jahāngir and his officials, Roe wrote from first-hand knowledge; and although his independent spirit and his failure to master the Persian language seem to have prevented him from getting into touch with the inner mind of his associates, and seeing things from the Oriental outlook, his frankly-stated views must carry weight. Not to mention other matters to which the editor has drawn attention in his introduction, Roe's account is important from the light it sheds upon the difficulties that beset the English traders as a result of the jealousy and competition of the Portuguese, who had been established in the country for more than a century. We see, however, how the prestige of that nation was rapidly declining, and that of the Dutch, who had already achieved ascendancy farther east, was growing apace. In Roe's time the English were but commencing to acquire a position of some importance on the shores of India.

It is not generally realized that England was one of the last of the European countries to have intercourse with India and the East: but, once started, that intercourse developed with remarkable rapidity. The first Englishman known to have set foot on Indian soil was Father Thomas Stevens, who, joining the Jesuits, landed at Goa in 1578, and worked there till his death in 1619. The next Englishmen to visit India were Newbery, Fitch and others who started on a commercial mission, in behalf of the Turkey Company, in 1583 by the overland route (via Aleppo, Basra and Ormuz). They bore a letter of introduction to the Mughal emperor from Queen Elizabeth; but, although Newbery, Fitch and Leeds visited Fathpur Sikri, where Akbar then (1585) was holding his court, we do not know whether it was ever delivered. John Mildenhall, in his first commercial expedition (also via Aleppo and Persia) to India during the years 1603-05, had an audience of Akbar, and posed—so far as we know, without authority—as a messenger from Queen Elizabeth. Mildenhall tells us that he requested in her behalf friendship and the same privileges of trade as the Portuguese had; and he appears to have given the emperor (in the presence of Jahāngir, then Prince Salim) to understand that the queen intended to depute an ambassador to his court. He says that after much trouble, due to the obstruction of the Portuguese Jesuits, he got all his demands granted—"signed to my own contentment and (as I hope) to the profit of my nation." Unfortunately no copy of the alleged grant has come down to us. The first English vessel that anchored on the coast of India was the *Hector*, with William Hawkins in command, which reached Suwālī in August 1608. Hawkins carried a letter from King James to the emperor, asking for liberty of trade and reasonable privileges. He arrived at Agra in April, 1609, and remained at Jahāngir's court till November 1611. At first he was received with much show of favour, but his influence waned, and Jahāngir finally refused permission for the English to establish a factory at Surat. It was Captain Best's victories over the Portuguese ships in November-December, 1612, that first enabled the English to settle there. It is from that year that the Company's trade with India may be said to have taken root (though an agency had been planted at Masulipatam a year before). During the next two years three different factors were sent from Surat to the Mughal's court, two of them bearing letters from King James, to look after the Company's interests, but to little effect. Meanwhile Best had gone home, and his optimistic view of the prospects of trade roused the Directors to greater activity. A finer fleet was prepared, and it was decided that an ambassador would be best suited to treat with "Great Mogul" in respect of their privileges, and to counteract plots of the Jesuits. But two or three years, then, had passed since our factors had set up at Masulipatam and Surat when Sir Thomas

Roe started on his memorable embassy. Roe left England in March, 1615, and arrived in Surat in September of that year; he sailed from India in February, 1619, on his voyage back. His doings were recorded in a journal and in numerous letters to the Company, and to private individuals. It is regrettable that only one volume of these papers is known to be now extant, comprising the diary and letters to the 11th February 1617 and some further letters to the 9th October 1617. Purchas carries on the narrative from sources not at present available to the 22nd January 1618. For the remaining year of Roe's stay in India the editor has had to depend upon his letters and such information as can be gathered from contemporary documents.

One of the most valuable contents of this volume is the facsimile reproduction of William Baffin's famous map of the Mughal's dominions published in 1619, which is probably the earliest map of these regions ever printed in England. Sir William has added an instructive note on this map, in which he pertinently calls attention to the exceptional credit attached to it by subsequent cartographers. We find numerous errors contained therein reproduced on maps published in various parts of Europe for nigh a century and a half thereafter. As regards Roe's geographical account of the Mughal's territories, which has been printed as an appendix, we must feel astonishment that it should be so frequently inaccurate, and so often irreconcilable with Baffin's map, which we are told incorporates Roe's inquiries. The names of important provinces such as Allahabad and Oudh, and even Ajmer (at the capital of which Roe had spent 11 months) are omitted; while petty states like Chambā, Pathānkot, Sibā and Jaswān, and 'sarkars, or districts, like Chitor, Bikaner, Sorath, Narwar, and Sambhal, are named among the "kingdoms and provinces": although the *Atm-i-Akbari*, with its detailed account of the provinces, districts and *mahāls*, has been completed twenty years previously, and Roe says he took the names "out of the King's register."

The introduction contains a masterly historical review of the events of the period concerned, and a connected account of Roe's movements and occupations, so essential for anybody who wishes to understand the constant allusions to persons and incidents in Roe's text, which is often obscure, and to keep the thread of the narrative in his grasp. The notes, which have been thoroughly revised, are apposite and succinct, and call for scarcely any further correction. The index is full; the work of the press, characteristically excellent. This is a book which, with its companion volume—*Early Travels in India, 1583-1619* should be on the shelves of all students of the history of the period.

C. E. A. W. O.

CEREMONIAL DRESS OF BRIDEGROOM AND BRIDE (SOUTHWEST CHURCH)



T. K. JOSEPH

THOMAS CANA.

By T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

(Continued from page 106.)

Further Remarks by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.

On Document No. 1.

Nasrani. If the word *Nasrāni* was used in A.D. 345, it would have been the name by which the Jews knew the Christians. They may have been known similarly through the Jews to the rest of the people in Malabar.

[Document No. 1 is not of 345 A.D. But the term *Nasrāni* might have been applied to the Malabar Christians from the very beginning of their history. For *Nasrāni* is a modified form of Greek *Nazarenos*, a term applied to a member of the early Jewish Christian sect. In pre-Islamic days the Christians of Arabia (and presumably of Mesopotamia also) were called *Nasranys*. Even European Christians are to-day called *Nasranys* in Arabia, as we learn from Doughty's *Travels in Arabia Deserta* and other sources.

The Malabar Syrian Christians are known as *Nasrānis* even to-day. The earliest known instance of the application of the term to the Syrian Christians of Malabar, is in Pope John XXII's letter of A.D. 1330. The passage runs: "Nobili viro domino Nascariorum et universis sub eo Christianis Nascarinis de Columbo" (i.e., Quilon in Travancore). The Malabar *Nasrānis* came to be called Christians (*Kristiānikal*) locally only after the Portuguese connection in A.D. 1498.—T.K.J.]

On footnote 32.

The gold crown. On February 7, 1924, at the Southist Church of Chungam, said to have been built in 1579, we photographed a boy and a girl dressed up for the occasion in the ceremonial dress of a bridegroom and a bride. This attire belongs to the Church. Bridegroom's dress: long *gabaya* or surcoat, like the robe of state (*khilat*) presented by Eastern princes to those whom they wish to honour; six-pointed star on each sleeve; crown (aigrette fixed on turban), said to be part of the property given to the Christians of Chungam, when they filiated from the Southist Church of Katutturutti to settle at Chungam. Bride's dress: peculiar bodice; crown, a facsimile of the one of Katutturutti, now the property of the Jacobites of Mulanturutti, which latter is said to be the original crown presented to the Christians by Chêramân Perumâl. By Chêramân Perumâl they mean apparently the king who favoured Thomas Cana.

[The gold crown I refer to is like the conical Indian *jatâ-mukuta* put on the heads of ancient statues of kings and images of gods. The aigrette mentioned by Fr. Hosten is not a crown, but the golden flower referred to by Gouvea (*Jornada*, fol. 4r): "The Christians" (of Malabar) "alone, when marrying, were allowed to wear their hair tied up with a golden flower." See the accompanying plate. The bride's "crown" is really a half-crown covering only the front half of the head, as can be seen from the picture.—T.K.J.]

On Document No. 3.

Rosary. Did the Christians of Mesopotamia use the rosary of beads which the present Bishops of Mesopotamia visiting India are seen to use? How many beads does this rosary consist of? [Of 153 beads—T.K.J.]

On footnote 45.

Veil. I do not think it means that the Christian women of Mesopotamia came with their faces veiled as the Arab custom is in many parts.

[Veils seem to have been used by Southist women in the sixteenth century. For there is this saying in Malayalam current among the Syrian Christians:—'The city is burnt, and we go out in broad daylight. Why then a *muttâk* (veil), my daughter?' These were the words of a Southist Christian mother to her daughter who, while about to flee from the city of Cranganore set fire to by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, hurriedly searched for

her veil. This implies that Southist women in those days used veils. But I have found no mention of a veil in the contemporary Portuguese accounts that I have seen. The term *muffāk* is used in Tamil for that portion of a Brāhman widow's cloth covering her shaven head. It is a Tamil word meaning literally 'covering cloth'. The present song mentions both *muffāk* and cloth for covering the head.—T.K.J.]

This song contains no reference to the coming of a bishop with Thomas Cana. The fact is that our Portuguese historians are silent about the bishop who came with Thomas Cana, a point which requires further examination.

[But the majority of the Malabar accounts agree in bringing a bishop along with Thomas Cana and in calling him Mr Joseph.—T.K.J.]

On Document No. 4.

Lines 1-4. It is difficult to believe that, if Mylapore had a bishop, Malabar had none or was neglected, or that John, Bishop of All-Persia and Great India, who was present at the Council of Nicea (A.D. 325), would have neglected Malabar and Coromandel, if they were in need, or again that the *Passio* of St. Thomas is wrong when it states that the see of St. Thomas still flourished at Andranopolis (Cranganore). It requires more study before we can explain the coming of a bishop of Edessa or some other part of Mesopotamia in A.D. 345. Were some of the Christians of Malabar at loggerheads with the bishops of Mylapore, Andranopolis or Persia? [But to judge from *The Acts of Thomas* (c. 200 A.D.) the earliest St. Thomas document, Andranopolis was outside modern India altogether.—T.K.J.]

Line 4. The mention of Baghdad offers a clue to the antiquity of the song. Baghdad was built in A.D. 762 or 764 near Seleucia-Ctesiphon. The Abassid Khalifs reigned there till 1258, when the place was sacked by Hulagu Khan. Marco Polo (c. 1293) says that the Bishop of the Isle of Males and the Isle of Females (Maldives?) is subject to the Archbishop of Sokotra and the latter to the great Archbishop of Baudas (Baghdad). Cf. Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1875), 396; 399. According to Bar-Hebraeus (*Chronicon Eccles.*, ed. Lamy, II. 236), Elias, the Greek Patriarch of Antioch, in 910 re-established at Baghdad the ancient residence of the Orthodox Catholics which had been unoccupied since the Nestorian schism (A.D. 432). Cf. *Cath. Encycl.*, New York, I, 202d. At what time did Baghdad become the seat of the Catholics who sent bishops to Malabar?

Line 6. As Malabar was not part of Pāṇḍya, we must conclude that there were Christians, not only in Malabar and Coromandel, but also in Pāṇḍya, for instance along the Pāṇḍyan sea-coast, in particular at Kāvêripattanam, whence Christians took refuge in Malabar, according to tradition, during the persecution of Mānikka Vāsakar (A.D. 293-315). Arnobius already mentions Christians in China (A.D. 303-305).

Lines 12 & 13. If 'twin-born' is singular, I understand that one of the Christians of St. Thomas, who is surnamed Didymus, or the twin, was to be sent to Malabar; also that the Christians of Malabar, as well as the Christians of Mesopotamia who were to help the former, are here represented as the sons and nephews of the same St. Thomas the Apostle. In the time of Timothy I. (A.D. 779-823) the bishops of Fars in Persia used to say: "We have been evangelised by the Apostle Thomas, and we have no share with the see of Mari." Cf. Mingana, *The Early Spread of Christianity in India*, (reprint), 1926, p. 35. May not the Christians of Mesopotamia also have considered themselves the children of St. Thomas, who had sent Addai to Edessa as its first apostle? Did they not think they had the body or at least relics of St. Thomas at Edessa? "One of the twin-born" may refer to the bishop to be sent, and Thomas Cana may be understood to decide going in his company. [See footnotes 59 and 60.—T.K.J.]

If 'twin-born' were plural, I do not know what to suggest. In his translation of part of these songs, Zaleski (*The Saints of India*, Mangalore, Codialbail Press, 1915, p. 215), has: "One of you two brothers must go to Malabar." Zaleski refers this to Frumentius and

Edesius, his brother, and he concludes that Thomas Cana is the bishop Frumentius. We cannot accept this view. The weight of the Malabar tradition leans to the view that Thomas Cana was a merchant. He brings a bishop to Malabar, but is not himself a bishop, as the songs here published show. [Zabski's translation is not accurate.—T.K.J.]

Line 19. The farewell is again described as taking place on the sea-shore. The Southists should have a tradition as regards the port from which they left for India.

Line 20. The term 'black sea' may be the equivalent of the modern *kālā pāni* (black water). What can 'red sea' mean here? Did Thomas and his party come through the Red Sea? Is the Persian Gulf ever called Red Sea? [Black and red indicate seas of various kinds.—T.K.J.]

Lines 24 & 25. Here again we have the proof that the author of the song thought there were Christians in India already. It would also appear that the new bishop made his see at Cranganore.

On Document No. 5.

Lines 1-7. The Christians in Malabar had particular esteem for bishops and priests who came from Jerusalem or had visited it. May that explain why Mar Joseph of Urfa is made to go to Jerusalem? Or have we here the story more clearly narrated in Land's *Anecdota Syriaca*: the bishop of Edessa has a dream in which he sees the forlorn condition of the Christians of India; the next day he goes to the Catholicos of the East, who calls a meeting of bishops and merchants; Thomas of Jerusalem, a merchant, offers to go to Malabar which he has previously visited; he returns to the Catholicos, and the bishop who had seen the vision, i.e., the Metropolitan of Edessa, repairs to India with Thomas, priests, deacons, men and women and children from Jerusalem, Baghdad and Nineveh (Mosul), 472 families. In our songs, as far as here presented, there is no allusion to the dream of the bishop of Edessa; the author may have thought this required no mention, as being generally known. In that case, he takes the bishop of Urfa (Edessa) straight to Jerusalem, where he supposes the Catholicos of the East is residing. Possibly, our author takes the bishop of Edessa to an even higher authority, a Patriarch.

In Land's *Anecdota* Thomas Cana is of Jerusalem; in another account from Malabar, he is of Canaan, "which is Jerusalem." This too may have influenced the author of the song in making the bishop of Edessa go to Jerusalem.

Let us compare at this place several accounts about this expedition:—

- (1) We have seen the version in Land.⁸⁹
- (2) In a letter of Fr. A. Monserrate, written at Cochin, January 1, 1579, after a two years' residence among the St. Thomas Christians, we read that Quinay Thomas came from Ormuz to Paru (Parur) and Cranganore.⁹⁰ [Parur and Cranganore are very close to each other.—T.K.J.]
- (3) Roz (1604) mentions the arrival in 345 of Thomas Cananeo with 62 (in another place 72) families. Like Monserrate, he is silent about a bishop from Mesopotamia or anywhere else.⁹¹
- (4) The bishop of Ormuz (Hami) writes to the "or Antioch" Jerusalem, and Thomas comes to India with priests and deacons.⁹²
- (5) The Metropolitan of Edessa and King Abgar (I) order 336 families to go to India in 345 with clerics and Thomas the Canaanite, from Canaan, "which is Jerusalem."⁹³

⁸⁹ Mingana, *Early Spread of Christianity in India*, reprint, 1926, pp. 43-44, or my translation in *Ind. Ant.* 1927, pp.

⁹⁰ From rotographs of a MS. in my possession.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² From a Jacobite Malayalam MS. in an English relation, Trichur, 1820, in *South India Christian Repository*, Madras, II (1838), pp. 189-195.

⁹³ Mingana, *op. cit.*, 49 (paper by a Jacobite, 1721).

(6) Thomas of Jerusalem comes to Malabar in 345 with the bishop of Edessa, priests, deacons, and 472 families.⁹⁴

(7) Joseph, bishop of Antioch, came with 472 families in 345 and built Cranganore.

(8) In 345 Thomas Cana came with bishops, priests, deacons, and laymen by order of the Patriarch Ignatius.⁹⁵

(9) With Thomas Cana came in 345 Mar Joseph of Edessa, priests, deacons and about 400 families. Thus in Ittūp's *History*, which agrees with our songs, except that our songs speak of 72 families consisting of 400 persons.

There are still other versions, in which either the Catholicos or 5th Patriarch of Jerusalem is mentioned, or Yustēdiūs, Patriarch of Antioch. These other versions should be collected.

Considerably different is the story of the merchant Qisōn, a fire-worshipper, who, coming to Qalonya, in the country of Philippos, somewhere in India, made the acquaintance of the Christians there and of their bishop; he goes home by sea and brings his family to the bishop for baptism. He goes home again, and dies. His widow Helena and her four sons, John, Stephen, Joseph and Daniel, come to India, to the capital of a king where there are no Christians. So many miracles happen on their account that John and the king write for a bishop to Constantine the Great. John, bishop of Ephesus (*sic*), comes to India, baptises the king and his people, and consecrates John, one of the four brothers, as first bishop of that city. [Could Qalonya be Caliana of Cosmas, A.D. 535?—*In Caliana*. . . *episcopus est in Perside ordinari solitus*.—T.K.J.]

The writers who speak of 472 families brought over by Thomas Cana seem to have lumped into one figure, and into one category the 400 persons of 72 families. How was the figure '336 families' arrived at?

Line 4. It is surprising that the Syrians, apparently in imitation of the Hindus and Buddhists, whose saints are golden-faced, ascribe to Mar Joseph of Urfa a golden complexion. Many of the old statues of our Catholic Churches in India are entirely gilt, even in the face. [But see note 65, p. 105, *supra*.—T.K.J.]

Line 8. The Catholicos of the East or a Patriarch appears here to be placed at Jerusalem. In 345 did not the whole farther East depend on the Patriarch of Antioch, and would the Catholicos of the East, dependent on Antioch, not have lived in Mesopotamia? Mingana (*The Early Spread of Christianity in India*, reprint, 1926, p. 44 n. 1) says that after the Catholicos of the East Shahdost, martyred in 342, the see was vacant for more than two years, his successor Barba'-Shemin was in prison from February 345 to January 9, 346, when he was martyred. It is still a hopeless task to reconcile the conflicting statements about the bishop who came to India in 345, his name, the place he came from, the Patriarch then ruling, and the Catholicos of the East.

Line 11. The rank of Catholicos given at this early date to Mar Joseph of Edessa is probably an exaggeration. Did he come to India as Catholicos of the East, with the idea of returning home after three years (l. 50)? The title of Metropolitan of India given to one of the bishops in India is probably much later than 345. [He was given some privileges or marks of honour, not the office of Catholicos.—T.K.J.]

Line 12. I understand that this send-off, in the mind of the poet, took place at Jerusalem.

Line 13. In Thomas Ramban's *Song* of A.D. 1601, Thomas I. of Maliyekal receives from St. Thomas the title of Ramban and a book. He was not however a bishop. The same poem describes the investiture of a bishop by St. Thomas in the person of Peter, the son-in-

⁹⁴ From another Malayalam account by a Jacobite, in an English relation of Trichur, 1820; cf. n. 92 above.

⁹⁵ Mingana, *op. cit.*, 50 (paper by a Jacobite, 1821).

[Footnotes 80-95 are by Fr. Hosten.]

law or nephew of the king of Cranganore : St. Thomas invests him with part of his own dress. [This song of 1601 is spurious.—T.K.J.]

Line 15 and note 68. Esrâ cannot be Urfa (Edessa). The poet knows Edessa by the name Urahâ, which may be compared with the form Oruay in a Malabar MS. earlier than 1820 (cf. my note to ll. 1-7 above). If Esrâ is Osroene, it is practically equivalent to Edessa. Why does Mar Joseph of Urfa go for permission to Esrâ, identified with Osroene, unless the Catholicos of the East lives there ? But if Mar Joseph had been himself given the powers of a Catholicos, appointed apparently to that dignity by a Patriarch, had he to apply to the Catholicos of the East for permission to go to India ? His getting a signet ruby, after obtaining permission, implies however that he applied to a superior religious authority, as the signet ruby would signify the reception of special power.

Line 18. The start must have been from Esrâ, and the embarking at Basra. I do not think that Esrâ can itself be Basra. Ittûp in his *History* (1869, p. 78n.) makes Gundaphar's messenger Habban meet St. Thomas at Mahôsên in Yûsse. Mahôsên is Mahosa, and there was a Mahosa near Basra. Must Yûsse be compared with Esrâ and Basra ? The meaning of Yûsse requires elucidating.

"Together they started": a reference to the goodly company of priests and deacons, and possibly others, who went with Mar Joseph.

Lines 20-24. Cochin and Cranganore appear to be treated here as identical ; also in l. 17. Did the Cochin harbour exist in A.D. 345 ? The island of Paliporto, north of Cochin, did not exist then. According to Roz, it was formed in A.D. 1327. If it did not exist in 345, the sea stretched from Cochin to Cranganore without any intervening island to obstruct from Cranganore the view of Cochin. At any rate, as the party is said to have landed at Cranganore, the salutes were meant for the place where the king was, and he appears to have been at or near Cranganore, not at Cochin. The city gate mentioned in l. 23 could not have been at Cochin, but at or near Cranganore. Roz, recording traditions, says the king was then living at Paru, where he had a pagoda. In fact, Roz and more clearly de Barros place Mahôdêvar-pattanam at Paru.

Lines 22, 23. When did the Chinese invent the use of gunpowder ? Elliot in his *History of India* (8 volumes ; I cannot now consult them) has an essay on this question. I should think that by 345 the Chinese used gunpowder, in which case the invention could not have been unknown to the Indians. In Du Perron's translation of four copper-plates granted to Thomas Cana we read that the plates were presented to Thomas amid the firing of guns. (Cf. note 73, p. 106, *supra*, by T.K.J.)

Line. 24. These seem to be the soldiers who had accompanied the ships of Mar Joseph as a protection against pirates. I understand that they give a shout of joy at having arrived safe ; the languishing of the limbs also betokens rest after a strenuous voyage. In the time of Pliny, archers were placed on ships for the Indian voyage, to protect them against pirates. Pirates at Sokotra, at the Maldives, in Sind, all along the west coast of India : they were worse than all the other terrors of the sea.

Line. 33. These again may be soldiers who came with Mar Joseph ; if the ships were Yavana ships, the soldiers would return to Basra with their ships and their Indian cargo.

Line. 40. The fort is within a walled city (cp. l. 23) ; the reception, at the city gate, of the bishop by Râja Varma (perhaps distinct from the Perumâl) and two other Râjas denotes the highest honour.

Line. 41. If the Perumâl is not Râja Varma, he awaited the bishop in his palace within the fort : he is an Emperor, and Râja Varma (of Cochin ?) is his vassal. [Râja Varma is not a proper name. It can mean nothing more than king of the Varma or Kshatriya caste. Râja may be a misprint for Râma.—T. K. J.]

Line. 42. The insignia mentioned in this line would have been used during Mar Joseph's progress from the ships to the fort.

Lines. 43-44, 49-50. These lines show that (before Thomas' arrival) there were Christians in India. Those who visited Mar Joseph, bowed to him and received his blessing were St. Thomas Christians already settled in Malabar. The other parts of the songs make this abundantly clear.

The points of Thomas Cana's story in Land's *Anecdota Syriaca* and other accounts which the songs translated thus far do not yet bear out, are the following: the dream of the bishop of Edessa, the meeting of bishops, monks and merchants convened by the Catholicos or Patriarch, at which Thomas Cana decided to go to Malabar and examine into the position of the Christians there (IV. 9-14 speaks of a meeting convoked after Thomas' visit to India). All the other details are sufficiently accounted for in our songs, and many are set forth by the poet with remarkable vividness, copiousness and realism. There is an archaic touch about the situations from which one might surmise that our songs are modernised versions of more ancient poems. [To me they are not earlier than the Portuguese period.—T. K. J.]

We may note a certain unity in these songs. In II. 3, 4 we hear of 72 king's sons and 400 persons; in III. 10, of 72 families of 7 clans; in IV. 15-17, of 72 families composed of 400 persons. In V. 30-32, Mar Joseph of Urfa, 4 priests and many deacons are mentioned; in IV. 16, a bishop, priests and deacons.

The antiquity of Malabar Christian songs can be guessed from what we read in Maffei (*ante* 1588) of the poems in honour of St. Thomas which the Christian children in Malabar used to sing.

One of the interesting features of the visitation of the churches by Archbishop Aleixo de Menezes after the Council of Diamper (1599) was the songs and the dances executed by groups of men. "Before entering any Church or settlement, he [de Menezes] sent word beforehand, whereupon the Christians prepared to receive him according to the means of the population, each trying to receive him as best they could. Thus, on his arrival, all the Christians came presently to receive him at the place where he stopped [with his boats], and to take him thence to the Church. All knelt down with much reverence and kissed his hands according to their custom. Next they organised the procession in which they conducted him. In it were all the men of the place, and, while it proceeded, they introduced into it many dances and various kinds of music and of instruments of the country, and they kept singing and dancing. And, as the Malavars are much accustomed to put into songs all the things which happen, immediately after the Synod they made in the Serra a very long hymn after their fashion, which contained the life of the Archbishop, and the trouble they had given him before the Synod, and what was done in it, with the other things which happened; miracles, as they called them. In it they confessed how, before the coming of the Archbishop, they were deceived by the Bishops of Babylonia, and there were many praises of Rome, and of the Supreme Roman Pontiff, who had remembered them and sent the Archbishop to instruct them. They sang this canticle in most of the Churches (*fol. 73v*) at the feasts of reception, chiefly the little children, who always went about the streets singing.⁶⁶ Others fenced, and at intervals they executed their lessons in fencing tricks, which for them is a great feast; the streets were adorned with branches of palm-trees, areca-trees and other trees; the women were at the doors and windows watching with great pleasure, and the Caçanars sang the psalms in Caldean until they reached the Church." (Gouvea, *Jornada*, 1606, fols. 73r-73v).

At Angamalle: "He was received with great festivities and much enthusiasm by the entire people. They had decorated with branches all the roads by which he had to pass, and from the place where the procession began up to the Church they kept throwing on the

⁶⁶ A copy of this song will be discovered by some means and published.—T.K.J.

ground along his passage pieces of fine cloth,⁸⁷ laying them on mats they had placed, thus representing the reception of Christ Our Lord at Jerusalem; the people also threw before him their garments, and at certain places they had representations in their style; in one of them there was a little girl of six, very finely dressed and extremely pretty, and she sang one of the songs they had made in the Serra at his coming and at the celebration of the Synod, and that with such art that she greatly delighted all, the procession stopping while she sang." (*Ibid.*, fol. 87r.). "During those days, the Christians [of Angamalle] tried to give the Archbishop some recreation, as a relief to his continual occupations. They organised a dance, in which only the men participated; they began at 8 o'clock in the evening and finished at 1 o'clock after midnight. What was noted in this was the modesty of the Christians in these dances, which they always begin by making first, all who are present, the sign of the Cross; after that, the dancers sing the prayer of the Our Father, and a hymn to St. Thomas.⁸⁸ There is not a profane song in it, nor anything resembling licentiousness; all the songs are about ancient histories of their ancestors, or about the Churches, or about the Saints. (*Ibid.*, fol. 87v.).

At Kuravalangad: "When he arrived, the whole people was waiting for him with much alacrity a good space from the Church, whither they took him, all bearing branches in their hands, amidst many dances, feasting, and diverse kinds of music after their manner." (*Ibid.*, fol. 109r.).

On February 7, 1924, at the Sacred Heart Hill, Kottayam, I witnessed some of the very dances and listened to some of the very songs which 325 years earlier had delighted de Menezes and his numerous party. Some of these songs are in the collection now presented. It was 8 p.m. A party of men, Southists, armed with bucklers of rhinoceros hide and swords, came to take their Bishop and his party from the Priests' House on the top of the Hill and conducted us amid a display of their fencing to the new school-hall, where a crowd had assembled to witness the *tanâsha* of dances. Around a big brass lamp with 12 wicks, in honour of the Apostles, antique piece of furniture, a twelve petalled lotus, the dances went on in endless variety for two hours with clapping of hands, gesticulations, prostrations; all the time the men sang, resting only for a change of tune; they recounted in verse the birth of Christ Our Lord, the adoration of the Magi, Christ's Life and Passion; St. Thomas' coming to Malabar and his death at Chinna Malai (Little Mount, Mylapore), Thomas Cana's leaving Mesopotamia with his party of colonists, the farewell on the sea-shore and the recommendation to bear in mind the Ten and the Seven, the meeting between Thomas Cana and the Perumâl of Malabar, the privileges granted on the occasion, etc. They might have continued till 1 o'clock after midnight. But, alas, these songs and dances are now going out of fashion. The Bishop himself had not seen them or heard them for forty years past. They took place nowadays almost in secret at the marriage-feasts. All this was not now sufficiently Western, and what is Western is all the vogue, in spite of so much clamouring about: East is East, and West is West. The Northists look down on these displays with contempt, as relics of a bygone age. They are just good enough for the Southists. Even among the Southists the tradition of the songs and dances survives only with the poorer sort; few among them now know the songs by heart, though most of them are in print. Oh, how I wished that night to see the whole of that band of executants, some twenty lusty men, carried across the Red Sea to Rome, to the Missions Exhibition at the Vatican (1925)! How it would have brought home to Christian Europe the primitive soul of an ancient Christian people, the Indian children of St. Thomas the Apostle! Alas! it was not to be. The Southists are a poor community, compared with the Northists, and the Northists laughed at the notion till the Southists lost heart. What would have been a triumph for the Southists was represented as folly, which would expose to mockery and ridicule all the St. Thomas Christians. Such is this pleasant, pushing, retrograde world of ours.

⁸⁷ Spreading cloth on the road for the bishops to walk along is one of the seventy-two privileges granted to the Syrian Christians by the overlord of Malabar (Chêramân Perumâl). The privilege is exercised even to-day.—T.K.J.

⁸⁸ This hymn to St. Thomas sung in 1599 must be different from the extant hymn of 1732, called *Mārgam-Kali Song*. The St. Thomas hymn of Menezes' days also has to be discovered. T.K.J.

Gouvea, as we have seen, refers to songs about the ancestors. We think of the songs of Thomas Cana. Roz (1604) has the date 345 for the arrival of Thomas Cana. We think of the chronogram 'Śōvāla' (345) contained in III. 40. Doubtless, there were songs about Villiyarvattam, the king of the Christians, of whom one authority writes that the Christians elected him, a non-Christian, in A.D. 825, the first year of the Quilon or Malabar era. By adoption his kingdom passed to the king of Diamper, and from Diamper to Cochin. I remember reading that the boys of the Jesuit College of Cochin in the beginning of the seventeenth century acted with great success and enormous applause the tragedy of Villiyarvattam. If played in Portuguese the first time, it was surely translated into Malayalam and repeated at the chief Churches. Who will discover it? Such a composition supposes that the chief traditions were collected for the occasion.

The specimens of Christian songs here presented by Mr. T. K. Joseph will reveal, I doubt not, a new world to our scholars. They will not rest satisfied with so little. Volumes could be filled with the Christian poetry of Malabar. Let us have more of it. Too long have we been ignorant of it. It contains the history, the traditions, the legends of Christian Malabar, of its Churches and their Saints; it holds the customs, folk-lore, aspirations, triumphs, sorrows of its people.

Never was I more surprised, nor Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, the Agent of Travancore and Cochin, either, than when, driving from Ernakulam to Kottayam on January 16, 1924, we met at Katutturutti a young man, E. I. Chandy of Pallam, who stopped the car to show some of the specimens of the inscriptions, songs and legends which he had been collecting during the past two years. How he managed to make his living with that we wondered. I took him as my companion during the greater part of my tour to the Churches. He filled pages and pages wherever he went with more inscriptions, more songs, more legends. Everywhere he had to say he would come back and take it all down at greater leisure. If I was an enthusiast, he was not less so. What will become of all his collections? As long as they are not made accessible in English, they are lost to most of us. [The Kerala Society will examine them.—T.K.J.]

Much more remains to be done for Thomas Cana before we exhaust the theme. (1) The Malabar MSS. and printed histories may contain many valuable details not yet brought together. All the passages referring to Thomas Cana in the Malabar historians should be compared, after which we may compare them with what Portuguese, Dutch, French and English historians have written. (2) The various local versions of the privileges granted to Thomas Cana must be translated and compared. During my tour, I was presented with such a paper by the Vicar, Fr. Michael Nilavarêt of Gôturutti, in which the Yavana ships were mentioned to my exceeding surprise, and several of the Seven Churches, among them Chayal, if I recollect well, were attributed to Thomas Cana. At Muttam we were told of another version. Shortly after, when I had left, Fr. J. C. Panjikaran and Mr. T. K. Joseph started collecting more of these versions and in a short time they obtained more than a dozen. (3) The songs of the hereditary bards, the Calicoulam Viradians, who for a remuneration and in obedience to the behests of Chêramân Perumâl, as the legend goes, sing at the house of the Syrians the privileges of Thomas Cana, must be published. (4) My translation of Du Perron's translation of 4 *ollas* of privileges granted to Thomas Cana⁹⁹ will be published with the collaboration of Mr. T. K. Joseph. (5) Besides the *Ancient Songs*, Kottayam, 1910, most of which calls for translation, there are others, unpublished, on a variety of subjects, all of which, unless collected now, is bound to be lost.

(To be continued.)

⁹⁹ In fact Du Perron's translation is a summary of the contents of five out of the seven copper-plates of the Quilon Tarisâ Church, c. 880 A.D., with a translation of the utterly incorrect popular version of the long lost copper-plates of Thomas Cana (345 A.D.). Du Perron's translation with my comments will be published soon in the *Journal* of the Kerala Society, which was founded on 26th September, 1927, with headquarters at Trivandrum, with the object of promoting research and advancing the study of the History and Archaeology and Folklore, Art, Language and Literature of Malabar.—T.K.J.

NOTES ON CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

By SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt.

(Continued from page 96.)

H. Gambling Counters or Jetons.

The Siamese Porcelain tokens give an instance of the use of gambling counters as actual currency, but in Burma I collected a large number of jetons, which were metal counters made in the form of coins for gambling purposes only. These I gave to the British and other Museums (Fitzwilliam at Cambridge, Edinburgh, Hull, Brighton, etc.), and reproduced about fifty of them on two Plates (IV and V) in the hope of getting further information regarding them, which has never been fulfilled.

An examination of Plates IV and V shows that the first sixteen figures are obviously of Chinese origin and are in fact imitations of "cash". Figs. 17 and 18 are imitations of Fig. 16, which probably had a definite position as to value. Figs. 19 to 22 are marked for value, as Fig. 19 has ten circles on it, and Fig. 20 has twelve circles. Fig. 21 has six punch marks and Fig. 22 several special punch marks.

Figs. 23 to 31 appear to form a group, of which Figs. 23 to 28 are differentiated by signs of the Zodiac. Fig. 29 has *khū* on it, and Figs. 30 and 31 seem to represent some special value.

All the above are on Plate IV and are all in the form of coins. In fact Figs. 1 and 2 are brass "cash". Figs. 3 to 31 are of lead and have blank reverses, except when the plate shows otherwise, and that they were thought in some cases to have been coins is shown by a note I made as to the figures on Plate IV, viz., that I was told they were lead coins used in gambling belonging to different *daings* (gambling-house keepers) to prevent cheating. Their Burmese name is *k'èlèt'mà* and their Talaing name is *akūlèt'mà* (*akū* in Talaing meaning lead + Burmese termination). The value given them was *mū-mat*, a quarter of a *mū* (see *ante*, vol. XXVI, pp. 319-320). This last term was given me in Talaing as *mū-māu* (*mū* being Burmese), or *mū-mé* (*mé* = *mat*)⁵⁹.

The figs. 32 to 46 on Plate V are all of copper and are irregular in shape and more definitely counters and not coins. Figs. 32, 33, 38, 39 and 40 have a "cash" hole in them. Fig. 34 is punched with one eight-pointed star in one sample and with four similar stars in two other samples. Fig. 37 has a large eight-pointed star in the centre on both sides. Figs. 39 and 40 are cut with five six-pointed stars each, and fig. 38 has four groups of marks punched on it. The whole group seems to be marked so as to represent value.

Fig. 35 has one small central punch mark, and fig. 36 a central and four sets of three marks each punched on it round the rim. Here again value seems to be represented.

Figs. 43 to 46 form a specially shaped group. Fig. 46 is blank. Fig. 43 has *thwá* or *ngabí* punched on it, and on its reverse are punched the marks on fig. 44, which are a circle and *ngàn* four times round the rim. Fig. 45 has *ngàn* punched four times round the edge: all this apparently to show value.

Figs. 41 and 42 are again of peculiar shape: fig. 41 with several cuts on it, and fig. 42 with a cross cut on it.

Little as they look like it, all these pieces were stated to me to have been originally British pice or copper quarter-anna pieces, hammered out so as to be defaced and then marked by the *daings* to prevent cheating.

According to my notes, the game played forty years ago in Burma was called *khèpyit kazā*, and was played with pice, i.e., any small coin. The players marked on the ground thus:—

O	a hole called a <i>kwín</i> :
_____	a line called <i>kán</i> : <i>ṣṭ</i> :
space	a line called <i>kyán</i> : <i>ṣṭ</i> :

⁵⁹ I may note here that fig. 47 is a silver stippled peacock rupee of Mindón Min, and figs. 48 and 49 copper coins—all noted elsewhere: fig. 48 is a smaller denomination of fig. 49.

There are two or more players and each has coins called *ngôn*, and they all have to squat, behind the lines *kyânđi*. The first player throws all the *ngôn* beyond the line *kânđi*. The next player points out to him one of them to be hit, and the first player tries to hit it with a coin. If he hits he wins all the *ngôn*. If he misses, the second player plays, and so on till the *ngôn* pointed out is hit. If a player hits another coin than that pointed out, that player has to add one to the lot (*ngôn*) played for. If a pice falls short of the *kânđi* it is doubled, and both thrown over the *kânđi* and added to the stake.

The use of the hole (*kwin*) is that whoever puts a pice into it, gets it. To play the game was called *twêbônđi*.

I. Metal Charms.

Certain charms, which are called *sak* by the Shâns, are readily mistakeable for coins. They are small silver engraved discs and existed all over Upper Burma, let in under the skins of braves and heroes, and especially of dacoits. They were usually charms against injury and death, and are of the size and appearance of the one-pè silver piece. Two from the body of a deceased Shân I gave long ago to the British Museum. They were very roughly inscribed in a manner that will not bear mechanical reproduction on paper and may be described as follows. Weight and size are of a one-pè silver piece.

No. 1. Obverse: a *chindê* and in dog-Pâli, *sihó siha áhum* (popularly pronounced *híhò híhâ áhân*), I am a lion of lions. Reverse: (the figure) 3. This stands for the day of the week, Tuesday, the emblem of which is a *chindê*, referring probably to the deceased's birthday.

No. 2. Obverse: the figure of a hermit (Skr. *śhī*, Burmese *yañé*). Reverse in dog-Pâli, *indriyānāṃ paró paré* (popular pronunciation *éndriyānām-payò payé*), the desires of this (side) are on that (side). This is a popular Buddhist formula, meaning "the extinction of desires," i.e., *nirvāna*.

I subsequently secured 30 specimens of precisely the same description taken from under the skin of a deceased Burmese dacoit leader, who died in Port Blair, Andaman Islands during a sentence of penal servitude, and these, too, have gone to the British Museum.

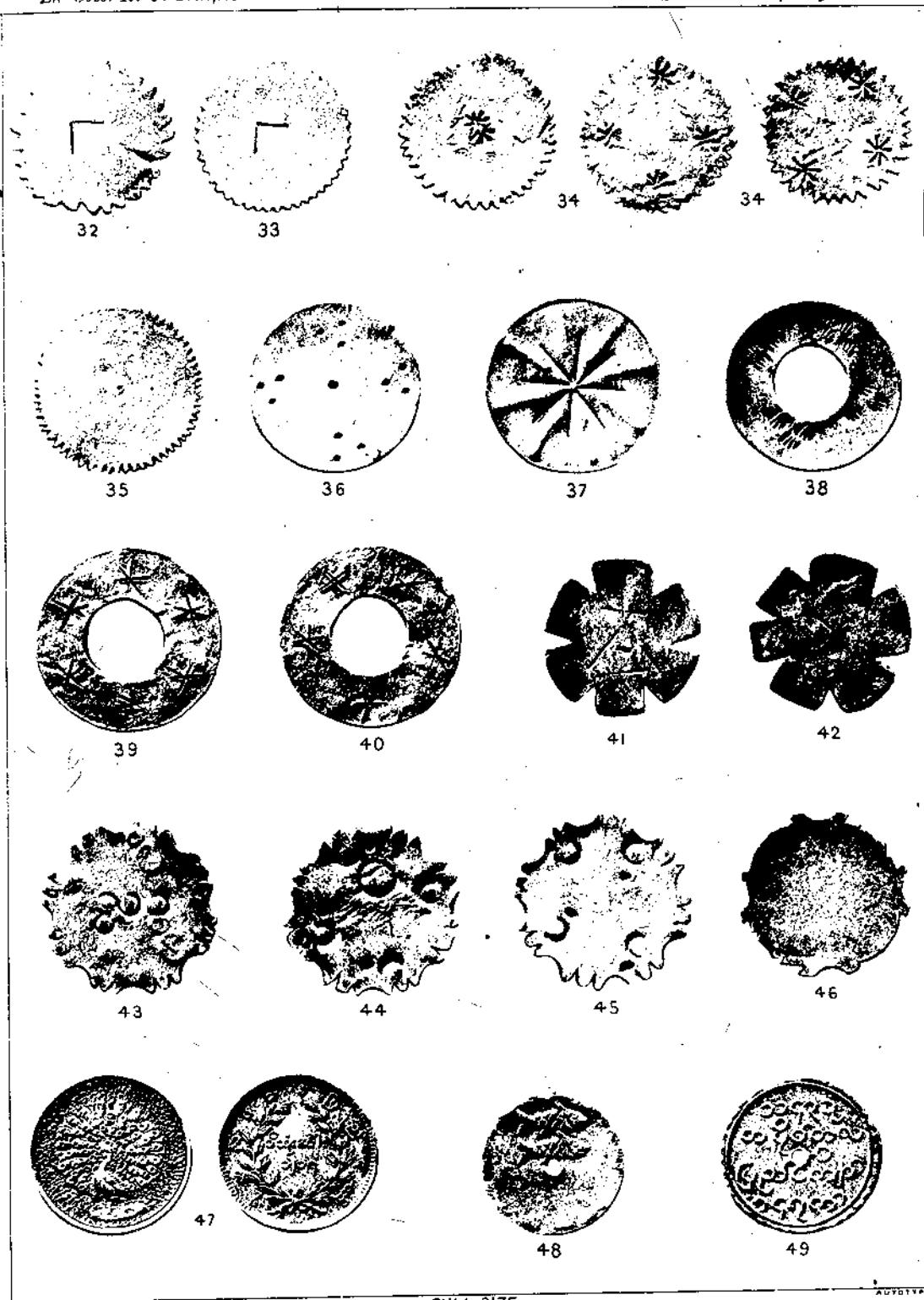
Colquhoun, *Across Chryse*, vol. II, p. 175, has a representation of a Chinese "cash" silvered over and used as "Chinese ornaments," and says that the inscription means "happiness like the Eastern ocean" and "longevity like the Southern Mountain." No doubt these 'coin' ornaments were charms.

Such charms have been noted by other travellers. E.g., Malcom (*Travels in South Eastern Asia*, vol. I, *Burman Empire*, 1839, p. 219) says: "A few individuals, especially among those who have made arms a profession, insert under the skin of the arm, just below the shoulder, small pieces of gold, copper, or iron, and sometimes diamonds or pearls. One of the converts [to Christianity] at Ava, formerly a colonel in the Burman army, had ten or twelve of these in his arm, several of which he allowed me to extract. They are thin plates of gold, with a charm written upon them, and then rolled up."

Again, Anderson (*Mandalay to Momié*, 1876, pp. 409-10) says:—"The *tsitkay-nekandaw*, or depnty, from Bhamo . . . afforded a curious illustration of a custom mentioned by Colonel Yule. The upper part of his cheeks was disfigured by large swellings, caused by the insertion under the skin of lumps of gold, to act as charms to procure invulnerability. Yule mentions the case of a Burmese convict executed at the Andaman Islands, under whose skin gold and silver coins were found. The stones referred to in the text of Marco Polo, as well as the substances mentioned in the note by his learned editor, do not appear to have been jewels. The custom prevails among Yunnan muleteers of concealing precious stones under the skin of the chest and neck, a slit being made, through which the jewel is forced. This, however, is not to preserve the owners' lives, but their portable wealth. While at Mandalay, I examined some men just arrived from Yung-chang, and found individuals with as many as fifteen coins and jewels thus concealed, as a precaution against the robbers who might literally



FULL-SIZE.



FULL-SIZE.

ANTIQUARY

Gambling Counters from Burma.

strip them to their skin, without discovering the hidden treasure. But our Burmese official regarded his disfiguring gold as a certain charm against danger."

And Holt Hallett writes (*A Thousand Miles on an Elephant*, 1890, p. 138):—"Some dacoits let in talismans under the flesh, and precious stones are carried about in the same manner. The talismans are mystical incantations inscribed on gold, silver, lead, pebbles, pieces of tortoise-shell, or even horn. It is not at all uncommon to meet a Shan with several knobs on his chest, concealing the talismans that he has inserted as charms to render him proof against bullet and sword. There is perhaps not a man in the country who does not carry about with him one or more charms; some string them like beads and wear them as necklaces."

In Colquhoun's *Across Chryse* (vol. I, p. 291) there is a drawing of a charm made out of Chinese cash by stringing them together in the form of a sword, and the author adds that "some lads in the police canoe we noticed wore silver bands round the neck" as charms against sickness. On p. 420 he gives us a drawing of what he calls "a knife-like charm, which consists of a Chinese cash with a knife-like handle attached to it in the fashion of ancient Chinese tokens [such as are depicted by Terrien de Lacouperie in his *Catalogue*]." Here again we have evidence of articles which can be used both as money and as charms, and it must not be supposed that all the objects worn as charms and capable of use as money or currency were so used. I myself procured some gold "peacock" charms in Mandalay worn round the neck by the children of Pōnnās, or Manipūris, resident in Mandalay and Upper Burma. They were never used for any other purpose, so far as I could ascertain.

The use of the above objects—which are metallic and have the appearance of coins—as money, comes about in the same way as the use of non-metallic objects of domestic use as currency. I have explained this subject at length already in the course of these 'Notes', but there is one more instance, which it is worth while to give here, to keep the matter in mind. In the *Journal of the United Service Institution of India*, 1893, vol. XXII, p. 258, in a translation by E. Beard from the Russian *Short Account of the Khanates of Bokhara and Khiva* occurs the following instructive passage:—"The inhabitants of Darwāz plant mulberry trees and the mulberry is almost their sole means of subsistence. In summer they eat it raw and in winter in a dried state in the form of flour out of which they make a kind of *chupāti*. Their dress they obtain by bartering the mulberry for rough matting and sheepskins and even their taxes are paid with the mulberry. In fact the mulberry is the measure *tubetka*—the currency of Darwāz—and many Darwāzis never know the taste of bread all their lives long. There are fairly heavy rains in summer and the heat ranges about 30° (Réaumur). The winter is severe and bracing. In a word the climate of Darwāz is very healthy, but the people being absolutely without nourishing food are poor, thin and short lived."

J. King Mindon's Mint.

Whence Mindōn Min obtained his dies I was never able to ascertain for certain. Fytche, *Narrative of the Mission to Mandalay*, 1887, House of Commons, *Papers relating to British Burma*, No. 251 of 1868—1869, p. 48, states:—"The Mint was visited, where the coinage of Rupees was going on. The machinery was procured from Birmingham, but although the engine is under the direction of an African, the actual operations of smelting and coining are performed by Burmans. They state that they can coin about 15,000 rupees per diem, but this seemed a large out-turn for a small machine, there being only one die at work." This die might, however, have come from Calcutta, London or Paris. A correspondent of the *Rangoon Gazette* in 1892 wrote:—"In the Indian Museum at Calcutta is a collection of the local mint issues: and among them are splendid specimens of these coins [of Mindōn Min], evidently mint samples. This I think settles the question [of Mindōn's dies] provisionally."

Goss, *JASB.*, *Procgs.*, 1887, p. 149, stated that Wyon made Mindōn's dies, but neither of the celebrated cousins Wyon, die-sinkers, could on application find a reference in their books to prove that they had made the dies,

The processes in former times for producing silver used for currency have been described by travellers and others. Take for instance the following quotation from Yule's *Mission to Ava*, 1858, p. 260 footnote :—"Colonel Burney [1830] thus describes the process of making *yowet-ni*, which he caused to be performed in his presence by the *pwèzds*. 'They first purified the silver and converted it into *bau*, in which process they contrived to remove some of the metal with the scoriae by the rough tools with which they cleared the top and sides of the boiling silver. The crucible consisted only of a small saucer or mould, which was covered up with charcoal, and occasionally exposed to view, when a piece of plank, one-and-a-half foot long and four inches broad, was used to clean the surface of the silver and prevent the metal from cooling. After the silver was purified, the requisite portion of copper was added, and when the whole was in fusion the saucer was removed from the fire; and whilst the plank abovementioned, which was blazing, was held a little above the metal, so as to allow the flames to play upon it, a little lead was melted in, by being rubbed on the edge of the saucer, and the *pwèzd* then blew through a small bamboo upon the metal, gently and regularly, until he observed the surface cool a little, and show the first lines of the stars or flowers, like milk beginning to cream. If these were not of the form required, he put the crucible into the fire again; if they were, he immediately covered up the metal with three or four folds of cloth, wetted and cut round, so as to fit the top of the crucible. The object of the blazing piece of plank seemed to be to make the silver cool more gradually, and that of the wet cloth to fix the particular star or flower required, the moment the first lines of it appeared, and to prevent any after alteration.' The Burmese said the flowers could not be produced without the lead. Some *khayôbat* was made in like manner. Whilst one *pwèzd* was blowing on the silver the rest held up their *putsôs* around him, to keep the external air from the metal. They fused the silver four times before it showed a good *yowet-ni* flower, and they managed to convert fifteen tikals of ten per cent. *dain* (after adding to it nearly two-and-a-quarter tikals of copper) into a piece of *yowet-ni* of precisely the same weight. (*MS. Notes on Burmese Currency*, in Foreign Office, Calcutta)." See also Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, on coins, weights and measures, where the assay value of these different kinds of silver, forming part of the Burman indemnity, as given, is determined in the Calcutta mint.⁶⁰

Again Anderson (*Mandalay to Momiên*, 1876, p. 44), writes :—"A few are employed in smelting lead [at Bhamo] and others work in gold, or smelt the silver used as currency. To six tickals of pure silver purchased from the Kakhyens [Kachins], one tickal eight annas of copper wire are added, and melted with alloy of as much lead as brings the whole to ten tickals' weight. The operation is conducted in saucers of sun-dried clay bedded in paddy husk, and covered over with charcoal. The bellows are vigorously plied, and as soon as the mass is at a red heat, the charcoal is removed, and a round flat brick button previously covered with a layer of moist clay is placed on the amalgam, which forms a thick ring round the edge, to which lead is freely added to make up the weight. As it cools, there results a white disc of silver encircled by a brownish ring. The silver is cleaned and dotted with cutch, and is then weighed and ready to be cut up."

And Trant (*Two Years in Ava*, 1828, pp. 280-1) says :—"The process of melting is very simple. The bellows is formed of a bamboo, with a hole at the end for the air to pass through, and a bunch of feathers, fitting tight to the cylinder, acts as a piston and forces it out. The forge consists of a little charcoal on a clay fireplace; and one man with the bellows is constantly employed in keeping up the fire, whilst another superintends the fusion of the silver in a crucible. When it is separated from the dross, a portion equivalent to the value of a tical, and a due quantity of alloy, are weighed out, and when melted merely poured from the crucible into a small tray prepared to receive them, where the silver, on being cast out, forms its own shape, and is then constituted a tical."

⁶⁰ For an explanation of the vernacular terms used, see *ante*, vol. XLVIII, pp. 41, ff.

In the neighbouring State of Manipur, West of Burma, the coinage of the country was entirely in *bell-metal*, which is thus described by R. Brown⁶¹ (*Statistical Account of the Native State of Manipur*, 1874, p. 89):—"The only coin proper to the country is of bell metal, and small in size, weighing only about sixteen grains. This is coined by the Raja as required, goods or money being taken in exchange. The metal is obtained chiefly from Burma, and consists of old gongs, etc.; some of it is also procured from the British provinces. The process of coining is very primitive. The metal is first cast in little pellets; these are then softened by fire and placed on an anvil. One blow of the hammer flattens the pellet into an irregularly round figure. A punch with the word 'sri' cut on it is then driven on it by another blow, which completes the process. The market value of the *sel*, as it is called, varies. When rupees are plenty, then *sel* is cheap; when scarce, the opposite. The present value of the coin is 428 to one British or Burmese rupee, and its usual variation is said to be from 420 to 450. There is no evidence whatever of there having been at any time a gold coinage in existence; but it is stated that Chaurjit Singh, about 1815, coined silver of a square form and of the same value and weight as the British rupee. The British and Burmese rupee, both representing the same value, circulate freely; also the smaller silver coins, as four-anna and two-anna pieces. About seven years ago [1867] an attempt was made by the then political agent to introduce copper coinage, and a large quantity was supplied by Government. The experiment totally failed, as the women in the bazars positively refused to have anything to do with it, and the coin had to be returned. The bell-metal coins, in conjunction with rupees and smaller silver coins, are amply sufficient for the wants of the country. Besides coin, bartering articles in the bazar is quite common."

To the East of Burma, in the Shan Country, Watson during his journey (*Journal of the Salween Surveying Expedition*, 1865, p. 10) remarked that "a quantity of lead ore, rich in silver, is found in this neighbourhood. I visited the buildings where ore is smelted. From information obtained on the spot, I ascertained that from 2 to 3 tickals of silver were paid for one basket (about a bushel) of the ore, and that the value of the yield of silver from that quantity was from 3 to 4 tickals. The ore is first smelted in large furnaces, and the lead and silver mixed. That [which] runs out through a funnel at the bottom of the furnace is placed in another furnace in which there is live charcoal, several inches thick. I did not see the metal placed in this furnace, but I was told that about thirty viss had been put in about an hour previously. On looking into the second furnace, a small white speck was visible on the surface of the red-hot charcoal. This gradually enlarged, and I saw a flat piece of silver weighing 10 tickals taken out of the furnace with a long iron spoon. This after a little difficulty I purchased for Rs. 15. The information I obtained regarding the working of the mines and the amount of revenue that the Government obtained therefrom was so contradictory, that I am unable to give an opinion on these points."

Fedden, in the same *Journal*, p. 39, reported as follows: "Kyouktat is a large town or rather overgrown village, and one of the most populous in the [Shan] States. Here there are some smelting works of argentiferous galena that occurs in the limestones and calcareous deposits of this district, but it was impossible to ascertain from the natives the precise localities where it was got. The ore is purchased by the smelter at the rate of two to three-and-a-half tickals of silver (*bau*) per basket measure (about a bushel) of ore, uncleaned, often containing a good deal of rubbish apparently. It must be rich, however, in silver, or this metal could not be extracted by the simple and rude method practised."

"The larger lumps being broken up, the ore is first put into a small cupola or blast-furnace, together with charcoal and a proportion of broken slag. These cupolas are of clay and built upon the ground two-and-a-half or three feet in height, and fourteen to sixteen inches in diameter. Women are employed standing on raised platforms to pump the blast,

⁶¹ I have also gone deeply into this coinage, *ante*, vol. XXVII, pp. 169 ff., 177.

generally two to each furnace. As the sulphur is driven off, the reduced metal accumulates at the bottom of the furnace, and is ladled or rather scraped out from below (the scoriae being removed), into moulds in the ground, where it assumes the form of massive lenticular ingots. When cool and set these ingots are removed to the refining shed, and placed in small reverberatory furnaces, with the fuel—large pieces of charcoal supported on fire-clay bars above the metal, which is thus kept in a fused state for about twenty-four hours. During this time, as the lead becomes oxidized, it is removed by gently revolving over the surface an iron rod around which the lead in the form of litharge solidifies, and as this process is continued, it accumulates in a number of coatings or layers, one upon the other. When all the lead has been thus removed, the silver residue is taken out as a button or plate on an iron ladle. The rollers of litharge have of course to be again reduced, in order to convert them into metallic lead, and there must be a considerable loss of the metal during this as well as the former process.

"The plate of silver obtained is considered pure, and is not used in this state as currency, but is sold to the silver smiths and jewellers, who alloy it with copper and lead, in various proportions.

"The smelter at Kyouktat also buys up the argentiferous and cupriferous lead residue from the silversmiths' forges, and extracts the several metals in his furnaces."

From the following interesting account by Sir John Malcolm in the Central Provinces of India (*Memoir of Central India*, 1823, vol. II, pp. 80, 81 and footnote) it is clear that Far Eastern methods of minting were much the same as the Indian: "There are mints at almost all the principal towns (Oojein, Indore, Bhopal, Pertaubghur, Bhilsa, Gunj Bassowda, Seronge, Kotah) in Central India

"The right of coining is vested in no particular body, or individuals. Any banker or merchant sufficiently conversant in the business, has merely to make application to Government, presenting at the same time a trifling acknowledgement, engaging to produce coin of the regulated standard, and to pay the proper fees on its being assayed and permitted to pass current. Almost all the expense falls on the merchant, the Government retaining in their pay merely the following officers:—a superintendent, an assay-master, and an accountant, and some refiners. Besides their wages, these mint-officers are allowed certain perquisites, which, however, are but very trifling

"The banker or merchant, having obtained permission to coin, and having collected a sufficient number of silversmiths, makes such purchases of coin or other bullion as will turn out most to his advantage. These, being in general baser coins than the new one to be formed, are first brought to the Nearches, or refiner, who, though not a permanent Government officer, has acquired, by agreeing to pay a share of his profits to the latter, a species of contract, the rates of the payment to him, and other dues, being permanently fixed at one rupee for every three hundred and fifty refined, besides supply of fluxes from Government and lead from the merchant. The mode of fining is always by cuppellation with lead: three hundred and fifty rupees are placed at one time in the cuppel, with a certain quantity of lead, according to the standard of the silver used, which by experience he knows will suffice for bringing it to a certain degree of purity, a little higher than that required for the coin. The standard is then nicely adjusted by adding a certain quantity of baser metal. The purified mass is afterwards taken to the melter, who, putting one thousand rupees weight at a time in a large crucible on an iron ring, capable of being raised by attached chains, melts it and runs it into several small flat moulds, about six inches long, and half an inch broad, forming it thus into convenient pieces for cutting into the necessary dimensions. The melter receives for his labour half a rupee per thousand, half of which is paid by the merchant and half by Government. The bars of silver are then delivered to the silversmiths, each of whom has a small raised fire-place and anvil in front close to him. On one side sits another with scales

and shears, for supplying him with square pieces of the metal of nearly the proper weight. On the other side is a person whose business is to adjust the weight more accurately after it has been formed into its shape. The silversmith receives back the small lumps, heats them red-hot, and, taking them up with a pair of small forks, gives them two or three smart blows on the angular points, then strikes the piece flat, and gives it afterwards one or two rapid turns on its edge, accompanied by gentle stroke of the hammer; and it thus receives its rudely round form ready for the die. Before this operation, however, it is taken to another man to clean, by boiling it in a mixture of tamarind and salt. The planchets are then taken to receive the impression or inscription. This is formed by two steel dies; one firmly fixed in a heavy raised block, and the silver piece being placed on it; the other die, in form of a large heavy punch, is placed above by one man, whilst an assistant gives it a smart blow with a heavy hammer; one blow suffices. These men are relieved every two hours.

"The number of rupees being thus completed, they are carried to the assay-master, and, if approved, the fees are paid and the coin taken away by the proprietor, for circulation. If not approved, they must be recoined at his expense; no fees being, however, again taken, but merely a trifle given to the melter for remelting them, with the proper quantity of purer metal to reduce them to the assay touch. Should an extra number of refiners be required on an emergency, they receive the same dues as the others; but, as they have to find their own fluxes, they pay but one quarter instead of half to Government."

It is of interest to reproduce here remarks of my own (*Coins of the Modern Native Chief of the Panjab, Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, pp. 321, ff.):—"Griffin, *Rajas of the Panjab*, in a long footnote extending over pages 286-289 [not quoted], gives the detailed report of General R. G. Taylor, at one time Agent to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab for the Cis-Satluj States, on the mints of those States, which is of much value in connection with this paper, and indeed with the study generally of the methods of Oriental mints. Any one who has entered into Indian or Oriental numismatics generally, must be convinced that, where the European method of minting has not been adopted, Orientals coin now as they have done at any time these 2,000 years. Any knowledge, then, that we can gather now of the working of a genuine Eastern mint will no doubt explain what has occurred in Eastern mints as a rule since the days that coins began to be used.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

THE NWESHIN.

The *Journal* of the Burma Research Society, vol. XVI, pt. iii, is entirely taken up with Geology, Zoology, Botany and Engineering, and is not a promising issue for the research to which this *Journal* is devoted. Nevertheless it contains an item of great folklore interest. On p. 213 is a short note on the Nweshin, or the snake that issues from an aquatic plant. It is given here in full.

R. C. TEMPLE.

"The Nweshin, by S. G. Ghose (Department of Agriculture). That animals may originate from plants is a popular belief in Burma. The animal is regarded, not as a metamorphosed plant, but as a portion budded off, the plant remaining as a separate entity. The classical example is that of the charming Princess Padōnmadevi, who issued from a lotus flower (*padōnma*). Again, the *nwēsein* (literally, green snake) is believed to arise from certain creepers, and correspondingly to

differ in its reproduction from the normal type of snake. As evidence, many a person is prepared to swear to having seen a creeper shoot, the outer part of what had already changed into the head and neck of the *nwēsein*, while the remaining portion continued vegetable. Lastly there is the *nwēshin* (literally, live creeper), which is believed to become alive and motile on reaching water. A slightly different version holds that the metamorphosis is not actually effected, the *nwēshin* remaining a creeper but becoming so active as easily to be mistaken for a snake. [Specimens of *nwēshin* submitted for examination were found to belong to the *Phylum Nematelminthes*, Family *Gordiidae*. The habit of this worm of coiling—often in masses—round stems of water-plants and occasionally becoming detached, and of the larval form, hatching its egg-strings wound round water plants and departing in search of its host, afford a ready explanation of the above belief. Editor, *Journal*, Burma Research Society.]

MAN A SUMMARY OF THE UNIVERSE.

Here is something from the West, which may interest students of Indian—especially Yoga—Philosophy. In Miall's translation of Maeterlinck's *The Great Secret*, 1922, p. 216, we read: "The occultists of to-day . . . have gradually succeeded if not in proving, yet in preparing us to accept the proof, that there is in man, whom we may regard as sort of summary of the universe, a spiritual

power other than that which proceeds from his organs or his material and conscious mind: which does not entirely depend on the existence of his body." Pages 210 ff. are also worth reading on this point. The metapsychist argument is that thought can exist and has existed without a brain: there is no such thing as "inert matter"; every thing has energy which can direct movement.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE TIBETAN BOOK OF THE DEAD, according to LAMA KAZI DAWA SAMDUP'S English Rendering by W. Y. EVANS-WENTZ. Oxford University Press, 1927.

This is a most conscientious work on a study of perennial interest to a large world of scholars, as it contains the views on eschatology held by a highly educated Tibetan, which one sees that Indian philosophy has had a large share in forming. It has a characteristic foreword by Sir John Woodroffe, and can be recommended to the attention of those who take up this class of speculation. To such Dr. Evans-Wentz has rendered conspicuous service by publishing it.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE STONE AGE IN INDIA, by P. T. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR; Madras, Government Press, 1927.

This is a reprint of a lecture delivered in 1925. It is divided into two chapters,—I. *The Old Stone Age*, and II. *The New Stone Age*, and contains four plates, reproduced from the late Mr. R. Bruce Foote's *Indian Pre-historic and Proto-historic Antiquities*, and two outline maps indicating palæolithic and neolithic sites, for which some other source also has apparently been tapped.

From consideration of his habits and requirements, Mr. Ayyangar is of opinion that man "most probably rose and grew in the comparatively narrow strip of coast between the jungle and the Indian Ocean," and he evidently regards this conclusion as supported by the geographical distribution of the sites where palæolithic finds have hitherto been made. But the finds in many central localities, e.g., Rajputana and Central India and the basins of the Godavari and Kistna have to be accounted for; and the reasons given for discarding the great river valleys in this connexion are not convincing. Surely Mr. Ayyangar does not really think that an ammonite is a "bone turned into stone" (p. 54) or that the presence of a (possible) *svastika* mark on a pot found near Mysore can tend materially to substantiate intimate cultural and commercial intercourse between India and other countries, having regard to the mass of evidence as to the wide distribution of this sign in early times.

The real interest, however, of the matter contained in this lecture does not lie in the details given of the artefacts of palæolithic and neolithic man in India, but in the views stated under certain of the headings

into which the chapters have been subdivided. While it is true that, in many parts, the village deities propitiated by the lowest stratum of the people are more often goddesses than gods, this hardly indicates a general conclusion "that the family organization which grew in the later palæological sub-periods was matriarchal in character, such as is also proved by the well-known relics of the matriarchate in several corners of modern India." The suggestion as to the meaning of the Vedic term *pañcajanah* is not likely to be accepted. Again, the arguments employed to support the statement that "the wars between the Aryas and the Dasyus, misunderstood by modern students to be due to a war of invasion, were but fights between two opposed cults"—between the "fireless" cult of the phallus and the "fire-cult" of the Indra-Agni worshippers—are not satisfying, though Mr. Ayyangar here calls our attention to a question of absorbing interest, viz., the extent to which the antagonism of religious cults shaped the course of important events in ancient India. It may yet be established perhaps that in such hostility lay the origins of the great war described in the *Mahābhārata*. The subject is one that merits careful study. In regard to languages Mr. Ayyangar is still more iconoclastic. He holds that there is no real difference between the so-called Gaudian spoken dialects of Northern India and the Dravidian languages of Southern India, except that the northern dialects have been much more profoundly affected by Sanskrit. He prefers the name *Niṣāda* (a title long since suggested, but not adopted, by Sten Konow) for the family of languages to which Max Müller's title *Mundā* is now ordinarily applied by linguists. His contention that "all the spoken languages of India (perhaps including the *Niṣāda* dialects, too) are dialects of one family of languages—not the Indo-Germanic family—which may be called Pan-Indian and that they are *desi* in essential structure, and therefore evolved in India in neolithic times, if not earlier" can hardly be treated seriously.

C.E.A.W.O.

LA THÉORIE DE LA CONNAISSANCE ET LA LOGIQUE CHEZ LES BOUDDHISTES TARDIFS.

Thanks to Madame Manziarly and Paul Massonrousel, Professor Sh. Stecherbatsky's able study of the 'Theory of Knowledge and Logic in the time of

later Buddhists, has been made available for French scholars. According to Massonouriel himself the principal merit of this authorised translation belongs to Mme. Manziarly. It is a well written thesis of eighteen chapters under the different headings of time (*kāla*), space (*ākāśa*), knowledge (*pramāṇa*), perception (*pratyakṣa*), imagination (*kalpanā*), particular essence (*sāmānyalakṣaṇa*), the absolute (*paramārthasat*). In chapters 9 & 10 the source and results of perception (*pramāṇa*) are discussed. Chapter 13 is devoted to an examination of the theory of perception in the Brahmanical systems. The theory of reason (*anumāna*), and the necessary relation between ideas (*vyāpti*), negative judgments and the law of contradiction are discussed in chapter 14 and the following chapters.

In the opening pages of the work we are told who are the later Buddhist thinkers. These are Vasubandhu, Dignāga and Dharmakīrti. It is remarked that Vasubandhu's work cannot be ranked as a logical treatise but only a manual of dialectics (*Vādaividhāna*). Still the germs of Dignāga's system are found dissimulated in many passages of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*. But the credit of founding a definite system of logic is given to Dignāga, and it is said that Dharmakīrti gave to this system of Dignāga, a definite form. The treatise under review, though excellent and valuable in different respects, suffers from one defect, namely the time and place of these writers have not been discussed in any place except a short paragraph (on p. 2) which says that both Dignāga and Dharmakīrti were natives of the south and were Brahmins by birth. It is said that when Dignāga wrote his treatise, the principal schools of philosophy had been formulated. For Dignāga opposes the schools of Nyaya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṅkhya and Mīmāṃsa. According to this thesis Dignāga is indebted to Vasubandhu, as Dharmakīrti to Dignāga. There is now the theory of Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar of Madras University that, as Dignāga's system so completely agrees with that propounded in the great Tamil classic *Maṇimēkhalai*, there is every reason to believe that Dignāga might have been indebted to this treatise and its author on historical and chronological grounds. If this were to be established, it would solve the problem of fixing the date of *Maṇimēkhalai*.

The present thesis is valuable in the sense that the different views propounded by the Buddhist writers are comparatively studied with the Vedānta and Mīmāṃsa and other Brahmanical schools. In fundamentals they are not opposed. The Buddhist theory of first knowledge is corroborated by Kumāṛila, who admits different stages preceding the final assimilation of the object by the conscience. Dignāga and Dharmakīrti are said to belong to the school of Yogacharas or pure idealists.

The chapter on the theory of reason is interesting. It does not differ from judgment. The essence and function of syllogism are discussed rather elabora-

tely. The ideas of syllogism and perception are correlative. Thus the treatise offers a careful study of a great subject, and is likely to prove invaluable to students of Indian logic and philosophy.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

TAMIL LEXICON, published under the authority of the University of Madras, vol. I in 3 parts (1924-26), pp. xxv and 632; and vol. II (2 parts so far published) (1926-27), pp. 633 to 952. Printed at the Madras Diocesan Press.

Students of Dravidian languages and philology are now to be found in many universities and in learned societies, and growing attention is being given to the problems of Dravidian antiquities. To these the publication of the *Tamil Lexicon* by the University of Madras should be welcome. Government has been financing the *Tamil Lexicon* Office, started so long ago as 1912 and working under the control of the University of Madras which has appointed a special committee to do this work of supervision. The belated publication of these parts, which constitute about one-third of the whole, and which cover only the vowels and part of the first consonant letter, is all the more welcome. It is expected that the whole book will run to about 3000 pages, and about 100,000 words, and will be completed in about 3 years from now. The plan of the *Lexicon*, explained in a small booklet issued along with the last of the parts under review, is based on a strictly alphabetical arrangement and a transliteration of the words into English, "giving the equivalent pronunciation of Tamil words as written—to help those ignorant of or new to the Tamil alphabet," as otherwise the diversity of the pronunciation of words in the different parts of the country makes a phonetic rendering impossible and only an equivalent of the written words possible. In the compound words, intercalated consonants or semi-vowels resulting from *sandhi* are distinctly shown as in *Onṭu-k-kuṭi*. Compound words are shown in their contracted forms generally; after the English transliteration of each word, the part of speech of the word is indicated in abbreviated form, according to the divisions of English grammar. The derivation is also given in most cases; and in many instances cognate words in the Dravidian languages are given in brackets. The compiling staff takes care to explain that these cognates have only a common Dravidian origin and that they make absolutely no suggestion that either the Tamil words are derived from the other languages or the reverse the case. The avowed object of the *Lexicon* is "to help foreign scholars in their study of Tamil;" and hence the English definitions and meanings of the words are all important and their accuracy and strict grammatical form will determine the reputation and usefulness of the whole work. The English definitions should be such as should be clear, concise and not capable

of being misunderstood. The synonyms given are the commonest in use, where many words or expressions have the same meaning. It may be mentioned, that in a number of instances the English meanings given are not as accurate in their connotation as they might have been made. For illustration we may quote *Oppāṣāram* (p. 594) which bears different meanings, and all of which have not been fully explained; also the word *Kāṇṇu-vāṭṭa* (p. 909) which is not as clearly explained as it might have been. Brief Tamil meanings or equivalents are given following the detailed English renderings; but in the latter parts of those under review more space has been given to the Tamil explanations of the different meanings of each word discussed. In the Tamil meanings given, as is usual, the best known among synonyms are used.

The apparatus of reference, which ought to have accompanied the first part of the first volume, was published along with the next part. It contains a key to the abbreviations of the authorities used and cited and to the words and terms abbreviated, a transliteration table, a list of the meanings of the signs used, particulars of works quoted in the *Lexicon* and the methods adopted in citing quotations. The abbreviations of quotations used denote further details of parts, chapter and verse with regard to the work or edition used. The one feature that is most valuable in the work is the practice of supporting meanings by appropriate quotations from standard and accepted works—the exact method of citing quotations being given in item No. VIII of the Reference Apparatus.

One may very well doubt the utility of mere English transliterations of the Tamil words, without the various phonetic pronunciations also given. But the diversity of such pronunciations is a great obstacle to their being included in all completeness. Foreign words like those absorbed from English, Portuguese, Urdu, Persian, etc., have also been included, particularly those which have become 'Tamilised'—the fact of Tamilisation being judged by the Editors and the Committee. Words with two forms appear in one or both the forms. Names of gods and persons, authors and works, which have become famous in history and literature have also been included. Proverbs in general currency, the peculiar meanings attached to compound words, botanical and technical, Latin and other terms are also given; italicised transliteration is given of Sanskrit and other foreign words.

The work, the first large part of which has thus been published, is a monument of patient and laborious, though very expensive, industry. It is, though not to the extent expected by optimistic minds, an improvement upon the comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary of Miron Winslow published sixty-five years back, which contained upwards of 30,000 words and included the principal astronomical, mythological, botanical, scientific and official terms, besides the names of famous authors, poets, heroes and gods. A syndicate of scholars,

both pandits of the orthodox type and men trained on western lines of criticism and collation, has been sitting at the work for a number of years, assisted by a supervising committee containing a large element of experts in linguistics, philology and the different literatures. The output in its quality may not be regarded as being commensurate with the labour, talents and expense absorbed in the work. The rate of progress, noticed frequently in the public press and elsewhere as being inordinately slow, may be a subject of secondary importance if the output should be very valuable and above criticism; for their quality will make up for lack of quantity. Within the limits set for the work, the standards set up and the work turned out should be judged on their own merits as well as by relation to methods and quality, in comparison with the great lexicons like those of other Rottler, Winslow, Brown and Kittel.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

BULLETIN DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME ORIENT, vol. XXV, Nos. 3-4, July-December, 1925. Hanoi, 1926.

Among several papers of outstanding interest in this issue the first is a detailed description, with text and translation, by Monsieur Louis Finot of twelve inscriptions found at Añkor, mostly dating from the 9th to the 13th century A.D., thus supplementing the work started by Barth in 1885 and continued by Bergaigne and Coedès. As might be expected of this eminent orientalist, the work of editing has been done in a thorough and scholarly manner; moreover it has been prefaced by an admirable Introduction in which are discussed the main features of the history of the period as ascertainable from the available epigraphical and other evidence.

Unfortunately the inscriptions discovered in this locality hitherto, numbering some fifty in all, leave us still in the dark as to the foundation of this wonderful old capital. The only definite record on this subject yet found is the important inscription of Sdok Kak Thom, found about 80 miles from Añkor (*BEFEO*, XV, ii, 89), which tells us that Yaśodharapura (the ancient name of Añkor Thom) was founded by King Yaśovarman (889—c. 910 A.D.) a devotee of Śiva, who erected in the centre of the city the temple then called Yaśodharagiri (the present Bayon) dedicated to the cult of the linga Devarāja. The investigations of M. Finot, it may be noted, have already necessitated a complete reconsideration of the views previously entertained as to the religious history of this celebrated shrine. Upon a fresh examination of the sculptures and surroundings he was led to the conclusion formulated in an article published in 1923, not only that the Bayon was originally a Buddhist temple, but that the city itself was placed under the protection of the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara. It appears to him to be established that when the Bayon became transferred from the cult of Buddhism to that of Śiva, the great bulk at all events of the structure had been completed, including even the central massif, which

one might have been tempted to think had been built by Yaśovarman to enshrine the Devarāja-linga, and to crown as a Śaiva temple the structure commenced by one of his predecessors for the cult of Buddhism. He finds the Bayon to be Buddhist "from top to bottom." M. Finot disposes of the arguments based upon the towers with four faces, which he had himself once suggested to be an architectural interpretation of a *caturmukha līṅga*, by pointing out that this feature is also to be found in temples that were indisputably Buddhist, e.g. at Bantāy Chmar, Bantāy Kdei, Ta Prohm and Ta Som. To Yaśovarman may very probably be assigned the responsibility for the iconoclastic disfigurement by hammer and chisel of the Buddhist figures, which have been camouflaged into Brahmanical *gis* and otherwise. Who, then, was the original founder of the city? M. Finot rejects Yaśovarman's two immediate predecessors—Indravarman, who adhered exclusively to Śaiva doctrines, and Jayavarman III, who was a Vaiṣṇava, and moreover reigned for but an insignificant period. He inclines to the view that it must have been Jayavarman II Parameśvara, "great conqueror and great builder," whose reign attained the extraordinary length of 67 years (802-869 A.D.). The Sdok Kak Thom inscription tells us that he came from Javā to ascend the throne of Cambodia, that he founded and occupied four capitals successively, and that he finally established the cult of Devarāja in order to assert himself as a *cakrapāṇin* sovereign, independent of Javā, till then suzerain over Cambodia. The Javā from which he came was, according to M. Finot, in all probability the Malay Peninsula, dependent at that time on the Sumatran kingdom of Śrīvijaya, the history of which from the latter half of the 7th to the 15th century A.D. has been so skilfully unveiled by the researches of M. Gabriel Ferrand (*L'Empire Sumatranais de Śrīvijaya*). That Añkor Thom does not figure among the capitals founded by Jayavarman II is explained by the fact that the author of the inscription wished it to be thought that Yaśovarman had established it.

In spite of the pre-eminence of Jayavarman II and the great length of his reign, not a single inscription dating from his sovereignty has hitherto been found; a fact which seems to suggest that the iconoclasm wrought under subsequent kings was not confined to images. The earliest epigraphical record dates from the time of Yaśovarman. It is greatly to be hoped that further exploration by such zealous and competent workers may yet lead to the discovery of other records that may elucidate the history of this old site.

Among the inscriptions now transcribed attention may be drawn to No. IV, which supplies further information as to the genealogy of Rājendravarman; No. X, which tells of an expedition of Jayavarman VII to Campā, and of an invasion of Cambodia by the king of Campā; and No. XI, which gives us the date of the accession of Jayavarman VII and the names of the four succeeding kings.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE INDO-EUROPEANS, by JARL CHARPENTIER. Two lectures delivered at the School of Oriental Studies, 10th and 17th June, 1925, and published in its *Bulletin*.

These very important lectures on a subject of the first consequence to students of antiquity rescuscitate the belief—once held to be settled—that the Indo-Europeans sprang from Central Asia, East of the Caspian Sea. Since that conclusion was arrived at, others have sprung up, ascribing the origin of the Indo-Europeans to various parts of Europe—Southern Russia being the most favoured locality. Professor Charpentier gives reasons for believing that the searcher has to fall back on Comparative Philology as the determining method of settling the question. Archaeology has failed to show that the culture of very early times could have originated with one people only, whose racial and linguistic connections are known; and History commences too late. It is on Comparative Philology, therefore, that Professor Charpentier concentrates his attention and his criticism of the various efforts of scholars.

With extreme caution he sets to work to establish the "names (p. 152) of natural phenomena, of animals, plants, artificial objects, etc., which "were "to be found in the original Indo-European language, and may consequently have existed in the names of the Indo-Europeans," though "the results are not very far-reaching. But they are, according to my [Charpentier's] opinion, quite sufficient for allowing us to arrive at certain conclusion." He shows, by a consideration of the names that have come down in history, that, whosoever they were, the fathers of the Indo-Europeans lived in a mountainous country with a temperate climate, but they did not know the use of fish or shell-fish. They used the horse, however, for riding, and knew of the birch, willow and fir among trees, but had no knowledge of fruit-trees and vegetables. They probably could crush corn, and yet had no acquaintance with salt. This was because they probably lived chiefly on meat and milk, and thus led a nomadic life, being no agriculturists. They seem to have dressed in skins and woollen stuffs only, and these they got from animals. They dwelt in "house-urns" or in "dug-outs" under ground. They had bows and arrows and, oddly enough, good carts and wagons. They were in fact a nomadic people with considerable power of rapid movement.

Their religious ideas were undeveloped and their social institutions were patriarchal, the blood-feud, however, being a well-developed institution. They had a cult of the spirits of their ancestors, which were nevertheless not usually malignant or blood-thirsty, and they worshipped the great powers of Nature, especially "the vault of heaven." They possessed neither temples nor idols, but worshipped their gods by simple flesh sacrifices and gifts spread-out on the grass."

Having enumerated such facts as the above, Professor Charpentier opines: "What has been said (p. 159) may still be sufficient to convey the

impression of a people living in a temperate climate where snow and ice were at times to be known, and surrounded by the animals which are still found in such a zone of the earth. Also the few trees which are proved by etymology to have existed in those surroundings—viz., the birch, the willow and the fir tree—are such that are usually met with in countries with a rather severe climate." Keeping in mind that the Indo-Europeans were a nomadic people probably roaming over very large areas," Professor Charpentier states that their home "has to be looked for (p. 160) either in Asia or in Europe: no other continent could in earnest be taken into consideration, nor has this, to my knowledge at least, ever been done." Then, after considering the various parts of the Europeo-Asiatic continent, which have been held to be the original home of the Indo-Europeans, Professor Charpentier arrives at the conclusion that the only region containing the necessary qualifications lies in the Central Asian plains. "No part of Asia (p. 164) answers quite to this description, except the regions to the East of the Caspian Sea, which are generally called Central Asia, with the neighbouring plains of Turkestan, where formerly conditions of living were far easier than now-a-days. . . . They were probably near neighbours of the Mongolians, Huns, etc., tribes who led the same mode of life."

Professor Charpentier then considers the migrations of the people West, South-west and South, and also to the Eastwards. Here he has a remarkable passage worth quoting (p. 165): "Finally at the end of the third pre-Christian century, a Chinese Emperor had to begin the building of the famous wall, which was to protect his subjects from the inroads of the northern and western barbarians. It has been said, with a certain amount of truth, that the erection of this protective wall did strongly influence the later fates of the Roman Empire. For now the turbulent elements of the interior of Asia were driven to resort to the southern and western areas of expansion, and the result of their furious onslaughts were soon felt both in Iran, India and throughout the western world." The Professor then considers later migrations from the 2nd century B.C. onwards "a migration (p. 166) which spread like the ripples of a wave over great parts of the Asiatic, and, at times, even the European Continent." Lastly he goes into the question of various other early migrations.

Personally, I am glad of these lectures, for I have always felt that the only safe assumption for the Aryan migrations into India and Europe was that they must have started from Central Asia, East of the Caspian. With that assumption as a base the argument is straightforward and comparatively easy. With the assumption that the original moving tribes came from somewhere in Europe—even from South Russia—the argument is obscured and difficult.

Professor Charpentier has apparently ruled Legend out of his purview as a possible support of his

theory, apparently because the evidence available must clearly be literary and so too late. But legends—though necessarily now literary—refer back to the very earliest times, as they always relate fundamentally what the ancestors thought. I cannot but help thinking that, if one could go back far enough, they might help in solving the difficulty of such a question as that of Indo-European origins. Let me give an illustration. For years I have been investigating the widely spread belief that it is possible to attain immortality for the body by drinking of the well, pool, fountain or river of life. I can trace it to the earliest known Semitic and Babylonian times, but of course only after the peoples had become considerably civilised. I find it spread all over Europe and Asia as far as Central Asia and India, and also wherever the Jewish, Christian, Muslim or Hindu Religions have had influence. But it does not appear, from such evidence as I have so far, in China or in the countries dependent on Chinese religion, as distinguished from the forms of Buddhism there current and acquired from Central Asia and India. Now, if it be true, as has been asserted, that the Chinese came originally from Central Asia, then the above fact—assuming it to be correct and unassailable—would go to show that the original Indo-Europeans and the original Chinese were once—as Professor Charpentier infers—neighbouring nomads and racially separate tribes. It must be here remembered also that there is a fundamental difference in religious instinct, between the Indo-European and the Chinese. The Semitic and the Indo-European races are imbued with the idea of a universal God, but the Chinese have no such instinct. This fundamental instinct exists in spite of the ancestor-worship and the worship of Heaven, which is characteristic of both. It may be useful to investigate this point, which has struck the present writer forcibly whenever he has investigated the beliefs of tribes traceable to a common origin with the Chinese.

I observe that Professor Charpentier remarks (p. 158) that "it seems to be a legitimate conclusion that the Indo-Europeans had a cult of the spirits of their ancestors, though they did not, as a rule, consider the dead as malignant and blood thirsty beings, as is, e.g., the case of the non-Aryan tribes of India." And again he says (p. 159) that the Indo-Europeans "worshipped the spirits of their dead ancestors, who were, at times, undoubtedly considered to be rather dangerous customers, but who were, on the other hand, never looked upon in the same way as that crowd of malignant and blood-loving ghosts that are haunting jungle and village over the greater part of India." In these remarks I heartily agree. Degrading practices, often put down by the unobservant to Hinduism as a religion, are in truth but superstitious grafts acquired from the primitive or surrounding non-Aryans or from non-Aryan converts to Hinduism—the eclectic nature of that religion rendering it peculiarly liable to such acquisitions.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE GĀYDĀNR FESTIVAL IN THE SHAHABAD DISTRICT, BIHAR.

By C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, C.S.I.

A FESTIVAL held in the month of Kārtik in which cattle play a leading part is widely prevalent in Northern India ; the rites observed vary in different parts. A striking feature of the observances, at all events in Bihār and in parts of Bengal, is that the cattle are incited to gore or worry to death a pig, or else they are made to chase a mock pig, made by stuffing a bag or blanket with chaff or straw. In these provinces it is essentially a festival of the Ahīrs, or cowherding folk, a caste which is now practically confined to Northern and North-Central India. The Abhīras, or Ābhīras, from whom they take their name, were in very early times settled in the West, particularly in the area extending from Gujarāt to the Panjāb. According to Sir A. Baines,¹ "The leading tribes seem to have been of western origin, and are supposed to have entered India long after the Vedic Ārya." The author of the *Periplus* places Aberia inland from Surāṣṭra and the Gulf of Kacch. Ptolemy places it above Patalênê (i.e., the delta of the Indus). Varāhamihira locates the Abhīras in the south-western and southern divisions. They were powerful in the very early days in the west, about Gujarāt, and in the Satpura region ; and later on, it would seem, in the mid-Gangetic basin as far north as the lower tracts of what is now Nepāl. One of the most peculiar features of the festival as observed in Shāhābād, and as described in the sequel below, is the eating of the pig after it has been killed. It is not a case of the wild boar, the flesh of which is relished by so many tribes and castes that are accustomed to the chase (among whom the Ahīrs, moreover cannot be classed) : the pig in question is a village pig, the flesh of which is only eaten ordinarily by the most despised castes, regarded by all orthodox Hindūs as quite outside the pale, and between whom and the Ahīrs there is a wide gap. Is this feature of the observances, then, a relic from the distant past ? The wide area over which this, or a closely related, festival is held seems also to point to a remote origin. Can any suggestion be made as to its provenance ? Is it an offshoot of the widely-spread primitive belief in the fertilizing power of blood ? Why has the pig been chosen as the (sacrificial ?) victim ? Does it merely represent the wild animal that was once a serious danger to man and his crops ? Why, further, are cattle selected to be the agents in the killing ? These, and other, questions may be asked.

I have not been able so far to trace many published references to this festival. A few are quoted in the paragraphs below, as well as some of the most authoritative views on the status of the Ahīrs.

Francis Buchanan, in his statistical survey of the Gorakhpur district, compiled in 1813-14, makes the following reference to the Ahīrs, in that district² :—"They are reckoned a pure tribe ; but even Kayasthas will not drink water from their house, although any Brahman will employ them to carry his vessels filled with water. On the day of the Dewali, they eat tame pork ; and on all occasions, such as are not of the sect of Vishnu, eat the wild hog. Their purohīts are pure Brahmans".

Sherring writes³ :—"Commonly the Ahīrs are regarded as Sudras." On the other hand, he classes them among the 'Mixed Castes and Tribes.' Crooke⁴, in his description of the Ahīrs in the (now) United Provinces says they are "all Hindus, but are seldom initiated into any of the regular sects They are served by Brāhmans of all the ordinary priestly classes."

Mr. R. V. Russell, in his very interesting account of the Ahīrs in the Central Provinces,⁵ notes :—"Though the Ahīr caste takes its name and is perhaps partly descended from the

¹ Baines, *Ethnography* (Grundriss Series), p. 56.

² Martin's *Eastern India*, II, 467.

³ *Tribes and Castes*, I, 334.

⁴ *Tribes and Castes of the N.W.P. & O.*, I, 63.

⁵ *Tribes and Castes of the C.P.*, II, 23.

Abhīra tribe, there is no doubt that it is now and has been for centuries a purely occupational caste, largely recruited from the indigenous tribes."

In Bihār, the fact that their position in the social order has not been definitely established is clear from the discussions on the subject at conferences of the caste held from time to time in comparatively recent years. They have on several occasions claimed to be classed as Kṣatriyas, and entitled to wear the sacred thread. While at least on one occasion, at a conference held in the Bhāgalpur district some fourteen or fifteen years ago, it was resolved that the Ahirs were not Śūdras, but Vaiśyas. Further to the east and south-east we meet, no doubt, with Ahirs, or Goālās, as they are usually called in those parts, of obviously lower origin. In Bihār proper, and more especially perhaps in the area to which the following account relates, the Ahirs are ordinarily regarded as good Hindūs; and they would warmly resent being called Śūdras. These Ahirs as a general rule lead an orthodox life; and, except on the occasion of this particular festival, I have never heard of their eating village pig. There are scores of proverbs in the Bihār vernaculars referring to the Ahir and his proclivities. The allusions are generally confined to his thieving propensities, his quarrelsomeness and his dullness of intellect, which are the traits most commonly assigned to him. There is no suggestion of his aboriginal descent. In the Bhojpur country the Ahirs are chiefly famous for carrying a very long and heavy *lāṭhī* (bamboo staff) and for their addiction to theft. Their reputation has given rise to a well-known saying current in the vernacular, which may be translated thus:— "Don't go to Bhojpur. If you go, don't eat. If you eat, don't go to sleep. If you sleep, don't feel for your purse: if you do, don't weep [it will not be there!]."

John Christian, in his *Bihar Proverbs*, makes a reference⁶ to the festival which is the subject of this paper, and the object of which, he writes, "is to make the cow dance." He spells the local name गेडा, as if it meant a 'row (or herd) of cows'; but the correct spelling in the local dialect is गायडाँड़. Risley, in his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, also refers to a similar festival,⁷ which he describes as follows:—"At the time of the Sankrānti on the last day of Kārtik, October-November, a pig is turned loose [i.e., by the Goālās] among a herd of buffaloes, who are encouraged to gore it to death. The carcass is then given to Dosidhs to eat. The Goālās or Ahirs, who practise this strange rite, aver that it has no religious significance, and is merely a sort of popular amusement. They do not themselves partake of any portion of the pig." Risley's date for the festival, which is not connected with the *sankrānti*, is incorrect. Crooke would appear not to have observed the occurrence of this festival himself, but he refers to Risley's and Christian's accounts in his *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*,⁸ and in his *Tribes and Castes of the N.W.P. & O.*,⁹ respectively. In *Folk-Lore* for 1917, he refers to a *Madras Museum Bulletin* describing a ceremony in Southern India, when a pig is buried up to the neck in a pit at the entrance to the village, and all the village cattle are driven over its head. The practice appears to form part of a complex rite intended to propitiate Peddamma, possibly a chthonic deity, who controls cholera and small-pox. In vol. XV of the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University (pp. 201-03), reference is made to the practices followed by Goālās, and Kurmīs, in the Rājshāhī and Mānbhūm districts of Bengal, which would seem to be very similar to the Bihār ceremonies.

The season of the year when the festival is held must also be noted. It is the time when the hard labour of ploughing and preparing the fields for the cold weather crops has ordinarily been finished.¹⁰ In fact the ceremony was once explained to me as being of the nature of a

⁶ *Bihar Proverbs*, pp. 52-53.

⁷ *Tribes and Castes*, I, 290.

⁸ *Popular Religion and Folk-lore* (1896 ed.), II, 298.

⁹ *Tribes and Castes of the N.W.P. & O.*, I, 334.

¹⁰ Compare also the references to the pig as the embodiment of the corn spirit, and as a sacrificial victim in Sir J. Frazer's *Golden Bough* (*passim*).

treat given to the cattle after the completion of their toil in ploughing and harrowing the fields. However, though agricultural seasons largely govern the times for pilgrimages and other rites and ceremonies, the reasons for their observance exist independently of the seasons recognized as suitable for their performance.

Nowhere, perhaps, is this festival kept with greater zest and thoroughness than in the north of the Shâhâbâd district, the land of the Bhojpuris, where the Ahîrs are numerically the strongest caste. I append an English translation of a description of the festival as held in this area, written in Hindi by a resident thereof—a highly educated and orthodox Hindû gentleman—in the hope that it may elicit further information as to the occurrence of similar or analogous practices in other parts of India, and perhaps evoke some suggestions as to the origin and significance of the custom.

Translation.

Gokriṛā, Gāyḍānr or Gāyḍārh.

This festival is observed on the first day of the bright half of Kārtik.¹¹ The correct Sanskrit name is *Gokriṛā*.¹² Under this name the festival is in vogue in all parts of Bhāratavarṣa; but in Bihār, and particularly in Bhojpur, it is called *gāyḍānr* or *gāyḍārh*. Early on that day the *annakūṭ*¹³ feast is observed, and *gobardhan pūjā*¹⁴ is performed. After mid-day, *gopūjā* having been completed, the *gokriṛā* feast is held, and the *gāyḍānr* commences. This festival is kept with great enthusiasm by the Gwālās or Ahîrs. It is generally understood to be a festival peculiar to this caste; but all the Hindûs take part in it. At noon on that day cakes made of pulse and rice-milk are eaten. In the Gwālās' houses ordinary sweetmeats (*amarpīṭhā*)¹⁵ are cooked. About mid-day all the Gwālās, having eaten and drunk plentifully, take big, red, polished sticks and turn out their cows and buffaloes, after gaily bedecking them, each desiring that his cow or buffalo, as the case may be, should look the best. In the way of an exhibition of cows and buffaloes the sight is a very pretty one, and spectators attend in large numbers to look on. After they have assembled on the ground they purchase and bring a pig, and, tying a rope to it, drag it backwards and forwards about the ground, and incite the cows and buffaloes to gore it with their horns. Any cow or buffalo that horns it, is praised, and the owner thereof also is cheered. The timid cows do not attempt to attack the pig, but seeing it, turn tail and run. Then the Gwālās seize hold of these cows (कड़ि पकड़कर) and force them to attack the pig with their horns. Perhaps it is on this account that the name *gāyḍānr* has been applied to the festival.¹⁶ In short, on this day the Gwālās make their cattle hunt a pig.

In the end, when the pig is killed, the Gwālās cook its flesh and eat it. They drink liquor and become intoxicated, and sing and play with much merriment. The Gwālās generally keep this festival for a week, and go round singing *birhā* and *lorakī*.¹⁷ They go to the door of the proprietor of their village and to the houses of other important persons, and play single-stick, leap about and dance, and disport themselves generally. The village proprietor and other big men give them presents.

This feast is observed in almost every district of Bihār, but more particularly in the Shâhâbâd, Gayâ, Sâran and Champâran districts.¹⁸ It is essentially a festival of the Ahîrs, during which their cows and buffaloes are turned out gaily adorned. In places where Vaiṣṇavas are predominant, and at centres of pilgrimage, such as Ayodhya, Brindâben, Mathurâ, etc., a dark-coloured blanket is made into the shape of a pig and stuffed with chaff; and this is used for the purposes of the *gokriṛā* or *gāyḍānr*, as Vaiṣṇavas abstain from taking life. In many places this practice is followed.

¹¹ The Hindî month of Kārtik includes the period from about the middle of October to the middle of November. The bright half is the second half of the month.

¹² *Gokriṛā* means "cow sport."

¹³ A festival kept on the day following the *Dīvālī* (which is held on the last day of the dark fortnight of Kārtik.)

¹⁴ See Crooke's *Rural and Agricultural Glossary*, s. v. *Gobardhan parva*.

¹⁵ *Amarpīṭhā* literally means "sweetmeat of immortality." *Pīṭhā* is a well-known sweetmeat.

¹⁶ कड़ि here means the 'spine' or 'backbone', which is held just above the root of the tail.

¹⁷ *Birhā* is the name of a special class of song sung by the cowherd caste. As the name indicates, it is frequently a love-song about "separation." *Lorakī* is a song (or rather an interminable number of songs) about the doings of the famous Ahir hero Lorik.

¹⁸ I have since received an account of the observance of the festival between Monghyr and Jamalpur (Monghyr district) on the 1st November 1927, when a pig was killed in the same manner.

MEANING AND ETYMOLOGY OF PŪJĀ.

By CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

IN a very illuminating and informing paper with the above heading contributed to the *Indian Antiquary* (May 1927, pp. 93-97 and June 1927, pp. 130-36) Prof. Jarl Charpentier has sought to determine the exact and original meaning of the word *pūjā*, which is so very important not only from the linguistic view-point but also from the standpoint of modern Hinduism, the most important observance of which—in contrast to Vedic sacrifices—is the *pūjā* of one god or another.

First of all, he mentions the different etymologies of the word as given by various scholars, such as Prof. Bartholomea, Horn, Gundert and Kittel, and accepts the one suggested by Gundert and Kittel, viz. from a Dravidian verbal root, which occurs in Tamil as *pācu-*, and in Kanarese as *pāsu*, meaning 'to smear, to put on sticky substances, to daub, to paint.' He next supports this derivation by a comparison of the different rites performed by various peoples of India, ancient and modern, in their worship of gods (pp. 130-133), and comes to the conclusion that 'the washing of the idol (or the sprinkling of the *linga*) with water or with honey, curds, sugared water, etc., and the smearing or daubing it with certain ointments or oily substances' (p. 99) forms the characteristic feature of a *pūjā* among the different rites and ceremonies gone through in the course of it, and hence this is the original sense in which the word was used.

But there seems to be ample room for doubt as to what should be considered the most important and characteristic function in a *pūjā*. Is it the washing of the idol and the daubing of it with ointments, or is it the offering of flowers to it, that constitutes the essential thing in a *pūjā*? The balance of evidence may lead one to incline either way. As a matter of fact, the offering of flowers to a god is certainly regarded to be of as much importance as—if not more important than—the washing of the idol with water or anointing it—which latter function is undoubtedly of minor importance.

These considerations are specially important in view of another possible derivation of the word suggested by M. Collins in the *Dravidic Studies* Nos. I—III (University of Madras—1923), who connects the Sanskrit word with Tamil *pū* 'flower.'¹ In his opinion a slight modification of a hypothetical Tamil form *pū-cey* possibly gave rise to the Sanskrit nominal base *pūjā*, which again passed into Tamil in the verbal form *pūci*, meaning 'to offer flowers'. This derivation, if established, will point to the offering of flowers as the original connotation of the word *pūjā*, and hence the principal function in the observance.

Whatever be their value, these facts should be taken into consideration and given that attention which they deserve before arriving at a final decision with regard to the origin of this very important word. So, I beg to draw the attention of Prof. Charpentier to them—especially to the derivation suggested by M. Collins (and referred to by Dr. S. K. Chatterji in another connection in an article in *Modern Review*, June 1924, p. 668, which article Prof. Charpentier mentions in his paper), as it seems to have escaped his notice.

¹ No. III, pp. 60-61, under remarks by M. Collins on *Sanskritic Elements in the Vocabularies of Dravidian Languages*, by S. Anavatatavinayakam, M.A., L.T.

VEDIC STUDIES.

By A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., Ph.D.

(Continued from page 102.)

RV. 1, 190, 4 : *asyā śloko divi yate prthivyā m*
ātyo nā yamsad yakshabhṛd vicetāḥ |
mṛgā nām nā hetāyo yānti cemā'
br'haspāter ahimāyāñ abhi dyū'n ||

"His voice rushes in heaven and in earth. He, the supporter of the universe, the wise, raised (his shouts or chants) as a horse (does his neigh). These chants of Brhaspati go forth, like missiles on beasts, on the enemies who are as crafty as Ahi". *Yakshabhṛt* = the supporter of the universe, as Roth has correctly explained. It is the equivalent of the word *bhūtabhṛt* which is also used in the same sense; compare Bh. Gītā, 9, 5 : *bhūtabhṛn na ca bhūtastho mamātmā bhūtābhāvanah*, 'supporting the universe but not in it'; and Mahābhārata, 13, 254, 16 (*Viṣṇu-sahasranāma*) : *bhūtākṛd bhūtābhṛd bhāvaḥ*. I follow Geldner in supplying *śloka* in the second *pāda* as object of the verb *yamsat*, and in understanding *abhi dyū'n* (ought we not rather to read *abhi dyū'n* as one word?) as 'attackers' or 'enemies'. After *imāḥ* in the third *pāda*, we have to understand *vacaḥ*, *giraḥ* or other similar word meaning 'words; chants', which Brhaspati as *purohita* makes use of on behalf of his patron (see Geldner, l.c., p. 137). These rush on the enemies and destroy them, as the arrows of a hunter speed towards the beasts and destroy them; compare p. 229 in vol. LVI above and the verse from Raghuvamśa cited there, namely, 1, 61 addressed by King Dilipa to his *purohita* : *tava mantrakṛto mantrair dūrāt praśamitāribhiḥ | pratyādiśyanta iva me dr̥ṣṭa-lakṣhya-bhidaḥ śarāḥ* "My arrows that are able to pierce such objects only as are visible to me are made to recede to the background by the *mantras* (spells) that have been employed by you, the *mantra*-maker, and that kill enemies from a far distance." Note here too the comparison of the *purohita*'s spells with arrows shot at some object.

RV. 10, 88, 13 : *vaiśvānarām kavāyo yajñīyāso*
'gnīm devā' ajanayann ajuryām |
nakṣatram pratnām āminac carishnū
yakṣāsyā dhyakṣam tavishām brhāntam ||

"The worshipful wise ones, the gods, engendered Agni Vaiśvānara, the imperishable, the ancient, mobile luminary (star), the supervisor of the universe, the mighty, the great" *Yakṣasya adhyakṣam* or 'supervisor of the universe' is equivalent to 'lord of the universe'; compare 1, 98, 1 : *vaiśvānarāsyā sumataḥ syāma rājā nū kaṁ bhūvanānām abhiḥ | itō jāto vīśvam idām vi caṣṭe vaiśvānarō yatate sūryeṇa* "May we dwell in the favour of Vaiśvānara; he is the king and the ornament of the world. Born from here Vaiśvānara beholds this world; he competes with the sun". Vaiśvānara is thus, in this latter verse, a being different from the sun, while in the former (10, 88, 13) the words *nakṣatram aminac carishnū* seem to indicate that Vaiśvānara is identical with the sun.

Sat. Br. 11, 4, 3, 5 : *te haite brahmaṇo mahatī yakshe | sa yo haite brahmaṇo mahatī yakshe*
veda mahad dhaiva yakṣam bhavati ||

"These two (sc. *nāma* and *rūpa*; name and form) are the two great beings (that is, forms, ex-istences) of Brahman. He who knows these two great beings (that is, forms, ex-istences) of Brahman, becomes himself a great being."

Kauṣika-sūtra, 95, 1 : *atha yatra itāni yakṣāni dr̥śyante tad yathaitan markṭaḥ tvāpado*
vāyasaḥ puruṣarūpam iti tad evam āhikyam eva bhavati ||

"When these evil beings are seen, as for instance, an evil being having the form of a monkey, or of a beast of prey, or of a crow, or of man, then the same apprehension is to be felt". The word *yakṣa* here denotes 'evil being', and as monkeys, and crows can not, by themselves, be said to be evil beings, it follows that the words *markṭaḥ* and *vāyasaḥ* denote evil beings having

that form; compare RV. 7, 104, 18: *rakshāsaḥ sām pinashṭana | vāyo yē bhūtvī' patāyanti naktābhiḥ* "Crush the demons who fly about at nights after having become (i.e., in the form of) birds." In other words, the word *rūpam* that forms the last element of the compound *purusharūpam*, connects itself with each of the foregoing words *markaṭaḥ*, *śvāpadaḥ* and *vāyasaḥ* forming the compounds *markaṭarūpam*, *śvāpadarūpam* and *vāyasarūpam* (which together with *purusharūpam* are in apposition with, and qualify, the word *yakshāni*). Now according to later grammatical usage the words *markaṭa*, *śvāpada*, *vāyasa* and *purusha* should be all joined together in a *dvandva*-compound and such compound be further joined with *rūpa*, forming a *shashīti-tatpurusha*, in order that the word *rūpa* may be connected with all these words—*dvandvānte śrūyamāṇam padam pratyekam abhiembadhyate*. It is interesting to note that here *rūpa* connects itself with the words *markaṭa*, etc., though there is no *dvandva* or other compound, and the words stand singly in the nominative case.

Instead of *purusharūpam* (*yaksham*), the word *purusharakshasam* is used in the sentence that follows indicating that *purusharūpam yaksham* = *purusha-rakshasam* or evil being in the form of man.

The word *yaksha* is found in Kh. 93 also of the Kausika-sūtra, where too, it has the meaning 'evil being'.

AV. 11, 2, 24 : *tūbhyam āraṇyāḥ paśāvo mṛgā' vāne hitā'*
hamsā'ḥ suparnā'ḥ śakundā' vāyāmsi |
tāva yakshām paśupate apsu āntās
tūbhyam ksharanti divyā' āpo vṛdhē ||

"For thee are the beasts of the jungle, the animals placed in the forests, the swans, the kites, the birds great and small; thy might, O Paśupati, (is felt) in the waters; the divine waters flow for thee, for thy enhancement (that is, for the enhancement of thy glory)". In other words, 'the beasts of the jungle, the birds of the air, and the rivers are subject to thy power and act as thou impellest them to act. Thy might is felt in the water, in the air, and on the earth'. This praise is addressed to Paśupati or Rudra as the supreme god; and the ideas expressed here belong to the same class as those expressed in RV. 1, 101, 3: *yāsyā vratē vāruṇo yāsyā sūryaḥ yāsyēndrasya sīndhavaḥ sāścati vratām* ('in whose control is Varuṇa and the sun; whose, Indra's, ordinance is followed by the rivers'); *ibid*, 2, 28, 4: *rtām sīndhavo vāruṇasya yanti | nā brāmyanti nā vi mucanty etē* ('the rivers follow the ordinances of Varuṇa; they flow without tiring, without ceasing.'). AV. 13, 3, 2: *yasmād vā tā rtuḥā' pāvante yasmāt samudrā' ādhi vi ksharanti* ('on account of whom the winds blow in season and the oceans flow'). Compare also Bṛhad. Up., 3, 7, 2 ff., *yaḥ pṛthivyām tishṭhan, pṛthivīm antaro yamayati yo 'psu tishṭhan apām antaro yamayati yaḥ sarveshu bhūteshu tishṭhan sarvāṇi bhūtāny antaro yamayati*: Kathopanishat, 2, 6, 3: *bhayād asyāgnis tapati bhayāt tapati sūryaḥ*.

RV. 5, 70, 4: *mā' kāsyādbhūtākratū yakshām bhujema tanū'bhīḥ |*
mā' śēshasā mā' tānasā ||

"May we not, O ye (Mitra and Varuṇa) who have wonderful strength, feel, either ourselves or in our offspring or in our posterity, the might of any one". That is, 'may we not feel the weight of the might of any one; may we not be oppressed by the thought that any one is more mighty than we ourselves and able to injure us.' The expression *yaksham bhujema* here is equivalent to the expression *daksham bhujema* in 4, 3, 13 which will be explained below.

RV. 7, 88, 6: *yā āpir nityo varuṇa priyāḥ sām*
tvā'm āgāmsi krāvat sākhā te |
mā' ta śnasvanto yakshin bhujema
yandhi śmā viprah stuvāḥ vārāṭham ||

"Who, O Varuṇa, being thy own dear friend and comrade, has committed evil against thee—may not we who have sinned, feel, O mighty one thy (might); do thou that art wise offer

protection to thy praiser". We have to understand the word *yaksha* here in the third *pāda* as the object of the verb *bhujema*. The meaning is, 'may we not suffer from thy might, that is, feel the weight of thy displeasure, on account of the sins that we have committed.' The two ideas of *eno bhujema* (punishment for sins committed; compare 6, 51, 7; 7, 52, 2) and *yakshaṃ bhujema* (see 5, 70, 4 above) are combined here in this one *pāda*.

As I have already observed (see p. 228 in vol. LV *ante*), the relative clause *ya āpir nityaḥ . . . tvām āgātsi kṛṇavat* qualifies *vayam* (understood) that is the subject of *bhujema* in the third *pāda*; as the plural *vayam* is only the *pluralis majestaticus*, the use of the singular number in *yaḥ*, etc., in the first two *pādas* and in *stuvate* (fourth *pāda*) is not improper.

RV. 7, 61, 5 : *āmūrā viśvā vṛshaṇāv imā' vām*
nā yā'su citrām dādṛśe nā yakshām |
drūhaḥ sacante ānrtā jānānām
nā vām ninyā'ny acite abhūvan ||

"O ye wise and strong (sc. Mitra and Varuṇa), for you (are) all these (praises) in which is seen neither ornament (brilliance) nor substance. The Druhs follow the iniquities of men; secrets did not remain unknown to you." The meaning of this verse is obscure. The author of the *Padapāṭha* reads the words *āmūrā* and *viśvā* as duals and apparently construes them with the dual *vṛshaṇau* referring to Mitra and Varuṇa, a view that is accepted by Geldner, but from which M. Boyer dissents. I believe that the *Padapāṭha* is right in reading *āmūrā* (and referring it to Mitra and Varuṇa); at the same time, however, I believe that it is preferable to read *viśvāḥ* instead of *viśvā* (dual) and construe it with *imāḥ*, after which, I follow Sāyana in supplying the word *stutayah* (*giraḥ*). The sense therefore of the first half-verse is, "These praises that we offer to you, O Mitra and Varuṇa are not polished and brilliant (do not contain *alāṅkāras*); nor is there substance in them, that is, there is no *artha-gāmbhīrya* or *bhāva-gāmbhīrya* in them; we pray that you will nevertheless take them to your heart and like them."

Citra here does not signify *āścarya* as Sāyana and, following him, Geldner, think, but rather 'ornament', *alāṅkāra*; it has here the same sense as it has in books on rhetoric (*kāvya-lāṅkāra-śāstra*) and means *artha-citra* (*arthālāṅkāra*) and *śabdacitra* (*śabdālāṅkāra*). It is an often-expressed sentiment of later books that a *kāvya*, *stuti* or other composition in words should, in order to be acceptable, contain *alāṅkāras* and yield a good meaning; compare, for instance, *Subhāshitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra*, 5th edition, *Kāvya-prasāṃsā*, verses 17 and 21, in praise of *alāṅkāra* and vv. 22, 24 in praise of *artha*, and the expression *bhāvdāṅkaraṇocitā-gamavati* in v. 44; compare also v. 51 in *ibid.*, p. 35 : *arthān kecid upāsate kṛṇavat kecit tvālāṅkurvate veśyāvat khalu dhātuvādina ivodbhnavanti kecid rasān | arthālāṅkṛti-sādrasa-dravāmucām vācām prasastiḥprāṇ kartāraḥ kavayo bhavanti katicit puṇyair aṣṇyair iha*. The first two *pādas* of the above *mantra* too, give expression, as I think, to an idea in the same sphere; in them the poet confesses that his *stutis* cannot be said to be good, that they contain neither *alāṅkāra* nor *artha*. Contrast in this respect *Kumārasambhava*, 2, 3 : *atha sarvasya dhātāraṃ te sarve sarvatomukham | vāgiṣaṃ vāgbhir arthyābhir pranipatyopatasthire*; *Raghuvamśa*, 4, 6 : *stutyam stutibhir arthyābhir upatasthe Sarasvatī*; *Nilakaṇṭhaviṇayacampū*, 4, 16 : *iti stutibhir arthyābhir dhyāyato nīcalam Śivam | aspandeshu asya gātreshu paspande dakṣiṇo bhujah*. *Arthyā vāk* means, as Mallinātha explains, *arthayuktā vāk*, speech or praise in which there is *artha* or *bhāva* or richness of content.

Compare further the opinion, cited and refuted by Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (p. 14; *Nirṇayasāgara* ed. 1902) : *śālāṅkārau śabdārthau kāvyam*. Hence the authors of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Kādambarī* have said of these works that they have been constructed of 'brilliant' words and thoughts; see *Rām.*, 1, 2, 42 : *uddra-vṛttārtha-padaḥ manoramais tadasya Rāmasya cakṛa kīrtimān . . . yāśaskaram kāvyam uddradhīr munih*; and *Kādambarī*, v. 9 of introduction : *haranti kam nojjvala-dīpakopamair navaiḥ padārthair upapāditāḥ kathāḥ*.

For the second half-verse, I have, with much hesitation, given the explanation of M. Boyer as this seems to be better than that proposed by Sāyana ; I feel however very doubtful whether either of these is the correct explanation.

RV. 4, 3, 13 : *mā' kāsya yakshām sādām id dhurō gā*
mā' veśāsya praminatō mā' psh |
mā' bhrū'tur agne ānrjor ṛnām ver
mā' sākhyur dāksham ripōr bhujema ||

"Do not at any time go to the sacrifice of any enemy (literally, injurer) or harmful neighbour or comrade ; do not get into the debt, O Agni, of our crooked brother ; may we not suffer from the power of our friend (turned into) enemy." I have already said above (p. 63) that the view of the Indian commentators that *yaksha* is derived from the root *yaj* is justified by the parallelism of the words *yaksha* and *yajña* in AV. 8, 9, 8. Sāyana is therefore right in explaining *yaksha* here as *yajña*, sacrifice. The expression, 'do not get into the debt of our crooked brother', in the third *pāda*, too, means the same thing ; it means, 'do not go to the sacrifice of, and partake of the offerings given by, our deceitful brother' ; for the term 'debt' when used of a deity with reference to a human, means, as has been shown by Geldner, *l.c.*, pp. 133, 134, the debt that such deity owes to a human in return for the offerings that have been made and accepted ; compare also Bh. Gītā, 3, 11-12 in this connection. Similarly, the fourth *pāda* too, seems to refer indirectly to the same thing, to implore Agni not to attend the sacrifice of the friend who has turned inimical and make him rich and powerful in return. This verse therefore is one of the class that implore the deities not to favour by their presence the sacrifices of rival *yajamānas* ; see Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* I, pp. 119 ff.; and Bloomfield, *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, 1906.

RV. 7, 56, 16 : *atyāso nā yē marūtaḥ svāñco*
yakshadr'ēo nā śubhāyanta māryāh |
tē harmyeshthā'ḥ śisavo nā śubhrā'
vatsā'so nā prakṛtīnaḥ payodhā'ḥ ||

"They who are swift like coursers, the youths, (sc. Maruts) made themselves bright (that is, decked themselves with ornaments), like people that (go to) see sacrifices ; they are radiant like children that are in mansions and frisky like calves that drink milk". Sāyana explains *yaksha* here as *utsava*, festival. Now, *yaksha*, as we know, means 'sacrifice,' 'worship' ; and many of the Soma-sacrifices were in fact grand festivals and are explicitly called or described by the name of *utsava* in the *Purāṇas* and *Itihāsas*.

Compare, for instance, the following passages : *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, 4, 3, 3 ff. :

Brhaspatisavaṃ nāma samārebhe kratūttamam || 3 ||
tasmin brahmarshayaḥ sarve devarshi-pitr-devatāḥ |
dean kṛta-svastyaṇas tatpatnyaś ca sabhartṛkāḥ || 4 ||
taḍ upāsrutya nabhasi khecarāṇḍm prajalpatām |
Sati dākshāyaṇi devī pitur yajña-mahotsavam || 5 ||
vrajantiḥ sarvato digbhya upadeva-varastriyaḥ |
vimānayaṇḍh sapreshthā nishka-kaṇṭhiḥ suvdsasaḥ || 6 ||
drshṭvā sva-nīlayābhyāse lōdākshir mṛshṭa-kunḍalāḥ |
patim bhūtapatim devam autoukyād abhy-abhāshata || 7 ||

Saty uvāca :

prajāpates te śvaśurasya sāmpratam
niryāpito yajña-mahotsavaḥ kila || 8ab ||
patya prayāntīr abhavānya-yoshito
pyalāṅkrīdḥ kāntasakḥ varūthasāḥ || 12ab ||

"(Daksha) began the sacrifice known as *Brhaspatisava* to which went in well-being all the Brahmarshis, the Devarshis, *pitrs* and *devas*, and also their wives with their husbands.

Satidevī, the daughter of Dakṣha, hearing of this from the chatter of those going in the sky, and seeing near her dwelling the wives of Upadevas (i.e., of Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Kimpuruṣas, etc.) going with their husbands in *vimānas* from all directions, wearing fine clothes and necklaces and brilliant ear-rings and with eyes glancing here and there, said to her lord Śiva in excitement : "The grand festival-like sacrifice of thy father-in-law, the Prajāpati, has, I hear, commenced See also other women going there in troops, wearing jewels, in the company of their husbands, O thou that art birth-less."

Mahābhārata, 2, 72, 1 : *tataḥ sa Kururājasya sarva-karma-samyaddhimān |*
vajñāḥ prītikaro rājan sambabhan vipulotsavaḥ ||

"Then was celebrated, O king, the sacrifice of the Kuruid king in which not one rite was wanting, the grand festival, causing delight".

Ibid., 14, 90, 43 : *evam babhūva yajñāḥ sa Dharmarājasya dhīmataḥ |*
taṁ mahotsava-saṅkāśaṁ hr̥ṣṭa-puṣṭa-janākulam |
kathayanti sma puruṣā nānā-deśa-nivāsinaḥ ||

"Then took place that sacrifice of the wise Dharmarāja And this sacrifice that was like a great festival and was attended by many joyous and thriving people was extolled by people that lived in different countries (who were present at it)."

Read also the descriptions of the Rājastūya sacrifice celebrated by Yudhisṭhira given in the Mahābhārata (2, 71) and Bhāgavata, 10, ii, ch. 75.

It is therefore not surprising if, in the circumstances, the word *yaksha*, meaning 'sacrifice' took on the meaning of *utsava* also, though as regards this verse, it is not necessary to assume this latter meaning for *yaksha*. The original meaning itself, namely, 'sacrifice,' fits in well with the context here. Compare the passage cited above from the Bhāgavata where it is said that the wives of Upadevas were going to the *yajña-mahotsava* wearing fine clothes and jewels in the company of their husbands, and the passage cited above (p. 58) from the Jñātādharma-kathā that describes the dress and jewels worn by *ugras*, *ugraputras*, Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, etc., on days of Indramaha, Yakshamaha and similar other *utsavas*. See also the description of the city and the people on the occasion of *kaumudī-mahotsava* given in *Hemādri*, l.c., p. 352 and in Jñātādharma-kathā, p. 536. It becomes clear from all these that the people used to put on in former times (as in fact they do now) fine clothes and jewels when going to grand sacrifices or other *utsavas*; and the Maruts are compared with such people because they always deck themselves with ornaments; see 5, 54, 11; 5, 55, 6; 5, 60, 4, etc., and Macdonnell's *Ved. Mythology*, p. 79.

Subhrāḥ, radiant, in *pāda* 3, means, as is indicated by the context, 'clean, speckless, spotless'; and *payodhāḥ vatsāḥ* means 'young calves'.

Gobhila-grhyasūtra, 3, 4, 28 : *ācāryaṁ sapariśatkam abhyetyācārya-pariśadam ikṣate yakṣham iva cakṣuṣaḥ priyo vo bhūyaśam iti ||*

"Approaching the teacher with his entourage, he looks at the teacher and entourage (saying): 'May I be pleasing to your eye like a sacrifice.'" I have here, like Messrs. Boyer and Geldner, construed *cakṣuṣaḥ* with *priya*. Oldenberg has, however, contended (RV. Noten, II, p. 45) that this is not right and that such construction would be proper only if the text had read *yakṣham iva cakṣuṣo vaḥ priyo bhūyaśam*. He therefore maintains that the correct meaning is, "May I be dear to you as the wonderful thing is to the eye" (as already noted above, *yaksha* = 'wonderful thing' for Oldenberg) and that the 'wonderful thing' here is the pupil of the eye! But, apart from the consideration that one fails to understand why the pupil of the eye should be called a 'wonderful thing' (the passage from *Śat. Br.* to which Oldenberg refers has no bearing at all in this connection) the idea of comparing a thing to the pupil of the eye in point of dearness is one that is foreign to Sanskrit literature.

As regards however the above-mentioned contention itself, it must be admitted that there is some force in it; but, as *yaksha* does not mean 'pupil of the eye' but 'sacrifice' (or perhaps *utsava*) here, it makes in effect no difference whether *cakshushah* is construed with *priya* or not. In the first case, the meaning is, "May I be pleasing to your eye like a sacrifice". In the second case, the meaning is, "May I be pleasing to you as a sacrifice is pleasing to the eye"; and the expression 'may I be pleasing to you' here obviously means 'may I be pleasing to your eye'. In any case, therefore, the sense of the *mantra* is, "May I be dear to your eyes as a grand sacrifice; may you have as much pleasure in looking at me as people have in looking at a grand sacrifice or other similar *utsava*". Compare RV. 7, 84, 3: *kṛtām no yajñām vidātheshu cā'rum kṛtām brāhmāṇi sūriṣhu praśastā* 'Make our sacrifice handsome (or beloved) amongst assemblies, make our hymns laudable amongst poets'; 10, 100, 6: *yajñās ca bhūd vidāthe cā'rur āntamaḥ* 'May the sacrifice be handsome (or dear) and most cherished in the assembly'; and the expression *cā'rum adhvaram* in 1, 19, 1 and 5, 71, 1. See also Mahābhārata, 14, 90, 43, cited above from which we learn that the people of all countries flocked to see the sacrifice celebrated by Yudhishtira and 2, 72, 1 in *ibid.* where the epithet *pratikara* is applied to the sacrifice.

Compare also *ibid.*, 2, 71, 44-45:

lokesmin sarva-viprās ca vaiśyāḥ śūdrā nṛpādayaḥ |
sarve mlecchāḥ sarvajanaś tv ādi-madhyāntajās tathā || 44 ||
nānādeśa-samudbhūtair nānājātibhir āgataih |
paryāpta iva lokoyaṃ Yudhishtira-niveśane || 45 ||

"All the Brāhmaṇas in this world and all Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, all Mlecchas, and all people of all castes, the highest, lowest and middle castes, (were there). From the people, born in different countries and of different castes, that were present there, it seemed as if the whole world was contained in the dwelling of Yudhishtira"; and *ibid.*, 2, 71, 16:

Jambūdvīpaḥ hi sakalo nānājanapadāyutah |
rājann adśyataikastho rājāś tasmīn mahākṛatau ||

'The whole of Jambūdvīpa with all its different countries, O king, was seen assembled at one place in the grand sacrifice of that king'. These grand sacrifices were thus so beloved that the people used to flock to them.

I take the word *ācārya-parishadam* as a *dvandva* compound meaning 'the teacher and his entourage'.

AV. 11, 6, 10: *dīvaṃ brūmo nākshatrāṇi bhū'mim yakshāṇi pārvatān |*
samudrā' nadyo veśantā's té no muncantu āmhasaḥ ||

"We praise the sky, the constellations of stars, the earth, the trees, and the mountains. The oceans, rivers and ponds—may they free us from evil." The word *yakshāṇi* here has been explained as *Yakshas* followers of Kubera) by M. Henry (*Les Livres X, XI et XII de l' Atharva-veda*, pp. 118 and 155) and Prof. Bloomfield (*Hymns of the Atharva-veda*, p. 161) and as 'Naturwunder und Naturschönheiten wie die grossen Bäume' by Geldner (*l.c.* p. 143). Geldner's explanation is almost correct, but the way by which he arrives at it is not, in my opinion, the proper way. *Yakshāṇi* signifies trees here not because *yaksha* means 'Wunder', *citra*, but because the trees are here regarded as the abode of *yakshas* or superhuman beings.

I have said above (p. 59) that the temples dedicated to *Yakshas* had the name of *caitya* also. This name, *caitya*, it may be remarked, is applied to trees also, to trees that are well-grown and rich in foliage and are regarded as being the abodes of superhuman beings; cp. Trikaṇḍaśeṣa, 2, 4, 2: *caityo devatarur devāvāse karabha-kuñjarau*: Mahābhārata, 12, 68, 44f. *caityānām sarvathā tyājyam api patrasya pātanam || 44 || devānām āśrayās caityā yaksha-rākshasa-bhoginām | piśāca-pannagānām ca gandharvāpsarasām api | raudrāṇām caiva bhūtānām tasmāt tān parivarjayet ||* and also the Mahābhārata verse given in 1, 49, Hṛidimbavadha in Bopp's

Ardschuna's Reise zu Indra's Himmel. The name *caitya* thus is applied to a tree for the same reason that it is applied to a temple—namely, because the tree is, like the temple, the abode of a *yaksha*, *bhūta* or other supernatural being and is thus holy and deserving of worship. The same is the case with the word *yaksha* also; this name is applied to temples as also to trees, that are the abodes of *yakshas*, *bhūtas* or similar superhuman beings and are thus holy and deserving of worship. I have cited above (p. 59) instances of the name *yaksha* denoting temples; this verse is an instance of the word *yaksha* denoting trees.

This closes the list of passages where the word *yaksha* (neuter) occurs. M. Boyer however is of opinion that this word *yaksha* is found, further, (as a component of the word *yakshya*) in RV. 8, 60, 3 also: *agne kavir vedhā' asi hōtā pāvaka yāksyah | mandrō yājishtho adhvarēshv i'dyo viprebhīh śukra mānmabhīh* and has explained *yakshya* there as 'having a marvellous form'. As he has himself observed, however, (*l.c.*, p. 394) the expression *hōtā pāvaka yāksyah* in 8, 60, 3 is parallel to *agnih pāvaka i'dyah* in 3, 27, 4, to *śūcih pāvaka i'dyah* in 7, 15, 10, and to *śūcih pāvaka vāndyah* in 2, 7, 4; and since the word *yaksha* itself is, as has been shown above, derived from the root *yaj*, there is not the least doubt that *yakshya* comes from *yaj* 'to worship'. I believe therefore that the verse means: "Thou, O Agni, art the wise one, the worshipper, and the adorable *hotr*, O purifier; thou art dear, the most capable in sacrificing, praised in sacrifices, O brilliant one, with hymns by priests."

The meanings of *yaksha* therefore are: 1. worship, object of worship, sacrifice (and perhaps *utsava*, festival). 2. (a) being (concrete), beings in the collective, the creation, universe, world; a particular class of superhuman beings; evil beings; (b) being (abstract); reality, essence, principle, substance, virtue, power, might. The meanings enumerated under 2. are those of the word *bhūta* which is a synonym of *yaksha* and of *sattva* which is a synonym of *bhūta*; they seem to be *rūpī* meanings, while those enumerated under 1 are clearly *yogārthas*.

It becomes apparent from what has gone above that *yaksha* masculine has the same relation to *yaksha* neuter as *bhūta* masculine bears to *bhūta* neuter. *Bhūta* neuter has a large number of meanings (see above; see also Apte, s.v., and PW.) including those of 'being (concrete), a class of superhuman being; evil being;' while *bhūta* masculine has these meanings only and no other. Similarly *yaksha* masculine too means the same, namely, 'being (concrete), superhuman being, evil being' while *yaksha* neuter signifies these things, and also, many other things in addition. Similar too, it may be noted, is the relation of *sattva* masculine to *sattva* neuter; the masculine word signifies 'being (concrete), not-human being, (and not 'superhuman being' only; *sattva* is used of animals also), 'evil being' while the neuter word has these as well as other significations.

This explains the use of the word *yaksha* masculine in Buddhist literature in contexts where the usual meaning of '*guhya*' or 'follower of Kubera' is inapplicable, and where therefore the translators have in some cases felt perplexed. Thus, in *Samyutta Nikāya*, III, 2.25 (and elsewhere too; see Index to the Transl. of *Sam. Nik.* in *SBE.*, vol. 10), Māra (who is not a *guhya* or follower of Kubera) is called a *yakkha*; in the *Milindapañha*, IV, 4. 32 (p. 202), the term *yakkha* is used in connection with Devadatta and the Bodhisatta who were at that time (see *Jātaka-story* No. 457; vol. IV, pp. 100 ff.) born as *devaputtas*. Similarly, in the translation of this book (*SBE.* vol. 35, p. 289, n. 2), Prof. Rhys Davids has observed that 'this is by no means the only instance of the term *yakkha* being used of gods'. In the same way, Prof. Kern has noted (*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 59, n. 9) that the epithet *yakkha* is applied sometimes to Indra (e.g., in *Majjh. Nik.* I, p. 251) and the Buddha (f. i. in *ibid.*, I, p. 386: *āhuṇeyyo yakkho uttamapuggalo atulo*) and that it is used of *devaputtas* in *Sam. Nik.*, I, p. 54.⁴⁴ The expression *yakkhassa suddhi* too is found used in *Sam. Nik.*, III, 4, 25 and IV, 11, 14-15:

⁴⁴ Similarly Otto Franke in his translation of parts of the *Dighanikāya*, has observed on p. 94, note 6, that the word *Yakkha* is used occasionally to signify *devas* also.

ettāvat' aggam pi vadanti k' eke yakkhassa suddhim idha paṇḍitāse which Fausböll has translated (*SBE.*, vol. 10, p. 167) as : " Thus some (who are considered) wise in this world say that the principal (thing) is the purification of the *yakkha* ", without however saying anything as to what is intended by the ' purification of the *yakkha*.'

In the light of what has been said above about the meaning of the word *yaksha*, it is easy to see that this word means 'evil being' when it refers to *Māra*. When used in connection with *devaputtas*, it means in all probability, 'superhuman being', while when used of *Indra* and the *Buddha*, it is probable that it signifies, as has been suggested by Kern (*l.c.*), 'a being to be worshipped or a mighty being'—a meaning that combines in itself the two different significations of 'being (concrete)' and of 'worship' or 'might' (see p. 230 in vol. LV *ante*). The expression *yakkhassa suddhi* which is equivalent to *bhūtasya suddhi* or *bhūta-suddhi* is somewhat ambiguous. In *Tāntrik* practice, the term *bhūtasuddhi* signifies the cleansing or purification of the *bhūtas* or elements ('earth', 'water', 'fire,' etc.), that make up the body of the worshipper, and is one of the many preliminary acts that precede and lead up to the worship proper of the chief deity; see *Principles of Tantra* (II, pp. 365 ff.) by A. Avalon, pp. 41 ff., of *Mantramahārṇava*, ch. 8 of *Devī-bhāgavata*, etc.; compare also *Rāmātmapanyupaniṣat*, 5, 1 : *bhūtādīkanḥ śodhayed dvārapūjām ca kṛtvā padmādyāsanaśāḥ prasannaḥ* " (The worshipper) should cleanse the elements (of his body) etc., then after worshipping the gates, assuming the *padmāsana* or other posture, with calm mind . . . ". I feel however doubtful if it is this *Tāntrik* practice that is referred to by the *Sam. Nik.*, the more so, as this is a preliminary act to which not much importance is attached. And I am inclined to believe that the *bhūtasuddhi* mentioned here refers perhaps to the cleansing or purification of the *bhūta*—being or self, through the eradication of what *Āpastamba* calls *bhūtadāhīyā doṣāḥ* 'blemishes or vices that sear, that is, destroy, the being or self,' consisting of anger, elation, covetousness, etc.; see *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra*, 1, 23, 5. By the eradication of these through *yoga*, says *Āpastamba*, the wise man attains 'security (*abhaya*)'—an expression which is explained by *Haradatta* as *abhayaṃ mokṣam*, 'the liberation where there is no more fear'; compare, *ibid.*, 1, 23, 3 : *doṣāṇāṃ tu nirghāto yogamūla iha jīvite | nirhṛtya bhūtadāhīyān keṣemaṃ gacchati paṇḍitaḥ* " In this life, the destruction of vices (is to be accomplished) by means of *yoga*; after getting rid of the vices that sear the being, that is, the self, the wise man attains security". Compare also *ibid.*, 1, 23, 6 : *tāny anutishṭhan vidhina sārva-gāṃ bhavati* "He who practises these (*yogas* that eradicate the *bhūtadāhīya-doshas*) according to rule, attains the All". A third interpretation also is possible of the term *yakkhassa suddhi*; *yakṣasuddhi* or *bhūtasuddhi* or 'the purification of the being (self)' may be understood as the purification of the being or *sattvasuddhi* that is spoken of in Ch. Up., 7, 26, 2 : *āhāra-suddhau sattva-suddhiḥ sattva-suddhau dhruvā smṛtiḥ | smṛtilambhe sṛvagrānṭhīnāṃ vipramokṣaḥ | tasmāi mṛḍitakāśāyāya tamasāḥ pāram darśayati bhagavān Sanatkumāraḥ* "When the food becomes pure, the being (*sattva*; according to *Śaṅkara*, this denotes *antaḥkaraṇa* here) becomes pure; when the being becomes pure, an unfailing memory (will be established); by the attainment of memory, all knots are severed; and to him whose impurity (*kāśāya*) is (thus) overcome, Lord *Sanatkumāra* will show (the Brahman) beyond the darkness". As the *Sam. Nik.* says nothing more about *yakkhassa suddhi*, of the causes which lead up to it or of the effects which this leads to, it is not possible to determine which of these three ideas was intended by the author; perhaps, it is the second of those mentioned above.⁴⁵

(To be continued.)

⁴⁵ This article was written in 1924 and set in type before March 1926. Hence I have been unable to make any reference here to Dr. Hillebrandt's article (pp. 17—23) on this word in *Aus Indiens Kultur*: Festgabe Richard von Garbe that was published in 1927.

NOTES ON CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

By Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt.

(Continued from page 131.)

"General Taylor asked the authorities at Patialā, Jind, and Nābhā six questions, viz:—

- (1) The political condition of the coinage.
- (2) The nature, title and character of the coinage.
- (3) The annual outturn of the establishment and value of the coinage as compared with that of the British Government.
- (4) The process of manufacture and any particulars as to the artificers employed.
- (5) The arrangement for receiving bullion and the charges (if any) levied for its conversion into coin.
- (6) The extent of the currency.

"Patialā, as might be expected, gave the best answers; and as regards the first question, we may pass over all the replies, as recapitulating what has been already written herein, except to note that in 1857 Patialā very nearly succeeded in ousting her old coinage for a modern English rupee on the plan that Alwar adopted later, and as Mindōn Min of Burma succeeded in doing for his country about the same time. Passing on, we find that the Patialā rupees are called Rājashāhi, the Jind rupees Jindīā, and the Nābhā rupees simply Nābhā.

"Only silver, and occasionally gold, is coined. The Patialā rupee weighs $11\frac{1}{4}$ māshas of pure silver and is of the full value of a rupee. The weight of the Jind rupee is the same, but its value is only about 12 ānds ($\frac{2}{3}$ rupee). The Nābhā rupee is also of the same weight and is valued at 15 ānds ($\frac{3}{5}$ rupee).

"The Patialā mohar is a valuable coin, being $10\frac{1}{2}$ māshas of pure gold. Jind does not coin gold, but the Nābhā Government sometimes strikes a mohar of $9\frac{1}{2}$ māshas of pure gold.

"In none of these States is there any regular outturn of coinage. Special occasions and sometimes economical necessities oblige the mint to become active by fits and starts. In fact the moneyers only work when 'necessity drives.' In Jind and Nābhā, royal marriages and great state functions are practically the only occasions when money is coined in any quantity.

"Jind apparently keeps up no establishment for its mint, but Patialā and Nābhā do so. The Patialā establishment consists of a superintendent, a clerk, two assayers, one weigher, ten smiths, ten moneyers, four refiners, and one engraver. The Nābhā establishment is on a smaller scale, viz., one superintendent, one assayer, one smelter, one refiner, and one smith. The refining is carefully performed in both cases, and the silver and gold kept up to standard.

"Jind has never received bullion for coining, but Patialā receives both silver and gold, and Nābhā silver. For silver Patialā charges the public $1\frac{1}{8}$ per cent., and for gold Rs. 24 per 100 coins, or $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. Nābhā charges less, only $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for coining silver.

"Jind rupees are current only within the State, but the Patialā coins find currency both in the State and in its immediate neighbourhood in some quantity; while only a few Nābhā coins find their way outside the state.

"The Māler-Kōtlā mint issues its coins apparently on precisely the same lines, the rupee going by the name of the Kōtlā rupee. Extensive frauds on the part of the mint masters, twice detected of late years [in 1878] in fraudulently alloying the silver, has depreciated the value of this rupee to 12 ānds ($\frac{2}{3}$ rupee).

"It is also very interesting to watch the steady depreciation in weight of the coins of the successive chiefs of Māler-Kōṭlā in connection with the general theory of the evolution of coins. Thus :—

	weight of coin
'Umr Khān, 1768-78	9 māshas 4 rattis.
Amir Khān, 1821-46	9 " 2 "
Mahbūb 'Alī (Sūbā) Khān, 1845-1859	8 " 4 "
Sikandar 'Alī Khān, 1859-1871	8 " 2 "
Ibrahim 'Alī Khān, 1871 to date [1878]	8 " 1 "

"No wonder the Khānsāhib 'Ināyat 'Alī Khān in the passage just quoted remonstrates against the practices of the Kōṭlā mint.

"The present writer, as has been already noted, had the good fortune some five years ago [1884] to be escorted over the Paṭiālā Mint, and to have been given an opportunity of noting what occurred.

"The Mint is an ordinary Panjābī Court-yard, about twenty feet square in the open part, entered by a gateway leading into a small apartment doing duty as an entrance hall, the remainder of the courtyard being surrounded by low open buildings opening into it. These buildings, which looked like the 'rooms' of a *sarai*, are the workshops."

The method of coining in this very primitive mint was described as follows :

"I examined into the modern system of coining at Paṭiālā, in the hope of learning something as to the ancient methods, as it is to be observed that the modern Paṭiālā, Māler-Kōṭlā, Nābhā, and Jind coins have all the appearance of those of 1,000 years ago, and of being made in precisely the same way.

"The silver, after being roughly assayed, is cast into small bars (*rent*) by being run into iron grooved moulds. The melting is done in very small quantities in little furnaces improvised for the occasion. When the bars are cold they are cut up by a hammer and chisel into small weights or *gelrās*, and weighed fairly accurately in small balances. These *gelrās* are afterwards heated and rounded by hammering into discs (*mutallīs*), and again weighed and corrected by small additions or scrapings. After this the disc is handed over to the professional weighman or *wazankash*, who finally weighs and passes it. It is then stamped by hammering, being placed between two iron dies placed in a wooden frame, the lower side (reverse) is called *pāṭn*, the upper (obverse) is called *bālā*. The dies are very much larger than the coins, so that only a portion of the inscription can come off, and the coiners are not at all careful as to how much appears on the coin, provided the particular *mark* of the reigning chief appears. Is not this precisely what occurred in days of old? It is to be noted that the inscription on the Paṭiālā coins has never altered since Nādir Shāh permitted the chiefs to coin in 1751, the only difference being in the *marks* of the chiefs on the coins. All the coins have been showing *jālūs 4*, or "the year of the reign 4," for more than 100 years.

"The only thing that the moneyers look to is to try and make the particular *mark* of the reigning chief appear. If they do not succeed, it does not matter much.

"Griffin in the same work, pp. 313ff., has a long note on the mints set up by the Panjāb States at Paṭiālā, Jind and Nābhā under a *farmān* of A.D. 1772 of the Emperor Shāh Ālam. And there is further valuable information on Panjāb coinage at Kapurthala in notes attached to pp. 505 and 510."

In the same volume of the *Indian Antiquary* I appended a long footnote to p. 278 on the *Transactions of the Eastern Section of the Russian Archaeological Society* relating to the find of a hoard of Bulgarian coins in 1887. This footnote is pertinent to the present enquiry and so I give it here in full :

"There had been already an attempt to coin money among the Mongols in the time of Chagēz Khān [Tiesenhausen].

"The above abstract has much interested me because I think I can throw light on its subject. A paper will be shortly published in this *Journal* illustrating my collection of the coins of the modern Panjāb Native Chiefs.⁶³ All these coins are now in the British Museum. The modern Panjāb Native Chiefs who are entitled to coin money are Paṭiālā, Jind, Nābhā and Māler-Kōṭlā. They obtained the right in the last quarter of the XVIIth century, originally from Ahmad Shāh Abdālī (Durrānī) Afghān conqueror of Dehli. Paṭiālā, Jind and Nābhā are Sikhs; Māler-Kōṭlā Afghān. They all coined as independent Chiefs, and used the coin of Ahmad Shāh of his fourth year, i.e., of A.D. 1751, exactly as it stood. From that day to this there has been no change in the die beyond a mark, as the reigning Chief's special mark or crest. A gold coin struck for me at the mint at Paṭiālā in 1884 in my presence, bore the date 1751, i.e., year 4 of Ahmad Shāh.

"The only attempt to vary the die has been made by Nābhā, which State dates its coins by the Vikrama Samvat on the obverse, and uses the couplet adopted by the Sikhs of Lāhōr in the days of Ahmad Shāh. The reverse bears the date, 'Sanh-i-jalūs 4.'

"I once had a set of gold *mohars* from the Rājput (Hindu) State of Jaipur, purporting to have been struck during each year of Bahādur Shāh, the last emperor of Dehli (1838-1857 A.D.). But Jaipur was at no period of Bahādur Shāh's reign under his suzerainty, but was more under British suzerainty than any other Rājput State. The fact is that the Rājās used the Dehli coin as a convenience. The legends contained no record of real historical or political facts.

"In a letter to me, the late Mr. Gibbs, a good authority on such subjects, said that the same adaptation of anachronistic coins to local uses was the universal rule among the native states in Kachh.

"In Burma King Mindōn Min (1852-1878 A.D.) established a mint, indenting on London and Calcutta for his dies. This was about A.D. 1870, but his earlier coins all bear date, Burmese era 1214=A.D. 1852. All in Mandalay tell me that Mindōn Min used the peacock as his crest, and his son, Thibaw Min (1878-1885 A.D.) whom the English deposed, used the lion (or dragon). But I have 'lion' coins dated 1214=A.D. 1852. I am told by a man, who was once employed in the mint, that this was because 'the Burmans would sometimes use the reverse die of one coin with the obverse die of another.' It is also doubtful whether the Panjāb Chiefs really coined before Samvat 1820 = A.D. 1763, though their coins bear date A.D. 1751.

"The coins of the Buddhist kings of Arakan bore Muhammadan titles and designations, and even the *kalima*, long after the country ceased to be connected with the Muhammadan Kings of Bengal (Phayre's *History of Burma*, p. 78). The history of the early British coinage in India strongly exhibits the same falsification of facts, and is described by Prinsep as an 'unhappy tissue of misstatements as to names, places, and dates' (*Useful Tables*, Pt. I, p. 4).

"The inference therefore is that anachronisms are the rule, not the exception, in the coinage of Minor Oriental Mints."

In editing some of my father's travels (*Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal*, 1887, vol. II, pp. 75-76) I found the following passage: "In the afternoon we went to see the Mahārājā's mint [at Srinagar, Kashmir] on the banks of the Nahari Mar. The building and the whole workshop were very rude. The process of coining was as follows: The silver and the alloy of base metal were first melted and fused. A piece of the required weight was then separated, made as nearly round as a rough hand could make it, and struck with a hammer over a die. Thus was a Rupee, worth about 10 annas of the East India Company's money, produced. Precisely this same process is followed to this day at the Paṭiālā and other mints of the native States of the Panjāb."

In 1891 there is an informing article in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* (vol. XXXIX, No. 2022, Aug. 21, pp. 775ff.) on the *Mints of Hindustan in the 16th Century* by Arthur Wincham.

⁶³ That is, the article just quoted.

In the course thereof he states (p. 778) that Prof. Roberts-Austen referred in 1884⁶³ to "the old custom of slicing circular ingots to obtain the discs," and in connection with the Emperor Akbar he points out that it is still adopted in the mint at Kābul, "which it will be seen was one of the four chief localities for producing the coins of Hindustan in Akbar's time."

The passage quoted is as follows, and is of great interest as showing that the Indian Mint system was practically that of Kābul, and until quite modern times that of Europe and England :

"It is probable that the use of cast globules was followed by that of cast cylindrical rods of approximately the diameter of the coin; pieces cut transversely from these cylinders would, of course, be circular and could be easily adjusted in weight. There is no reason to believe that this method long survived in the English mints, but it is still practised in India, into which country it was probably introduced previous to the invasion by the Greeks. The beautiful coins of the Emperor Akbar were struck by this method. That it is still retained in India is shown by the following description of the process, as conducted at the Kābul Mint.⁶⁴ 'Silver, refined by cupellation, is melted with an equal amount of English rupees, and the mixture is ladled by hand into moulds, which give it the shape of flattened bars, twelve inches long. These bars are taken to a shed to be annealed, and are, by hammering, given the form of slender round rods. These rods are drawn through a perforated iron plate to give them a uniform circumference, after which they are cut by a chisel into short lengths or slices, of a size requisite to form the future rupee, each of which slices is carefully weighed. Those which are too light have a fragment of metal inserted in a notch, which is then closed up by hammering. The pieces are gently heated and hammered into round blanks, which are pickled in a boiling solution of apricot juice and salt, then struck by a blow of the hammer from engraved dies. The coins of Edward I. of England were produced by a similar process, but in this case the bars were probably square,⁶⁵ and the square fragments cut off were forged round with the tongs and hammer before being struck. This process was used from time to time in England, up to as late a period as 1561'".

The ancient European process of minting is clearly shown in Plate VII, which is from a wall found in the Casa dei Vetti at Pompei and is usually entitled *amorini monetari*. In the picture are shown a number of Cupids going through all the processes of making money, and it very well describes the proceedings I myself saw in Pafialā in 1893. The picture must have been painted about the very commencement of the Christian Era.

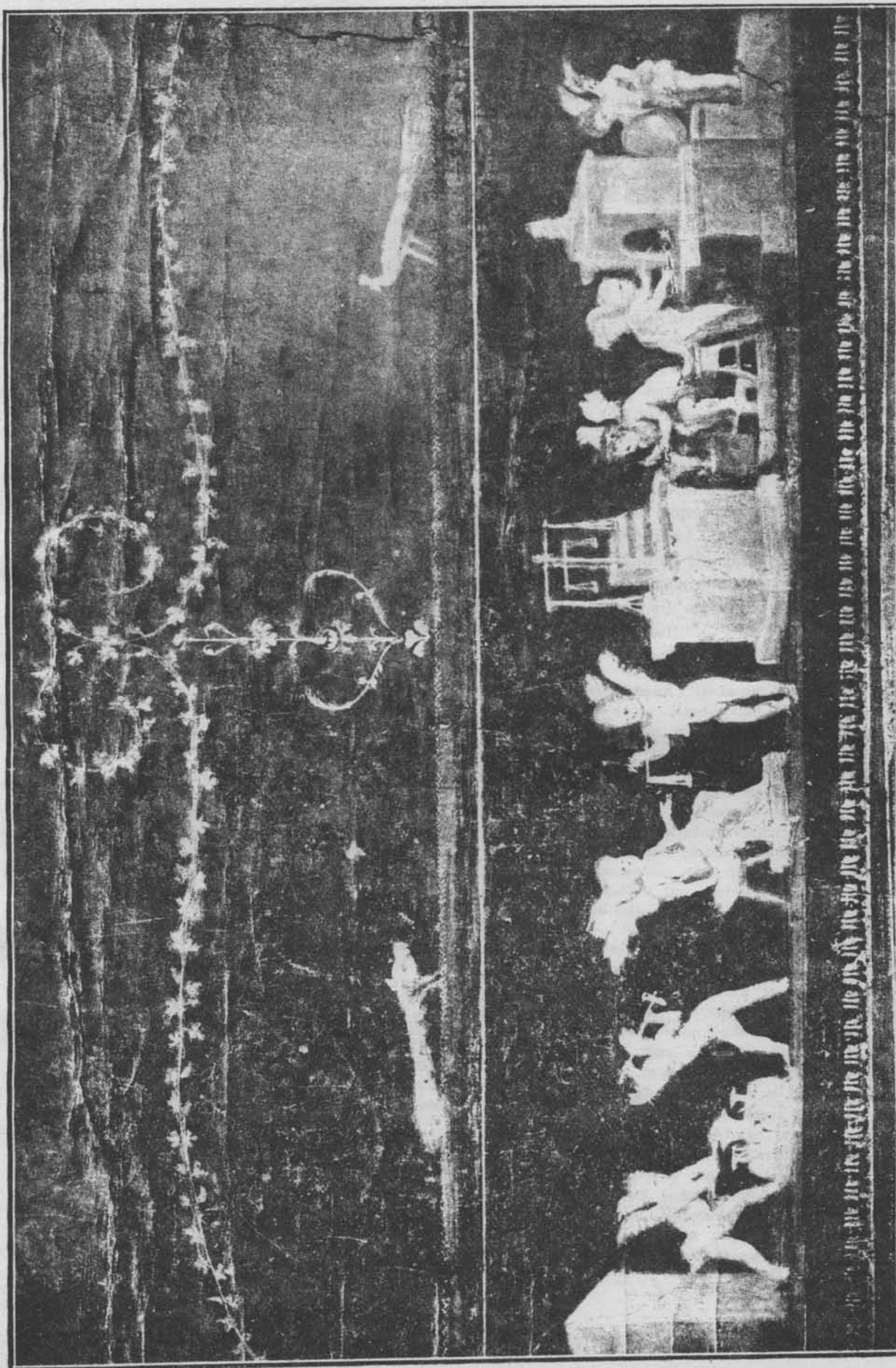
I have already referred to Charles Neufeld's account of the proceedings of the Khalifa 'Abdu'llahi of Omdurman in the Soudan as to his currency. These forced him to try and coin money for himself, and we have an account of his minting operations by Neufeld (*Wide World Magazine*, 1899, vol. IV, No. 21, Dec., pp. 235-6), which is very valuable, as he was employed in a capacity of importance at the Mint, and it shows how the Oriental with the best machinery available can make very little way with minting without European assistance.

"It was while the peculiar currency question was at its height that Abbaji came forward with his scheme for a coining press; and, in order that I might assist him, I was transferred to the Khartoum arsenal . . . The arsenal was presided over by Khalil Hassanin, at one time a clerk under Roversi, in the department for the repression of the slave trade. Although ten years had elapsed since the fall of Khartoum, the arsenal must have been in as perfect working order as when Gordon made it into a modern Woolwich workshop. Power was obtained from a traction engine, which drove lathes, a rolling-mill, drills, etc.; while punches, iron scissors, and smaller machinery were worked by hand. In the shops proper were three engines

⁶³ See the same *Journal*, Cantor Lecture, *Alloys used for Coinage*.

⁶⁴ Abridged from an account given in the *Times*, September 10th, 1880.

⁶⁵ *Red-book of the Exchequer*, quoted by Leake, p. 76.



POMPEI CASA LEI VETTI

MINTING IN POMPEI

AMORINI MONETARI

and boilers complete, ready to be fitted into Nile steamers; and duplicates and triplicates of all parts of the machinery then in use were also ready in case of accidents. Smelting, casting, moulding and modelling were all carried on in the place. The store-room was filled with every imaginable tool and article required for the smithy, carpenters' shops, and the boats. All the metal of the Soudan had been collected here. There were parts of cotton presses and sugar mills; bars of steel and iron; ingots of brass and copper; iron, copper, and brass plates; and the heavier class of tools and implements. I was assured by Osta Abdallah, a rivetter in the shops in Gordon's time, that there was enough material in the place to build three more boats and keep the whole fleet going for many years. He did not exaggerate either. All other administrations were supplied by the Khartoum arsenal with whatever they required in the way of tools, furniture, iron and other metal work, cartridge presses, and steel blocks for coinage; and very efficiently indeed was the work turned out.

"The little time I spent in the arsenal was, of course, fully occupied with the coinage question. Two men were kept constantly engaged casting square steel blocks for the Omdurman mint. These blocks were polished and cut in Omdurman, and twenty-five sets were generally in use at the same time. Possibly two hundred men were employed in the melting of the copper and casting it into moulds the size and thickness of the dollars. The discs were next passed on to people who gave them the impression. This was obtained by planing the disc on the lower block and then hammering the upper block upon it. The impressions produced were in the main very poor. The coins spread and split and the dies also were constantly splitting and breaking. After we had studied the process and Abbaji had explained his ideas of a press, I suggested we should commence operations with the punching-machine. We experimented until we had succeeded in smashing the dies and spoiling sheets of copper and in the end smashing the machine itself."

BOOK-NOTICES.

1. INTRODUCTION AND NOTES TO CUNNINGHAM'S ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA.
2. IDENTIFICATION OF MERU UPROOTED BY THE RASTRAKUTA KING INDRA III.
3. THE HILSA STATUE INSCRIPTION OF 35TH YEAR OF DEVAPALA.
4. A NEW VERSION OF THE RAMA LEGEND.

The four pamphlets by PROF. S. MAJUMDAR SASTRI of the Patna University enumerated above have reached me.

The first is an Introduction to the Study of Cunningham's well known *Geography of Ancient India*, accompanied by notes. It need hardly be said that Prof. Majumdar Sastri's Introduction and Notes are valuable to the student, and bring much of the now somewhat antiquated information contained in Cunningham's labours up to date.

The second deals with an unsolved point in the researches of Fleet and Sir R. G. Bhaddarkar into the early history of Māhārāshtra. The Meru in question was not a place but a king "probably identical with Prabhu-Meru-Deva, the Bāna."

The third is an edition of an important inscription of Devapāla, son of Dharmapāla, and grandson of Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty.

The fourth and last pamphlet is of unusual interest, as it reveals a new version of the Rāma Legend. The interest in Prof. Majumdar Sastri's investigations is to be seen in his opening and

concluding paragraphs. He begins by stating: "It is known to every Hindu that the 'passing of Sītā' to the nether world has been narrated in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of Valmiki's *Rāmāyana*. But Bhavabhūti has, in his *Uttara-Rāmacharita* united her with Rāma. And critics have come to the conclusion that the dramatist has turned the tragic history of Rāma into a comedy, as tragedies are seldom met with in Sanskrit dramatic literature. But before accepting this theory we ought to investigate whether the 're-union of Rāma with Sītā (after the latter's abandonment by the former) has anywhere been described in early Sanskrit literature or not. And the result of my investigation on the subject is that Bhavabhūti borrowed it from Guṇādhyā, whose work is now popularly familiar to us in the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. Sanskrit version—the *Kathāsaritsāgara*."

The pamphlet then winds up thus: "Then it is clear that the re-union of Rāma with Sītā, or, to put it otherwise, the legend of Rāma without a tragic end was narrated, at least, in one of the two recensions of the *Bṛhat-kathā*, which was composed a few centuries before Bhavabhūti. As for the latter's familiarity with Guṇādhyā's work it is clear from the fact, pointed out by Professor Lévi, that the plot of Bhavabhūti's *Māhātī-Mādhava* was borrowed from the original of the tale of *Madirīvati* in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*."

R. C. TEMPLE.

JOHN MARSHALL IN INDIA: Notes and Observations in Bengal, 1668-1672 : edited and arranged under subjects by SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN, LITT.D. (Oxford University Press. Twenty-one shillings net.)

This is a remarkable book in many ways. From the information conveyed in the Preface, it would appear that the individual who has contributed the least towards its composition is the gentleman whose name is presented on the title-page. Nevertheless, in vol. IX of the *Proceedings of the Indian Records Commission* (Lucknow, December 1926), twenty pages are given to "a paper by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan" which purports to be, and in fact is, an advance copy of the Introduction to the present volume. We now learn from the Preface that Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's share in this Introduction and in "the arrangement of the work under appropriate headings" has been "very small:" and if we may judge from other admissions, the notes are largely, if not entirely, provided by others. For example, the notes to Chapter VIII are wholly supplied by Sir Richard Temple and Dr. Ganganatha Jha, and the whole of the section on Indian Astronomy is edited by Mr. G. R. Kaye. We are left wondering what (if anything) remained to be "edited and arranged under subjects." Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan believes that "the book will revolutionize our conceptions of seventeenth-century India." This estimate of its contents is too high: we shall be on safer ground when we suggest that it is more likely to revolutionize our conception of authorship in modern India.

John Marshall does not play a prominent part in the early history of the East India Company: but he went to Bengal at the mature, and unusually late, age of twenty-five, after graduating at Christ's College, Cambridge, and occupied his leisure in the serious study of Indian antiquities. "If his researches had been published in 1680," wrote Professor E. B. Cowell in 1872, "they would have inaugurated an era in European knowledge of India, being in advance of anything which appeared before 1800." The manuscripts which are now printed are to be found in the Harleian collection at the British Museum, and use has already been made of them by Sir Richard Temple in various publications and (in a lesser degree) by Dr. C. R. Wilson. Among the Harleian MSS. is also preserved a rough translation of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* which was made from a Persian version of the Sanskrit, and Marshall likewise owned at the time of his death at Balasore on 31 August 1677, a number of "Arabian and Persian books" and a "history of China in folio," which have disappeared.

The Diary, which forms the first part of the volume, begins with his election as a factor: "I writ to my brother" on 1 January 1667-8, "That I had a great desire to travell." The outward voyage is described in detail. He arrived in Balasore Road on 5 July 1669, from Masulipatam, and

set out for Hūgli in the February following. In April 1670 we find him at Patna, then under the charge of Job Charnock, and he remained there until September, when he returned to Hūgli with a fleet loaded with saltpetre. His next station was Balasore where he arrived on 16th October. In January 1670-1 he was back in Hūgli once more and from May 1671 to March 1672 was again at Patna. For the next four years he was "Second" at Kāsimbāzār and in December 1676 took over charge of the office of Chief at Balasore and "Sixth in the Bay." The last connected entry in the Diary records his arrival at Patna on 25 May 1671; but a few other entries of various dates are added which cover the period to March 1672. In Chapter VI an account is given of the famine in Patna at the latter end of May 1671, and this is followed by a number of geographical notes and comments on Hindu religion and philosophy, astrology, chronology, medicine, folklore and manners and customs. Chapter XII deals with Muhammadan laws and customs, with a cursory allusion to the Persis; and in the final chapter various miscellaneous notes, which cover a wide field, are grouped together.

The commentary at the end of each chapter is packed with information, as might be expected from the "co-operation" of the many "specialists" who are named in the Preface, and of others who are not named.

H. E. A. C.

LETTERS ON RELIGION AND FOLKLORE, by the late F. W. HASLUCK, M.A., annotated by MARGARET HASLUCK, M.A., Cambridge. Luzac & Co., London, 1926.

The gifted widow of the yet more gifted former Librarian of the British Archaeological School at Athens has performed a notable labour of love in editing his last letters. The fine work he was doing for the archaeology of Near Eastern Christianity was cut short by tuberculosis, and after a short time he died at Leysin, the Swiss resort of those unfortunately attacked by that fell disease. From Athens he travelled over the South of France in search of health, till finally he settled down at Leysin, but throughout his fatal illness he was always full of hope, and though he could not write any more books, he carried on a lively and informing correspondence with a fellow worker, Prof. R. M. Dawkins, accompanied by many capital sketches. Extracts from these letters his widow has now published and they reveal the spirit of a really brave man.

It is not possible to review a book of this kind, and one cannot do more than draw the attention of scholars to it, and they will find it not only delightful reading but filled with information on many an obscure point in the study of the Near East. Indeed, Mrs. Hasluck has a passage in her Preface which is worth taking to heart in this

connection : "Young students may also welcome the suggestions of subjects for research on pp. 28, 52, 120, 162."

R. C. TEMPLE.

INDIA'S PAST, a Survey of her Literatures, Religions, Languages and Antiquities, by A. A. MACDONELL. Oxford University Press, 1927.

In this handy little volume Professor Macdonell reviews, as he expresses it, "the mental development of the most easterly branch of Aryan civilization since it entered India by land till it came in contact by sea with the most westerly branch of the same civilization after a separation of at least 3000 years." Within the narrow compass of 273 pages the results of the researches of a host of modern scholars have been sifted and arranged in due sequence, forming a useful guide for the general reader as well as for the student. The greater portion of the book is devoted to a classified survey of Sanskrit literature, from the period of the Vedic hymns down to the late classical texts, including a useful summary of the technical literature on the various sciences. A chapter follows on the Indo-Aryan vernaculars and modern vernacular literature, with a very brief reference to the non-Aryan languages. The work may therefore be said to deal chiefly with the intellectual development of the Indo-Aryans since their ingress into northern India down to modern times. Political history has been excluded, and social and economic changes but incidentally referred to. In the last chapter ("The Recovery of India's Past") is told, succinctly but clearly, the fascinating story of how, by the research and devoted study of a succession of earnest workers, *quorum pars magna fuit* Professor Macdonell, the oldest literature of India has been made available to European scholars, and the ancient history of that country is being gradually disclosed to our view. The author shows how the marked paucity of ancient historical records has been, and is being, supplemented by the careful decipherment of inscriptions, in which India is fortunately so rich, and by the comparative study of coins, both of which materials have afforded such valuable aid to historical research. He enters a timely plea for the importance of searching out and collating the geographical data contained in the old records, and the preparation of maps to illustrate successive periods. The work hitherto done on these lines is very incomplete; and a correct knowledge of the geographical position is essential to a true understanding of history. Controversial subjects have generally been avoided, or where inevitably involved, as for instance the vexed questions of the ages to be assigned to the invasions of the Indo-Aryans, to the Vedic texts and the work of Pāṇini, they have been cautiously dealt with. In these matters the views of Professor Macdonell accord more or less with those to be held by Prof. A. B. Keith. No allusion has been made to the opinions expressed by Jacobi, Tilak, Grassman, Westergaard, Ipsen, Hertel and others. The

fact is that when we receive the eagerly-awaited detailed description of the discoveries made at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro our conceptions of the ancient history of north-western India may have to be completely recast.

The illustrations, consisting mostly of specimens of MS. records and architectural and archaeological remains, with a few portraits of notable persons, in some cases serve to explain and in other cases to supplement, the text. A very full index completes the work, which has been excellently printed.

After more than fifty years' connexion with the study and teaching of Sanskrit, Professor Macdonell has, to the great regret of his numerous old pupils and friends, found it necessary to resign his professorial chair; and we trust that he will now have the leisure required for the completion of the great work to which perhaps there is a veiled allusion in Chapter II.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

ANTIQUITIES OF INDIAN TIBET, Part II. The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles (vol. I of the ASI, New Imperial Series). By A. H. FRANCKE, PH.D. Calcutta, 1926.

This is the second volume of Dr. Francke's *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*. The first volume, edited by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, appeared in 1914. The present volume, which has been edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas, has been published after an interval of some 12 years, for reasons explained in the Foreword. It deals almost exclusively with historical matter. We have here presented to us for the first time a complete edition of the Tibetan text, based upon 5 MSS., of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, or History of the Kings of Ladakh, with an English translation, interspersed with numerous explanatory notes. This history takes up the first portion of the volume. The second half contains a number of minor chronicles, genealogies and records (texts and translations), with relevant extracts from Vigne's *Travels*, Cunningham's *Ladak* and other sources. Dr. Francke has, in fact, gathered together all the material so far available for a connected account of the history of the area of which he treats down to the year 1886 A.D. The earlier portions of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* includes a brief history of the ancient empire of Great Tibet, while the later part deals with Western Tibet. Dr. Francke is convinced that all the earlier groups of kings are non-historical, and belong to Bon-po mythology, that the first three and a half chapters contain only legendary matter, and that we first reach the firm ground of history with Sron-btsan-agam-po (800-850 A.D.), though his four ancestors in the ascending line may possibly be historical persons, thus taking us back to about 480 A.D.

As to the authenticity of the histories, Dr. Francke, who has made a special study of all the epigraphical records of these districts, comes to the conclusion that the kings of the Rnam-rgyal dynasty are historical realities, their order of

succession as given in the chronicle being the same as found in the inscriptions on stone. He also finds that the chronicles do not contain anything that conflicts with the contemporary history of other countries, so far as a comparison can be made.

The work is illustrated by five good maps of Ladakh and neighbouring districts prepared from the Survey of India sheets, with the names printed in accordance with the correct orthography, and is furnished with a full and well-prepared index. We look forward to the further part of this scholarly work promised in the Introduction, dealing with the inscriptions on stone, etc.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

TWO ARTICLES ON ST. THOMAS: (1) WAS ST. THOMAS IN SOUTH INDIA, an examination of Dr. J. N. Farquhar's Thesis, by T. K. JOSEPH. *The Young Men of India*, July, 1927. (2) THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. THOMAS, THE APOSTLE, by A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR. *JASB.*, July, 1927.

I have on my table two articles produced in the same month by natives of South India, which show how closely the story of St. Thomas, is being studied by Indian scholars, and it is well that this should be the case. Both of these articles are well worth attention, as they are honest attempts to get at the truth.

Mr. Joseph's opinion is summed up in his pp. 17f: "St. Thomas died in Arachosia (Southern Afghanistan), but Calamina (an assumed site of his death) need not be looked for there. It is Chennamalai near Mylapore (Madras) in South India." . . . (p. 14). "The saint who lies buried in Mylapore—I call him the Calamina saint—died in circumstances quite different from those of St. Thomas's martyrdom." Mr. Joseph here usefully draws the attention of searchers (p. 18) to the "marked tendency in Malabar to misappropriate and mislocate well known heroes of Hindu history and legend," and gives instances. He might have extended them considerably by taking into his purview the habits of the Burmese, the Mons and the Siamese further to the East.

Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar's article is of a different nature. He subjects the early authorities on the St. Thomas legend in South India to a most valuable criticism in quite the right way. He quotes them from the original where he can, and discusses them each in chronological order. He divides them into two categories: before and after the Portuguese in-

vestigations into the alleged martyrdom of St. Thomas, i.e., before and after 1545. The survey of the evidence is both thorough and fair, and it leads the writer to certain definite conclusions, which all students would do well to consider carefully.

R. C. TEMPLE.

JOURNAL OF FRANCIS BUCHANAN IN SHAHABAD (District of Bihar) in 1812-1813: edited by C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, 1926. Govt. Press, Patna, India.

There is much more in this modest book than appears at first sight. It is in fact an admirably edited print of the *Journal* of a celebrated writer, who lost much more in literary reputation than possibly he ever realised by changing his name to Buchanan-Hamilton—his work as Buchanan being thereby much neglected.

This *Journal*, which is here printed for the first time, was made during Buchanan's survey of the Shāhābād District in 1812-1813—a district nearly a century later in the care of Mr. Oldham himself. Like all Buchanan's work it is filled with details of every kind that could be useful to the Government of his day, and is extraordinarily accurate. Indeed Mr. Oldham remarks in his Introduction that he "was amazed at the facts disclosed", when he first read it. In this instance Buchanan had the misfortune of having his work included in Martin's *Eastern India* without his name being placed on the title page, but Mr. Oldham has now reproduced it in full with proper description to the original author. He has done more, as he knows the district inside out and has so been able to correct certain errors made by Buchanan, and to elucidate from his own wide reading many points of interest in the Diary, such as the book really is.

Buchanan noticed everything he could and made notes, therefore of the greatest value, on the botany, geology, archaeology, ethnography, history and geography of the District, on all of which subjects Mr. Oldham has added his own equally valuable annotations. It only remains to remark that places like Sāsārām and its environs, Durnāon, the Tutrāhī Falls, Rohtāgarh, the Guptāvar Caves, and many another point of historical or legendary interest are described at length, to show the value of the book to the student of things Indian.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

FRANGI—PARUNKI.

Here is a new form of Frangi=Feringhee=Frank. In a note to "Thomas Cana and his Copper Plate Grant," ante vol. LVI, p. 184, Fr. Hosten has a note: "The Malayalam name for the Portuguese was, and is, Parunki."

R. C. TEMPLE.

HOBSON-JOBSON:

Here is an excellent note from Morrier, *Travels Persia*, 1816, p. 6. "Bombareek, which by sailors is also called Bombay Rock, is derived originally from Moobarek, happy, fortunate."

R. C. TEMPLE.

A NAIR ENVOY TO PORTUGAL.

By U. B. NAIR.

THE recent Goa Exposition, which synchronized with the tercentenary of the canonization of Francis Xavier, has drawn the homage not only of the Catholic world but of all spiritually-minded Indians to Xavier's memory in a special degree. The event set many people writing about the Saint, but few of them, I fear, have succeeded in shedding fresh light on his career. An exception is afforded by the Rev. J. C. Castets, S.J., of Trichinopoly, who lectured so informingly at Goa on Xavier's Mission to the Paravas. Father Castets only dealt with one episode of the Saint's Indian career. But that episode holds sufficient to merit attentive study. The lecture is well worth reading, especially as it depicts an India that has passed into oblivion. He makes a slight reference therein to the part played by "one Juan da Cruz" in christianizing the pearl-fishers. And thereby hangs a tale.

Now who is this Juan da Cruz? Father Castets, as reported, makes but the barest reference to this remarkable man. This shadowy figure with a Portuguese patronymic he describes, in passing, as having applied on behalf of the Paravas for Portuguese protection against their Muhammadan trade-rivals and—the better to succeed in this request—for their baptism. The reader is thus led to believe that Juan's share in this transaction was negligible—in other words, it was that of a mere case of 'also ran'. This however is far from the truth. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that this Hindu in Portuguese garb was primarily and mainly instrumental for the conversion of the fisher folk—nay, he was in a sense the forerunner of the great Xavier himself on the Pearl Coast. There is, however, not even a vague hint or suggestion of this well-known historical fact in the lecture. Surely, the reader would like to know something about so remarkable a man. A friend and coadjutor of 'the Apostle of the Indies', his name now and then crops up in the Saint's letters and is variously written Juan da Cruz, Juan de la Cruz, Joam de Cruz and St. John of the Cross. Judged alone by his achievements, this 'Malabar Prince' and 'native Christian' (as he is termed in the latest *Life of Xavier*) was undeniably a hero. With the aid of the priceless records in the archives of Lisbon and Rome it may be possible for a future biographer to reconstruct an adequate "life" of Juan, but that, as Kipling would say, is "another story."

For the nonce, let us attempt a thumb-nail sketch of this great Malayalee. Some of the Saint's letters (contained in Coleridge's *Life*, 1872) clearly state that he was a Nair, although his latest biographer is not quite so explicit. The latter (Edith Anne Stewart, 1917) in one place refers to him as 'a Malabar prince or nobleman, who had come into touch with the Portuguese and had become a Christian'; while in another, as a 'Parava convert' with a fair grip of the Law of God; and as 'a native Christian of the Fishery Coast and one of the principal men of that land'. Where doctors differ laymen are sometimes the best judges, but there is absolutely no uncertainty about Juan's origin. He was presumably, at the outset of his career, an influential Nair functionary of the Zamorin's Court. Here are the few known facts concerning him. He visited Portugal in the early decades of the sixteenth century (1513 has been, obviously incorrectly, suggested as the very year) as an envoy of the Zamorin. João III was then king, and he received the deputation from Calicut with great pleasure. The Nair envoy was knighted and named after the Portuguese monarch, and he, of course, became a Christian. João de Cruz—Sir John of the Cross—as he now became, was perhaps (with the exception of Manoel Nair) the first Indian to receive such a high mark of royal favour from Portugal. He was, be it noted, the first knight of any European order from Malabar, anticipating Sir C. Sankaran Nair by some 400 years. The Hindu knight was lionised in Court circles and by Church dignitaries in Portugal, but when he returned home to Malabar he was put out of caste and banished the country by the Zamorin. He then transferred himself and his allegiance for a time to Cochin, whose ruler, as is well-known, had a hereditary feud with the Zamorin. Eventually he quitted the inhospitable pepper coast of Malabar for the

promising pearl-coast of Tinnevely. The fishers of that coast, the Paravas, a mild and harmless race, had been for years past suffering much at the hands of the local Arab traders, vaguely designated 'Moors'. One of these gentry, in sheer devilment, had gone the length of cutting off a Parava's ear. This deadly affront had to be wiped out in blood, and immediate war ensued. This was the psychological moment of Juan's advent to the Piscarian (Fishery) coast. The story that he was installed as the chief of the Paravas appears to have no historical basis, but rests merely on the assumption of casual English writers on the subject. However, this may be, there is no doubt that he gained an ascendancy in the counsels of the Paravas and he helped to bring about their wholesale conversion.

Turselline and Teixeira, the earliest biographers of Francis, throw a flood of light on this mass conversion. The former, in some respects the best biographer of the Saint, describes Juan as a "Christian Knight, a converted native noble, who had gone to Portugal and been received with favour by the King", and the manner in which he influenced the Paravas. Coleridge gives the following excerpt from Turselline :—"He (Juan) being a man both grave and pious, and hoping this fear of theirs might be an occasion to bring in the Gospel of Christ among them, so as at once they might be set free from the misery both of their war and their superstitions, told them his opinion was that in this extremity of danger they were to fly to extreme remedies ; and seeing, contrary to all justice and equity, they were betrayed by their own kings, and hardly charged on all sides by their enemies' forces, they should implore aid of the Almighty King of Heaven and of the Portuguese their friends, who were His devoted and religious servants : that so, protected by the Portuguese and the Divine assistance, they might not only defend themselves, but also triumph over their enemies". In a word he exhorted the Paravas : "you must change into Christians and then the Portuguese will come to your help and you will see no more of these Muslims". Teixeira, who had known the Saint in India, on the other hand, pithily avers that from a cut ear the Lord drew the salvation of many souls. By both accounts, Juan was undeniably the Lord's instrument in this noble enterprise. In fact, he forestalled Xavier as a great gatherer of souls in this rich virgin vineyard on the Coromandel Coast. The war with the Moors gave him his opportunity. The hapless victims of the extortionate Arabs trod the path he showed them, and they were rid of their oppressors. This was the ready path of Christianity.

So Juan headed a deputation of Parava *patangatins* (or *maires-de-village*) to Cochin, the deputation was straightway baptised, and everything turned out just as Juan had prophesied. At his intercession a strong Portuguese fleet and a goodly number of Franciscans sailed for the pearl-coast. The Portuguese guns opened fire on the Arab dhows and the Moors were annihilated. The Franciscans landed and baptized 20,000 Paravas on the spot. This was the seed-root of Christianity among the Paravas.

Father Castets, who had delved deep into the archives of the Jesuit Library at Rome in the preparation of his paper, has kindly placed at my disposal the following facts gleaned by him regarding Juan. He controverts the theory of Juan's installation as Chief of the Paravas. In a private letter he writes :—"The letters of St. Fr. Xavier (Spanish) make mention often of the help given him by the Jadi Talaver (caste headman) of the Paravas. That head is said to be a Paraver, as was but natural, and is called Manuel da Cruz. Or. Conguist (Portuguese) mentions the fact of João being a very noble Malabarin, having been sent on an embassy to Lisbon, having been the intermediary between the Parava delegates and the Captain of Cochin, but says nothing of his having been made Head of the Paravas. The Portuguese besides had no authority over the Paravas or over the Fishery Coast and could not therefore impose a chief on them, while the Paravas were most unlikely to choose or accept, as Head, a man of any other caste but their own. As for Coleridge's account of motives from Turselline, it is mere story, not history. F. Valignani who wrote, on the spot, a few years after the event, with companions of Xavier as his informers, traces it plainly to a brawl caused by conflict of interests and Mahomedan highhandedness".

João da Cruz—envoy, fishermen's friend and protagonist in the fierce strife between Parava and Moor—was essentially a man of action. His religious acts were, not unoften, determined by policy. Instance his advice to the Paravas. Their peril was his opportunity. It is worthy of note that he was no believer in the miracle-stories attributed to Xavier. We have the high authority of the *Monumenta Xaveriana* for this statement. This valuable collection of original Xavier letters and documents published in Madrid some few years ago, makes it clear that this Nair convert had a very fair grip of the 'Law of Christ'. The only miracles he knew, he is reputed to have said, was that the Saint 'did indeed much and very miraculously in separating the Christians from their sins and vices'—an assertion which strikes one as echo of Francis' own judgment.

Nor was Juan the solitary instance of a Nair noble who attained eminence in the Portuguese epoch. The late Sir William Hunter mentions the well-known case of 'a Malabar native Christian', Antonio Fernandes Chale, Knight of the Military Order of Christ, who rose to high military rank and, dying in action in 1571, was accorded a State funeral at Goa. But the career of this native commander of foot, interesting to us in these days of the proposed Indianisation of our Army, is cast into the shade by Manoel Nair.

This personage, "a relation of the king of Cochin," appears to have been accidentally carried to Portugal in one of Cabral's ships; and his story, as told in *Lendas da India*, reads almost like a page of the *Arabian Nights*. Cabral presented the youth, attired in the characteristic fashion of the Nair warrior of the time to King Manoel the Fortunate, and he conversed with His Majesty in pidgin Portuguese. His knowledge of that language, however, improved in course of time, and he became a favourite at Court. One Sunday, when the king was at Mass, the youth, who stood by, expressed his wish to become a Christian. Then and there he was baptized by an eminent bishop, with Vasco da Gama and Cabral as godfathers, and named after the king himself. Manoel Nair—to call him by his new name—received a villa and an ample pension, and was employed as the king's Indian secretary to indite confidential Malayalam despatches on Indo-Portuguese affairs to the King of Cochin. He was subsequently raised to the status of hidalgo. He appears to have died a bachelor, and by royal command he was honourably buried in the Cathedral of Evora, his wealth having been under his will given to the church and his servants.

Juan da Cruz, on the other hand, appears to have married an Indo-Portuguese wife.

THOMAS CANA.

By T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

(Continued from page 124.)

I shall end these remarks with a note on an Italian play about Travancore and the Deccan, which Mgr. A. M. Benziger, the Bishop of Quilon, showed me during my all too short stay at Quilon in 1924. The play appears to be founded purely on imagination. I had no time to do more than write down the title and the *dramatis personae*. It must be exceedingly rare now.

La conversione di Travancor, e Dacen regni dell' Indie. | Opera Scenica del Sig. Michel Stanchi dedicata All' Illustriss. Signore Monache della Concettione di S. Maria in Campo Marzo. | In Roma, Per il Dragondelli, 1668. | Con licenza de' Superiori. | Si vendono in Piazza Nauona nella Bottega di Bartolomeo Lupardi all' Insegna della Pace. Pp. 3; 162; 4 blank pages. At p. 5:

INTERLOCUTORI.

Tricanoro Rè di Trauancor.

Clarinda Principessa sua cugina.

Damira Damigella.

Fidalbo Rè di Dacen.

Grotilde sua Sorella sotto nome d'Araminta.

Cornelia Matrona.

D. Fernando Cavalier Spagnuolo Cristiano.

Alonso suo seruo.

Megrane Zio di Tricanoro.

Aribenio suo seruo.

Girello Paggio di Tricanoro.

Oruante Ministro principale di Dacen.

La scena rappresenta il Palazzo Reale in Villa.

The 1st Act contains 19 scenes; the 2nd, 27 scenes; the 3rd, 25 scenes.

At the fourth blank page these words in MS.: Se questo libro si perdesse ed il Patrone non si trouasse legerete il quitto verso e vedrete chi la perso Jo. Picoan: Antonio di Lucca 1783.]

Of the contents I have not the slightest recollection.

Document No. 6 communicated by Fr. Hosten.

From *The South India Christian Repository*, Vol. II (1838), Madras, American Mission Press, pp. 191-195.

The author of a Malayalam MS. account of Christianity in India, after describing the persecution of Manikka Vāsakar, proceeds:

"It pleased divine providence at length to remove the calamity, and confirm their faith, by their receiving an authentic document, stating, that the bishop of Oruoy, or Antioch, had seen a vision by night, the appearance of a man saying to him: 'In the regions of Malayalam where I had successfully spread the truths of Christianity, and sacrificed my life in the discharge of my duty, I feel much concern that Christianity should be so grievously defective, and the Christian name abused under the form of Hinduism! The bishop on awaking sent for several ministers of the gospel, and acquainted them with the dream, and he afterwards went to Jerusalem to the patriarch, whom the bishop consulted upon the subject, and immediately an ecclesiastical council was held; and it was determined that a respectable merchant named Kanoy Thoma, or Thomas, should be deputed to the Malabar Coast, to ascertain whether any of the converts of the apostle existed. Accordingly the merchant embarked on a vessel laden with rich commodities in prosecution of his voyage to the East Indies, and arrived on this coast, and visited the Christians, and his belief was confirmed by the crucifix he saw,

as well as by the accounts he received from them ; he was, however, grieved to find that the state of the Christians had so greatly (P. 193) declined, and the few good converts remaining had laboured under every possible disadvantage, especially by having no ordained minister of the gospel among them. The merchant Kanoy Thoma, who was honoured with this special mission, discharged his duty with fidelity, and he lost no time in conveying the tidings of the primitive Christians whom he found settled on the Coast of Malabar to the bishop of Antioch. Further it is certain that, from the interesting accounts he gave, a bishop with a few presbyters or Kashushas, Shemshanas or deacons, together with several families of Syrians were despatched under the care of the merchant Kanoy Thoma, with a view that the Christian religion might be re-established, and preached in its purity in all the primitive churches in Malayalam. Subsequently the bishop of Antioch landed at Codungalore, commonly known by the name of Cranganore, with his ecclesiastical suite and followers, accompanied by the merchant, and on their arrival the converts of the apostle Thomas named Dareoygul as above observed, with others belonging to the Cotaycoyle, were rejoiced to find that the evils which prevailed among them were likely to be removed, and were inspired with confidence ; and those difficulties were surmounted which had frustrated the extension of knowledge and religious liberty amongst them.

"The bishop soon after his landing, together with the merchant, visited the then sovereign of Malayalam, Sharakone Permaul, to whom they made several rich and costly presents, and took this occasion to mention to the rajah their design, and how Christianity had been introduced, and found an asylum in this part of the world from the earliest times. The rajah received them with the utmost kindness, and promised to allow them the free exercise of their religious worship, so long as the sun and moon endureth, and further called these luminaries to witness the truth of his declarations ; and at the same time the raja was pleased to confer fresh testimonies of his approbation by certain honourable distinctions, together with valuable and costly presents. (P. 194). [Footnote:—]

Thundu ¹⁰⁰	..	.. A costly Palankeen, conveyance made to hang on silk cords.
Pullauku	..	.. Do. Palankeen.

¹⁰⁰ Here I shall comment on the privileges enumerated, giving the correct forms of the words first. (1) *Tañṭe* : a kind of palanquin ; (2) *Pallakke* : another kind of palanquin ; (3) *Paravatāni* : carpet ; (4) *Pafichavaṭam* : chain of gold hung from the neck ; (5) *Veñchāmaram* : *chauri* or fly-whisk ; (6) *Alvaṭṭam* : fan made of peacock feathers ; (7) *Taja* : fan used as banner or standard ; (8) *Kuṭa* : a costly umbrella of coloured silk ; (9) *Nāṭanaṭṭe* : shouting *naṭa, naṭa*, i.e., 'on, on,' in a procession. This is done by men. (10) *Nārivāyṭkurava* : lingual cheers by women ; (11) *Añchinam vādyaññal* : five kinds of musical instruments, *vṛz*, two varieties of drums, gong, cymbals and trumpet ; (12) *Nāṭapāvāta* : walking cloth (cloth spread on the road for walking along) ; (13) *Pakalvilakke* : daytime lamp ; (14) *Maṇakkōlam* : small decorated pavilion or canopied dais for seating the bride and bridegroom when they have returned from church after the marriage ceremony ; (15) *Chappayum channamelkkeṭṭiyum* : a seat with an awning ; (16) *Uchchippū* : flower-like ornament for the crown of the head of women ; (17) *Nettippaṭṭam* : ornament covering the forepart of the head of women ; (18) *Kachchappuram* : a chain belt of gold or silver ; (19) *Munkaippatakkam* : ornament for the forearm ; (20) *Tōlvala* : bracelet for the upper arm ; (21) *Virachaññala* : wrist chain of gold granted to heroes ; (22) *Virataṇṭa* : anklet for heroes ; (23) *Kālcilampe* : tinkling foot ornament for women ; (24) *Pūṇūl* : thread or chain worn baldric-wise ; (25) *Chañkuchakram* : conch-shell for blowing, and the discus ; (26) *Itupaṭi* : draw-bridge at the gate ; (27) *Makarātōraṇam* : ornamental arches temporarily put up for festive occasions ; (28) *Nantāvilakke* : lamp burning day and night ; (29) *Hastakatakam* : bracelet for the hand or wrist ; (30) *Kanakamuṭi* : gold crown for bridegroom's head ; (31) *Abharapaññal* : ornaments in general ; (32) *Anamēl maṇṇunr* : purificatory water brought on an elephant.

Many of the above are mentioned in the extant Malabar Christian copper-plates. To English readers the privilege of wearing ornaments may seem to be no privilege to be obtained from a king. But Malabar is a land of curious customs and manners. Even so recently as A.D. 1818 (in the 19th century) Queen Parvati Bhai of Travancore had to issue a royal proclamation (dated 19th Mēdēṁ, 993 M.E.) allowing the Nairs and some other castes of her kingdom to wear ornaments of gold or silver without paying the usual fee to Government and obtaining the necessary sanction. The Brahmans and Syrian Christians of her land are not mentioned in the list, because they had the privilege already.

Purruwatauny	..	..A valuable carpet.
Punjaruttum	..	..Five kinds of insignia.
Venjamaram	..	..A fan made of white hair or fleccc.
Allavuttum	..	..An ornament.
Thallay	..	..A crown for the head.
Kodday	..	..Umbrella.
Nuddanuddatu	..	..To cry out with applause.
Nalvaykalavay	..	..To shout four times.
Anjeenauteangul	..	..Five kinds of Music.
Nuddupauvaday	..	..Cloth spread on the ground for a procession.
Puggalvalaku	..	..Day torch.
Munnacolum	..	..Seats of distinction, as those usually prepared for a bride and bridegroom.
Sunniam Sannamalay Cuttiam.	..	..At a procession dancing to be continued at alternate places, with shouts of applause.
Oochepao	..	..An ornament for the crown of the head made like a fan.
Neutheeputtiam	..	..A brace for the head.
Cutchauporavum	..	..An ornament, brace ornament for the rib.
Minykpuddagum	..	..An ornament or bracelet for the wrist.
Tholeyvullau	..	..An ornament or bracelet for the arm (P. 194).
Verichungaley	..	..A chain of honour worn on the head by an hero.
Veri Thundu	..	..An ornament for the leg.
Kaul Shahunt	..	..An ornament for the feet.
Ponenool	..	..A sacerdotal string of gold.
Thungaushukrum	..	..
Edoovaudy	..	..Arms.
Muggara Toranum	..	..Temporary arches set up on occasion of triumph.
Nundauvalukoo	..	..Day and night torches.
Austau Cuddiam	..	..Two hand bracelets.
Cunnakaumoody	..	..A gold ornament for the head.
Aubonangul	..	..Ornaments.
Annamale Munnuneray	..	..Elephant to carry sand and water.

" The privilege was also given to the Christian of seizing any cow or cows having five teats, and the bull called Shencambu madu¹⁰¹ and of enjoying all lands encroached on by rivers called Autoovypoo¹⁰², and besides three trees, viz., the Angelica¹⁰³, the Coomoolu Teak¹⁰⁴, and the Panchelmarum¹⁰⁵. They were also allowed to sport with dogs, and fish at pleasure; moreover an area of ground in the vicinity of Codungalore measuring 244 annakole equal to 2928 English feet; the above were presented to Kanoy Thoma and the Bishop according to

¹⁰¹ Cows usually have four teats. Those having three teats or five teats are prodigies, and were as such claimed by kings and chiefs and big landlords of Malabar. The bishops of the Syrian Christians too very likely had the privilege of appropriating such cows.

Shencambu madu is for *cheikkompu mâte* in Malayalam. It means a bull with straight, red, or auspicious horns, a prodigy. Ordinary bulls have curved horns.

¹⁰² *Attuvaiappu* or *Attuveppu* is land newly formed on their banks by rivers. These land deposits are now Government property.

¹⁰³ These three trees are *annili* or *ayani* (*Artocarpus hirsuta*), *kumpil* (*Gmelina arborea*) and *teak* (*Tectona grandis*). The last kind of tree is even now a royal tree, belonging to the king. People are prohibited from cutting it down without the sanction of Government.

¹⁰⁴ *Kumpil* and *teak* should be read separately, not as in the text.

¹⁰⁵ Correctly, *pâchchilmaram*, i.e., any tree borne down by rivers. Such trees are now Government property.

the custom of bestowing these grants; and were accepted from the Rajah with the ceremonies of offering flowers and sprinkling of water.¹⁰⁶

"These privileges likewise exempted them from all punishments; that is, from the tribunal of the higher powers consisting of Maudumbenaur¹⁰⁷, Noblemen or Princes, Rajahs, Hindu temple governments, and of the Town administrators, but in case of any offences committed by them, they were tried by the elders or members of the eighteen castes,

[Footnote:—]

Punjanar ¹⁰⁸	..	..	Pariahs.
Paumen	..	..	Tailors.
Villen	..	..	Bowmen.
Tachen	..	..	Sawyers.
Yerravekolen	..	..	Inferior smiths.
Thundaun	..	..	Wood cutter.
Savouracauren	..	..	Barbers.
Veirootian	..	..	Village mendicant.
Mullia Chitty	..	}	4 descriptions of Chetties.
Pullivaula Chitty	..		
Komana Chitty	..		
Cunnichemaullau Chitty	..	}	Sooders or Nairs.
Head Munnigraammu.	..		
matcheen or Manika.	..		
vassel's disciples.	..		
Elaven	..	..	Toddymen.
Cummaulen	..	..	Smiths.
Maumasau or Nassaranees.	..	..	Syrians.
Oravaulen	..	..	Moochymen, or Scabbard makers.

¹⁰⁶ When anything is granted as a permanent possession the donor gives the donee a document relating to the gifts, and pours (not sprinkles) water and flowers into the hand of the donee. This is an ancient custom.

¹⁰⁷ *Māṭampimār* are petty chiefs. The five mentioned here, viz., kings, chiefs (*kaimmāls*), petty chiefs (*māṭampimār*), temple governments, and town administrators seem to have had the right of taking cognizance of crimes.

Members of the eighteen castes is a mistranslation for lords over or masters of the eighteen (low) castes. The Syrian Christians were the acknowledged lords over eighteen low castes as stated in Portuguese records. It is on account of this high position that they are even to-day addressed by low castes on certain occasions as *patinenparishu Mālōr* or—*Achchannār* (i.e., lords of eighteen castes). See footnotes 108 and 109.

¹⁰⁸ There are several lists (in Malayalam) of these eighteen castes. But their real names and identity have not yet been ascertained. Eighteen castes—*patinen kuṭṭinai*—are spoken of in Tamil also.

I shall comment on the names in the present list. (1) *Pāṭkanār*: Pariah, (2) *Pāṇan*: tailor, (3) *Villan*: bow-maker, (4) *Tachchan*: carpenter, (5) *Irāṅkolli*: washerman, (6) *Taṇṭān*: wood-cutter and tree climber, (7) *Kahaurakkāran*: barber—there are two castes called *ampattān* (lower) and *vilakkittalavan* (higher), (8) *Vīraṭiyān*: a caste of mendicants who go about singing ballads about Thomas Cana and the 72 privileges. *Pāṇans*, No. 2, also do the same. They are said to have been specially set apart for the purpose by *Chēramān Perumāl*. (9) Chetties, four kinds not identified, (10) *Maṇigrāmattachchan*: Syrian Christian. He is wrongly included, for he is lord of the eighteen castes. One old cadjan MS. explicitly says that seventeen (*sic*) castes were subjected to the Syrian Christians. (11) *Īḷavan*: toddy maker, a Ceylonese caste. (12) *Kammālar*: artisans viz., carpenters, brass-founders, goldsmiths, blacksmiths and copper-smiths, (13) *Māmōdisūkkār*: the newly baptised converts from low castes (*Māmōdisū*=baptism in Syriac), (14) *Uṇavālan*: scabbard maker.

We have altogether seventeen low castes here, taking the two kinds of barbers and the four kinds of Chetties separately, and the *Kammālas* as one. And, including *Vishamāṇṭi Kurukkal* mentioned in the cadjan MS. referred to above, we get eighteen castes. But it is not known what this last caste is. (See foot-notes 107 and 109).

" which included the white Syrians¹⁰⁹, and they were subjected to the penalty of a fine or such punishment as the Arbitrator thought fit to inflict, but if it happened that the Syrian Christians were maltreated by any of the five tribunals, the case must appear before the Arbitrators; so that the tribunal, which had taken cognizance where a Syrian Christian was concerned, underwent the severest penalty of the law, that is if the case was not amicably adjusted by an adequate apology made by that tribunal. These privileges granted by the Rajah were said to have continued until the 920th *aundoo* or era of Colum, corresponding to A.D. 1745."

" Another Manuscript states that the name of the first bishop from Antioch was Joseph, and that he landed in the year 345 A.D. with four hundred and seventy-two Syrian families. This Bishop¹¹⁰ built a town near Cranganore on some land granted by the Rajah, and called it Mahadevarpatnam. The (P. 195) honorary distinctions granted to the Syrians were engraved on copper-plates, which are now in existence¹¹¹, as our readers are probably aware: but we suspect the date of these occurrences was many centuries later than that assigned. There certainly appears in this account of the colonization from Antioch and their reception by a heathen king very little of the spirit of the early ages of Christianity. It is also stated that an inscription on a slab of granite of the privileges granted by Charaman Permaul was placed on the north side of the Church¹¹² of Cranganore. Mar Joseph, it is said, ordained ministers, and appointed archdeacons (Malpans?) throughout the country. This state of things remained for 480 years, until 825; how the ministers were ordained does not appear, or whether there was any bishop in Travancore. But, as before observed, we doubt not that Mar Joseph was much more distantly removed from the days of the apostle. From the year 825 A.D. a series of bishops came from Antioch. The following is a list of them taken from a Syrian manuscript in the Conancode¹¹³ Church near Quilon."

List of Bishops.

Christian Era.	Malayala Era.	Bishops.	Metropolitans	Patriarchs.	Remarks.
825	1	....	....	....	....
825	1	Marsabore Ambroat ¹¹⁴	....	....	Landed at Cranganore ¹¹⁵ in company with Towrio ¹¹⁶ merchant.

¹⁰⁹ White Syrians seems to be a mistranslation of *māmūdīd samayakkār*, i.e., new converts from the low castes. See footnote 108, No. 13.

In connection with the arbitrators referred to in the text, the following passage may be read with advantage: "If a pagan of any of these" (eighteen) "tribes should receive an insult, he has immediately recourse to the Christians," (their authorized protectors) "who procure a suitable satisfaction. The Christians depend directly on the prince or his minister, and not on the provincial governors. If anything is demanded from them contrary to their privileges, the whole unite immediately for general defence. If a pagan strikes one of the Christians, he is put to death on the spot, or forced himself to bear to the church of the place an offering of a gold or silver hand, according to the quality of the person affronted".—La Croze summarised by Capt. Swanston in *JRAS.*, vol. I, 1834, p. 181. (See footnotes 107 and 108).

The grievances of the eighteen castes called *vitayakkār* (subject folk) used to be heard and disposed of by the Syrian Christians in an assembly called together for the purpose. The holding of these assemblies continued, according to some authorities, till A.D. 1745. How this date was arrived at it is difficult to say.

¹¹⁰ The bishop whom Thomas Cana brought is not usually said to have built a town.

¹¹¹ No. The two plates of Thomas Cana (A.D. 345) have been missing ever since A.D. 1544, when Bishop Mar Jacob handed them over to the Portuguese in Cochin. What now exist are five of the seven plates of the Quilon church (c. 880 A.D.), and the plate of Iravi Korttan (A.D. 1320).

¹¹² Not the north side of the Church, but of the temple of Cranganore. One cadjan MS. says that the stone slab lies "north of the Cranganore temple, and at the royal door of the temple of Ayyappan Iswaran."

¹¹³ This is Kappankōtē in Central Travancore.

¹¹⁴ These two are Mar Sabor and Mar Prodh, who is said to have come to Quilon in Travancore in 825 A.D. in Sabriso's ship. These bishops were condemned as Nestorians at the Council of Diamper, 1599, and the Churches in their name ordered to be renamed under the invocation of All Saints.

¹¹⁵ They are believed to have landed in Quilon, not in Cranganore.

¹¹⁶ Towrio is the merchant prince Sabriso, the founder (in A.D. 1825) of Quilon as an emporium rivalling Muziris (Cranganore).

905	81	Adanaka ¹¹⁷	....	....	....
988	164	....	Joannes	....	....
1056	232	Thome	....	....	....
1122	298	Jacob	....	....	....
1221	397	Joseph	....	....	....
1285	461	....	David	....	....
1407	583	Avalogas ¹¹⁸	....	....	....
1545	721	Abraham	....	....	....
1553	829	....	....	Ignatius	Landed at Cochin.
1665	841	....	....	Gregorios	....
1678	854	....	....	Andreas	....
1685	861	Evancoas	....	....	....
1708	884	....	Gabriel of Nestoria	....	....
1748	924	....	Evancoas	....	....
1751	927	Bassalios Metran	Gregorios	Evanios Episcope.	....

After this period no Bishops came from Antioch."

1. *The editor and the author of the Malayalam MSS.*—The anonymous editor of these notes appears to be the Rev. W. Taylor; for he refers (p. 189) to a previous article on St. Thomas, signed by W. Taylor, and translated from a Tamil MS. based on a Latin original. Cf. *South India Christian Repository*, I (1837), 263-266. In that case, the translations from the Malayalam would be by W. Taylor, and the MSS. used may have been MSS. of the Mackenzie Collection, Madras, of which W. Taylor was at this time making a *Catalogue raisonné*. The first Malayalam MS. would be later than 1745, a date to which it refers at the end. The editor had a list of churches in Malabar, written by the priest Abraham, a Jacobite, a recluse of 'Nedduncoon' in 'Shanganachary' ¹¹⁹ (pp. 203-205, *op. cit.*). The date of it seems to be "Trichoor in Cochin, 1820" (p. 205). Part of the list is said to come from a MS. of 1820 (p. 200). This Abraham would be the same person who in 1821 wrote a short account of the Syrians for W. H. Mill. Cf. Mingana, *Early Spread of Christianity in India*, reprint, 1926, pp. 50-53.

2. *Oruoy or Antioch.*—Did the author of the Malayalam account not know that Oruoy is Urhai, Urfa, Edessa? At p. 190 (*op. cit.*) he writes that the body of St. Thomas "was conveyed to Chinna Malei (the little Mount) and was afterwards buried at a place called Orayay." Little Mount is at Mylapore. Oruoy is clearly Edessa, and in most of our accounts of Thomas Cana we hear of a bishop of Edessa. When did Antioch come into the story of Thomas Cana? The fact that Oruoy is mentioned first would show that it is part of an earlier version. Its being equated with Antioch denotes ignorance or perhaps bias on the part of Jacobite storytellers, who would thus claim that the Jacobites came to India with Thomas Cana. Their story begins however only in the fifth century.

3. *The bishop's vision.*—We have the same story by another Jacobite writer of 1721, in the case of the bishop of Edessa. Cf. Mingana, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

4. *Christianity abused under the form of Hinduism.*—The idea is that Mānikka Vāchakar had caused the apostasy to Hinduism of many Christians in Malabar.

5. *Thomas Cana sent to reconnoitre.*—The same statement occurs in Land's *Anecdota Syriaca*; cf. Mingana, *op. cit.*, 44.

(To be continued.)

¹¹⁷ Adanaka seems to stand for Mār Danahā (Denha).

¹¹⁸ Avalogas may be Yāvalāhā (Jaballah).

¹¹⁹ Netunkunnam in Changanāśeri (in Central Travancore).

THE HOME OF THE UPANIŠADS.

By UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE, M.A., B.L.

WHERE were the Upaniṣads born? In what particular area, in what part of India, were these remarkable books brought into existence? Was it in the East or West or North or South, that these speculations first saw the light of day?

The question does not imply that all the Upaniṣads were born in one place, during one period of time and among one homogeneous sect of men. On the contrary, we have very good reasons to believe that the growth of this literature and its development was spread out over a fairly long period of time; and that all of these books were not written in the same locality and certainly not by the same hand.

The name Upaniṣad comprises a considerable number of books; and between an Upaniṣad like the Īśa and one called the Āllopaniṣad, there exist all the differences that may possibly exist between two books of the same class. And even between Upaniṣads which are more akin to each other, a difference of time and of place and also of authorship, may easily be noticed. Not only so, but, just as in the case of the Vedas proper, the different Śākhās imply temporal and geographical differences, and just as these differences are traceable in, among other things, the different readings of the Texts, so, among the Upaniṣads too, there exist different readings of common passages and common anecdotes, which indicate that differences of time and place have left their mark on these texts and these stories. The fact of different reading has been recognised even by Sāyana, in his commentary on the Nārāyaṇīya Upaniṣad (quoted by Max Müller, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 122n.): "Tadīya-pāṭhasampradāyo deśaviśeṣeṣu bahubidho dṛśyate, etc." So, a difference of time and of place may be detected not only among the diverse books, but even in the readings of the same book; for instance, in the anecdote of Bālāki and Ajātasatru, which occur in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Kauṣītaki*, and in the story of Pravāhana Jaibali, which occurs in the *Chândogya*, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Kauṣītaki*, though the main incidents are the same, still verbal differences in the accounts given are noticeable, indicating a difference of time and authorship.

As to authorship, however, indigenous tradition has a tendency to conceal it. The Upaniṣads constitute a part of the revealed literature of the country, and as such, according to the orthodox way of thinking, do not owe their origin to any human hand. But modern scholarship has not been baffled in its inquiry in this direction. It is possible now to draw definite conclusions, at least about the class of men among whom this literature was developed; and we are pretty certain that this was a sect of Brāhmaṇas, mainly itinerant, but sometimes also owning a settled home, who were the fathers of this cult. But whatever that may have been, this literature was not the product of one hand—it could not possibly have been.

So, when we ask the question about the home of the Upaniṣads, we do not imply that they were like an individual book, written by one hand, at a certain place, like John Bunyan writing his *Pilgrim's Progress*, within the four walls of the prison-house, or like Gray writing his *Elegy* in a Country Church-yard. We are quite alive to the varied differences among the books of the Upaniṣads. But they still have a family likeness about them; it is not in name only that they agree; the same—at any rate, a similar, trend of thought runs through them all, or, in any case, a great majority of them. This fact it is that is emphasised in *Vedānta-Sūtra* i. 1. 10. (*Ġatisāmānyāt*), where it is claimed that all the Vedāntas proclaim Brahma as the cause of the universe. Now, we only want to know where, in which particular part of India, was this speculation started and developed? The question necessarily implies that it is possible to fix, broadly, the limits of the territory within which Brahma-vidyā was originally cultivated.

Our enquiry in this matter will depend on three kinds of testimony: (i) the testimony of Śruti literature other than the Upaniṣads; (ii) the testimony of the Upaniṣads themselves; and (iii) the testimony of the later Sanskrit literature, e.g., the Purāṇas, etc.

(i) In the first place, Brahma-vidyā was a product of Āryāvarta. It was produced and for a long time cultivated, almost exclusively, within the territory bounded on the west and east by the sea, on the south by the Vindhya, and on the north by the Himālayas (see *Manu*, ii. 22). Later on, however, it migrated southwards, and in the seventh and eighth centuries after Christ, we find it flourishing in the south with a magnificent grandeur. The celebrated Śaṅkarāchārya, be it remembered, was a man of the south and developed his Vedantism in about this period.

But the south has never been recognised as the original home of the Upanisads. In the Śrutis other than the Upanisads, there is little or no reference to any place south of the Vindhya; and in the Upanisads, too, there is none, with perhaps the solitary exception of Vidarbha. The references to these places in the post-Upanisadic literature in connection with Brahma-vidyā only show that it had travelled and spread to the south also.

There are, however, one or two interesting cases to which attention may be drawn here. In the first place, there is the story of Raikva as it occurs in the *Skanda-Purāṇa*. The anecdote is about an interview between Jānaśruti Pauṇḍrayana and Raikva Sayugvā, and it is given in the *Chândogya Upanisad*, iv. 1-2. The same story is dilated upon by the *Skanda* in iii. 1. 26. The *Chândogya* does not give us any idea as to the place of Jānaśruti's abode or of that of Raikva. But curiously enough, the *Skanda* places Raikva in mount Gandhamādāna, which is mentioned as a sacred place next to Dhanuṣkoti. Now, Dhanuṣkoti is obviously the place in the Southern Presidency, which still bears the name. That being so, Raikva's home was somewhere in the extreme south. Raikva was a Brahma-vādin of some standing, both according to the *Chândogya* as well as the *Skanda*. For him to be a native of the south, even at the time of the *Chândogya*, is somewhat extraordinary. So, even if the account of the *Skanda* be correct, it must be regarded as an exception. But on the face of it, the *Skanda* itself is open to suspicion. In the Upanisads, there is not the remotest hint that Brahma-vidyā was the product of the south, nor is there anything to suggest that Raikva or any other teacher of Brahma-vidyā was a native of the south.

In the second place, *Skanda* vi. 129 also describes a hermitage founded by Yājñavalkya in a place called Hātakesvara. There is no difficulty about the identity of this Yājñavalkya. He is the Upanisadic teacher and the discoverer of the White Yajus. But the account of his hermitage in the *Skanda* evidently lacks historical authenticity. For, it is in this very place that Bhīṣma of the *Mahābhārata* also founded four Śiva-lingas and worshipped them (ch. 58). And quite a host of others also are said to have visited this place and performed worship in it. (chapters 59, 72, etc.) These stories are obviously introduced to enhance the prestige and the sacredness of the place. There is nothing to show that they are based on historical foundations. The worship of Śiva-linga itself is perhaps much posterior to the time of the Upanisads. So, wherever this Hātakesvara may be located, we have no reason to think that Yājñavalkya was a native of this place or that he had ever his schools there. So the south has no justifiable case to claim Brahma-vidyā as its child.

On the contrary, certain places in Āryāvarta are so frequently mentioned in Brāhmaṇa literature and certain races dwelling in that area of land are given such a place of honour, that, this literature cannot but be ascribed to these races and these places. This much then can be safely assumed that the Upanisads were a product of northern India. But Āryāvarta itself is a vast tract of land; it includes the land of Kuru-Pāñcāla, Kāśī, Kośala, Videha, Magadha, etc. Can all of them claim the credit of having produced the Upanisads? If not, to which of them, then, does the glory really belong?

Macdonell thinks that "the home of the philosophy of the Upanisads was in the Kuru-Pāñcāla country rather than in the east." (*Vedic Index*, i. 272). And the transmission of this philosophy to east and south and west, was effected by the missionary activities of the same Kuru-Pāñcāla people again. "The repeated mention of Kuru-Pāñcāla Brahmans is

another indication of their missionary activity." (*Ibid.* i. 168). According to Macdonell, therefore, Brahma-vidyā was brought into existence in the land of Kuru-Pañcāla, by the Brahmans of that country (*ibid.* under Varna); and it was spread also far and wide by the same people. "There seems little doubt," says he, "that the Brahmanical culture was developed in the country of the Kuru-Pañcālas, and that it spread thence east, south and west."

Oldenberg holds the same view. "We found," says he, "that the literature of the Brāhmaṇas points to a certain definitely circumscribed circle of peoples as its home, as the home of genuine Brāhmanism. We found that this circle of peoples corresponds with those whom Manu celebrates as upright in life." (*Buddha*, p. 410.) Oldenberg is here thinking of the valley of the Sarasvatī, the land of the Kuru-Pañcālas.

The view has thus been clearly held that the home of the Upaniṣads was the land of the Kuru-Pañcālas; and that it was from there that it spread east and west and south. And this view is held in spite of the prominence given in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* to Videha and its King Janaka. (Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 398). Also, in enunciating this view, no difference of time, place and origin, seems to have been recognised between the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads proper.

It is undeniable that Videha was well-known even at the time of the Brahmanical literature; and it is equally undeniable that the court of its king was an important seat of dissertations on Brahma-vidyā. The arguments of Macdonell and Oldenberg are, however, drawn from other facts. These may be broadly divided into two classes:

(a) Certain passages in Śruti, mentioning the Kuru-Pañcālas with praise and appreciation and assigning a prominence to teachers belonging to that land; and

(b) certain other passages in the same literature making a contemptuous reference to Videha-Magadha.

(a) Now, with regard to this first kind of evidence, there is one important teacher about whom Macdonell and Oldenberg are at variance. Macdonell regards Yājñavalkya as a Kuru-Pañcāla Brāhmaṇa (*V.I.*, i. 272). But Oldenberg considers it "highly probable that he belonged by descent, not to the Kuru-Pañcālas, but—we may venture to add conjecturally—to the Videhas." (*Buddha*, p. 397-98).

Yājñavalkya is such an important teacher that his nationality is likely to be the nationality of at least a considerable portion of the Upaniṣadic literature. It is not, however, bound to be so; the home of the teacher is not necessarily the home of his intellectual activity, as we shall see later on. And in so far as Yājñavalkya's own nationality cannot be—or, has not been—established beyond doubt and dispute, we had better draw no conclusion from it.

There is another Upaniṣadic teacher, however, as to whose nationality opinion is more or less unanimous; this is Āruṇi. Uddālaka Āruṇi, as he is usually called, was a Kuru-Pañcāla according to *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* xi. 4. 1. 2; and the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (i. 3. 6) also calls him a 'Kuru-Pañcāla Brahman' i.e., 'a Brahman of the Kuru-Pañcālas.' And he is given as the teacher of Yājñavalkya in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* vi. 3. 7; vi. 5. 3, etc. It is association with this Kuru-Pañcāla teacher that has led Macdonell to think, in spite of Oldenberg's opinion to the contrary, that Yājñavalkya was a Kuru-Pañcāla himself. But obviously such a conclusion is based on insufficient data; for, there is nothing to prevent a Magadha or Videha Brahman from becoming a disciple of a Kuru-Pañcāla teacher; such things happened even in those ancient days. So, even if it be admitted that Yājñavalkya was Āruṇi's pupil,—though as we shall presently see, it is not free from doubt—yet that in itself does not prove that Yājñavalkya was himself a Kuru-Pañcāla. The *Smṛiti* called after Yājñavalkya places him in Mithila (i. 2.). He is called 'Yogīśvara' and the probability is that the same man as the Upaniṣadic teacher is meant.

Āruṇi was no doubt a Kuru-Pañcāla; but what does that prove? Does it prove that Kuru-Pañcāla was the original seat of Brahma-vidyā? After all, what did Āruṇi really teach? The *Śatapatha* gives an account of his discourses, and the *Gopatha* repeats it almost *verbatim*. But we do not find him lecturing on Brahma-vidyā. He rather gives us a half mystical interpretation of the various items in a Vedic ceremony and dilates on the mysterious virtues of the different sacrificial objects employed in such ceremonies. He does not even pose as a teacher of Brahma-vidyā.

Then, again, was he really Yājñavalkya's teacher of Brahma-vidyā? If he had really been so, could there be between him and his erstwhile disciple the sort of disputation that took place at the court of Janaka (*Br. Up.* iii. 7)? Such a public disputation, with a stake, is extremely unusual between a teacher and his pupil. At the court of Janaka, Āruṇi does not use very affectionate language towards one who has been supposed to have been his pupil. "If," says he, "without knowing the Antaryāmin, you are driving home these sacred cows, then your head will fall off." (*Br.* iii. 7. 1). Yājñavalkya also addresses him by his Gotra name, *viz.*, as Gotama—rather an unusual way for a pupil to address his teacher. Again, his answers to Āruṇi's questions ultimately silence the latter; not a very enviable situation for one who had been the teacher of the self-same subject. Was Yājñavalkya then really a pupil of Āruṇi at all?

In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, Āruṇi's questions to Yājñavalkya verge on Brahma-vidyā. But in the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* (i. 1), he is made to confess that he and his class only know how to recite the Vedas in assemblies and receive gifts offered to them in reward (*sadasyeva vayam svādhyayam adhītya harāmahe yanno dadati*).¹ Philosophical questions are foreign to them. And so he and his son repair to a Kṣatriya prince to receive instruction in Brahma-vidyā.

And in *Chândogya*, v. 11, again, Uddālaka Āruṇi confesses to himself that he does not know all about Ātman or Brahma. Certain enquirers were coming to him for knowledge; at the very sight of these men he exclaims: *Prakṣyanti mām ime mahāśālā mahāśreṭriyāḥ tebhyo na sarvaṃ iva pratipatsye hanta aham anyam abhyanuśāsānīti*, *i.e.*, "these rich learned Brahmins will ask me questions and I shall not be able to explain to them like (one who knows) all; well, I had better send them on to another." So thinking, he took them to Āsvapati Kaikeya and received instruction from him along with the new-comers. This fifth chapter of the *Chândogya* seems to have been designed for the exposure of the utter hollowness of the Kuru-Pañcāla Brahmins, of whom Āruṇi seems to have been the type.

In *Chândogya*, vi, Āruṇi no doubt gives instruction to his son Śvetaketu on Brahma-vidyā, but this was after he had himself received it from Pravāhaṇa Jaivali (*Ch.* v. 3).

The statement that Yājñavalkya was Āruṇi's pupil, therefore, is not free from doubt; and Yājñavalkya does not appear to have learned Brahma-vidyā, if he learned anything at all, from Āruṇi. If, relying on the *Vamśa* (*Br.* vi. 5), we are inclined to think that Āruṇi was his teacher, still the dispute at the court of Janaka and Āruṇi's own confessions in the

¹ This passage, however, has been differently interpreted by Śaṅkarānanda in his commentary. Says he:

sadasyeva Cītrasya Gārgyaneḥ sabhāyāmeva, na tu anyatra, vayam Āruṇi-Śvetaketu-prabhyatayā, svādhyayam adhītya etadartha-pratipādakam vedabhāgam sārtham adhigamya Cītrād Gārgyaneḥ harāmahe adhigacchāmaḥ; yad-yasmāt kāraṇāt no'smabhyam Gautamādibhyah aparihāryebhyah—avyar-thopakramēbhyah yācakebhyah, pare vidyāddhanadātāro dadati prayacchanti, tat Cītro na dāsyatīti śaṅkā na karantya iti.

Max Müller's and Hume's translations of this passage are also based on this interpretation. But it is rather striking that the other interpretation also is possible; and one wonders if it is not the more correct one.

Kauṣītaki, leave little room for doubting that whatever else he may have taught, *Brahma-vidyā* was not his strong point.²

Again, if Āruṇi was the centre of important circles of Brāhmanical culture, as Oldenberg points out (*Buddha*, p. 396n.) and if he was the typical Kuru-Pāñcāla Brahman, then we may easily conclude that, however well-known they may have been for their position and prestige in orthodox Vedic circles, the Kuru-Pāñcāla Brahmans were not the real fathers of *Brahma-vidyā*.

Yājñavalkya was of course a great teacher and a teacher of *Brahma-vidyā* too. But, as we have just seen, it is doubtful if he was a Kuru-Pāñcāla at all³; even if he was, the scene of his activity is laid almost exclusively in Videha. He was perhaps not permanently residing there: no Brahman of any importance could really be pinned to any place for all times; he had to visit places and persons on spiritual ministration. A sacrifice of any kind would mean invitation for a large number of Brahmans from different parts of the country. The Brahman population of the country, therefore, was more mobile than others. So, Yājñavalkya, too, was frequently on the move from place to place. We are often told that he came to the court of Janaka (*Br.* vi), implying thereby that he was not there. He must have moved from place to place, and that, too, perhaps more frequently than many others, because he was so well-known and certainly was very much in request. But nowhere except in Videha do we find him discoursing on *Brahma-vidyā*. So far as *Brahma-vidyā* was concerned, therefore, the field of his activity was Videha; and so far as his teachings are concerned, the home of Upaniṣadic culture lay in that country.

That the land of Kuru-Pāñcāla was the land of good customs, one cannot deny, of course so far as good customs meant customs according to the Vedic ideal of life (cf. *Manu*, ii. 17-20). And that a considerable portion of the Vedic and Brahmanical literature was developed in that country and its neighbourhood, may also be taken as proved. But that in itself cannot be regarded as disproving the possibility of other and later branches of the same literature being developed in other places.

Eggeling, in his Introduction to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (p. xxxi) says: "This disagreement in respect of doctrinal authorities, coupled with unmistakable differences, stylistic as well as geographical and mythological, can scarcely be accounted for otherwise than by assumption of a difference of authorship or original redaction. . . . We may infer from this that the fire-ritual adopted by the Vājasaneyins at the time of the first redaction of their texts, . . . had been settled in the north-west of India." It has been conjectured, therefore, that a distance of time separates the different parts of the *Śatapatha*; and it is equally open to conjecture that a distance of space also intervenes between the different parts. And if that be so, may we not also suggest that the latter i.e., the Upaniṣadic portion of the book, was composed by hands other than those that composed the earlier portions and that it was composed in other lands too?

The story of Videgha-Māthava (*S.B.*, i. 4. 1), has been cited as an evidence of the way in which Vedic culture migrated from the Kuru-Pāñcāla country to the eastern districts of Videha-Magadha. That Vedic culture came from the west to the east, is now an established fact; but that the Upaniṣads also were produced in the same land as the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas, does not necessarily follow. They came after the Brāhmaṇas and may easily be conceived as having originated after Brahmanical culture had spread eastwards to the limits of Videha-Magadha. The story of Videgha-Māthava may be taken to indicate this transference of the centre of speculation from the west to the east.

² *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, v. 5. 5. 14, mentions both Āruṇi and Yājñavalkya, but one is not mentioned as the teacher of the other. In *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, vi. 3, Āruṇi is said to have taught Yājñavalkya certain mantras of magic power.

³ In *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, iii. 9. 19, Śakalya accuses Yājñavalkya of having insulted the Kuru-Pāñcāla Brahmans, thereby perhaps suggesting that Yājñavalkya himself was not one of them.

We do not dispute that initially there were no Brahmans in Magadha or Videha ; but neither can it be disputed that subsequently plenty of Brahmans came that way and settled down there. Cannot these Brahmans have favoured the growth of Upaniṣadic Brahman-vidyā ? The high praise bestowed upon Kuru-Pāñcāla and its people does not preclude this possibility.

(b) We may turn now to the texts of the Śruti which express a contempt for the land of Videha-Magadha and its people.

In the *Atharva Veda* (v. 22. 14), the fever is wished away to the Māgadhas, among other peoples. But this may mean only that it is wished away out of the land of the Āryans or out of the land to which the author of this text belonged—out of the territory known to them at the time, of which Magadha formed the eastern boundary. That this is a very possible meaning, is proved by the mention of Gāndhāra also in the same passage, which formed the north-west boundary of the same territory (Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 399), and also by the mention of other places like Aṅga, etc. So the passage need not be understood as implying a hatred for the land and people of Magadha. Again, if it is to be understood as a curse for Magadha at all, may we not take it to mean a curse not for the colonists of the place but the aborigines ? There is no evidence to support us in thinking that it referred to the Brahman colonists ; and yet these are just the people whom we are inclined to credit with the production of the Upaniṣads. But after all, does the passage mean any curse at all ? Are we sure that the author was not wishing only to cure the disease, but was seeking to curse others with it ?

The same remark applies to *Atharva Veda* (xv. 2. 1-4), *Śukla Yajus* (xxx. 5. 22), *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (viii. 5) etc. If the Māgadha is dedicated to the 'Atikruṣṭa,' or if he is connected with the Vrātya, that in itself does not prove much. The disparagement of the Māgadha does not prove that the land of Videha-Magadha could not have been the home of the Upaniṣads. For, in the first place, it is not clear who exactly was meant by the term Māgadha. In later times, the term was used to mean a minstrel. The name is usually derived from the name of the country (Magadha). But instances are not rare where a country derives its name from that of the inhabitants ; that Magadha was not such a country, would be too dogmatic an assertion. So, the passages referred to above might imply disparagement of a class of men, who ultimately gave their name to a province. In that case, the disparagement is not of the land of Videha-Magadha, but of a certain sect of men who perhaps lived a half nomad life, and who, when they settled down, gave their name to the country.

In the second place, the country of Videha-Magadha had its original inhabitants, it seems, when it was conquered and colonised by the Āryan immigrants. These inhabitants may have been the people subsequently known as the Māgadhas, or may have been a different race. And later on, even respectable Brahmans came to dwell there. It is difficult therefore to say that the contempt expressed in the above-mentioned passages was intended for the Brahman colonists and not for the aboriginal inhabitants.

That even respectable Brahmans dwelt there, that the Brahman colonists of Magadha were entitled to the same sort of respect as Brahmans of other provinces—that even their opinions were considered in connection with ceremonial practices, is proved by the case of Madhyama Prātibodhi-putra (*Sāṃkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, vii. 13 ; the Poona edition reads 'Prati-yodhi-putra' instead of 'Pratibodhi-putra,' and gives the number of the passage as vii. 14, and not vii. 13, as given by Macdonell, *V.I.* under Magadha. Cf. also Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, p. 112n.).

This case Oldenberg regards as proving the fact that dwelling in Magadha was rather unusual for a Brahman (*Buddha*, p. 400n.). Oldenberg's ground for so thinking is that the native place of the man has been specifically mentioned, which would not be thought necessary, if Brahmans were usually found in Magadha. But is that really so ? Is not a man's

dwelling place mentioned to help us in identifying him? In those days, there were two ways of indicating a man's identity: either his parentage was given, as, *Gārgya Bālāki*, *Śvetaketu Aruṇeya*, etc.; or, his native place was mentioned, as *Janaka Vaideha*, *Ajātāśatru Kāśya*, etc. So, the expression '*Magadhavāsi*' with reference to *Prātibodhiputra*, is employed only to indicate his identity, and not because it was unusual for a Brahman to be a native of that place. What is somewhat out of the way here, is that the man's parentage also is given; he is also said to be *Pratibodhi-putra*, lit. 'son of Pratibodhi.' But it only means that a double method of indicating the man's identity has been employed; and this may be due to an over-cautiousness to avoid all possibility of mistake.⁴

It is not denied that the eastern districts were Brahmanised later than the Kuru-Pañcālas; nor is it denied that Brahmans came to settle there only gradually; but it has also to be admitted that Brahmans did come and did settle there as early as the time to which the story of *Videgha-Mādhava* refers. There is nothing in the story to show that the author was describing a contemporaneous event. So, in his time the colonization may have been a completed process; and numbers of Brahmans may have already gone there. And at the time when the hymns of the *Atharva* and the *Yajus* referred to above were composed, Brahmans must have begun pouring in into *Magadha*. So, on the face of it, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the texts above referred to speak of the Brahmans who established a colony there and not the aboriginal inhabitants. But probability is not proof; and we can never be sure that the banter was intended against the Brahmans of those places, who, as has been supposed, had adopted degraded customs.

Besides, it is possible to over-rate the importance and significance of this so-called banter. It may as well be understood as an unconscious compliment. Some of the passages referred to above occur in connection with the *Puruṣa-medha* ceremony, not a very laudable performance, to say the least. It is not inconceivable that a ceremony like this did not receive the unstinted assent of all; it is not inconceivable that it provoked criticism; and it is also imaginable that the eastern districts were averse to it. It would not be unnatural in that case for those who followed the practice to wish evil to those who opposed it. If that be the case, the Vedic hymns in question imply a compliment in disguise to the people of *Magadha*.

That the people of *Videha-Magadha* were not altogether negligible—that even customs and practices obtaining in that country were entitled to consideration, is also proved by references to this country by the commentator on *Āśvalāyana's Gṛhya-Sūtra* (i. 7. 2). Curiously enough, *Max Müller* in his *History of Sanskrit Literature* (p. 52), has misquoted and mistranslated this passage. The text as given by *Max Müller* reads as follows:

Vaideheṣu sadya-eva vyavādyo dṛṣṭah; gṛhyeṣu tu brahmacaryyam vihitam, &c.

The text according to the *Bombay Edition* is as follows:

... *gṛhye tu 'brahma-cārīṇau trirātram', iti brahmacaryyam vihitam, &c.*

Max Müller's reading obviously omits the quotation from earlier texts, viz. '*brahma-cārīṇau trirātram*.' And his translation is hopelessly inaccurate. He writes:

"Among the *Vaidehas*, for instance, one sees at once (*sadya-eva*) that loose habits (evidently this translates '*vyavādyo*') prevail, &c."

⁴ Is the text correct? The reading is: *atha ha sma asya putra āha madhyamah prātibodhi* (? *yodhi*)-*putrah magadha vāst*, etc. Now, the man is first spoken of as '*his son*' (*asya putra*) referring to *Hrasva Māṇḍūkeya* in the preceding paragraph. What then is meant by calling him '*son of Prātibodhi*' (*Prātibodhi-putra*)? Or is it a proper name? What is *Madhyama* then? But neither *Prātibodhiputra* nor *Madhyama* really looks like a proper name.

Supposing we left out the words '*Madhyama Prātibodhiputra Magadhavāsi*,' the continuity of the sentence would remain unbroken; and there would be no difficulty about the meaning of the statement also. What then is the special significance of these—apparently at least, redundant—words? Have the words crept into the texts from marginal notes of manuscripts? One wonders.

Now, *sadyah* means 'on the same day' and *vyavāya* means 'sexual intercourse.' The discussion is as to when consummation of marriage should be allowed after the ceremony of marriage; and the reference to the Vaidehas is intended only to draw attention to the local custom prevailing among them, which allows consummation on the day of the marriage. This, however, it is contended, is not strictly in accordance with the *Grhyas*. The passage, therefore, means:

"Among the Vaidehas, consummation on the *same day* is seen; the *Grhyas*, however, prescribe restraint (*brahmacaryya*) for the couple for three nights."

There is a dictum, followed up to the present day, that a local custom (*deśācāra*) also is entitled to obedience, provided of course it does not directly contravene an express injunction of the Śāstras. In the present case, all that is sought to be implied is that the local custom in question, being diametrically opposed to the Śruti, must not be allowed to prevail. The reference to the Vaidehas, is not an expression of contempt. Worse customs may easily be conceived to have prevailed elsewhere; but there is no reference to any of them. The Vaidehas, however, were people who were entitled to consideration and could not be passed over without notice. Hence there is this reference to a custom prevailing among them.

We see therefore that the so-called slighting references to Videha-Magadha have, in some cases at any rate, been misunderstood; and too much has been attempted to be deduced out of them. In the first place, the passages usually quoted do not always convey a sneer; in the second place, it is not clear if the supposed sneer is against the Brahmans of the place or against the earlier inhabitants thereof. In later Sanskrit, the term 'Māgadha' is found to mean a minstrel, as we have pointed out before, and not a Brahman. And these minstrels were known to be a mixed caste. (See Mahidhara under *Yajus*, xxx. 5; Bhattabhāskara on *Taittirīyā Brāhmaṇa*, iii. 4. 1. 1; and also commentary on *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, viii. 6. 28; etc.)

After all, even if the supposed banter is a real banter and even if it be a banter against the Brahman colonists of Magadha, what does it prove? Does it prove that the Upaniṣadic philosophy could not have its home among them?

If there are sneers against the eastern districts and their inhabitants, there are sneers against the western districts as well. Macdonell himself gives some instances (*V. I.*, ii. 126) where 'the western tribes are mentioned with disapproval'. It is a primitive instinct of the human mind to enjoy fun at the cost of others; and it is not the east alone, but the west as well has been now and then contemptuously spoken of by the proud authors of our Śruti literature. Sneers of this kind only express the feelings of the people of one locality against those of another; they do not prove or disprove anything about the achievements of either.

There is another fact to be considered in this connection. Even if we admit that there are, in the *Yajurveda*, *Atharvaveda*, and some of the Brāhmaṇas, passages which may be construed as implying a slighting reference to Videha-Magadha, yet we ought to note that such slights are not to be met with in the Upaniṣads proper. In the Upaniṣads, references to Videha are frequent enough; yet it is a significant fact that in no place in the Upaniṣads do we find any disparagement of the people of that territory. On the contrary, Janaka, King of Videha, Ajātaśatru, King of Kāśī, are quite important persons there. Of course, the Kuru-Pañcālas are not forgotten; but the eastern people seem to have deserved more attention. This may easily lead to the hypothesis that the Upaniṣads were composed after the eastern districts had ceased to be thought of as a country of aliens and a country of doubtful virtues; after, that is to say, they had become important seats of Āryan culture, when they could no longer be regarded with disrespect.

(To be continued.)

MAHARĀṢṬRA AND KANNADA.

By A. MASTER.

THE earliest indication of the name Mahārāṣṭra occurs in the inscriptions at Nānaghāt, and other places (ranging from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D.) There the male donors have the appellation Mahārāṭhi, and the females Mahārāṭhīnī.¹ Aśoka in his inscriptions uses the word *raṭṭika* to denote a tribe of rulers, and this tribe is also found as rulers at a later date. The family of Rāṣṭrakūṭas is well-known to have held dominion in the Deccan in the eighth century, A.D. Sir Rāmkrishṇa Bhandārkar held that the *raṭṭas* called themselves Mahārāṭhis and gave their name to the area in which they lived. Mr. Kane justly rejects this theory (*ibid.*, p. 626). Dynasties rarely give their names to areas, and the term Mahārāṣṭra precedes any important dynasty of which there is any record. The connection with Raddi suggested by Burnell (*South Indian Palaeography*, p. x) is not very helpful, and indeed Kittel (*Kan. Dictionary*) derives the word Raddi from *rāt* a form of *rājā*, and so indicates that *raṭṭa* or *raṭṭika* is not of Dravidian origin. Mr. Kane himself explains the term Mahārāṣṭra as "great or wide country" and gives his reasons, which do not appear to one quite to meet the needs of the case.

It is important to analyse the word *mahā* meaning 'great', a meaning which includes the ideas of wideness or tallness. Mr. Kane seems to be correct in translating *rāṣṭra* by 'country' rather than by 'kingdom'. The *Arthasāstra* uses the word in the meaning of 'revenue-producing tract' and 'country' as distinct from 'town' (Shamasastry; translation, 2nd ed., p. 63 and pp. 143, 287). The word *rājya* is used for kingdom (*Āi. Brh.* v. ch. vi, heading) and *janapada* (*Ibid.*, vi, ch. 1) is, in describing the seven elements of sovereignty, used as an equivalent to *rāṣṭra*. In later writers on the elements of sovereignty, the words *janapada* and *rāṣṭra* are interchangeable. *Deśa* is another synonym. (Jayasval, *Hindu Polity*, vol. II, p. 249). The meaning of *rāṣṭra* is therefore quite clearly 'country'.

Apart from the rather doubtful references to Mahārāṣṭra in the terms Mahārāṭhi of the inscriptions, the earliest use of the word occurs in the *Mahāvamśa* (fifth century A.D.) (Kane, *ibid.*, p. 621) in the form Mahārāṭṭa. It is distinguished from Aparantaka (the Konkan) and Vanavāsi (the south-western Dravidian tract). In fact, it is a term corresponding closely with the present term *deś*, which means the Deccan plateau as distinct from the Konkan. Previously the term used for whole tract south of the Narmadā (Nerbudda) river or, in a limited sense, for the country between the Narmadā and the Kṛṣṇa was Dakṣiṇāpatha (Kane, *ibid.*, p. 620), and this term was continued for some centuries after the word Mahārāṣṭra was introduced and then apparently was shortened into what we now call Deccan (Gujarāṭi, *dakh-khan*). The word Deccan applies to both the limited and the wider areas.

The reason for the adoption of the new term Mahārāṣṭra cannot have been the size of the country, or its greatness. There were other tracts equally large and in the eyes of the Āryans, at least, much more important. It is not in the least likely that the name should have been given to the tract, by any but the inhabitants. It is probable that the term *dakṣiṇāpoṭha* and *dakṣiṇāṭya* (southerner) had acquired a depreciatory significance (*cf.* its use in the *Mṛcchakatikā*, act VI) and the visitors or immigrants to northern capitals, such as Ujjain, found it necessary to use a synonym. They would naturally use a translation of the name they themselves gave to their country.

Now Kannada has been derived from the word Karināḍu, black country. Mr. Narayana Rao (*JBBRAS.*, LXXIII, p. 491, 492) has pointed out that much of the southern Kārnāṭak is not black²; and he might have added that although the term *karinēl* is used for 'black soil,' *karināḍu*, is not used in the sense of 'black tract'—but *erēnāḍu* is used, *ere* meaning itself black, or black soil (Kittel, *Kan. dictionary*). This is the term used for the

¹ P. V. Kane, *JBBRAS.*, LXX, p. 622.

² While Surat and Broach districts contain much black soil.

black soil tract in Dhārwar district, Bombay presidency. He suggests *karu-nādu*³ or the high country,⁴ as the Karnātak was, unlike the southern Dravidian tracts, situated on high land; and the suggestion seems perfectly sound.

In its Sanskritised form, Karnāta, the word is found in the *Mahābhārata* and may be as old as the third century B.C. (Narayana Rao, *ibid.*, p. 492). But we have no positive evidence as to the date. The high country stretches from the Kannada country to the Narmadā, and in fact geographically the term Kannada might be applied to exactly the same area as that to which the name Mahārāstra was applied. Now *karu* means not only "tall" but "great" (Kittel, *Kanarese Dictionary*) and it seems highly probable that the Prākṛit-speaking inhabitants of the North of the Deccan highlands simply translated the words *karu nādu* into Mahāratta or Mārattha to designate the area from which they came. The Āndhra empire, which in circa B.C. 230 extended to the Narmadā,⁵ may have popularised the use of the term and have stabilized its Sanskrit form Mahārāstra.

It may be asked why the Highlanders did not use the term Kannada as Sanskritized into Karnāta. But there is no evidence that the word was ever applied to the area of Mahārāstra⁶. It is argued only that the Dravidians talked of highlands as *karu nādu* and translated this idea into Prākṛit. Kanarese was spoken as far north as the river Godāvari in the ninth century A.D. (Nṛpatuṅga's *Kavirājamūrga*, Ed. Patna, p. 12), but this is only evidence of the survival of a Dravidian form of speech in those parts and not of the name of the tract. Further the *raṭṭas*, *raṭṭikas* and *rāṣṭrakūṭas* are not accounted for. I believe that the word means 'district,' a ruler of a district or tract—just like *bhojaka*, which clearly means a large landlord, or *peṭṭenilla*, which means apparently a ruler of a *peṭh* or *paṭṭan*, a market-town. *Rāṣṭrakūṭa*, again, seems merely to mean lord of a tract, just as *rāṣṭrapati* in the inscriptions means district officer (*Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, pt. 1, p. 82) and *grāmakūṭa* means village headman (*ibid.* and Kaut., *Arthaśāstra*, book IV, ch. IV, suppression of wicked). The view of the *Bombay Gazetteer* seems correct, and I would not attempt to assign to *rāṣṭra* the meaning of *deś* in the restricted sense—the uplands of *Mahārāstra*.

Again, there is the mention of the three Mahārāstrahas (Kane, *ibid.*, p. 622). They are mentioned in the Aihole inscription of 634 A.D. These three tracts were a 99,000 (village) area and did not cover the area of the 7½ lakh Dakṣiṇapāṭha (Kane, *ibid.* 620) or the 7½ lakh Raṭṭa-pāṭi⁷ (*ibid.*, 633). They must denote three upland tracts divided by valleys or plains. Mr. Kane assigns these three tracts to Vidarbha (Berar), Mahārāstra proper (Khandesh to Satara) and Kurtala (Sholapur, Kolhapur and the modern Karnātak), and his view may be accepted. It may be pointed out that the meaning 'highlands' for Mahārāstra is here more appropriate than 'great kingdom.' Although a ruler might claim to be a king of the three great kingdoms, the term could hardly be used as a description, while the expression 'king of the three highlands' would be sufficiently descriptive.

Another difficulty that arises is the restriction of the term Mahārāstra by, say, the tenth century to the west of the peninsula. This I attribute to the rise of the Vidarbha kingdom after the fall of the Āndhras (A.D. 225) and again after the death of Harṣa (A.D. 647). It was a prominent kingdom (Kane, *ibid.*, p. 642) and would decline to be included in Mahārāstra. Moreover, the term seems to have early acquired (like Kannada) linguistic

³ The form *Karunaḍam* is used for the language, and *Karundḍar* for the people in the Tamil classics. The giving of names from the physical feature of colour seems common in Tamil, cf. *Sengḍḍ*=red hill, etc.—S.K.

⁴ The limit of Kannada land when the Tamils gave them the name was past the plateau of Mysore in the north and began where the country slopes down from the Plateau of Mysore. The region of the Aśoka inscriptions in Mysore was the Vaḍugarmunai or the Vaḍuga (Kan. Badaga) frontier.—S.K.

⁵ Vincent Smith, *Oxford History*, 1923, p. 119.

⁶ But see *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 133, n. 2. The term Karnāta was used for Cālukyas of Kalyān, in A.D. 1000.

⁷ This appears to be derived from *raṭṭa* and Kanarese or Tamil *pāḍi*, a settlement or place—'the Raṭṭas' villages.—The root is *paḍu*, to sit down. *Pāḍe* is a variant (Kittel, *Kanarese Dict.*).

associations. At first we may suppose that the word Mahārāṣṭrī was applied to the form of Prākṛit, not necessarily uniform or consistent, spoken by the southern highlander and was exactly equivalent to Dakṣinātya. For this reason it was the Prākṛit (as Vararuci indicates) being not Māgadhī, the limited court dialect of the Mauryas, nor Surāsenī, the highly sophisticated dialect of the almost Āryanised Mathura population, nor Paisācī, the barbarous dialect of the so-called cannibal northerners, but the general dialect understood and spoken by the southerners when they spoke Indo-Āryan and capable of logical handling, (especially where Sanskrit words were concerned), by them alone, as they still spoke their southern Dravidian tongues among themselves. In course of time, Vaidarbhī, without much reason except that Vidarbha was an important political entity, distinguished itself as a separate dialect from Mahārāṣṭrī. To the east of Vidarbha and in the north-eastern highlands were spoken the Mundāri languages, and to-day Marāṭhī stretches in the north from the south of the Surat district on the west coast to Raipur, quite close to the border of the Mundān area, which practically forms a linguistic barrier from that point to the north of the Mahānadi delta.⁸ South and west of the Mundān area stretches the country of Dravidian speakers. Owing probably to the intenser adherence to their language evidenced by the existence of Sen-Tamiṛ (correct Tamil) which from a very early time rejected all Sanskrit words (Caldwell, *Comp Gram.* p. 80), the inhabitants of Kāliṅga and the eastern regions refused to adopt Prākṛit as their language, and Mahārāṣṭrī flourished only in the west. The capitals of Vidarbha, Paithan, Vātāpi (Bādāmi) and later Poona, brought the centre of gravity further to the south-west, and it is known that the rulers of the various western dynasties, e.g., Hāla and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Cālukyas were earnest patrons of Prākṛit and Sanskrit as well as of the Dravidian tongues.

It is not necessary here to point out the close connection of the Marāṭhī with the Kanarese language, as the specific object of this article is to connect the terms Mahārāṣṭra and Kannaḍa. That, it is hoped, will form the subject of future articles.

MISCELLANEA.

MAMLUK-QULAMAN.

In this *Journal* and elsewhere I have frequently explained that the Oriental term *mamlūk* meant a foreigner of any race—sometimes of high-standing by birth—enslaved and forced to Islam by Turks or other Muhammadan peoples. H. S. Longrigg, however, in his well-informed book, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, in describing the seventeenth century reigns of *mamlūks*, who ruled in Baghdād, much after the fashion of the earlier "Slave Kings" of Delhi, gives a somewhat different view of them as observable in Irāq. Longrigg, in a footnote (p. 163) says that the *mamlūks* were "slaves, known in Arabia as *mamlūk* (plu. *mamlūkt*), in Turkish as *qāla* or *qūlaman*, more commonly the latter. The Irāq historians in Turkish always so write them. Of Circassian race, they were known in Turkey from the earliest [Muhammadan] times . . . In name [Gurjand] they are by majority natives of the Tiflis area of Georgia [Gurjistān]; but other closely similar Circassian breeds were included in the wild tribes—Iāz, Abazik and the like—who had migrated from the hills of their origin."

R. C. TEMPLE.

CEREMONIAL MURDER.

I have several times recorded in this *Journal* cases where unfortunate persons have been murdered in India for ceremonial reasons. Here is another instance, in the Faizābād District, recorded in *The Times* on 8th August 1927.

"At the Faizābād sessions Gayādin Murao was tried for the murder of one Hubbā. The defence was that the accused, who had been suffering from dysentery for three months, took the advice of Mohan Pāsi, an exorciser of evil spirits, who assured him that this illness was due to a spell cast over him by Hubbā, who was under the influence of evil spirits. Gayādin accordingly killed Hubbā with two blows of a *lāthī* (iron-tipped staff). The sessions judge expressed unwillingness to inflict the death penalty, as the accused was virtually mad in thinking that with a *lāthī* he could expel the evil spirits from Hubbā; so he sentenced him to transportation for life."

There have been several persons transported to the Andaman Penal Settlement for similar murders.

R. C. TEMPLE.

⁸ See maps *Linguistic Survey of India*. (Mundā, Dravidian and Marāṭhī.)

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE IDEA OF CHAKRAVARTIN.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., PH.D.

KAUTALYA in his *Arthasāstra* defines the extent of a Chakravartin's domain. The text published in Dr. ŚhāmaŚāstri's edition runs as follows : "desāḥ prithivī; tasyāṃ Himavat-samudr-āntaram-udichināṃ yōjana-sahasra-parimāṇam-atiryak chakravartī-kshētram" (p. 340). The passage occurs in precisely the same form in Prof. Jolly's edition (p. 205). The late Mahāmahōpādhyāya T. Gaṇapati Śāstri's edition also presents the same text—(pt. III, p. 45) with only one short difference, namely, that it has the word *tiryak* instead of *atiryak* of the preceding editions. Curiously enough, practically the same passage is met with in Saṃkarārya's commentary of *Kāmandakīya-Nītisāra* so as to leave no doubt that it is a quotation from Kautalya's *Arthasāstra*. It occurs in his gloss on Canto I. v. 39 and runs as follows : "tasyāṃ Himavat-samudr-āntaram-udichināṃ nava-yōjana-sahasra-pramāṇam tiryak Chakravartī-kshētram." This text differs from that of the Mysore edition in two important respects. First it has *nava-yōjana-sahasra-pramāṇam* instead of *yōjana-sahasra-parimāṇam* and *tiryak* instead of *atiryak*. Saṃkarārya must have taken this text from the manuscript of Kautalya's *Arthasāstra* that was before him. And the question arises : which of the two variants represents the correct text ?

Scholars probably do not know that what Kautalya states about the sphere of the Chakravartin is set forth in greater detail in the Purāṇas. The passage in question occurs in no less than two Purāṇas,—the *Vāyu* and the *Matsya*. The first Purāṇa (chap. 45, v. 72 & ff.) has the following :

atra vō varṇayishyāmi varshē-smin Bhāratē prajāḥ idam tu madhyamam chitram śubh-
 āsubha-phal-ōdayam uttarām yat samudrasya Himavad-dakṣiṇām cha yat varsham yat-
 Bhāratam nāma yatr-ēyam Bhāratī prajāḥ bharanāch-cha prajānām vai Manur-Bharata
 uchyatē nirukta-vachanāch-cha-iva varsham tad-Bhāratam smṛitam tataḥ svargaś-cha
 mōkshaś-cha madhyaś-cha-āntas-cha gamyātē na khaly-anyatra martyānām bhūmau karma
 vidhiyatē Bhāratasy-āśya varshasya nava bhēdāḥ prakīrtitāḥ samudr-āntarītā jñēyās-tē
 tv-agamyāḥ parasparam Indradvipaḥ Kasērūś-cha Tāmravarnī Gabhastimān Nāgadvipas-
 tathā Saumyō Gandharvas-tv-atha Vārunaḥ ayam tu navamas-tēshām dvīpaḥ sāgara-saṃ-
 vṛitāḥ yōjanānām sahasram tu dvīpō-yam dakṣiṇ-ōttaram āyatō hy-ākumariyād-
 āGangā-prabhavāch-cha vai tiryag-uttara-vistīrṇaḥ sahasrāṇi nav-aiva tu dvīpō hy-
 upanivishṭō-yam Mlēcchhair-antēshu nityasāḥ pūrvē Kirātā hy-asy-antē pāschimē
 Yavanāḥ smṛitāḥ brāhmaṇāḥ kshatriyā vaiśyā madhyē śūdrās-cha bhāgaśāḥ ijjā-yuddha-
 vanijyābhir-varttayantō vyavasthitāḥ tēshām saṃvyavahārō-yam varttatē tu paras-
 param dharm-ārtha-kāma-samyuktō varṇānām tu sva-karmasu saṃkalpa-pāñcha-
 mānām tu āśramānām yathā-vidhi iha svarg-āpavarg-ārtham pravṛittir-yēshu mānushī
 yas-tv-ayam navamō dvīpas-tiryag-āyata uchyatē kṛtsnam jayati yō hy-ēnam sa sam-
 rād-īha kīrtiyatē ayam lōkas-tu vai samrād-antarīkshō virāt smṛitāḥ svarād-anyah
 smṛito lōkaḥ punar-vakshyāmi vistaram.

Practically the same passage as the above is met with in the *Matsya-Purāṇa* (chap. 114, v. 5 & ff.). It runs as follows :

ath-āham varṇayishyāmi varshē-smin Bhāratē prajāḥ bharanāt-prajanāch-cha-iva
 Manur-Bharata uchyatē Nirukta-vachanais-cha-iva varsham tad-Bhāratam smṛitam
 yataḥ svargaś-cha mōkshaś-cha madhyamas-cha-āpi hi smṛitāḥ na khaly-anyatra mar-
 tyānām bhūmau karma-vidhiḥ smṛitāḥ Bhāratasy-āśya varshasyā nava bhēdān-nibō-
 dhata Indradvipaḥ Kasērūś-cha Tāmravarnō Gabhastimān Nāgadvipas-tathā Saumyō
 Gandharvas-tv-atha Vārunaḥ ayam tu navamas-tēshām dvīpaḥ sāgara-saṃvṛitāḥ yōja-
 nānām sahasram tu dvīpō-yam dakṣiṇ-ōttaram āyatas-tu Kumārī tō Gangāyāḥ pravah-
 āvadhiḥ tiryag-ūrdhvaṃ tu vistīrṇaḥ sahasrāṇi das-aiva tu dvīpō hy-upanivishṭō-yam
 Mlēcchhair-antēshu sarvasāḥ Yavanās-cha Kirātās-cha tasy-antē pūrva-pāschimē Brāh-
 manāḥ Kshatriyā Vaiśyā madhyē Śūdrās-cha bhāgaśāḥ ijjā-yuta-vanijyādi vartayantō

vyavasthiāh tēshāṃ sa vyavahārō-yaṃ vartanaṃ tu parasparaṃ dharm-ārtha-kāma-saṃ-yuktō varmanāṃ tu svakarmasu saṃkalpa-pañchamānāṃ tu āśramānāṃ yathā-vidhi iha svarg-āpavarg-ārtham pravrittir-ihā mānuṣhē-yaś-tv-ayaṃ mānavō dvīpas-tiryagyāmāḥ prakīrtitāḥ ya enaṃ jayatē kṛtsnaṃ sa samrāt-iti kīrtitāḥ ayaṃ lōkas-tu vai samrāt-antarīkṣajitāṃ smṛitāḥ svarāt-asau smṛitō lōkaḥ punar-vakṣhyāmi vistarāt.

If we compare both these passages, we find that they are practically identical. That of the *Matsya-Purāna*, corrected in the light of the passage from the *Vāyu* may be translated as follows: "I will now describe the peoples of this continent (named) Bhārata. Manu is called Bharata, because of his sustenance (*bharana*) of the peoples. According to the rules of Nirukta that continent is (therefore) known as Bhārata, for which (alone) heaven, emancipation or the Middle Path has been enjoined (by the scriptures). Nowhere else on this earth has Action (*karma*) been laid down for mankind. Know (now) the nine divisions of this Bhārata continent, namely, Indradvīpa, Kāsēru, Tāmraparṇi, Gabhastimat, Nāgadvīpa, Saumya, Gandharva, Vārūṇa and this ninth peninsula (*dvīpa*) surrounded by the ocean. This *dvīpa* is one thousand *yōjanas* long from north to south from Kumārī (Cape Comorin) to the source of the Ganges and is extended nine thousand in the north in an oblique-direction. This *dvīpa* is on all sides on its outskirts occupied by the Mlêchchhas. On the eastern extremity are the Kirātas and on the western the Yavanas. In between are settled down the Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisīyas and Śūdras carrying on sacrifices, fighting, commerce and so forth according to (their) part. Those classes (*varṇas*), following their respective duties, carry on mutual intercourse in consonance with *dharmā*, *artha*, and *kāma*. The (four) Āśramas with Saṃkalpa (vow for rituals) as the fifth display activity here among men as prescribed, for (the attainment) of heaven or emancipation. This ninth *dvīpa* is called *tiryag-āyata* (oblique-long). He who conquers it whole is designated Samrāt. This world is known as Samrāt, the ether world Virāt, the world other (than these) Svarāt."

It will be seen from the above translation that India forms but a part of Bhārata-varsha, being its ninth and last division. The former is called *tiryag-āyata* because, as explained in the Purānas, it is (one thousand *yōjanas*) *āyata* (long) from north to south, from the source of the Ganges right down to Cape Comorin, and is (nine thousand *yōjanas*) *tiryak* (obliquely) in the north. And we are further told that he who conquers this whole region, that is, the whole of India, is called Samrāt. There can be no doubt that Kautalya's Chakravartin is identical with the Samrāt of the Purānas and that his details about the extent of the Chakravartin's domain are taken from that source. And we are now in a position to answer the question: which of the readings of the above passage is correct? If we first consider the passage in Dr. Shama Sastri's edition, we find that the words *udīchīna* and *atiryak* have no meaning there. Besides, even though these words were deleted, the passage would be describing but half of India. It is only the passage from Samkarārya's commentary that brings out the essential and nearly full tenor of what the Purānas tell us about the boundaries and dimensions of India.

We have seen that the passage in the *Vāyu-Purāna* is practically the same as that occurring in the *Matsya*. Some verses again from that passage are traceable also in the *Vishnu-Purāna* (II. 3). It thus seems that this description of India was contained in the original Purāna after which model the *Vāyu*, *Matsya* and *Vishnu*, the earliest Purānas now surviving, were cast. A date for the passage is furnished by the remarks that the Mlêchchhas were not then settled in any part of India but on its outskirts and that on its western extremity were lying the Yavanas. These conditions are fulfilled only about the advent of the Maurya power. The passage thus seems to be contemporaneous with Kautalya. The idea of a Samrāt or Chakravartin conquering the whole of India appears however to have arisen at an earlier period. The universal ruler has been designated by the *Aitarêya-Brāhmaṇa* (VIII. 15) *Samantaparyāyī*, as being possessed of the whole earth (*sārvabhauma*) and as the sole ruler (*êka-rāt*) of the earth bordered by the ocean.

VEDANTA AND CHRISTIAN PARALLELS:

BY A. GOVINDACHARYA SVAMIN.

The Trinity.

VEDANTA axiomatically adopts the definition of God (Brahman) to be: 'Janmādya asya Yataḥ' (*Brahma Sūtra*) or God is that to which (to whom) is due the birth, life and dissolution of the Universe. The Upanishadic passage on which the *Brahma Sūtra* is constructed is:—

'Yato vā imāni bhūtāni jāyante yena jātāni
jīvanti yat prayanty abhisamvṛṣanti.'

Bhūtāni is literally that which comes to exist; or existence (quiddity) as an abstraction. Here then we have *Existence* as the one fact which is axiomatic. This Existence, whether it is in the form of manifestation or non-manifestation, owes its existence by virtue of something, which is to it causal, and which is given a name, to whichever language the name belong. In the Vedic language, the nomen is Brahman. Differential existence then evolves from Brahman, is sustained through a series of living transformations, which have an order and rhythm about them. The Law of Periodicity prevails, which is a curve, not a straight line, so that the curve starts from a given point, works round a spatio-temporal system, and returns to the point. The system is a closed system, corresponding to Einsteins' theory of relativity. Beyond this curvilinear system lies the region, which is not therefore spatio-temporal; in other words it is transcendental, or transcendence itself as an abstraction. That we have *existence*, not *negation* is hence a necessity of thought. Religion has this as its fundamental thought. The term *abhisamvṛṣanti*, meaning 'enters,' is of the utmost importance to Vedānta. The term literally means entry in all its entirety, which signifies that the manifestation totally disappears, but remains in absorption. Where? In Brahman, God. When all else is not apparent, God alone remains as an eternal and infinite entity or existence. Here the terms eternal in reference to time and infinite in reference to space import the idea that God transcends all spatio-temporal systems or manifestations. These are events in the history of God so to say. Existence is *system* which also means Reality or Truth. We have thus:

Brahma (God) = 'Satyam Jñānam Anantam Brahma,' i.e., God is Existence which is Truth and Reality; and He is Limitless. He is besides Knowledge.

Now we have in the first article of the Christian Religion the definition of God as 'the one (*ekam*) living (*chit*) and true God, everlasting'; that he is the 'maker' and preserver of all things both 'visible and invisible'; and that he is 'of infinite power, wisdom and goodness'. These attributes, especially wisdom, are all subsumable under the one term 'knowledge.' Scholars may thus discern the commonness of fundamental ideas about Deity contained in the Vedānta and in the Christian Religion.

The first article further speaks of the Godhead as comprised of the three persons, or Trinity, namely, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, 'of one substance, power and eternity'. Students might here consider the Vedāntic Trinity, Mother, Father and Teacher, as contained in the passage:—

'Mātri-devo bhava, Pitrī devo bhava, Āchārya-devo bhava' is God who is manifest to us as the Father, which would be the Father of the Christian Trinity; the Mother, which would be the son of the Triad; and Teacher, the Holy Ghost, or the Church, which continues the function of the Father and the Mother. Vedānta has another Trinity comprised in the Holy Pranava AUM, of which A, represents Fatherhood; U, Motherhood which is the Teacherhood, and M, the Sonhood. Philosophically A, is the *satyam*, reality or existence which is God; M, is the soul or the kingdom of souls; and U, the link or intermediary power which link the Souls with God, or God with Souls. Inasmuch as these three elements are never separable from each other, but subsist in a unity or a complex, we may see the Christian idea of 'one substance', of the Trinity in the unity: *Ekam ev-advitīyam*.

We have the theological Trinity besides of the Vedāntic Brahmā, the creator, Vishṇu, the preserver, and Śiva, the destroyer, which is here not considered, except by stating that this

Trinity is co-substantial or of one substance. The Christian may say that the world comes out of nothing, whereas the Vedântist says existence comes out of existence. But the nothing of the Christian does not negate the existence of God before the world became. And if the world came out of the *Will* of God, this is parallel to the Vedântic saying that *Sat* (existence) came out of *Sat*. Nor is the idea of nothing wanting in the Vedânta, for we have : *asatas saj-jâyeta* (*Chândogya Up.*) but *asat* is explained as the causal absolute to the effected relative.

Philosophically, the idea involved in the Trinity, is that God is a unity. God existed in the beginning, one only. When God began manifesting or creating, He split Himself into two natures, the subjective and the objective, thinker and thought, figuratively expressed as Father and Son ; and the bond between the two is the Holy Ghost. Max Müller writes of Eckhart's mysticism thus : " Thus the Godhead the Divine Essence or *ousia*, becomes God in Three persons. In thinking himself, the Father thinks everything that is within Him, that is, ideas, the *logoi* of the unseen world ? " (pp. 512-13, *Theosophy or Psychological Religion*). In the light of what Max Müller says, viz., " that a study of the Upanishads is often the very best preparation for a proper understanding of Eckhart's *Tracts and Sermons*. The intellectual atmosphere is just the same, and he who has learnt to breathe in the one, will soon feel at home in the other " (p. 511. *id.*), we invite our readers to the idea contained in *Nara-Nârâyana*, the complex Godhood, which has Nara, the objective, and Nârâyana, the subjective potential in its bosom. Nârâyana is basically One. The One educed (beget according to Christian phrasing) from its own self the Nara ; and a relation between the two also came into existence. This is the Logos (Lakshmi or Śrī or Vidyā, the Word, the divine *sankalpa* of the Vedânta system). This is religion or relationship between God and Nature (*sambandha*, which is literally *religio*). The particular application of this doctrine to man is clear, when man¹ is singled out from Nature in general. Nara would thus be the objective man, and Nârâyana the subjective Godhead ; and these have indiscerptible relation, expressed by the Logos. Coming to the sacred Vedântic syllable AUM, the mystery of the Trinity becomes apparent, when *A* stands for the Godhead, *M* for man or manhood, and *U* is expressive of the relation between them. In figurative language, *A* is Father (*pitā*) in one aspect ; *M* is Son (*putra*) in one aspect, (there are eight more aspects) ; and *U* is the Logoic *nexus*, Lakshmi, Śrī, or the Mother. In this Vedântic metaphor, we have Father, Son and Mother, and only in the place of Mother, the term Holy Ghost gives the Trinity the Christian hue. Those who have studied Vedânta are conversant with the *Tripurī* or God considered as a philosophical Trinity, viz., *jñātṛi*, *jñeya* and *jñāna* i.e., the knower, the known (thing) and knowledge (the connecting link), or the thinker, the thought (thing), and thinking, the link. The meaning of creation is nature-making collectively and Soul-making particularly ; and the process of making is the relation. In Eckhart's language : ' God (or Father) is always working, and His working is to beget the Son. ' The philosophic ethic consequent on these notions is that there is God in Nature, and God in Soul (Man), and both are related, which means, they are identical and in their ultimate essence a Unity. The Trinity is because of the Unity being a Totum or Complex.

¹ Man or Soul is the particular individual, the representative of the group soul, the Demiurge, the Son, (the masculine Brahman emanated from the neutral Brahman, the Father).

WHO WERE THE IMPERIAL PRATIHARAS OF KANAUJ?

By R. R. HALDER.

THE Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj seem to have derived their family name from the office of a *pratihāra*¹ (door-keeper) and not from the name of their primeval man like the Chauhānas, Chaulukyas, Paramāras, Guhilas, etc. This view derives support from the Gwalior *prastasti*² of Bhōja, which says that in the Solar race, Manu, Ikshvāku, and others were born. In their race was born Rāma, whose younger brother Lakshmana was his (Rāma's) doorkeeper (*pratihāra*), in whose family, which bore the emblem of Pratihāra, Nāga-bhata (I, the founder of the Imperial dynasty) appeared. It further records that Vatsarāja, the son of his nephew Dēvarāja,³ wrested the empire from the famous house of Bhaṇḍi. Thus it traces the origin of the Pratihāras of Kanauj and, in addition, explains the significance of the word 'Pratihāra'. In old days, the office of a Pratihāra was open to anyone, who could secure the confidence of a king in watching the safety of his person by standing at his palace-gate, and consequently, there arose Pratihāras of different castes, such as Brāhmaṇa⁴, Gurjara⁵, Kshatriya⁶, Chāpōtkata⁷ (Chāvaḍā) and Raghuvamśi, of whom the last-named gradually came to be the rulers of a very large part of the country.

Before Kanauj became their capital, the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty seems to have ruled over the Gurjara-country⁸ in Mārwar, as is indicated in the Wani⁹ and Rādhānpur¹⁰ inscriptions of Gōvindarāja III, dated in Śāka Samvat 730 (A.D. 808), which say that Dhōrā (Dhruvarāja, the Rāshtrakūṭa king of Deccan), by his matchless arms, quickly drove to Maru (Mārwar) Vatsarāja, who was proud of having seized the fortune of royalty of the Gauda country, and wrested from him (Vatsarāja) the two white (royal) umbrellas originally belonging to the king of Gauda. The Barodā¹¹ inscription of Karkarāja II, dated in Śāka Samvat 734 (A.D. 812) says

1 The word 'Pratihāra' seems to be analogous to Panchakula (Panchōli) which denotes an office or rank, and not a caste or creed.

2 श्रेयः कन्दवपुस्ततस्समभवद्भ्रातृनतत्वापरे मन्विष्यकुक्कुटस्यमूलपुष्पः इमापाजकल्पद्रुमाः ॥ २ ॥
तेषां वंशे सुजन्मा कमनिहितपदे धाम्नि वज्रेषु चोरं रामः पौलस्त्यद्विन्ध्रं (द्विन्ध्रं) क्षतविद्वतिसमित्कर्म चक्रे पलाशैः ।
क्ष्माद्यस्तस्यानुजोसौ मधवमदमुषो मेघनादस्य संहये सौमित्रिस्तीव्रदण्डः प्रतिहरणविधेर्यः प्रतीहार चासीत् ॥ ३ ॥
तद्वन्धे (वंशे) प्रतिहारकेतनमृति त्रैलोक्यरक्षास्पदे देवो नागभटः पुरातनमुनेर्मूर्तिर्बभूवाद्भुतम् ।

इया (ताड) भण्डिकुलान्मदोत्कटकरिप्राकारदुर्लभो यः साम्राज्यमधिज्यकाम्मुकसखा संहये दृढादग्रहीत् ।

एकः क्षत्रियपुरुषेषु च यशोगुर्वीन्द्रुरं प्रोद्धदभिष्ठाकोः कुलमुत्तं सुचरितैश्चके स्वनामाङ्कितं ॥ ७ ॥

Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1903-4, pp. 280-81.

3 This Dēvarāja is different from Dēvarāja of the Bhaṭṭi clan, who is said to have been defeated by the Pratihāra king Śiluka (Ep. Ind., XVIII, 98), to whose family possibly the Imperial Pratihāras belonged (Ibid., p. 90). Kakka, the fourth in succession from Śiluka, married Padmini of the Bhaṭṭi clan and is said to have been the contemporary of Dēvarāja of the Imperial family.

4 Ep. Ind., vol. XVIII, p. 88.

5 Ep. Ind., vol. III, p. 265.

6 Ep. Ind., vol. XVIII, p. 88. The Pratihāras of Maṇḍor being the descendants of Harichandra by his Kshatriya wife Bhadrā, are known as Kshatriya Pratihāras. The sons of Brāhmaṇa father born of Kshatriya mother were called Kshatriyas.

यत्तु ब्राह्मणेन क्षत्रियायामुत्पादितः क्षत्रिय एव भवतीति... इति शंखस्मरणम् ।

Yājñavalkya-smṛiti, Āchārādhyāya, śloka, 91, śikā (Mātākharā).

7 See Saṅgitaratnāvalī of Sōmarāja, verse 5.

8 The old Gurjara-country included the whole of the eastern part of Mārwar and a portion of the present Gujarāt as far as the river Sedhi in the Bombay Presidency.

9 हेलास्वीकृतगौडराज्यकमलामत्तं प्रवेश्याचिराद्दुर्मार्गं मरुमध्यमप्रतिव (व) लेयौ वत्सरो (रा) जंब (व) लैः ।

गौडीयं शरदिन्दुपादधवलं छत्रद्वयं को (के) वलं तस्मान्नादृत तथोपि कुकुर्मा प्रान्ते स्थितं तत्क्षणात् ॥

Ind. Ant., vol. XI, p. 157, ll. 11-13.

10 Ep. Ind., vol. VI, p. 243, ll. 12-14.

11 गौडेन्द्रवक्त्रपतिनिर्जयपुर्विदग्धसद्गुर्जरैरवरदिगर्गलतां च यस्य ।

नीत्वा भुजं विद्वतमानवरक्षणार्थं स्वामी तथान्यमपि राज्यछ (फ) ज्ञाने भुंक्ते ॥

Ind. Ant., vol. XII, p. 160, ll. 39-40.

that Karkarāja, in order to protect (the king of) Mālava, made his arm to be a door-bar to the lord of the Gurjara-country (*Gurjareśvara*)¹², who had become evilly inflamed by his victories over the kings of Gauda and Vaṅga. From these inscriptions it appears that Vatsarāja, the Imperial Pratihāra, who is referred to in the Barodā inscription also, was the lord of the Gurjara-country and ruled in Mārwar about the end of the eighth century A.D. The capital of the early Imperial Pratihāras too seems to have been Bhīnmāl, since it was the capital of their predecessors, namely, the Gurjaras and the Chāvadās respectively. The Gurjaras were different¹³ from the Chāvadās, as is described in Pulakēśi's grant of Kalachuri Samvat 490 (A.D. 738-9). From the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta*¹⁴ of Brahmagupta, a resident of Bhīnmāl, composed in Śāka Samvat 550 (A.D. 628), it is known that Vyāghramukha of the Chāpa (Chāpōtkata, Chāvōtaka, Chāvadā) dynasty was ruling at Bhīnmāl at the period of composition of the book. The reign of the Chāvadās lasted there up to Kalachuri Samvat 490 (A.D. 738-9), as appears from the above grant¹⁵ of Pulakēśi, which says that the decline of the Chāvōtaka (Chāvadā) kingdom was brought about by the Arab invasion. After the Chāvadās, it appears, their reign over the Gurjara country in Mārwar passed into the hands of the Imperial Pratihāras between K.S. 490 (A.D. 738-9) and Ś.S. 730 (A.D. 808), i.e., between the periods of mention of the destruction of the Chāp kingdom in the Pulakēśi's grant and of Vatsarāja's rule in Mārwar as inferred from the Rādhampur and Waṇi inscriptions. The Chāvadās were ruling at Bhīnmāl at that time and their rule elsewhere¹⁶ had not yet been established.

Before the Chāvadās, Bhīnmāl was being ruled over by the Gurjaras. The Kālāñjara¹⁷ inscription of about the eighth century A.D., as also the inscription¹⁸, dated v.s. 900 (A.D. 843), of Bhōjadēva (I) respectively record the name of Maṅgalānaka (modern Mangalānā, about 28 miles N.N.E. of Dīdwānā), Siwā (modern Sewā, seven miles from Dīdwānā in the N.E. of Jodhpur) and of Dēṇḍavānaka (Dīdwānā), as situated in the *Gurjaramaṇḍala* and *Gurjaratrā-bhūmi*, i.e., in Gurjara country. Hiuen Tsiang in his visit to Mārwar in about v.s. 697 (A.D. 641) describes the Gurjara country and speaks of Pi-lo-mo-lo (Bhīllamāla, Bhīnmāl) as its capital¹⁹. It is most likely that Bhīnmāl was at the time of the pilgrim's visit being ruled over by the Chāp²⁰ (Chāvadā) dynasty, for, between Ś.S. 550 (A.D. 628) and K.S. 490 (A.D. 738-9), the Chāvadās were the rulers at Bhīnmāl and other parts of Mārwar, as may be inferred from the above. From the Kālāñjara inscription and that of Bhōjadēva, it

¹² *Gurjareśvara* here means the lord of the Gurjara country.

Cf. लटिद्वरस्य सेनाध्यमसामान्यपराक्रमः । ... ३ जगल मालेशस्य करवालः करादापि ॥ १०

Sōmēśvara's *Kīrtikaumudī*, canto II.

¹³ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. V, Appendix, No. 404.

Bombay Gazetteer, vol. I, pt. I, p. 109.

¹⁴ श्रीचापवंशतिलके श्रीव्याघ्रमुखे नृपे शकृत्पाणं । पंचाशत्संयुक्तैर्वर्षशतैः पंचभिरतीतिः ॥ ७ ॥

ब्राह्मस्फुटसिद्धान्तः सज्जनगणितगोलविप्रतीत्यै । त्रिशद्वर्षेण कृतो निष्पुसुतब्रह्मगुप्तेन ॥ ८ ॥ Canto 24.

See also *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVII, p. 192.

¹⁵ *Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Congress*, Arian Section, p. 231.

Also *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 109.

शरझखीरमुद्रोद्धारिणि तरलतरतारतरवारिदारितोदितसैन्धवकच्छेलेसौराष्ट्रचावोटकनौर्यगुर्जरादिराज्ये
निःशेषशशिणात्यक्षितपतिनिगीषया दक्षिणापथप्रवेगे

¹⁶ The Chāp dynasty had also its kingdoms at Anhilavāda (Pāṭana) and Vadhavāpa (Kāthiāwar) founded later on in the eighth and ninth century A.D., respectively.

¹⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. V, p. 210, note 3.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 211. The date given in the text on p. 212 is wrong. The correct date is taken from the original plate preserved in the Rājputāna Museum, Ajmer.

¹⁹ Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. II, p. 270. On this page in note 81, Pi-lo-mo-lo is wrongly identified with Bālmēr in Rājputāna. The same is done in Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. II., p. 70.

²⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVII, p. 192.

For Dr. R. C. Majumdar's views, see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 18, p. 92.

may be seen that the northern boundary of the modern Jodhpur State was nearly identical with that of the Gurjara-country, undoubtedly so called after the Gurjaras who once ruled over it. The rule of the Gurjaras in Mārwar must have commenced after the decline of the Kshatrapa power and ended sometime before A.D. 628, the date of the Chāvadā's rule at Bhīnmāl (Bhillamāl, Śrīmāl).

According to the Jodhpur²¹ inscription of Bāuka, dated v.s. 894 (A.D. 837), originally found in a Vishṇu temple at Maṇḍor, the wine-drinker (Kshatriya) sons of Harichandra born of his Kshatriya wife Bhadrā ruled at Maṇḍor (Maṇḍavyapura). The date of Harichandra, the founder of the Kshatriya Pratihāras of Maṇḍor and 13th predecessor of Bāuka, whose known date is v.s. 894 (A.D. 837), will fall in the fourth quarter of the 6th century A.D. by assigning an average rule of twenty years to each of the rulers. Thus it appears that two ruling families—the Kshatriya Pratihāras at Maṇḍor, while the Gurjaras, the Chāvadās and the Imperial Pratihāras successively at Bhīnmāl—ruled side by side in Mārwar. How long the Pratihāras (Parihāras) of Maṇḍor ruled there is not known; but the discovery of an inscription²² at Maṇḍor in Jodhpur State shows that the throne of Maṇḍor was transferred afterwards to the Chauhāns of Nāḍol, who ruled there about the middle of the twelfth century A.D.

It is, however, difficult to state in what way the Pratihāras of Maṇḍor were related to the Imperial Pratihāras, who first ruled at Bhīnmāl and then at Kanauj. It has been known that Kakka, the Pratihāra ruler of Maṇḍor gained fame at Mudgagiri (Monghyr in Bihār) in the fighting with the king of Gauda²³. It is also known from the above inscription of Gōvinda-rāja III that it was Vatsarāja of the Imperial Pratihāra line, who is said to have defeated the king of Gauda and taken from him the two white (royal) umbrellas. Thus it appears that Kakka, being a feudatory to Vatsarāja,²⁴ fought on his side at Mudgagiri against the Gaudas. From this it may be inferred that the Imperial Pratihāras and the Pratihāras of Maṇḍor were the two different lines of rulers in Mārwar—the one supreme at their capital Bhīnmāl and the other, probably subordinate, at their capital Maṇḍor.²⁵ The origin of the former is described in the Gwalior *prasasti* of Bhōja which distinctly states that Nāgabhaṭa (I) was the first king and that Vatsarāja (the 4th from him) wrested the empire from the Bhaṇḍi clan.

Having cleared the position so far let us now come to the subject proper. Antiquarians and learned men are apt to describe the Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj as Gurjara-Pratihāras²⁶. In fact, there is no definite proof to connect them with the Gurjaras. That they belonged to the Solar race is evident from the following versions :—

(1) The Gwalior *prasasti* of Bhōja speaks of Nāgabhaṭa, the founder of the dynasty, as belonging to the Solar race, and of Vatsarāja, as the glorifier of the race of Ikshvāku.

(2) The Harshanātha inscription of Vighnarāja, dated v.s. 1030 (A.D. 973) tells us that Guvaka (one of the early Chauhāns of Sāmbhar) attained pre-eminence as a hero in the court

²¹ विप्रः श्रीहरिचन्द्राख्यः पत्नी भद्रा च क्षत्र(त्रि)या । ...

तेन श्रीहरिचन्द्रेण परिणीता द्विजात्मजा ।

द्वितीया क्षत्र(त्रि)या भद्रा महाकुलगुणान्विता ॥

प्रतिहारा द्विजा भूता ब्राह्मण्यो येभवन्सुताः ।

राज्ञी भद्रा च यान्ते ते भूता मधुपायिनः ॥

Inscription preserved in the Rājputāna Museum, Ajmer.

²² Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1909-10, p. 101.

²³ ततोपि श्रियुतः कङ्कः पुत्रो जातो महामतेः । यशो मुद्रगिरी लब्धं येन गौडे(देः) समं रणे ॥ [२४ ×]

Verse 24 of the Jodhpur inscription. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, p. 98.

²⁴ For Dr. R. C. Majumdar's views, see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, p. 94.

²⁵ It is not known, however, whether the Pratihāras of Maṇḍor were subordinates to the Imperial Pratihāras prior to Vatsarāja.

²⁶ Vide *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. I, pp. 485-89. Also *JEBRAS*, 1905 (Extra number), pp. 413-33. And *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 100-101.

of Nāgavalōka (Nāgabhaṭa II. of Kanauj), and that (his descendant Simharāja) kept in confinement many princes till the universal sovereign of the earth in Raghu's race came to him for their liberation²⁷.

Since, during the period in question, the universal sovereigns in Northern India were the Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj, the King Nāgavalōka of the above inscription must refer to Nāgabhaṭa II. of Kanauj, who was also called Nāgavalōka. From the version of the above inscription, Guvaka seems to be a subordinate to Nāgavalōka. It, therefore, follows that Simharāja, the sixth²⁸ in descent from him (Guvaka), was also subordinate to his contemporary Pratihāra kings of Kanauj. Since Simharāja was the father of Vigharāja (II) whose known date is v.s. 1030²⁹ (A.D. 973), he should have been contemporary with Dēvapāla or Vijayapāla of Kanauj, whose known dates are s. 1005³⁰ and s. 1016³¹ (A.D. 948 and 959) respectively. The term 'Raghu's race' must therefore refer to one of them.

(3) The poet Rājasēkhara calls his pupil Mahēndrapāla of Kanauj 'Raghukulatilaka'³² (gem of Raghu's race) in his *Viddhaśālabañjikā* and 'Raghurāmani'³³ (leader of Raghu's race) in his *Bālabhārata*.

Thus we see that the Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj were a race of Pratihāra rulers, who belonged to the Solar (*Raghu's*) race and not to the Gurjara clan. To call them, therefore, Gurjara-Pratihāras does not seem to be justified. They remained the paramount sovereigns in Northern India for about a period of two and a half centuries, and extended their sway in the Panjāb, Bihār, Gujarāt, Kāthiāwār, Rājputāna and Central India (Mālwā). It was Nāgabhaṭa II, the fifth ruler of the dynasty, who having dethroned Chakrāyudha of Kanauj about 816 A.D., made it his capital.³⁴ Since then, the *Raghuvamśi* Pratihāras are also known as the Pratihāras of Kanauj. With Yaśapāla, however, the last ruler among them, or with his successor, the rule of the Pratihāras of Kanauj came to an end, and it was the Gaharwār³⁵ king Chandradēva, who acquired the sovereignty of Kanauj in v.s. 1154 (A.D. 1097).³⁶ Though the reign of the *Raghuvamśi* Pratihāras came to an end at the end of the 11th century A.D., nevertheless some of the scions of the family yet ruled for sometime in distant parts of the country, as is evident from the Kureṭhā³⁷ inscription of Malayavarmā, dated v.s. 1277 (A.D. 1220) and the Rājgarh³⁸ inscription of the Pratihāra Prithvipāladēva dated v.s. 1208 (A.D. 1151).

27 आय : श्रीगुवकाख्याप्रथितनरपतिस्त्वाहमानान्वयोभूत् श्रीमन्नागावलोकप्रवरनृपसमालम्ब(द्य)वीरप्रतिष्ठः ।

तोमरनायकं सलक्षणं सैन्याधिपत्योद्धतं युद्धे येन नरेश्वराः प्रतिदिशं निर्भा(ण्णा)सिता जिघृक्षुना ।

कारावेष्टमनि भूरयश्च विधृतास्तावदि यावद्भूदे तन्मुत्तम्यमुपागतो रघुकुले भूचक्रवर्त्तो स्वयम् ॥

Ep. Ind., vol. II., pp. 121-22.

28 R. B. G. H. Ojha's Supplementary notes to *Tod's Rājasthān* (in Hindi), p. 398.

29 See note 27 above.

30 Siyādōni—Inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 172.

31 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 263.

32 रघुकुलतिलको महेन्द्रपालः

canto I, śloka 6.

33 देवो यस्य महेन्द्रपालनृपतिः शिष्यो रघुरामणिः ।

canto I, śloka 11.

34 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 105-6. Also Sastri, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX, p. 17.

According to Duff [*Chronology*, p. 75] Chakrāyudha gained sovereignty of Kanauj in 840 A.D., while Nāgabhaṭa II is supposed to have ruled from v.s. 872-90 (A.D. 815-33) [*Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, pp. 199, and *Prabhāvakā-charit*, p. 177]. Hence, either the date in *Chronology* is wrong, or Chakrāyudha's deposition becomes impossible unless Nāgabhaṭa's reign lasted longer.

35 The Gaharwār also belonged to the solar race, as appears from their inscriptions.

36 Duff's *Chronology*, pp. 134-5.

37 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XLVII, p. 242, n. 4.

38 1 Report of the Rājputāna Museum, Ajmer, 1918-19, 4(b) V.

THE HOME OF THE UPANIŠADS.

By UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE, M.A., B.L.

(Continued from page 173.)

Scholars find no difficulty in believing that the tenth *maṇḍala* of the *Rigveda*, though, as the texts have come down to us, it is a part of the same compilation at present, was yet composed later than the other *maṇḍalas*. It is also admitted that the *Brāhmaṇas* were composed when the eastern districts had been explored and had begun to be colonised. We have evidence of this eastern migration in the *Brāhmaṇas* themselves. Is it then too much to suppose that the later portions of these *Brāhmaṇas*—the *Upaniṣads* and the *Āraṇyakas*—at any rate, a vast majority of them—were composed after the settlements in the eastern districts had become prosperous territories with populous cities and villages?

We find, therefore, that though some texts of the Śruti, as they are usually understood, imply a disparagement of the eastern districts, yet no such thing is found in the *Upaniṣads* proper. So it is precarious to conclude that the home of the *Upaniṣads* was in Kuru-Pāñcāla and not anywhere else. Besides, it must be remembered that even if the *Brāhmaṇas* are definitely proved to have originated in Kuru-Pāñcāla, still that does not prove that it was the home of the *Upaniṣads* also. It is conceivable that a distance of time as well as a distance of space separate the two. At any rate, the evidence of the Vedic and Brāhmanic texts discussed above is inconclusive with regard to the contention that Kuru-Pāñcāla and not Videha-Magadha was the home of the *Upaniṣads*.

(ii) We turn now to the evidence of the *Upaniṣads* themselves. It has just been pointed out that in the *Upaniṣads*, there is no banter against the eastern peoples. On the contrary, the court of the king of Videha was an important resort of the teachers of *Brahma-vidyā*. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* ii. 1, Ajātasatru of Kāśī exclaims that people flock to the court of Janaka in connection with *Brahma-vidyā*. That shows that Videha had already acquired a reputation in that respect. Kāśī also appears to have been another seat of *Brahma-vidyā*; but the jealousy of its king for Janaka, shews that it was a less important seat.

In the *Praśna Upaniṣad*, we find references to Kośala and Vidarbha, enquirers from which countries approach a certain teacher for *Brahma-vidyā* (i. 1). And in the same *Upaniṣad* (vi. 1), we find that even the princes of Kośala were interested in *Brahma-vidyā*. This shows clearly that *Brahma-vidyā* had at least travelled out of Kuru-Pāñcāla, if that was its original home.

Among the princes of Pāñcāla, Pravāhaṇa Jaivali is well-known. (*Ch.* i. 8; *v.* 3. *Br.* vi. 2). But he was a Kṣatriya, and though fairly well posted in the subject, he was hardly a teacher in the real sense of the term. And as to the Brahmins of Kuru-Pāñcāla, Śvetaketu Āruṇeya had to confess even before this very Jaivali that he had not been instructed into the mysteries of *Deva-yāna* and *Pitr-yāna*—an important branch of *Brahma-vidyā*; and his father too had to admit that he did not know it. Surely, this is not a compliment.

Again, in *Chândogya* i. 10-12, we have a reference to the 'Sauva Udgītha'—'the song of the dog' as Deussen translates it; "which", to quote the same author again (p. 62) "seems to have been originally a satire on the greedy begging propensities of the priests." Now, if it was a satire at all, was it not a satire upon the Brahmins of Kuru-Pāñcāla? The story of Uṣasti Cākṛāyaṇa, to which the 'song of the dog' is an appendix, seems to imply an adverse reflection upon the Kuru-Pāñcāla Brahmins and their mode of life. This Uṣasti Cākṛāyaṇa appears again in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* iii. 4, where he puts questions to Yājñavalkya but is easily silenced.

In the *Kauṣṭhikī* (iv. 1), we find references to several places, evidently as seats of learning, viz., Uśinara, Matsya, Kuru-Pāñcāla and Kāśī-Videha. That was evidently a time when living in Magadha or Videha, was not only not unusual but was rather necessary for completing one's education. It is the story of the proud Vālāki who met Ajātasatru of Kāśī (cf. *Br.* ii). In the *Kauṣṭhikī*, we are told that this proud man had travelled in the countries

mentioned above—and it may be presumed, must have earned a reputation for scholarship also. He had been to Kuru-Pañcāla, too, and had come out of that country, evidently with his reputation unimpaired. But at Kāśī, an eastern district, and at the hands of a Kṣatriya, he meets with a crushing defeat.

In the Upaniṣads, we find references to most of the provinces falling within the zone of territory which had Kuru-Pañcāla on the north-west, Matsya and Vīdarbha on the south-south-west and Videha-Magadha on the east. This was undoubtedly the area within which *Brahma-vidyā* was born. But Macdonell's theory that Kuru-Pañcāla was the home of the Upaniṣads, is not supported by anything in the body of that literature. Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, the king of the Pañcālas, is not the most important patron of *Brahma-vidyā*; and he is more than matched by Ajātaśatru of Kāśī. But this Ajātaśatru himself has to exclaim that people run to the court of Janaka, and not anywhere else, for *Brahma-vidyā* (*Br.* ii. 1. *Kaus.* iv. 1.)

If Kuru-Pañcāla or even Kāśī had been the more important seat of *Brahma-vidyā*, we should certainly have found more frequent references to these places, their kings and peoples. But Ajātaśatru's sad complaint makes it plain that the peoples of these places were painfully aware of the superior prestige of the court of Videha in this matter. And the fact that a master mind like Yājñavalkya did not find a field for his activity in Kuru-Pañcāla, which according to some was his birth-place, is significant and shows that the kings and peoples of that country were not inclined to favour the spread of this cult.

In the Upaniṣads, the court of Videha, as a seat of *Brahma-vidyā*, far outshines all other places in Āryāvarta; and Janaka is by far the most prominent among all the Kṣatriyas, mentioned in the Upaniṣads as patrons of *Brahma-vidyā*. And the teacher who towers head and shoulders above all others in the Upaniṣads, is not Uddālaka Āruṇi, but his real or supposed disciple, Yājñavalkya. In the court of Janaka, Āruṇi failed to prove his superiority to Yājñavalkya—and one might even say, he had a defeat at the hands of the latter; and in the court of Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, he had to confess his ignorance of certain important questions and accepted the discipleship of the Kṣatriya. In the *Chāndogya* (vi), Āruṇi no doubt gives a learned discourse to his son Śvetaketu; and, according to the *Chāndogya*, it is no doubt to him that we are indebted for the famous formula '*Tattvamasi*.' He was undoubtedly a very great teacher; and we find references to him in the *Mahābhārata* and also in other places; but as a teacher of *Brahma-vidyā*, he ranks much lower than Yājñavalkya. He had defeats and discomfitures here and there; but Yājñavalkya is triumphant throughout—triumphant even over Āruṇi himself. Yājñavalkya may have been Āruṇi's pupil or may not have been; it is not impossible even for a pupil to eclipse his master. But whether Āruṇi's pupil or not, Yājñavalkya is by far the most important teacher in the Upaniṣads.

Now, if Yājñavalkya is the most important teacher and if Janaka is the most renowned patron of *Brahma-vidyā*, where could *Brahma-vidyā* have its home except in the eastern districts of Videha-Magadha? Yājñavalkya's own nationality is not so material; he may have been a Kuru-Pañcāla or may have been a Videha Brahmin; but what is material, is: Where could he find the necessary field for his activity in *Brahma-vidyā*? Not in the land of Pañcāla, but it is in Videha that he gives his discourses under the distinguished patronage of its king. Of course, at the court of a king like Janaka, learned men came from all quarters and certainly also from Kuru-Pañcāla; and floating ideas on *Brahma-vidyā* existed in Kuru-Pañcāla, Matsya, Vīdarbha and Kāśī; in these places also existed men who knew this subject and knew it well; but the cult does not appear to have found any continued and systematic support outside Videha. In the strict sense of the term, therefore, Videha or the eastern territory was the home of the Upaniṣads.

There is another point to be considered in this connection. The Upaniṣads imply a certain amount of breach with the strictly orthodox Brāhmanical culture, shall we add, of the north-west. In Pāli literature and in the history of Buddhism, we find this gulf widening under the powerful influence of the Kṣatriyas of the east. It seems that this was just the

place and these were just the peoples who could foster the growth of independent spiritual inquiry which the Upaniṣads also exhibit. Buddhism was an open rebellion against the Vedic religion ; but the Upaniṣads also involved some defiance of the ceremonial cult, though less open ; and the eastern districts appear to have been marked out for carrying out this mission of protest. The people who could raise the standard of Buddhism, were intellectually fitted to give rise to the Upaniṣadic cult also. And the evidence of the Upaniṣads show that the cult had its organised beginnings and its first settled home in the districts of Videha and also perhaps Magadha. Besides the evidence discussed up to now, there is the evidence of the traditions preserved in the Purāṇas, to which we may now turn.

(iii) The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, part iv, gives an account of several royal dynasties, including dynasties of the Kurus and the Pañcālas. Needless details are sometimes introduced in these accounts and more than once is it said that he who listens to these narrations, escapes all sin (*eteṣam caritam śṛṇvan sarva-pāpāḥ pramucyate*). But only in the case of the Janaka dynasty of Videha-Mithilā is it said that most of the kings of that dynasty were patrons of Ātma-vidyā : *Ityete maitihilāḥ ; prācuryyeṇa eleṣām ātma-vidyāśrayiṇo bhṛpālā bhaviṣyanti* (iv. 5. 14). No other dynasty has received a similar compliment from the author of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. If any royal family, therefore, was prominent for its support of *Brahma-vidyā*, it was that of Videha.

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* similarly gives detailed accounts of various royal dynasties, distributed widely over different parts of the country, and including the Yadus and the Ikṣākus and a host of others. But in the account of the Janaka dynasty, the significant statement is made that the members of that dynasty were adepts in Ātma-vidyā—*ete vai maitihilā rājan ātma-vidyā-vīśāraddhā* (ix. 13. 27). It is remarkable that this virtue is not attributed to any other dynasty, not even the family of Kṛṣṇa himself, the propounder of the *Bhagavad-gītā*.

In the *Mahābhārata*, iii. 132, we find an interesting picture of the disputations on *Brahma-vidyā* that took place at the court of Videha ; and in xii. 325, of the same book, Śuka, son of Vyāsa, is sent by his father to Janaka, the king of Mithilā, for instruction in *Mokṣa-vidyā*. The same story in an identical form is repeated in *Yoga-vāsiṣṭha*, ii. 1. In several other places also in the *Mahābhārata*, the name of Janaka of Videha figures prominently in connection with *Brahma-vidyā*.

Accounts of the royal dynasty of Mithilā are not found in all the Purāṇas. But wherever mention is made of this remarkable dynasty, whether in the Purāṇas, or in the *Mahābhārata*, or in the *Yoga-vāsiṣṭha*, the fact is almost invariably emphasized that the court of Videha was renowned as almost an exclusive seat of *Brahma-vidyā*. No other dynasty appears to have received a similar compliment for its patronage of *Brahma-vidyā* ; and no other place has been commemorated as an equally great seat of this knowledge. This is a very significant fact. Teachers of *Brahma-vidyā* may have had their homes in other places, even in far off countries ; but the court of Videha was the centre, it seems, to which they all gravitated. Under the distinguished patronage of the kings of Videha, the teachers of *Brahma-vidyā*, of whatsoever race and country they may have been, had their common meeting-ground in that country. And systematic instruction also appears to have been imparted to earnest inquirers : it almost had the semblance of a university (cf. *Mahābhārata*, iii. 132 ; *Bṛ. Up.*, iii. iv).

In the Purāṇas, the honour of being the home of the Upaniṣadic culture is bestowed almost exclusively on Videha. Other dynasties of princes have been celebrated for achievements in other directions,—for their wars and conquests and great sacrificial performances ; but none have been half as renowned as the Janaka dynasty for proficiency in *Brahma-vidyā*. And other lands have been famous for other events ; but, in the Purāṇas, the land of Videha has little other history to its credit, except the hospitality it extended to the teachers of *Brahma-vidyā*—whether homeless itinerants or house-owning fathers of families.

The importance of Videha in this respect is proved by another fact from the Purāṇas. The *Mahābhārata*, we are told, was narrated in the form in which it has come down to us,

at an assembly of the Ṛṣis of Naimiṣāranya (*Mbh.* i. 1). And more than half the Purāṇas declare themselves products of Naimiṣāranya (cf. *Kūrma*, i. 2; *Skanda*, i. 1. 2, etc.). Even in cases where the scene is laid in other places (e.g., *Brahmānda* i. 13; *Vāyu* i. 14, etc.), it is still the Ṛṣis of Naimiṣāranya to whom the leadership of thought-movement is ascribed. Now, Naimiṣāranya was nearer to the Kuru-Pañcāla than to Videha and was situated in the zone of territory in which the Brāhmaṇas are supposed to have been composed. It may be supposed that these people were not lacking in sympathy for the Kuru-Pañcāla men. That even these Ṛṣis and these Purāṇas assign a very high place of honour to the royal dynasty of Videha, is a fact that cannot be lightly passed over. And besides, there is no disparagement of the eastern districts in these books. This shows that Videha really deserved the honour.

That the territory comprising Videha and its neighbourhood was the centre of great intellectual movements, is further shewn by the rise of Buddhism in this area. A reference has already been made to Buddhism; it was a product mainly of these very districts for which some of the Śruti texts have been understood to express nothing but contempt. In fact, the very sneers at Magadha in later Vedic literature, have been supposed by some as due to the rise of the heterodox religion of Buddha in that land. (See Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 400 n.) Whether this is true or not, the outstanding fact remains that Videha-Magadha was the centre of intellectual and spiritual activity of a very high order. And the assumption is quite reasonable that the spirit of free inquiry that the Upaniṣads exhibit and the revolt against Vedic religion which is exemplified in Buddhism, may have been helped and encouraged by each other. References to *Brahma-vidyā*, to the state of having attained Brahma, and also to the kings of Mithilā are frequent enough in Buddhist literature. Thus, in *Jātakamāla*, (*Śāśa jātaka* 28), we find the expression *brahmavidām varigṭhaḥ*; and in *Maitrābala-jātaka*, occurs the expression *brahmabhūyam*; and in *Brahma-jātaka*, a king of Videha is brought round to the right way of life by the instruction of the Bodhisattva who was born in the realm of Brahma (Brahmaloka). In Moore's *Sayings of Buddha*, (p. 35), Buddha says "I became Brahma". *Mahāvastu* iii. 325, speaks of *brahmavāda* (*dharmmeṇa so brāhmaṇo brahmavādam vadeya*, etc.). All these things bespeak an acquaintance with the cult of *Brahma-vidyā*. Then there are the references to kings of Mithilā also (e.g., *Jātaka* Nos. 9, 408, 498, etc.) Though the names of the kings as given in these texts are not exactly the same as in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and elsewhere, yet some names, such as that of Nimi, are common, showing that the identical dynasty of kings was in view.

All these considerations show that Videha-Magadha was a soil where a free and independent thinking could strike root; and our other evidences have proved that this was the soil where *Brahma-vidyā* too had its first home.

There is one possible objection which may be considered here. The evidences that we have been discussing refer mainly to the court of Videha rather than to its people or its provinces. The court was certainly not the place of instruction—the place, that is to say, where pupils were taught. And it is also a truism to say that the cult could not have been developed without regular instruction being given to students. Now where was this instruction given? Not of course in the court of the king; but it was presumably under the patronage of the court that a majority of the teachers lived, and so, they must have had their seat of instruction not far from the court. Besides, very many of the teachers had little of a home to own: they lived a more or less peripatetic life and wherever they went, their pupils also went along with them. Yājñavalkya comes to the court of Janaka with his disciples crowding about him; and it is one of these pupils that he orders to drive home the cows which the king offered as reward to the most learned man in the assembly (*Br.* iii. 1. 2). Śākalya too had his pupils with him; and when he was suddenly killed by Yājñavalkya's curse, his bones were carried off by these pupils (*ibid.*, iii. 9. 26). That the Brahman teachers moved about

the country with their pupils in their wake, is also proved by incidents recorded in the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata*. Thus, *Mbh.* iii. 261 narrates a visit to Duryodhana by Durvāsā and a similar visit by him to Yudhiṣṭhira, with ten thousand pupils following him. The practice of taking some pupils with oneself on one's journeys, specially when the journey is made on an invitation, has continued among Brahmans even till the present day.

Of course, some of these itinerant Brahmans owned a home and even a wife, and sometimes even more than one wife (e.g., *Br. Up.*, ii. 4). And they had their children to boot. And it is also true that however much they might prize the patronage of princes, very few of them lived under a royal roof. Some no doubt did live in the household of kings in some capacity or other, but not many. And the Upaniṣadic teachers were mostly dwellers in villages or even in forests. But one can easily assume that when a princely house was particularly kind to any sect of these Brahmans, such Brahmans would naturally fix up their abode within the area protected by these princes and in their neighbourhood. And from the eminent position of the court of Videha, it may well be inferred that it must have held itself responsible for the protection of the life and property of many a Upaniṣadic teacher. In all probability, they had their homes within reach of Videha's arms; and it was there that they maintained their pupils and held their schools.

If it is a question of choice as between Videha and Magadha, it is not difficult to see that we have to cast our vote in favour of Videha rather than Magadha as the home of Upaniṣadic speculation. But provincial boundaries were not yet sharply defined in those early days, and, besides, Magadha also seems to have had its share in the development of this culture, though Videha's share was decidedly more noteworthy. The two districts have to be mentioned conjointly because they are generally so spoken of and also because, as a matter of fact, both had their contributions to the building up of *Brahma-vidyā*.

We may note in passing here that interesting light is thrown on the question of the home of the Upaniṣadic teachers by some ancient Greek writers. They almost uniformly locate the philosophers of ancient India either on the banks of the Ganges or on mountains which remain nameless. Bardesanes, a writer of the second century A.D., says: "Of the philosophers among them (i.e., the Brahmans), some inhabit the mountains, others the banks of the Ganges." (The quotations are from McCrindle's translation, *vide* his *Ancient India*). Pseudo-Kallisthenes says that the men lived on the shores of the ocean or on one side of the river (presumably the Ganges), and the women on the other side towards the interior of the country. Philostratos of Semnos locates the philosophers between Hyphasis (the river Beas) and the Ganges. Apollonius of Tyana (*Priault's* translation) repeats the statement that the philosophers' country lay between the Hyphasis and the Ganges and that Alexander never invaded it.

The evidence of these writers is far from conclusive; and the honesty and veracity of many of them has been challenged. In any case, their statements are not free from confusion. But they indicate a tendency to locate our philosophers on the banks of the Ganges, and, what is more important, on the eastern banks of that river. That brings us to the area we have kept in view. And when corroborative evidence is found elsewhere, we have no right to reject this testimony.

The whole host of evidence, therefore, seems to drive us but to this one conclusion that the home of *Brahma-vidyā* was the country of Videha-Magadha. Ideas on the subject perhaps floated all over the surface of Āryāvarta; but a systematic cultivation of the subject took place, for a long time it seems, in Videha-Magadha alone. This was, therefore, the Home of the Upaniṣads.

HINDU AND NON-HINDU ELEMENTS IN THE KATHA SARIT SAGARA.

By SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt.

I. General Remarks.

WHEN Mr. N. M. Penzer undertook his fine edition of Tawney's translation of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, now completed in ten remarkable volumes, I wrote the foreword to Volume I. In the course of my remarks I pointed out that the Brāhmaṇ Somadeva, the author of the original, in putting together his collection of folktales used just the current stories of his day whatever their origin, and did in fact utilise tales and ideas that were presumably not of Aryan, i.e., of Hindu, origin. In going through the second volume carefully this notion took so strong a hold upon me that I propose now to make an examination of it, to see how far my idea is supported on being further looked into.

Many years ago, when dissecting a collection of modern Panjābī folktales, principally compiled by Mrs. F. A. Steel and published in *Wide-awake Stories*, 1884, I went on the principle of examining the incidents in the tales rather than the tales themselves. Folktales and the incidents occurring in them have separate histories, much as have the two components of all religions—the ritual and the philosophy—and it occurred to me then that by an examination of the incidents one was quite as likely to get at the history of the ideas contained in folktales as by an examination of the tales themselves. I have accordingly proposed to myself to follow the same principle with regard to the second volume of Mr. Penzer's edition of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*. In order to do so I have been through the book and noted down some 75 points, which it seemed to me to be worth examining. Of these 35 may be called records of matters that are purely Indian and 40 may be looked on as matters relating to Folklore in general, including that of the Hindus. Also it has seemed to me that practically the whole of them refer to conditions that are both Hindu and not Hindu.

With these preliminary remarks I propose to examine Volume II of Mr. Penzer's book, taking advantage of his magnificent apparatus of notes, long and short, and of his appendices, one of which, that on the "poison damsel," is practically an unique contribution to the study of Folklore. My remarks will perforce be of a desultory nature, but I hope none the less worth making for that.

The following list gives the many subjects I shall touch on in the order of examination.

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II.—General Points.

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17. Unintentional Injuries.
18. Portents : Twitching ; Itching ; Sneezing.
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20. Taboos.
(a) Umbrellas.
21. Dreams.
22. Jonah in the Whale's Belly.
23. Rāhu and Eclipses.

II. General Points.

1. Chronology.

Let me commence with those matters that do not strictly concern Folklore, but are representative, nevertheless, of this old collection of folktales and of ancient, and indeed modern, Indian life and literature. One can hardly expect a literary work such as that of Somadeva, brought about to amuse the leisure of an Eastern queen, to be careful of chronology ; but in this matter the author is wholly wild in his statements in true old Indian fashion. He is relating the main story and is extolling the glory of King Chandamahāsena, King of Vatsa, in "conquering the Earth" (pp. 93-94). This to start with, and then the same king is made to subdue the King of Sindh in a war, in the course of which the King of Vatsa's cavalry break "the cavalry squadrons of the Turushkas," i.e., of the Turks. The King of Vatsa next cuts off "the head of the wicked King of the Pārasikas," i.e., of the Persians, and defeats the Hūnas, i.e., the white Huns. These performances frighten the King of Kāmarūpa, i.e., of Assam, into submission, and lastly in triumph he goes to the King of Magadha, i.e., of Bihar. Surely here neither time nor place nor history are considered.

2. Urvāśī and Purūravas.

The Oldest Love Story.

At p. 245 ff. Mr. Penzer gives us in Appendix I. a most valuable set of observations on *The Story of Urvāśī and Purūravas*, traced back to a hymn in the *Rigveda*. At the commencement of his remarks he states : "It is the first Indo-European love-story known and may even be the oldest love-story in the world." One would like to think so. Perhaps some Egyptian or Sumerian scholar may tell us if an older one has been unearthed. Its great antiquity, however, and its persistent popularity are beyond doubt. Its scheme is, of course, in consequence familiar to many an European who has never heard of the original. An immortal girl (a fairy) loves a mortal man, marries him in mortal form on a condition—on a taboo in fact—which he cannot keep, and then disappears as an immortal on his breaking it. In the end he finds the means to attain immortality, and after many troubles everything ends happily. It is a story calculated to bring out much human nature in the telling.

3. Puns.

Still dealing with matters of general interest, I would note that one cannot have much experience of Indian literature without noticing the fondness for puns and double meanings, and it is interesting to note how old and insistent this fondness is. In this volume I have marked their occurrence noticed ten times by Mr. Penzer at pp. 52, 73, 79, 132, 154, 158, 180, 181, 218, 219.

4. The Naming of Heroes.

Another general matter that I would like to call attention to in these stories is that a personal name is given to every one of importance concerned with a tale. It does not seem to be enough merely to mention that there lived a merchant who did such and such things, but the merchant must be named and so on, even when the name does not give any point

to the story. *E.g.*, *The Story of the Loving Couple that died of Separation* (p. 9) commences with: "There lived a certain young merchant called Illaka . . . in Mathurā." This is also a Scandinavian habit. In telling a story a Scandinavian must give a name to the person concerned with it—even if he has to invent it on the spot—*e.g.*, an Icelander will begin by saying: "I will tell you the story of a young man called Jón Magnússon," when it does not in the least matter whether the name was Jón or Magnús or any other.

5. The Spread of Rumour.

On pp. 185-186 occurs the story of *The Iniquity of Scandal*, really turning on a world-wide effect of the spread of rumour, and Mr. Penzer rightly draws attention to Virgil's description in *Aeneid*, IV. The story begins in the usual way of carefully describing names and places: "There is a city on the banks of the Ganges named Kusumapura [=Pātali-putra—Patna], and in it was a [Brāhman] ascetic who visited holy places, named Harasvāmin." As above remarked the point of the story is in no way advanced by mentioning these names, as it turns on the troubles of Harasvāmin in consequence of "a wicked man spreading it about that he carries off children and eats them." It is not to be expected that a *motif* such as this should be confined to any one part of the world, but Mr. Penzer has a most illuminating note (not the only one of its kind) on p. 185, n. 3. He points out that a similar tale was actually spread about in the French Revolution as to "M. de Montlosier, Marquis de Mirabeau" indulging in orgies, during which he ate little children: much to the discomfort of M. de Montlosier.

6. Travelling in India at the End of the first Millenium, A.D.

Another general point, on which I would like to remark, arises out of a paragraph on p. 6: "At night, while all were asleep, wearied with their long journey, stretched out on strewn leaves and such other beds as travellers have to put up with." The accommodation, according to the tale, was under a tree outside a temple, which itself was outside Benarés, near a place for burning the dead. I draw attention to this, because, even in the days of Peter Mundy during the Thirty Years War (1618-1648 A.D.), in Continental Europe the ordinary accommodation in a country inn, called by the English "a crewe" (*Krug*) was not any better, except that the cold climate of Northern Europe made travellers sleep under a roof, but they slept anywhere on the floor on straw.

7. Etymology.

The Hindus have always been as fond of folk-etymology as other people. Indeed literary striving after a meaning in names and words has gone deeply into the public life, in the hope of raising caste status by giving a meaning to caste and sub-caste names which tends to enhance the social position of the bearers. There are instances in this volume.

I will take first some cases of etymology which are not exactly folklore, but are worthy of note. On pp. 84-85, Mr. Penzer has some remarks on Adam's Bridge, which nearly connects India with Ceylon, but in his remarks on the name 'Adam's' given to an obviously Hindu place, he has left out the illuminating observation of Dames in his *Barbosa* on Adam's Peak, also in Ceylon. Next in *the Story of Vidūshaka* at pp. 67 ff, "a certain friend of his beloved named Yogesvari" takes a prominent part in the tale. But *Yogesvari* as a term means 'past mistress of *yoga*,' and perhaps, instead of the character being simply named *Yogesvari*, the translation should run 'a certain friend of his beloved, a most wise woman,' and she should be called thereafter 'the wise woman.' Lastly at p. 271 occurs a notable etymology: "gingham (a kind of cotton cloth first made at Guingamp in Brittany, the yarn of which is dyed before it is woven)." Here Mr. Penzer is correcting the *O. E. D.* and other authorities. At p. 138 again occurs a remarkable expression well worth noting: "Himavat, the father of the mother of the world"—the possessor of the snows as the father of Ambikā, *i.e.*, of Pārvatī, the wife of Śiva.

Turning to folk-etymology pure and simple, I will take the case of the Fourfaced Śiva as he appears in this volume. At p. 14 we read: "Brahmā, wishing to destroy them [the Asuras Sunda and Upasunda] gave an order to Viśvakarman, and had constructed a heavenly woman named Tilottamā, in order to behold whose beauty even Śiva truly became Fourfaced so as to look four ways at once, while she was devoutly circumambulating him. Then in *The Story of Ahalyā* (pp. 45-46) the Thousand Eyes of Indra are similarly accounted for. In the first of these stories we have the same general idea as that of Pygmalion and Galatea, where a sculptor's statue becomes animated out of his love.

Even more directly we find an instance of folk-etymology in the name Kandarpa for Kāma, the god of love. At p. 100 in the course of the very mythological tale of *The Birth of Kārttikeya*, the god of war, Śiva is reported as saying to his consort Gaurī: "My dear goddess, the god of love was born long ago from the mind of Brahmā, and no sooner was he born than he said in his insolence: 'whom shall I make mad (*kan darpayāmi*?)'. So Brahmā called him Kandarpa." Similarly in another wholly mythological tale we read (p. 241): "Prithu, son of Vena, having been constituted universal monarch, desired to recover for his subjects edible plants, which, during the preceding anarchy, had all perished." So he attacked the Earth and conquered her in the form of a cow. She proceeded "to fecundate the soil," and all the vegetables grew once more. "By granting life to the Earth, Prithu became as her father; and thence she derived the patronymic appellation Prithivī (daughter of Prithu)."

Lastly in yet another highly mythological tale at pp. 151-152 we find: "Then the snakes in despair licked that bed of *darbha* grass, thinking there might be a drop of spilt nectar on it; the effect was that their tongues were split [by its sharp edges], and they became double-tongued for nothing." This statement occurs in the tale of *The Dispute about the Colour of the Sun's Horses*.

III. References to old Indian Life.

* There are several references to the conditions of life in India, brought about by the adoption of Hinduism which are worth noting as explanatory of the turn that many Indian folktales take.

1. Unscrupulousness.

There is an unscrupulousness in the means used to attain an end, both in domestic and political life, that is instructive. Stories are told showing an entire want of scruple in action without a word of comment or sign of disapproval, which exhibits a certain want of moral sense in the tellers and listeners and is worth noting, for the tales of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* were collected and told for the amusement of a mediæval Hindu Court in Kashmīr.

At the commencement of the volume on p. 2 is *The Story of the Clever Physician*, who cured King Mahāsena of a disease by upsetting his physical equilibrium with a story of his wife's sudden death. There may, of course be some justification for a stratagem of this kind, but the story is told to suggest a way out of a political difficulty of a very different character. In the main tale, the King of Vatsa is so wholly in love with his wife Vāsavadattā that he is neglecting his kingdom, and there is danger from the King of Magadha. So Yaugandharāyana, his minister, and Rumanvat, his general, set up a plot to wean their king from his love for Vāsavadattā and marry him to Padmāvatī (as co-wife) the beautiful daughter of the King of Magadha, and so avert the danger. The plot is unscrupulous in the extreme, and both the King of Vatsa and his wife Vāsavadattā are shamefully deceived, and so, truly, are Padmāvatī and her father. But the plot is successful, owing to the personal characters of the two young women, and it all ends in the happy living together of the King of Vatsa and his two co-wives, and incidentally in saving his country.

On p. 10 in *The Story of Punyasena*, Yaugandharāyana defends his action by relating a tale of a false report, which successfully deceives an enemy. This tale is evidently told

with the approval of the author and his audience, for "Yaugandharāyana, that ocean of calm resolution, answered him [Rumanvat, who had strong doubts as to the ultimate success of pure deception]: 'I have arranged the whole plan, and the affairs of kings often require such steps to be taken.'"

2. Victory Columns.

In the main story the King of Vatsa conquers the Gangetic lands in the East, and "on its [Ganges] extreme shore sets up pillars of stone." Here Mr. Penzer, following Wilson, remarks on the *jayustambha* (p. 92) that "the erection of the columns is often alluded to by Hindu writers and explains the character of the solitary columns which are sometimes met with, as the Lāt at Delhi, the pillars at Allahabad, Budal, etc." But is this so? Some at any rate were used by Aśoka for his Buddhist propaganda. If this suggestion of Mr. Penzer's is correct, it is an important point, though it is quite possible that Somadeva is here merely giving a popular view of the nature of the "solitary pillars."

3. Strong Drink.

Continuing the main story, Somadeva, at p. 125, gives a florid account of the life of "Udayana," the King of Vatsa at Kauśāmbī: "While the roof of his palace was white with moonlight, as with his own glory, he drank wine in plenteous streams . . . ; beautiful women brought him, as he sat retired, in vessels of gold, wine flaming with a rosy glow . . . ; he divided between the two queens the cordial liquor, red, delicious and pellucid, in which danced the reflections of their faces." The "two queens" were Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī. There is a lusciousness in this description of old Court life for the delectation of the mediæval Kashmiri Queen, which seems to spring from the very heart of the poet.

4. Eunuchs.

In the main story again, the marriage of the King of Vatsa with Padmāvatī is described at length, and at p. 29 he goes in search of Vāsavadattā. "Entering the house, at the door of which eunuchs were standing" he finds her. I can merely draw attention to the fact of eunuchs being employed in Somadeva's day before the introduction of the *pardah* into India, as Mr. Penzer's note here is: "I shall give a long note on Indian eunuchs in a later volume."

5. The Water-borne Foundling.

Through all Indian story the water-borne foundling, especially the river-borne variety, plays a great part. She, or sometimes he, also has frequent place in the tales of folk-etymology invented to set up claims of low castes to a higher social position. When a caste is increasing in worldly wealth it is apt to set up a claim to be descended from some such foundling, brought up of course by some man or woman of humble origin, and equally of course of true Rājput origin in reality. So it is important to enquire into the tale of one in such a collection of tales as the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*. In pp. 4-5, in *The Story of the Hypocritical Ascetic*, we find that the ascetic, in order to get possession of a certain girl, induces her father by a fraud, to put her by night into a basket and set her adrift on the Ganges, intending to find it himself and so get the girl. But *en route* a prince finds the basket, takes the girl out of it, and sets it afloat again with a fierce monkey inside it. So that was all that the ascetic eventually found to his great grief. The idea has thus been used merely to fill a passing tale. It has also been found in European collections occasionally, perhaps, though not necessarily, borrowed from the Indian story.

6. Hindu and Savage: Caste Feelings.

Somadeva was a Brāhman, and though eclectic in the sources of his tales, he was clearly an upholder of Brāhmanic Hinduism; but occasionally he gives us glimpses of the situation of other natives of India in social life. In *Jimūtavāhana's Adventures in a Former Birth* it is explained (p. 141) that the hero was an immortal Vidyādhara cursed by Śiva to be born again as a mortal, and he is so born, "as the son of a rich merchant in a city named Vallabhi

and his name was Vasadatta." He was afterwards seized by robbers, who take him to Pulindaka, their chief, as a sacrifice to Durgā. But he is saved by a Śavara (savage) king who (p. 142) "gave him much wealth and sent him back to his own home." The next thing that happens is that "the very same Śavara chief" is brought before the king "as a prisoner for plundering a caravan," and Jīmūtavāhana saves him from the consequences by the heavy "payment of a hundred thousand pieces, and having in this way repaid the benefit which he conferred upon me by saving my life, I brought him to my house, and entertained him honourably for a long time with all loving attention." So here we have a Hindu merchant entertaining a Śavara, a savage outcaste, in his house: the said savage outcaste being himself a rich man.

Later on in the story (p. 148) Jīmūtavāhana marries Manovati, an immortal Vidyādhari. "Then I remained there in happiness, considering myself to have attained all that heart could wish, in having Manovati for a wife and the Śavara prince for friend. And that Śavara chieftain generally lived in my house, finding that he took less pleasure in dwelling in his own country than he formerly did. And the time of us two friends, of him and me, was spent in continuously conferring benefits upon one another, without ever being satisfied [? satiated]." Here again we have a Hindu merchant and a savage outcaste living for a long time as close friends in the Hindu's house.

If this story discloses correctly manners in Somadeva's time, caste feeling must have been considerably less exclusive than it is at the present day.

(To be continued.)

BOOK-NOTICES.

GLIMPSES OF VAJRAYANA, by HENRYTOSH BHATTACHARYA. Third Oriental Conference, Madras, 1925.

This is a thoughtful paper, read before the Third Oriental Conference held at Madras in 1925, on the important Vajrayāna School of Buddhism. Mr. Bhattacharya, whose *Indian Buddhist Iconography* is well known, traces the story of the School from the beginning in the dissensions which gave rise to the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna divisions of Buddhism in the reign of Kanishka, through the work of Nāgārjuna. The Mahayanists made Buddha a divinity and preached an extreme doctrine of salvation of mankind through Bōdhisattvas. This was in the first century A.D. Then in the third century Asanga introduced the *Tantras* into Buddhism, which did not apparently have much effect till suddenly in the seventh century they blossomed in it everywhere. With the Tantric cult came the Śakti worship and the "unholy association of men with women." It was then that Indrabhūti of Orissa stated the doctrine of *Mahadevabhavāda* and the new School of Vajrayāna. Its doctrines "preached on the one hand the most sublime doctrines of Buddhism in a lofty and sublime manner, and on the other hand gave a blank charter to every conceivable immoral practice"—the grossest evil masquerading in the garb of the most refined good. This abomination gave rise to *sandhyabhedā*, "twilight language"—speaking in terms containing "a very hidden meaning." It was very popular and created a vast literature in Sanskrit, Indian vernaculars and Tibetan.

Mr. Bhattacharya deals in his paper with Vajrayāna from the eighth century to its destruction at the commencement of the thirteenth century. It still exists in a small way and in a mild manner in Nepal. The enormous extent of the literature is accounted for by the numerous sects into which Vajrayāna has become divided. Its two great divisions were into Śaikshas and Āśaikshas—the Disciples and the Independents—those who did and those who did not require a teacher or *guru*. For the Śaikshas all the ritual and the superstitions were necessary, producing countless didactic works. Even the *Dhārants* or charms filled innumerable books, as there were some 500 divinities, each with dozen of characteristic rituals. For the Āśaikshas there was a large literature of philosophy.

Historically the Chinese travellers up to I-teing in the seventh century do not mention Vajrayāna, nor does Śāntideva, who according to Mr. Bhattacharya flourished after 695. It was Padmasambhava who introduced the *mantra* doctrine into Tibet in 747. In legend he is connected with Indrabhūti, and in regard to this Mr. Bhattacharya makes a very interesting remark: "It is always safe to postulate a double or treble Indrabhūti in such cases"—*verb. sap.*

The Philosophic groundwork of Vajrayāna is described by Mr. Bhattacharya as based on the fact that Buddha never defined *nirvāṇa*, *Aśvaghosha*, however, 500 years later gave a definition, and then Nāgārjuna boldly defined it as *śūnya*, emptiness. This definition did not satisfy the public, and so

Maitrēyanātha introduced the Yōgachāra system. That too did not satisfy the masses, and so the "element known as *Mahāsūkha*, the great happiness, was introduced. This gave rise to the Vajrayāna system, which gave everybody everything that was wanted—even the enjoyment of extreme lust to the lustful. It was naturally extremely popular. The *bōdhichitta*, "or the mind determined on obtaining *bōdhi* or *nirvāṇa* [now the highest heaven or feeling of eternal bliss], commences an upward march through the heavens." As formulated by Vajrayāna "the *bōdhichitta* is nothing but a male divinity of the nature of Śūnya and Śūnya they made a goddess, Nairātma." This accounts for the grossly indecent figures of Yabyām deities so common in Vajrayāna iconography. At the same time the Vajrayānist were greatly hostile to Hindu ritual and never lost an opportunity of reviling the Hindu deities.

The *Jāṇasiddhi* of Indrabhūti, King of Uddiyāna, declares that "among all systems the Vajrayāna is the best", and Vajrayāna "is nothing but the *carvatahagatijāna*, or knowledge of all the Tathāgatās of the Five Dhyāni Buddhas." It inculcates *inter alia* the uselessness of the worship of the external forms of gods, or of the *śākṛa* or images of the gods. It postulates "a divine form of the knowledge which exists in the mind," and teaches how that knowledge and "merit" can be acquired, and the very dangerous doctrine that there is no difference between purity and impurity. It winds up by describing various rules for ritual worship.

Mr. Bhattacharya then makes the very interesting statement that Anangavajra is identified with Gorakshanātha, and flourished in the tenth century. He developed a form of Indrabhūti's system of Vajrayāna. It provides, if possible, greater sexual freedom in unequivocal language. This makes Mr. Bhattacharya remark: "It is no wonder that by practising this kind of religion, the whole of East India lost all vigour and the whole population became corrupted, and it is fortunate that the Muhammadans came to rescue the people by destroying all the Vajrāchāryas in three big monasteries, Nālanda, Odantapurī, Vikramaśīlā, and probably Jagaddala also." Finally he quotes an attack on Hinduism in a still later Vajrayānist work: "A dog swimming in the Ganges is not considered pure, therefore bathing in holy places is absolutely useless. If bathing can confer merit the fisherman must be meritorious, not to speak of the fish and other [aquatic animals] who are always in water day and night. It is certain that from bathing sin is not even dissipated, because people who are in the habit of making pilgrimages are full of passion, hatred and other vices."

Here I leave Mr. Bhattacharya's most informing pamphlet with my congratulations on his account of a very important later Buddhist system.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE BIRD AND SERPENT MYTH, by PROFESSOR KALIPADA MITRA, Monghyr, 1926.

This pamphlet contains in effect a Distributionist theory, but at the same time it is a thorough and wide examination of the Bird and Serpent Myth, taking the story through all its ramifications throughout the world and showing an immense amount of research. I would, however, point out that here and there some mis-spellings of authors' names occur, which is a pity. Also the pamphlet is printed with two paginations, and this has prevented me from quoting its pages.

Prof. Mitra first states the essential points of the tale: "The hero in the tale has tasted the bitterness of a step-mother's hatred. His mother is dead. His father has suddenly changed. He is no longer kind. He knows not that the venom of his step-mother has steeled the heart of his father. He and his younger brother are led to the execution ground. But the heart of the executioner is softer than a vile woman's and the princes escape into the jungle."

He then shows that the birds in the story, as told in Bengal, can talk. He next follows the tale of the talking bird through the *Jātakas* and Pāli bird-lore, and thence through Jaina and old Sanskrit literature to modern India. And here he makes a remark with which I entirely agree: "One may object that what has been said above relates to divination proper, and does not indicate if the 'artists' really understood the talk carried out between birds or animals. Whether the 'art' really existed or not is no concern of mine. I am concerned only with the existence of popular belief that the language of animals could be understood and I am satisfied that such a popular belief did exist." I have myself remarked, when objection has been taken to a statement in a folktale on the ground that it was fantastic, that the point is, in my opinion, not whether the statement is fantastic or otherwise, but whether it was really believed in or not by the narrator. Writers and searchers are apt to lose sight of this point.

The Professor then tackles European, Egyptian, Assyrian, Jewish, South American and Australian tales of the dragon or serpent that can talk, and the belief that the method of obtaining a knowledge of the speech of birds and animals is to slay and eat some part of a dragon—especially the heart and liver. He then considers the traditional antagonism between the bird and the serpent, quoting the *Mahābhārata* and the Babylonian records, and notes the similarity of the two stories. This induces him to dive into the vexed question of Indo-Babylonian intercourse in very ancient times, which he does with a wealth of learning. His enquiry is especially into "the connection between the Dravidians of Northern and Western India and the Babylonian Empire." I do not propose to follow him here further than to state that he quotes his

witnesses fairly, and opines that in times anterior to the *Vēdas*, the Dravidians and the Chaldeans were "neighbours to each other."

The Professor next goes into the question of urn burial in India and notes the connection of India with ancient Babylonia or Mesopotamia, in order to show the contact between the two civilisations. This brings him to consider a vexed question: "How the Dravidians came to be in India?" On this knotty point he has searched the authorities, and appears to hold that the Dravidians are autochthons in India with a wide commerce in Mesopotamia, but also that the resemblances pointed out by previous writers between "The Chaldeans and the Indian *Vēdas*" were due "to the existence of the two races as neighbours in Mesopotamia." This situation does not seem, however, to be quite clear.

Here the Professor makes a digression into the relative positions of the Dravidians and the Babylonians to show that it was the Dravidian serpent cult that permeated the Chaldean civilisation, and thence spread through Babylonian conquest to Crete and Egypt, and through Crete possibly eventually to Britain and Scandinavia, *via* the Danube and Jutland. But here he has an unintentional dig at Elliott Smith, for he says that it was "certainly not the Phœnicians" that carried "Egyptian beads of blue glazed faience to Britain between 1500 and 1400 B.C.," and in italics he says: "The sea traders of the Mediterranean were at that time the Cretans." So "the serpent cult might thus have reached Crete and radiated therefrom to Egypt, the Danubian Valley, Scandinavia and Britain."

The Professor now turns to the further transmission of the myth from India to China, Japan and Polynesia and perhaps to Central America, which he says is more easily explained than the spread over Europe. Here he says: "I hold that the Bird and Serpent Myth—their mutual enmity and all that—was taken by the Arabs from India along the trade route." He then examines this proposition and passes on to China, Japan, Polynesia and Central Asia. Finally, he suggests Central Asia as the home of the Myth. Here again is a difficulty—if the Dravidians are to be held as introducing it to the Chaldeans and to be at the same time autochthons in India.

Various theories on the subject put forward by several authors are then examined, and finally he writes: "I claim that the bird and serpent myth common to so many countries is a cultural drift disseminated from India in historic and pre-historic times, by land or sea, directly or indirectly, along the track of conquerors in their career or the routes of merchants and traders, by the path of adventurous colonizers, prospectors and settlers." Lastly the Professor refers to Sir James Frazer's idea of homogeneity of beliefs involving "homogeneity of race," and "the old hiatus separating Neolithic folks from the Paleolithic," and also the suggestion that

"the fact of secretary birds in Africa hunting serpents" was the origin of the myth.

The Professor winds up with the honest remark: "Those who deal with myths are all in the same plight, *i.e.*, to the historians they are no better than the knights of the poet, who, following the *Holy Grail* were stuck in the quagmire. For they say, from the arid wastes of mythology (myths and legends and all the kindred brood) can only crop up 'Mirages of History.'"

Personally, I have all along been an opponent of the Distributionist Theory as usually put forward, because of the difficulty of bringing it to proof, and of the danger consequently of the many theses argued out to prove it. It may, however, be after all a correct theory within limits which have yet to be ascertained. At any rate the pamphlet of Professor Kalipada Mitra exhibits an honest, learned and level-headed attempt to prove his point.

R. C. TEMPLE.

HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL INDIA, by ISHWARI PRASAD, with Foreword by PROF. L. F. RUSSEBROOK-WILLIAMS. 1925. Indian Press, Allahabad.

The only little fault I have to find with this portly volume is firstly its size, 641 pp. under one cover, which makes it too heavy to hold in the hand, and secondly many Hindu names of Sanskrit form are cut short of the final *a* of syllables, which gives them an unfamiliar form: *e.g.*, Jaijakkbhukti, Raj Raj Chola. Also such a form as "Tailap" I does not in any case seem right. Having made this little grumble, I have to say that it is a very fine work of original research, dealing with a period of special difficulty in Indian history between the death of Harsha in 647 to the arrival of Babur in 1526. After Harsha came the Rajputs for 500 years, dividing India into small evanescent States. Then came Muhammad Ghori in 1193, bringing in Muhammadan rule, and then the "Slave Kings" till 1296, when Alan'ddin Khilji raised an Empire for a time, followed by Muhammad Tughlak who did the same, to be followed in turn by local Muhammadan dynasties, including the Lodis of Delhi. At last came the Mughal Babur in 1526 to found an Empire with something like a central administration. A thousand years of confusion, which it requires a hardy historian to tackle, and Mr. Ishwari Prasad has done so with courage and great learning. He asks for suggestions, and here is one I have to make. Is it not time to drop the unfortunate expression "Slave Kings of Delhi"? In their method of life, temper and actions they were anything but "slaves." If I understand the term aright, they were real *mamluks*, successful military adventurers, who in all Oriental countries arose out of the peculiar social system there prevalent. The well-known Mamlukes of Egypt seem to have been of a precisely similar nature, so why not Mamluks of Delhi?

This is not a book that can be examined thoroughly in a review. There are too many points raised

in it. All that can be done is to look into its view of often recorded points in the history with which it deals. In doing so it will be seen that Mr. Ishwari Prasad is bold in his opinions, but that is really in his favour. A searcher is justified in forming his own views.

Let me then consider some of the most prominent instances of his investigation. Firstly, after briefly describing the rise of the leaders of the Turki guards of the Arab Khalifas in Persia to power, and the creation by them of petty principalities, he explains that one of them, Alptagin, seized Ghazni in 933 and was succeeded by his "slave" Subuktagin in 976, a *mamluk* if ever there was one. Subuktagin was the first to attack India and defeated Jaipal of Lahore, and thus showed the way to India before his death in 997 to Mahmud of Ghazni, the great raider. Mr. Ishwari Prasad rightly attributes his success to the want of "national patriotism" among the Rajput chiefs, and he also rightly says that he "although a great conqueror was no barbarian." He further says that the character of Mahmud has come down to us in two lines of report: to the Muslims he was a champion of the faith, to the Hindus an inhuman tyrant. Nevertheless "Mahmud was a great leader of men, a just and upright ruler according to his lights, an integral and gifted soldier, a dispenser of justice, a patron of letters, and deserves to be ranked among the greatest kings in the world." This is an opinion which will have to be reckoned with by future historians, though Mr. Ishwari Prasad rightly says that Mahmud's work did not endure. The above quoted remarks also show, as will certain others to be made hereafter, that the honest historian should always look into the character of the ancient evidence he is exploring, as both contemporary and subsequent reporters are apt to be biased by their predilections.

Mahmud's successors made no progress in India, and it was not till a century and a half later that Muhammad Ghori, to give him the name adopted by Mr. Ishwari Prasad, who had overthrown the last incompetent Ghaznavide, made any attempt at conquest. Then followed the two battles of Tarain in 1191 and 1192, with the defeat and death of Rai Pithaura and in 1194 of Jaichand of Kanauj, while his lieutenants, Kutbu'ddin Aibak and Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khilji, took large portions of Central and Eastern India down to the sea by 1202. The Rajputs had not improved and were defeated in detail. In 1206 Muhammad Ghori was murdered by a Khokhar on the way to Ghazni from Lahore, leaving behind him a large Muslim kingdom in Northern India. Mr. Ishwari Prasad's version of the story is well worth consideration.

We now come to his "estimate" of Muhammad Ghori. The difference between him and Mahmud was that he had a political mind and Mahmud had not. He was therefore capable of founding a State. He was moreover a munificent patron of literature. Hence his name has been handed down with fulsome

flattery, and here again we have the lesson before us of the care necessary when reading contemporary evidence. In Persian history names of kings have come down as good or bad, not because they were such, but because of their religious activity. Thus the competent Sasanian monarch Yazdajird I (399-420) has become "the Sinner" for tolerating the Christians, and his successor Bahram Gor (420-438) is undeservedly a great hero for the opposite policy. So, too, the vigorous Kubad I (488-530) is to the Persians the very reverse of a hero, because of the support he gave to the Mazdakia, a communistic sect, whose levelling and free-love doctrines he found useful in repressing the power of the mag-nates, while Naushirwan (Khusru, Chosroes I), 531-579, the restorer of orthodox doctrine (Zoroastrianism of a kind) is a hero indeed. I remember also, at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society some years ago, remarking that great as Aurangzeb was as an Emperor, his bigoted policy brought his Empire to ruin, and having my remarks at once controverted by a learned Afghan present; and then I saw that to him and his kind that great protagonist of Islam was one who could do no wrong. We have therefore always to be careful as to dealing with the evidence available as to the character of Oriental rulers. This is a point worth thorough investigation as Mr. Ishwari Prasad's historical estimates will show us.

Muhammad Ghori had no son to succeed him and one of his lieutenants, Kutbu'ddin Aibak, originally a Turki slave and essentially a *mamluk*, was his successor on the throne of Delhi by sheer personal merit. Thus was founded the dynasty, if we may call it so, of the Slave Kings, or as I should like to call it, of the Mamluks of Delhi, which lasted from 1206 to 1290, during which every *mamluk* who succeeded in turn was a remarkable man. After Kutbu'ddin Aibak came Altamish, who in 1228 received a patent of investiture from the Khalifa of Baghdad, and so founded a legal dynasty at Delhi. Then in due course came Balban, a true *mamluk* of the most remarkable capacity of them all. On his death arose that political confusion so common in all mediæval history everywhere, and out of this Jalalu'ddin Khilji emerged to the front as king in 1290, and founded a dynasty. The Khiljis, originally Turks, had settled in Afghanistan as a mixed race. Jalalu'ddin was an old man when he succeeded and not really able to cope with the situation in which he found himself, but he had a nephew and son-in-law, Alau'ddin Khilji, who rose to be one of the greatest men in mediæval India. The general account of his reign is of course well known. He created an Empire that practically covered all India, and he propounded a theory of kingship that placed the monarch above the law: "I do not know whether this is lawful or unlawful, whatever I think to be for the good of the State or suitable to the emergency, that I decree." He was never a bigoted Muslim, yet he ill-treated the Hindus, which

ended in the undoing of the great Empire he had created for himself. He was nevertheless the first to organise a real standing army and he fixed a tariff of market prices. This last was a proceeding that could not last, but it shows the man and he was capable of enforcing it while he lived. Mr. Ishwari Prasad's estimate of this truly wonderful personality is worth study: "the reign of Alau'ddin represents the highest water-mark of Muhammadan despotism."

After Alau'ddin's death in 1316 came the usual scramble for power and the dispersal of the bulk of the Empire, making possible the career of the slave-minister Malik Khusrû and the fiscal part of the career of the eunuch slave Malik Kafur, both miscreants of the first water, whatever their ability. Then came in 1320 the turn of the Karauna Turks in the person of Ghiyasuddin Tughlak, a man of humble origin, but of the ability that made monarchs of his predecessors, the Slave Kings of Delhi. Mr. Ishwari Prasad's estimate of him as "a mild and benevolent ruler," as a man who "loved simplicity" and "frank joviality" is worth attention. He was however harsh to Hindus for political reasons.

But the most celebrated Tughlak was his son Muhammad, the "mad" King of Delhi, according to the usual assumption, from 1325 to 1351. "Learned, merciless, religious and mad" is the general impression of this remarkable man, and he certainly tried some wonderful schemes. Mr. Ishwari Prasad's careful investigation, however, brings him to quite a different opinion. He starts by calling him "Muhammad Tughlak the ill-starred idealist," which is a startling view of him, to say the least of it. The general idea of him has been challenged before now, but if we are to accept Mr. Ishwari Prasad's estimate we must remodel our impressions. Among other things he says: "the verdict that declares him a cruel and blood-thirsty tyrant like Nero or Caligula does little justice to his great genius." As to this remark I present Mr. Ishwari Prasad with another. We get our ideas about Nero largely from the estimates of his enemies, the Christians whom he persecuted. Have we got them right? He seems to have been a popular monarch to his contemporaries as a whole.

Muhammad Tughlak was succeeded by Firuz Tughlak for 37 years. Here again Mr. Ishwari Prasad upsets preconceived ideas. I at all events had looked upon Firuz Tughlak as a man of peaceful ways and lofty character, as a valuable foil to Muhammad Tughlak, but Mr. Ishwari Prasad will have none of this. He describes him as a man "with little ambition and less fitness for high position," and elsewhere as "weak and irresolute." Well, as time goes on, one gets accustomed to fixed ideas becoming challenged. In the latest issue of the *Journal of Indian History*, is an article to show that it was Harsha and not Pulikesin II to whom

Khusrû II of Persia sent his famous embassy, and that the ascription of the great picture at Ajanta had nothing to do with it. Some papers, too, read at the last Congress at Madras went to show that we have all been wrong about the date of Buddha's death. Obviously, even the main facts of Indian History are still debatable, and it may be that Mr. Ishwari Prasad is right after all. He is at any rate worth considering. However, whatever he was as to character, Firuz Tughlak was a great administrator, and that Mr. Ishwari Prasad seems to recognise. His death was followed as usual by a scramble for power, and the next event of the first importance was the invasion of Timur in 1398. Here once more we have uncertain history, for there are two views of Timur: that of his friends and that of his enemies. The controversy is not settled yet. Mr. Ishwari Prasad does not however, directly implicate him in the terrible sack of Delhi, which he calls "the sack of Delhi by Timur's soldiery." But it led to the disintegration of the Empire.

Mr. Ishwari Prasad then deals with the minor Dynasties that arose in Malwa, Gujarat, Jaunpur, Bengal and Khandesh, and with the Bahmanis and the Five Shahi Kingdoms of the Deccan—all of these, by the way, "minor" only because of the overpowering Delhi Empires. And then he deals with Vijayanagar. In this last case we have a Hindu Empire in the South keeping Muhammadan expansion effectively in check for 200 years—1336 to 1565—and even to this day the history of Islamic families in the South is not that of their history in the North.

In Delhi meanwhile nothing of general importance happened in the first half of the 15th century till the Afghan Bahlol Lodi came into power in 1451. Here once more there are two views of Delhi rulers. To the Muhammadans the Lodis were good rulers, to the Hindus they were terrible iconoclasts. Mr. Ishwari Prasad is again independent: "Bahlol deserves a high place in history." His even greater son, Sikandar Lodi, who was the first monarch to live at Agra, he describes as "a narrow-minded bigot, but not devoid of the higher qualities of the heart and mind." Mr. Ishwari Prasad is here striving to be fair even in the case of a persecutor of his faith. And then, in Ibrahim Lodi's time, who was "by no means an incompetent ruler" came in 1526 Babur the Mughal and the Battle of Panipat, when the use of field guns for the first time in India gave the intruding Mughal the victory. Thus ended the Middle Ages in India and the great Mogul Empire began.

The time has not yet come to pass judgment on this great book, but I have said enough to show what it contains. It may also be fairly said that it goes steadily from point to point, and does at least place before us clearly the history of India during a most difficult and obscure period.

R. C. TEMPLE.

KĀTHAKA UPANIṢAD.

TRANSLATED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.
BY PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER, UPSALA.

Kāthaka (or *Kāṭha*) *Upaniṣad* is one of the best known amongst those often sublime and sometimes rambling texts known as *Upaniṣads*. Together with the *Chândogya* it has perhaps a claim to the foremost rank among them all. It has already been many times translated into various European languages.

It apparently belonged to that famous collection of fifty *Upaniṣads* which the unhappy Prince Muhammad Dārâ Shikôh caused to be translated into Persian. For, we find it in Anquetil Duperron's well-known collection¹ as No. XXXVII, with the bewildering name *Kiouni*². Otherwise, the oldest translation into a European language, as far as I can find, is the German one by Poley, *l.c.* p. 113 *sqq.* (1847)³. Other German translations are those by Böhlingk⁴ and by Professor Geldner⁵, as well as one of the three first *vallts* by the late lamented Professor Hillebrandt⁶. There are English translations by Max Müller⁷, by Whitney⁸, by Hume⁹ and perhaps still others¹⁰. Further, our text has been translated into Italian¹¹, and twice into Swedish¹². There may be translations into other languages, too, but in that case they have, unfortunately, escaped me.

Of all these translations that by Anquetil Duperron can scarcely claim more than historical interest, though we know, thanks to the researches of Dr. F. O. Schrader¹³, that his work is still not without importance for the constitution of the text of certain minor *Upaniṣads*. Poley's translation, on the contrary, still seems to be quite good. Certain emendations of the text were suggested by Böhlingk and Whitney. Some of them, of course, are quite useful, but the majority seem to the present writer far too violent to be acceptable; and it may be said, with all due respect to Whitney, that his endeavours in the line of text-emendation were not always very happy. Hume's translation makes easy reading, but it is simply an imitation and modification of that by Whitney. However, amongst all the translations known to me there is one which stands out far above the others in penetration and clearness, *viz.*, that by Professor Geldner, the foremost living interpreter of the Vedas. I gratefully confess that I owe very much to this excellent piece of work, and it is only with great diffidence that I have ventured, upon various points, to differ from him. Several excellent suggestions are also found in the translation of Hillebrandt which, however, is unfortunately incomplete.

Of literature on this *Upaniṣad*, outside the works already quoted, there is little enough to be mentioned here. A few years ago Madhva's commentary on it was edited by Dr. B.

¹ *Oupnek'hat (id est, Secretum Tegendum)*, Tom. ii. (Strassbourg 1802), pp. 299-327.

² Anquetil himself explains this by the words: 'Samskreticè, *Khmihi, magaus, magni momentî : vel, Kâmandâ, animi motus, aliquid intendere*' which is, of course, impossible. Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, ii, 195, gives no explanation. I can, unfortunately, find no probable explanation. No. XXXVI in Anquetil Duperron's collection is the *Kena*, which is there called *Kin*. However, Colebrooke (*cf.* Poley, *Abhandlung ueber die heiligen Schriften der Indier*, p. 70) mentions the *Kena* as the 37th of the Atharvan *Upaniṣads*. Is it possible that *Kiouni* is simply a misunderstood rendering of *Kena*?

³ On L. Poley *cf.* Windisch, *Geschichte der Sanskritphilologie*, i, p. 94 *sq.*

⁴ *Berichte der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (further on quoted—*SB.*) 1890, p. 127 *sq.*; *cf.* *ibid.* 1891, p. 85 *sq.*

⁵ In Bertholet, *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch* (1908), p. 202 *sq.*

⁶ *Aus Brahmanas und Upanishaden* (1921), p. 116 *sq.*

⁷ *SBE.*, vol. XV, p. 1 *sq.*

⁸ *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, XXI (1890), p. 88 *sq.*

⁹ *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads* (1921), p. 341 *sq.*

¹⁰ There is at least a translation by Roer which, however, I have not been able to see.

¹¹ F. Belloni-Filippi, *La Kāthaka Upaniṣad tradotta in Italiano*, Pisa 1904.

¹² A. Butenschön, *Kāthaka Upanishad*, Stockholm, 1902, and the late Professor K. F. Johansson in *Främmande Religionsurkunder*, ii, 153 *sq.*

¹³ *Cl. Minor Upaniṣads*, vol. i, p. xv *sq.*

Heimann¹⁴. We ought, of course, to be very grateful for every publication of that sort ; but the *real* interpretation of the text gets little help from those Vedāntic commentators—whether Śaṅkara or anyone else—who constantly interpret it according to their own philosophical tenets. Further, there is a short paper by Hillebrandt¹⁵ containing a few emendations to our text and another by Professor Sieg¹⁶ of the same nature. The present writer always felt the highest consideration for the excellent services rendered by Professor Sieg to Vedic interpretation ; but he feels sorry to say that, with perhaps some very slight exceptions, he finds the suggestions of the professor concerning our Upaniṣad entirely out of the question.

[When writing the above article I was, unfortunately, unaware of the article on the *Kāthaka Upaniṣad* by Dr. Faddegon in the *Mededeelingen der Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, Deel 55, Serie A, No. 1* (1923). But as our aims seem to differ widely this has perhaps not done much harm. The excellent work by Professors Belvalkar and Ranade, *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. ii, came into my hands only after this article had gone to print.]

The word *Upaniṣad* has generally been interpreted as 'secret session' and 'secret teaching, secret doctrine.' This interpretation apparently was known already to Anquetil Duperron, who translated it by *secretum legendum* ; and has been endorsed by Böhtlingk-Roth, Max Müller, Deussen and others. There can, according to my opinion, be no doubt whatsoever that this is the correct interpretation. It is quite true that the verb *upa-ni-ṣad-* occurs in very few passages ; but when we find it in *AV.*, xix, 41, 1, in the connection *tapo dikṣām upaniṣeduḥ* it is quite correctly rendered by Whitney-Lanman¹⁷ by 'sat down in attendance upon.' In *Śat. Br.*, xi, 2, 3, 7, we find the following words : *ghṛtaṁ tanvān rṣin gandharvā upaniṣeduḥ* 'the Gandharvas sat down in attendance upon the seers who were sacrificing ghee.' Besides there is not much difference between *upa-ni-ṣad-* and *upa-śad-*, the meaning of which cannot be doubtful. It means 'to sit down near someone,' viz., in order to worship or honour him, to ask him for something, etc. Cf., e.g., *RV.* i, 72, 5 ; iii, 14, 5 ; vi, 1, 6 ; *Taitt. S.*, ii, 5, 1, 2 ; *MBh.*, vii, 5852 ; *Raghuv.* xvii, 22 ; *Kathāsarits.*, 108, 21, etc.¹⁸ We may also remember the meaning of *upa-vi-* and the use of this verb especially in the dramatic literature. The preposition *upa* itself and its use in compounds like *upendra*, etc., also indicates the real meaning of *upa(-ni)-ṣad-*.

The noun *upaniṣad* consequently means 'the sitting down (of the pupils) near (the Guru),' viz., in order to partake of his teaching. But apparently this word was not used in connection with the ordinary teaching of the Vedic hymns or the Yajus formulas, which was nowise carried out in secrecy. It was a technical term denominating those sessions of the Guru and his pupil(s) ¹⁹ during which secret doctrines, such as those of Brahman-Ātman, of

¹⁴ *Madhvas Kommentar der Kāthaka Upaniṣad*, Halle a. S. 1922.

¹⁵ *ZDMG.*, lxxviii, p. 579 sq.

¹⁶ *Aus Indiens Kultur, Festschrift für Richard von Garbe* (1927), p. 129 sq.

¹⁷ *Atharva Veda Translation*, p. 963.

¹⁸ Cf. also the meaning of *upaniṣadin* in *Śat. Br.* IX, 4, 3, 3.

¹⁹ The Upaniṣads, it will be remembered are generally in the form of dialogues between two persons, a teacher and a pupil. Thus, e.g., the *Kāthaka*, where the acting persons are only two, Yama and Naciketas, or the dialogues between Uddālaka and Śvetaketu in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, etc. Cf. in modern times, e.g., the interviews of Prince Muhammad Dārā Shikōh with the ascetic Bābā Lāl Dās (M. M. Huart et Massignon, *J.A.*, 1926 : 2, p. 285 sq. *Revue du monde musulman* lxxiii, 1 sq.). Mogul pictures give us a good illustration of these *upaniṣads* between teacher and pupil.

karman, etc.,—the main tenets of the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads—were imparted.²⁰ It was used then to denominate those doctrines themselves and finally the collections of texts in which those doctrines were preserved. Thus *upanīṣad* by and by got its later meaning of 'secret doctrine' in general. There is absolutely nothing queer or bewildering in this development of the various meanings of the word.

Curiously enough the late Professor Oldenberg did not agree with this clear and indubitable explanation of the word *upanīṣad*.²¹ According to him the verb *upa-ni-ṣad-* should have exactly the same meaning as *upa-ds-*; and consequently *upanīṣad* would mean 'reverence, worship.' This worship, however, according to Oldenberg, was not the worship of the teacher, but that of Brahman-Ātman, and of other things held in reverence by the doctrine of the Upaniṣads. In spite of the great authority of Oldenberg, this is quite wrong. For, if *upanīṣad* meant what he suggests, then it could, of course, only be applied to the lonely meditation of the *yogī*, the *śamādhī* or *śamnyāsa* and in no case whatsoever to the interviews between a teacher and his pupil. Moreover, the way in which Oldenberg wants to translate, in some passages, the word *upanīṣad* is clearly out of the question. We are quite prepared to admit that *upanīṣad* might, at times, mean something like 'reverence' but then it simply denotes the respectful attitude in which the pupil sits down next to his Guru in order to receive the secret doctrine from him.

Quite recently a Polish Sanskritist, Dr. Stanislaus Schayer, has tried to establish still another meaning of the word *upanīṣad*.²² According to him *upanīṣad* 'is the equivalence between two magical substances to be arrived at during the act of *upāsana*.'²³ From this original meaning of the word he derives the following secondary senses: (1) 'secret formula of equivalence, secret knowledge in general'; (2) 'equivalence, substitute,' and (3) 'general interdependence between two substances, mutual interdependence, condition.' Besides transparent mistakes such as the curious misunderstanding of Pāṇini i, 4, 79, or the entirely wrong explanation of Pāli *upanīṣad*, Dr. Schayer's paper contains translations which are apparently sheer absurdities. Thus as concerns *upa-ds-*,²⁴ when simple sentences like *AV. X, 10, 26: vaśāṁ mṛtyum upāṣate* 'they adore the barren cow as Death' or *Śat. Br. X, 6, 3, 12: satyam brahmety upāṣita* 'with the thought "truth is Brahman" one ought to worship it' are translated in the following way: 'sie umwerben (!) die Kuh als den Tod' and 'die Wahrheit ist das brahman, so muss man (die Wahrheit) umwerben (!)'. One could scarcely hit upon anything more erratic in the way of translation. And in the same way the author treats the word *upanīṣad*. In *Śat. Br., xii, 2, 2, 13* we read: *ahar iti sarvaṁ samvatsaram saṁśat samvatsarasyopanīṣat*, which, of course, means: 'the day is the whole year, that is the secret meaning of the year.' In the same way *sāmnām upanīṣat* in *Chând. Up., i, 13, 4*, means 'the secret (mystic) meaning of the *sāmans*'; of Dr. Schayer's 'equivalence' there is not the slightest trace anywhere.

These examples picked out quite at random sufficiently prove that the hypothesis of Dr. Schayer is untenable. There need not be the slightest doubt that *upanīṣad* has the

²⁰ We know, of course, that such sittings were strictly secret. Cf. e.g., *Brh. Ar. Up., iii, 2, 13*, where the great Yājñavalkya takes Ārtaśhāg Jāṭakārava by the hand and leads him away to a place where they could speak between four eyes. 'And what they spoke of, that was *karman*, and what they praised, that was *karman*.'

²¹ *ZDMG.*, i, p. 457 sq.; cf. *Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus* (1915), pp. 37 sq., 155 sq., 348 sq.

²² *Rocznik, Orientalistyczny wydaje Polskie-towarzystwo Orientalistyczne*, vol. iii, (Lwów 1927), p. 57 sq.

²³ This definition is not quite an easy one. It is, however, founded on the extremely artificial and topsy-turvy explanation of *upa-ds-* suggested by Dr. Schayer.

²⁴ On *upa-ds-* in the Upaniṣads cf. Senart, *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé* (Paris 1909), p. 575 sq. His explanation of *Upanīṣad* is, however, out of the question.

meaning long ago adopted by Max Müller, Deussen, etc.²⁵ Amongst the innumerable problems presented by Indian sacred lore this one at least can be counted as solved.

As is well known, the different Upaniṣads are counted as belonging to different Vedas, the vast majority consisting, of course, of Ātharvaṇa Upaniṣads. But there seems to be some doubt about the position of the *Kāthaka* within the sacred lore. No doubt Anquetil Duperron²⁶ described it as 'ex Atharban Beid desumptum,' and Colebrooke enumerated it as the 35th and 36th *upaniṣad* of the Atharva-Veda. Still, he seems to have had some doubts about that, as he tried to ascribe it both to the Yajur-Veda and to the *Pañcaviṃśi-Brahmana* of the Sāma-Veda,²⁷ for which latter suggestion there is certainly not the slightest reason. According to Colebrooke, however, Śaṅkara and Bālakṛṣṇa should have commented upon it as belonging to the Atharva-Veda, an assumption which has been eagerly endorsed by Weber²⁸. The consensus of the older authorities seems to be that the *Kāthaka* is in reality an Upaniṣad of the Atharva Veda.

This opinion, however, seems not to be too well founded. I do not lay much stress upon the fact that the contents of our Upaniṣad is not much like that of the Ātharvaṇa Upaniṣads in general. For, if the *Kāthaka* did really belong to the Atharva-Veda it would undoubtedly be the oldest of its species, and we would thus have no precedents from which to judge the contents of the earliest Ātharvaṇa Upaniṣads. But the name, *Kāṭha* or *Kāthaka*, is certainly inexplicable as that of an Upaniṣad belonging to the fourth Veda.²⁹ For, there cannot, of course, be the slightest doubt that this name *Kāṭha* is identical with that of the old sage Kāṭha, to whose school³⁰ belonged that branch of the Yajur-Veda happily preserved to us with the name of *Kāthaka-Saṃhitā*. Judging from the name our Upaniṣad ought undoubtedly to belong to that branch of the Black Yajur-Veda.

In this connection we may perhaps draw attention to the fact that certain verses of our Upaniṣad are wholly or partly identical with verses from other Vedic texts. Of these the verse 4, 9 is nearly the same as *AV. X, 8, 16*; but at the same time its first line is identical with the first line of *Brh. Ār. Up., i, 5, 23*. Verse 2, 5 is—with the exception of one single word—identical with *Mund. Up. 2, 8*³¹; but it is also identical with verse 7, 9 of the *Maitr. Up.*, a text said to belong to the Black Yajus. Verse 2, 23 is entirely identical with *Mund. Up. 2, 3*, while 5, 15 tallies with *Mund. Up. 2, 10*, but also with verse 6, 14 of the *Śvet. Up.*, a Black Yajur-Veda text. Of other coincidences verse 2, 20 tallies with *Taitt. Ār. X, 10, 1* and with *Śvet. Up. 3, 20*; while 5, 12—13 = *Śvet. Up. 6, 12—13*, and 6, 9 = *Śvet. Up. 4, 20*. Finally, parts of the verses 4, 10—11 make up the verse found in *Brh. Ār. Up. iv, 4, 19*, and verse 6, 14 = *Brh. Ār. Up. iv, 4, 7*. In this enumeration I have not included the passages in our text borrowed from the Rig-veda nor the verses 6, 16—17, which are apparently a later addition.

²⁵ I have not taken into consideration here the suggestion of Mr. M. R. Bodas, *JEBRAS. xxii*, p. 69 sq., that *upaniṣad* should mean 'sitting down by the sacrificial fire,' as it is unnecessary and partly wrong.

²⁶ *Ōupnekhāt*, vol. ii, p. 299.

²⁷ Cf. Poley, *l.c.* p. 70.

²⁸ *Ind. Stud.* ii, p. 195 sq.

²⁹ Is it possible that the unexplained name *Kiouni* in Anquetil Duperron's text (cf. *supra* p. 201, n. 2) has any connection with the attribution of our Upaniṣad to the Atharva-Veda?

³⁰ That School is called *Kāthakā* by Pāṇi, iv, 3, 107, and is there mentioned together with the *Carakā* another school of the Black Yajus. There are the *Prācya-Kāthakā* and the *Kapiṣṭhala-Kāthakā*, and they are also mentioned together with other schools which need not be named here.

³¹ The *Mundaka*, as is well known, is supposed to be the oldest existing Upaniṣad of the Atharva Veda;

On the whole, the most numerous coincidences are with texts belonging to the Yajur-Veda, and we may conclude from this that our Upaniṣad most probably belongs to that Veda and to that Śākhā of it which is known as the *Kāthaka*.

The story of Naciketas is found also in the *Taitt. Br.* iii, 11, 8, 1-5, a text which must undoubtedly belong to an older period than our Upaniṣad. We are told there that Uśan Vājaśravasa³² gave away all his earthly goods, and that his son, young Naciketas, three times asked his father to whom he wanted to give him³³. At last the father answered him: "To Death I give thee." And when the boy started for the abode of Death a certain (divine)³⁴ voice talked to him, advising him to arrive at the house of Death while he was absent. There he was to stay fasting for three nights. When Death, having returned, asked him: "What hast thou eaten the first night?" he was to answer: "Thy offspring"; and likewise concerning the second night: "Thy cattle," and concerning the third: "Thy good actions." Death, apparently scared out of his wits upon hearing this terrible news, now speaks to him: "Hail to thee, O venerable one!" says he, "choose a boon"—"Then may I living go to my father"—"Choose a second one"—"Tell me the eternal reward of sacrifice and good works"³⁵, thus he replied. Then he told him about this Naciketa fire. Then forsooth his sacrifice and good works gave abundant fruit. . . . "Choose a third one," he said. "Tell me how to ward off (*apajiti*)³⁶ recurring death", thus he replied. Then he told him about this Naciketa fire. Then forsooth he warded off recurring death.

This story tallies only partly with the *Kāthaka Upaniṣad*. According to the latter text Uśan Vājaśravasa—otherwise the famous Uddālaka Āruṇi—gave away all his earthly goods as *dakṣiṇās*.³⁷ His young son Naciketas³⁸, when he saw the sacrificial cows being led away, was seized by longing for the heavenly worlds³⁹ and spoke a verse concerning those cows, which is not to be found in the Brāhmaṇa. Three times he asks his father to whom he is going to give him, until finally the father answers: "I give thee to Death."⁴⁰

There must be something like a gap in our present text at this point, for the connection is apparently broken and can only be restored hypothetically. Anyhow, it is quite clear

³² On him cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* ii, p. 201 sq. and *infra*.

³³ That the father, after having given everything else away, should at last have to give even his own child undoubtedly reminds us of the stories of Hariscandra and of the Buddhist Vessantarajātaka (*Jātaka* 547; *Jātakamālā* 7 etc.) But the situations are, of course, entirely different.

³⁴ Thus the commentary.

³⁵ *ieṭāpūrtayor me 'kṣitīm brāhi*. The *Bibl. Ind.* edition incorrectly reads *me kṣitīm brāhi*.

³⁶ The commentary reads *apaciti*, probably only by misprint.

³⁷ That probably, though not necessarily, means that he had been celebrating a *Sarvamedha*. Cf. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 154.

³⁸ The name is difficult, and the various explanations suggested are unsatisfactory. The Indian analysis *Na+ciketas* (: *cit-*), which was endorsed by Böhthlingk, *SB.* 1890, p. 129 is, of course, without any value whatsoever. But Professor Wackernagel in his *Altind. Gramm.* ii:1, 59 has quite correctly pointed out that *naci-* is the form of *nakra* to be used as the first part of a compound. There is no word *ketas*, but it would probably be found to have the same meaning as *ketu*. Thus *naci-ketas* would mean about the same as *makara-ketu* or *makara-dhvaja*, well-known epithets of Kāma. The son of Uddālaka Āruṇi, of course, is *Śveta-ketu* (cf. Professor Lüders, *Festschr. Windisch* p. 228 ff.); it is, anyhow, remarkable that both names, *Naci-ketas* and *Śveta-ketu*, seem to end in the same way. *Nakra*—though probably originally a colour-name—can, however, not be identical with *Śveta*.

³⁹ Cf. *infra*.

⁴⁰ Hillebrandt, *Aus Brahmanas und Upanishaden*, p. 116, thought that we might find here an obliterated trace of a *puruṣamedha* in connection with the giving away of all wealth. To me this seems fairly probable, but it cannot be proved satisfactorily.

that in the next lines we find the young Brahman in the realm of Death, nay, even in the very palace of Yama, for whose wishes he at once asks. I have hesitatingly attributed the verse 1, 6 to *Mṛtyu* suggesting that he be the bailiff of Yama; but I willingly admit that this is perhaps not strictly necessary, and that possibly Naciketas and Yama are the only speakers in the whole Upaniṣad.⁴¹ Of the (*daivī*)*vāk* known to the Brāhmaṇa there is not the slightest trace in our text, nor is it necessary to assume its presence; the whole thing is probably the pure fancy of an author who had before him some verses very much like 1, 5-9 of the Upaniṣad.

Naciketas himself announces that he, a Brahman, enters every house⁴² like Agni Vaiśvānara, the guest of all mankind, and proudly exhorts Yama to fetch him water. And he adds a sententious verse to remind the King of Death of the risks he is running by having had a Brahman in his house (for three nights, as we get to know from verse 1, 9) without offering him food. Yama, in real fright, now offers him to choose three boons. Naciketas first of all wishes that his father may greet him joyfully when he returns to his house.⁴³ Then he wants to know about the fire that leads to heaven, and Yama explains to him the Nāciketa-fire, though we do not get to know its secret. This part, which Professor Geldner⁴⁴ has quite aptly called the *karmakāṇḍa* ends with verse 1, 19. Thus far also goes the Brāhmaṇa episode, though there Naciketas in his third wish wants to know how to evade *punarmṛtyu*; and this is also done by means of the Nāciketa-fire.

It is extremely probable that there was an old story—possibly in metrical form—of a young Brahman by name Naciketas, who was taught by Yama how to build the fires in a way that leads to the heaven of the Vedic gods. And by worship (*upāsana*) of, and speculation upon, that fire he would also be able to ward off renewed death, i.e., to obtain immortal life in the heaven of bliss and sensual pleasures.⁴⁵

But in his third wish—*punarmṛtyor me 'pajitīm brāhi*—there was the point of start for a real Upaniṣadic treatise. In verse 1, 20 of our text Naciketas is made to ask what is the fate of the dead—not the dead in general, but the *muktāḥ*, as Rāghavendra and Deussen have already stated—but Yama does not want to reveal his great secret. He offers the boy all that any living man would set his heart's desire upon, last of all lovely girls and sensual pleasures; but Naciketas is steadfast, and at last Yama is forced to answer his question, and thus to explain the Brahman-Ātman question. But he does not do it very willingly, and Naciketas time after time⁴⁶ has got to exhort him to keep to the point.

Thus there begins in 1, 20 the real Upaniṣad, the *jñānakāṇḍa*⁴⁷, which consists of the whole of our text up to 6, 15, a verse that ends with the words *etāvad anuśāsanam*.⁴⁸ Most interpreters have thought that the original Upaniṣad finished with Valli 3, and that 4-6 were later additions. But even here Professor Geldner has seen more clearly and pointed out that there is a considerable stop after 3, 15⁴⁹, but that the Upaniṣad by no means ends there. He seems to me to be wrong only in that, following Rāghavendra, he attributes verse 4, 3 to Naciketas, which is unnecessary and does not improve the sense of the passage.

⁴¹ That this is the case in what is really the Upaniṣad (viz. from 1, 20 to 6, 15) is quite regular, cf. *supra* p. 202 sq.

⁴² It is possible that a verse like 1, 7 was known to the author of the Brāhmaṇa as the words *pareḥ mṛtyor grāṇ* in iii, 11, 8, 2 seem to be a misinterpretation of *grāṇ* in our text.

⁴³ This wish really comprises two, viz., that the father will be able to greet him, and that he himself will return to life. For there is no reason whatsoever for doubting that Naciketas, when he arrives at the house of Yama, is physically dead.

⁴⁴ *Vedische Stud.*, iii, p. 154 n.

⁴⁵ Cf. *AV.* iv, 34, 2 etc.

⁴⁶ Cf. 2, 14; 5, 4, 14.

⁴⁷ Cf. Geldner, l.c. iii, p. 154 n.

⁴⁸ The verse 6, 16, was taken from the *Chānd. Up.* viii, 6, 6, and put in here by someone who had totally misunderstood the word *granthayaḥ* in 6, 15. The greater part of 6, 17 is taken from *Svet. Up.* iii, 13. Finally 6, 8 is a sort of late patch-work with wrong grammatical forms, and apparently added at a later time.

⁴⁹ 3, 15-16 are apparently later additions in an epic style.

By making this short comparison between the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* passage and the Upaniṣad we can, I think, see how the later one has originally been built up.

The *Kāthaka* is counted by Deussen and others as belonging to the second period of the greater Upaniṣads which, however, tells us nothing about the time of its origin. Oldenberg long ago⁵⁰ found that metrically it is pre-Buddhist; and Professor Stcherbatsky recently⁵¹ seems to take this quite for granted. However, to say that its metre is "pre-Buddhist" can only mean that it is in general more ancient-looking than the metres occurring in the oldest Buddhist texts, as e.g., the *Sutta-Nipāta* and others. But of their age we know nothing—only that they did probably exist at the time of Aśoka (c. 250 B.C.). To me it appears that the surroundings are entirely the same that we meet with in the old Buddhism. The question put to Yama in verse 1, 20 is exactly the same as that repeatedly put to the Buddha, viz., "does the Tathāgata survive after death, or does he not survive?" In 5, 11-12 *duḥkha* and *sukha* seem to have the same sense of 'unrest' and 'rest' that they have in Buddhist philosophy, as proved by Professor Stcherbatsky; *śānti* is just as well Buddhist as Upaniṣadic, etc. It thus seems probable that our text belongs to about the same time as the oldest Buddhist texts—perhaps the fourth century B.C.—and that it originated in the same spiritual surroundings as did those works.

Oldenberg once⁵² pointed to the great similarity between the scene where Yama tries to evade the third question of Naciketas by offering him land, wealth, cattle, women and sexual pleasures, and the well-known one where Māra tries to divert the Bodhisattva from his designs on Buddhahood by tempting him with all the goods and pleasures of this world—amongst others with his three lovely daughters. There is not the slightest doubt that these scenes are closely connected with each other. But at the bottom of them both is the old Indian idea of the holy man who is becoming a danger to the gods, and whose holiness they try to destroy by appealing to his carnal desires.⁵³

Naciketas, the Brahman boy who overcomes the resistance of Death, is the male counterpart of the divine Sāvitri, who by her wise words induces Yama to release the soul of her dead husband Satyavān and give him back to life. Nothing better can be said for him than this, that in him and Sāvitri Sanskrit literature has perhaps created its most sublime figures.

With these perfunctory remarks I turn to the text itself. It need scarcely be pointed out that I do not lay claim to any very startling discoveries. I venture to think that in a few passages I have perhaps succeeded a little better than previous interpreters—that is all.

(To be continued.)

⁵⁰ *ZDMG.*, xl, p. 57 sq.

⁵¹ *Central Conception of Buddhism*, p. 68.

⁵² Cf. *Buddha*, 5th ed., p. 60 sq.

⁵³ The Apsarases such as Menakā, Urvāṣī, etc., are well known as being the tools of the gods in these unsavoury endeavours of theirs.

SOME LITERARY NOTES ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE GOVINDALĪLĀMṚTA.

By CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

THE *Govindalīlāmṛta* is a fairly popular Sanskrit Kāvya among the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal. It deals, as its name implies, with the amours of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Its popularity is attested by the fact of its having been translated into Bengali verse as early as 1610 A.D. by Yadunandana Dāsa. Numerous manuscripts of it found and noticed or described by various scholars in notices, reports and descriptive catalogues of Sanskrit MSS. in different parts of the world point to the same fact. But curiously enough there has been a good deal of confusion among scholars with regard to its authorship. Thus one set of scholars attributes it to Raghunātha Dāsa¹, while another is inclined to suppose Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa as its author.²

All this confusion seems to have arisen out of a verse which occurs, *mutatis mutandis*, at the end of every canto. At the end of the last canto it runs as follows :—

श्री चैतन्यपदाराविन्दमधुपश्रीरूपसेवाफलं
दिष्टे श्रीरघुनाथदासकृतिना श्रीजीवसंगोदगते ।
कान्ये श्रीरघुनाथमहेश्वरजे गोविन्दजीजामृते
सर्गोयं रजनीविज्जासवन्तितः पूर्णस्तयोर्विशकः ॥

"This the twenty-third canto, full of nightly amours, in the *Govindalīlāmṛta* which is the fruit of waiting on Śrī Rūpa, the bee, as it were, of the feet-lotus of Śrī Chaitanya—which was directed by the scholarly Raghunātha Dāsa—which resulted from the companionship of Śrī Jīva—which originated from the boon of Śrī Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, is complete."

Evidently the verse does not name the author of the work, but only refers to persons through whose inspiration and help the author undertook and finished his work.

But this should not lead one to suppose that the name of the author is not mentioned at all in the work. It is true we have got no colophon proper to this work, where we could expect the name of the author. A verse however in the last canto of the work (xxiii. 95) definitely refers to the author. It runs :—

पादारविन्दभूमेन श्रीरूपरघुनाथयोः ।
कृष्णदासेन गोविन्दजीजामृतमिदं चितम् ॥

"This *Govindalīlāmṛta* was composed³ by Kṛṣṇadāsa who was a bee to the feet-lotus of Śrīrūpa and Raghunātha."

This leaves scarcely any room for doubt as to the authorship of the work. But this is not the only place where Kṛṣṇadāsa is referred to as the author of the book. He is distinctly mentioned as the author by Yadunandana, both in the beginning and at the end of his metrical Bengali translation of it. The commentary *Saddānandavidhāyini* on it, as contained in the published edition of the work, also attributes it to Kṛṣṇadāsa in the introductory verses.

As a matter of fact the book is quite well-known, among the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal, as the work of Kṛṣṇadāsa. The edition of it, in Bengali characters, published from Berhampur (Murshidabad) bears his name as the author. And it is a matter for gratification that of all

¹ Report on the Search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency for 1887-1891, No. 394 ; *Ibid* for 1891-1895, Nos. 494, 495, 496 ; Descriptive Catalogue of Sans. MSS. in the India Office, vol. VII. No. 3878.

² Report on the Search of Sans. MSS. in the Bombay Presidency for 1884-87, No. 350 ; Descriptive Catalogue of Sans. MSS. in the Library of the Calcutta Sans. Coll., vol. X. No. 32 ; Notices of Sanskrit MSS., R. L. Mitra, vol. II, No. 571 ; Descriptive Catalogue of Sans. MSS. in the Bikaner State Library, No. 488.

³ A more literal translation of the verse would be :—'This nectar of the amours of Govinda (i.e. selected stories of his amours) was collected, etc.' But this is tantamount to saying that the work was composed by Kṛṣṇadāsa.

published catalogues the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sans. MSS. in the Ulwar State Library* (p. 38) rightly attributes it to Kṛṣṇadāsa⁴.

This Kṛṣṇadāsa seems to be identical with Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, the well-known author of the *Chaitanyacharitāmṛta* (a Bengali metrical work on the life-story of the great Vaiṣṇava reformer of Bengal, viz., Chaitanya), which, by a statement of the author himself, was composed in 1503 S.E. (=1581 A.D.)⁵ He came after the celebrated companions of Chaitanya viz., Rūpagosvāmin, Jīvagosvāmin, Raghunātha Dāsa and Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa and held them, as did all later Vaiṣṇava Masters of Bengal, in high respect. This accounts for his reverential mention of them in the *Govindāṣṭakāmṛta*.

THOMAS CANA.

By T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

(Continued from page 165.)

6. *Thomas Cana finds the crucifix in Malabar.*—Roz (1604) says that Thomas Cana found the Christians of Paru (Parur) wearing wooden crosses round their necks. This point appears therefore to rest on an ancient tradition. [Cross, but not crucifix.]

7. *No ordained ministers in Malabar.*—This is suspect. In Land's *Anecdota*, the Christians of Malabar are several times represented as being without priests and leaders, i.e. at the persecution of Mānikka Vāchakar (the date of which appears to be 293—315), and before the arrival of Thomas Cana. Cf. Mingana, *op. cit.*, 43. Mingana (*ibid.*, 18) has, however, found that "during the Patriarchate of Shaḥlūpha and Pāpa, say about A.D. 295-300, Dādi (David), bishop of Basrah, on the Persian Gulf, an eminent doctor, left his see and went to India, where he evangelised many people." [No one knows which part of India.]

In document IV.1. 4 we are told that there were clergy in Coromandel, but that they neglected Malabar. We have some idea that long before A.D. 345 there was at Mylapore a monastery of 200 monks, and that therefore the abandonment of the Christians in Malabar is an exaggeration. The church of Kuravalangad claims to be of the year 335¹²⁰.

Before A.D. 363 Yōnān was Abbot of a monastery of St. Thomas in India, near (or below) the black island (Syr. : *gāzartā ūkāmātd*). It had 200 monks. The island was near the town of Milon, six days from Maron, and got its wine from Persia. It had date-trees and palm-trees and crabs of enormous size. It was the see of a bishop. The inhabitants of Milon fished for pearls. Brother Pāpa sailed to it from Mesopotamia, and it was constantly visited by solitaries from Mesopotamia. Mingana does not know (*ibid.*, 18—22) where to locate it. His efforts to place it in an island of the Persian Gulf are not convincing. He would not mind if it had been at Mylapore, since the place of St. Thomas' tomb in India had a monastery and a church¹²¹ of vast size before A.D. 594. Precisely. There is room for it in India as early as 363, close to St. Thomas' tomb, near the 'black sand' island, (Karumanal, a village on

⁴ In recording this Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, vol. II, Supplement, curiously makes Kṛṣṇadāsa the son of Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa. The statement however lacks any corroborative evidence.

⁵ Yadunandana, at the end of his translation of the *Govindāṣṭakāmṛta*, and the *Saddnandavidhyānti*, the Sanskrit commentary on it, in the introductory verses identify the two authors, and there is no reason why we should reject that identification.

¹²⁰ This claim is not supported by any document. In fact the dates for the Malabar churches in the Catholic Directory are mere guesses in most cases. We know how in Bishop Lavigne's time these dates were arrived at for the purpose of the *Directory*—from mere tradition in most cases.

¹²¹ In spite of Medlycott's arguments in his *India and Thomas*, (London, 1905, pp. 74—79) I think that the church and monastery that Theodore saw some time before A.D. 590 were in Edessa, in civitatem quam Syri Aediasam vocant: in supra dicta igitur urbe, in qua beatorum artus diximus tumulatos. (*Ibid.*, p. 80, note).

the coast near Madras), near Milon¹²² (Meilan? Mayila-pur). Mylapore had a fishery of pearls at a much later date; it had cocoanut-trees, and at least wild date-trees¹²³ yielding liquor and sugar; its crabs of enormous size may have been sea-turtles. If that were so, that monastery of 200 monks should have existed at least 100 years before, say, in A.D. 220-30, when the *Acts of Thomas* was composed in Edessa. The first monks must have known at Mylapore people who had known there the Apostle Thomas or his immediate successors, the priest Sifur and the deacon Prince Vizan. We thus reach down to St. Thomas himself at Mylapore. Mylapore is Calamina. It was Calamina for Bar Hebraeus in 1246-86, and the Mount of India on which St. Thomas preached and was killed was for Bar Hebraeus near Calamina. It was Little Mount. Had we not this proof, we would have sufficient proof from Malabar that St. Thomas died and was martyred at Mylapore. The whole of the Malabar tradition¹²⁴ supposes it, and that tradition, as we now see, was inherited by the present Christians from those who lived in Malabar before¹²⁵ the arrival of Thomas Cana in A.D. 345.

The existence of a monastery of St. Thomas at Mylapore is borne out by what we find in Ittûp's *History* (Malayalam, Kottayam, 1869, pp. 81-82). After the death of St. Thomas and before the arrival of Thomas Cana in 345, two of the 72 disciples of Mâr Augên (Agwîn, Augîn), named Šâbôr and Šabri Yêsu, came and looked after the church (of Malabar and Mylapore?). They were students of the great college on the hill north-east of the town of Šaibîn (Nisibis?). These details are found in the genuine records still kept at Antioch in the archives of the Patriarch. Šâbôr died here. Šabri Yêsu returned to his own country of Besanaherim, and wrote and kept in the college an account of the Church founded by St. Thomas in Malabar. Thus Ittûp, in extracts translated by Mr. Joseph.

I believe that the names Šâbôr and Šabri Yêsu belong to A.D. 825¹²⁶, while the rest seems to belong to c. A.D. 363. Ittûp, I learn from Mr. T. K. Joseph, mentions (p. 95 of an edition of his work, dated 1896) two bishops Mâr Šâbôr and Mâr Aprôt who came to India from Babylon in A.D. 825, in the ship of the merchant Šavaris. This Šavaris is no other than Sabir Isô or Yêsu. Some call him Bârêsu; others Job; others Towrio and Thor. The names which Ittûp should have had for the much earlier period are, I think, Yônân and Zâdoê, contemporaries, and successive abbots of the monastery of St. Thomas in India near (or below) the black island. Yônân had met in Egypt Mâr Augên or Agwîn, writes the historiographer Zâdoê, Yonan's successor. And we know that Agwîn died on the 21st of Nisan, 674 of the era of the Greeks, i.e. April, A.D. 363. On the Convent of Eugene, see Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. I. 524. It is said that Augên came from the Nitrean Desert in Egypt with seventy disciples to Nisibis and founded near it, on Mount Izlâ, a monastery where he gathered 350 monks. Many believe that monasticism for both sexes existed at an even earlier date in East Syria. Cf. Fortescue, *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, 42-43, 110. Crowds of monks came daily from India, Persia, and Ethiopia to St. Jerome in Palestine (A.D. 386-420). The pilgrim lady Sylvia (Ætheria) already speaks of the many pilgrims from Armenia, Persia, India, Ethiopia and Egypt who came to

¹²² Milon, six days from Maron. The name Milon seems to be derivable from Malierpha (the old form of the name Mylapore, also called Mayilai).

¹²³ The date-trees of Mylapore are not real date palms, but palmyra palms, yielding "liquor and sugar", i.e. toddy and a kind of dark-red sugar of big crystals, called *panaskalkañam* in Malayalam.

¹²⁴ The extant versions of Malabar tradition do say that St. Thomas lies buried in Mylapore. These are but 400 years old. And from these to infer that in, say, A.D. 150 Malabar tradition said that it was St. Thomas the Apostle himself that lay buried in Mylapore—if there was any tomb at all there at that time—is not reasonable. From the tradition of 1500 to that of 150 is a far cry indeed. We do not know at all what Malabar or Mylapore tradition about the Mylapore tomb was in A.D. 100, 200, 300, 400, or 500. We know Cosmas (535 A.D.) has not a single word about St. Thomas in Malabar.

¹²⁵ We do not know for certain whether before 345 A.D. the Malabar Christians regarded St. Thomas as their apostle or not. Certain versions of Malabar tradition do indeed say that it was Thomas Cana who introduced Christianity into Malabar. Malabar tradition is a hopeless muddle.

¹²⁶ Sabor and Sabri Yesu are regarded by Ittup as quite different from Sabor and Prodh of 825 A.D.

the Holy Places (c. 383-388). In the Life of Barlaam and Josaphat (5th-7th century) we read that India had its monks in imitation of Egypt. Cf. Migne, *PL.*, 73 ; 445.

8. *The Bishop of Antioch coming after another bishop.*—This must be wrong. Our writer stands alone here. Thomas Cana is here made to bring the two bishops in turn. The first time the bishop appears to be he of Oruoy or Edessa with his party of colonists, in which case there is no reason for bringing still another bishop from Antioch. The only apparent reason is that our author, confusing Oruoy with Antioch, felt the need of bringing a bishop from both places.

9. *The Dareoygul (Dharyaiikal)*¹²⁷.—This is explained by our writer (*op. cit.*, p. 192) as meaning "those who were unmoved," i.e. the Christians of only 8 families, out of an original 64, who persevered during the persecution of Mānikkavāchakar; 96 out of 160 families, he contends, apostatised outright from the beginning and became known as 'Munneygramacar,' or "the disciples of Mānikkavassel." In the list of the 18 castes by whom the Christians were to be judged (cf. his note to p. 194 *op. cit.*) we have "the head Munnigraummumattoheen or Manikavassel's disciples, Sooders or Nairs." There seems to be indeed among the Malabar Christians¹²⁸ a tradition that these are apostate Christians. Was this Mānikka Vāchakar possibly a Manichean? There would seem to have been a vast apostasy in Malabar, if we are right in identifying with King Antrayos¹²⁹ (Andrew) of Cranganore the deacon-king Xanthippus-Xenophon of Sandaruk-Andrapolis-Andranopolis, converted by St. Thomas at the first town in India¹³⁰ where he landed, i.e., the king at whose court the marriage feast took place.

10. *The Cotaycoyle.*—Might these not be the Christians of Parur, also called Parur Kōttakkāyal, and corruptly Kutkayel in Land's *Anecdota*? There is a touch of tradition here. Roz (1604) states that the first Christians found by Thomas Cana were those of Parur.¹³¹

The Angelica must be the Tamil *anjili-maram* (*Artocarpus hirsuta*, Lam.): a wood of great value on the Western Coast for ship-building, house-building, etc. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *angely-wood*¹³².

The following list¹³³ of privileges said to have been granted to Thomas Cana is taken from an anonymous MS. by a missionary, who in or after 1676 was living at the Carmelite Church of Anjicaimal (Ernakulam). His name, I suggest, is Fr. Matthew of St. Joseph, who

¹²⁷ The Dareoygul are Tarisāykkal, literally orthodox Christians. The term Tarisa Church occurs in the Quilon copper-plates of c. 880. According to John de Monte Corvino (c. 1300) the Christians of China too were called Tarisa. In Malayalam songs and prose accounts of the 17th, 18th centuries the term Tarutāykkal is applied to all Christians—those of Malabar, of Mylapore and even the Portuguese. It was a synonym for the Latin word 'Christiani,' which has displaced the old term Tarutāykkal. 'Unmoved' is not the true sense of the word. It is from a Syriac word meaning orthodox. Tartary Christians too were Tarisa.

¹²⁸ The old men among the Hindu Manigramakkar themselves admit that their ancestors were Christians.

¹²⁹ The spurious song of 1601 stands alone in giving the name Andrew to the king of Cranganore.

¹³⁰ Most other authorities say that Andrapolis or Sandaruk was outside modern India altogether.

¹³¹ Parur and Cranganore are very close to each other. Cotaycoyle is Kōttakkāvil, Parur.

¹³² Angelica is *daadi*, *Artocarpus hirsuta*, which yields durable timber used for a variety of purposes. It may be called the teak of the lowlands.

¹³³ Most of the privileges in this list correspond to those in footnote 100. No. 6—White cloth spread on a carpet is a seat of honour used even now at marriage feasts. Only the chief elders can sit on it. No. 12—Fr. Monserrate wrote from Cochin in 1579 of "the custom existing in this Malabar that there is no pollution between these Christians and the Nayres, nor penalty of death, if there be marriage or friendship, whereas, according to the custom of the land, there is, if they communicate, stay, or marry with other castes higher or lower than custom allows to them." (*Ind. Ant.* for July, 1927, p. 130). No. 13—*Cheremellas* resembles Malayalam *Chermangalam* in sound. The Malayalam word means gong, but its derivation is not known. From *atambore* comes the Malayalam word *tampēṭe* a kind of drum.

helped Van Rhee on his *Hortus Malabaricus*, Amsterdam, 12 vols., 1676-1693. Cf. Sloane MS. 2748-A, British Museum, fol. 7r.

- (1) They may, the women as well as the men, crown themselves in the manner of kings.
- (2) They may play every kind of instruments.
- (3) They may ride on elephants on their feasts.
- (4) They may light and carry in their hands candles at all their feasts.
- (5) They may use big royal fans, in the manner of very great lords at their feasts and wear every sort of ornament and apparel.
- (6) They may in their feasts and solemnities use white clothes and sit on them.
- (7) They may in the streets walk on white cloths, like noble and privileged persons.
- (8) In their feasts they may give shouts and signs of joy and jubilee, and also grant permission to other Gentios to do the same.
- (9) In the journeys and processions of the feasts they may fire *espingardes* in sign of joy.
- (10) They may use every kind of jewels and ornaments of gold and silver and silk.
- (11) They may enjoy every royal privilege.
- (12) They may enter all houses of noble Nair families, converse with them, and travel with them, which is not granted to any other castes.
- (13) They have all the privileges, permissions, liberties and powers for celebrating and solemnising in public all the day and night feasts, with bells, great and small, with drums and trumpets (*atambores e cheremellas*), processions and preachings, with greater freedom than in Europe, without any fear, but with very great respect and esteem.

The same writer says of the Naddi¹³⁴ (fol. 5v): "They are a caste of hunters, and have no other occupation; they go about with their bows and arrows, and are obliged to accompany the Nairs, Gentios¹³⁵ and Christian hunters."

He also lays stress on a great apostasy in Malabar in the time of a Namburi sorcerer, 'Changalajari' or 'Changara chiari' (*Śaṅkarāchārya*)¹³⁶, whom he confuses with Māṇikka Vāchakar, but places before the arrival of Thomas Cana. Three hundred royal families¹³⁷ remained Christian and faithful under persecution. He states also that the very Hindus affirmed there was an image of Our Lady in the pagoda called Tir Corunfa¹³⁸ belonging to the king of Upper Cranganore (fol. 10r.).

11. Among four castes of Chitties we have the Mullia Chitties. Did these come from Mayilā (Mylapore)? We have also the Pullivaula Chitties. May we compare Pullivaula with Pahlava or Pallava? I find in a relation by Fr. Andrew Lopez, S.J. (1644) that at Ramanancor (Fishery Coast) there were Christians of Palavali caste, with whom the Paravers fraternised. Had these been won back from among the people who at Bepar (Vaipar) and Bembar (Vembar) were Hindus in 1604, though they considered themselves of ancient Christian caste? In 1644 there were Christians at both Vaipar and Bembar: 850 and 1300 respectively.

¹³⁴ Naddi is for Nāyāṭi, a hunting low caste.

¹³⁵ Nairs too are Gentios, Hindus.

¹³⁶ This writer of 1676 took the heretic preacher to be Śaṅkarāchārya of the 9th century. It may be by a similar mental process that others took him for the famous Māṇikka Vāchakar of the Tamil land. The heretic preacher may have been a Manichæan, wrongly identified with Māṇikka the Saivite fanatic, and Śaṅkarāchārya the great reformer of Hinduism in Malabar.

¹³⁷ 'Royal families' here perhaps reflects the appellation Māppīla for the Syrian Christians, which Gouvea (1599) translated as sons of Kings (*Jornada*, fol. 4v.).

¹³⁸ Tir Corunfa stands for Tiru Kurumpa, Sanskrit Śrī Kurumbā, the goddess Kālī, who was represented to this missionary of 1676 as Our Lady. Gama and his companions went to 'Mass' in a Hindu temple in Calicut, 1498. Castenhada's *Historia*, p. 57; *Roteiro*, Hak. Soc., p. 54.

12. *The list of Bishops.*—This list of Bishops is a remarkable document. Most of the names and dates for 825–1500 are not found in our European authors. The list must however be far from complete. Did all these bishops come from Antioch, as stated? In other words were they all Jacobite?

'Mar Sabore Ambroat' of A.D. 825 is Mār Šābôr and Mār Aprôt (Prodh, Pirût, etc.). The name of the merchant 'Towrio' is a misspelling of Sowrio, Šavaris, Šabir Išô. Correa (1570) has strangely enough 'Apreto and Thor' (*Lendas da Índia*, I. 594).

Fr. Bernard of St. Thomas (*Brief Sketch of the History of the St. Thomas Christians*, Trichinopoly, 1924, pp. 13, 19) has a similar list, to be compared with the Conancode MS. As he refers to Le Quien (II. col. 1275) for Mār Šābôr and Mār Prôdh, his date for them, A.D. 880, must be that of Le Quien. Fr. Bernard mentions that all these bishops were sent by the orthodox Patriarch of Antioch (pp. 12, 13, 19). [But see *infra* for Jacobite and Nestorian bishops.]

He next names: 988: John; 1056: Thomas; 1122: John III, who went to Rome in 1122 (perhaps the Jacob, 1122, of the Conancode MS.); 1231 (*sic*): Joseph; 1235: David; 1295: Paulos; 1301: Jacob; 1407: Jaballaha; 1490: John (add: and Thomas, who returned to Mesopotamia soon after, but returned in 1504); 1504: Thomas, Jaballaha, Jacob, and Denha (for these four see also Mingana, *op. cit.*, 41–42). Our list shows that the bishops appointed to India did not uniformly take the name Thomas, contrary to what certain writers have suggested.

Raulin (*Hist. eccles. Malabaricae*, Rome, 1745, p. 435) adds: John II. in 890.

For Jacob in 1321, see Mingana, *op. cit.*, p. 69, where he is styled in Codex Syr. Vat. N. XXII: "Bishop Mar Jacob, Metropolitan and director of the holy see of the Apostle St. Thomas, that is to say our director and the director of all the holy Church of Christian India." Was he an Indian? Zechariah, son of Joseph, son of Zechariah, a deacon, who wrote the above in 1301, in a colophon, at the Church of St. Cyriacus of Shingala (Cranganore), calls himself a disciple and one of the relatives of this bishop.

"In A.D. 1000 there resided at Cranganore a bishop named John. In a historical Syriac work it is written that he resuscitated his servant, i.e., the sacristan of the church of Cranganore. Gouvea says that Fr. Roz, Archbishop of Cranganore, read this in the aforesaid book. S. Giamil (*Genuinae Relationes*, Romae, 1902, p. 436) states that the book is still in the Vatican Library." Cf. R. P. A. Kaliancara,¹³⁹ *Defensio Indici Apostolatus Div. Thomae Apostoli*, Cochín, 1912, pp. 28–29. 'Gouvea' is a mistake for 'de Souza', *Oriente Conquistado*, Pte. II. Conq. I, Div. 2, 16. We have quoted elsewhere the very words of Roz. The Mar Johannah of A.D. 1000 is no doubt the Johannes, Metropolitan, of A.D. 988 in the Conancode MS.

Do Couto, *Da Asia*, Dec. 12. c. 5 (t. 8, Lisboa, 1788, p. 288), writes of Mar Johannah: "After the death of these Chaldeans [Mar Xabro and Mar Prodh], they sent to Babylonia asking for Bishops, as they had no facility to send to Rome, because through the death of these there was left to them only a Deacon, who assumed the work of a priest, thinking he could do so, since all were so ignorant. Receiving this message, the Greek Patriarch provided them with an Archbishop, called Mar Joanna, and the two Suffragans, his Coadjutors and future successors. This Chaldean Archbishop arranged the Chaldean Breviary which this Church used until now, and he made his residence at Cranganor. By the death of this Archbishop and these Bishops, (P. 289) there succeeded another, called Mar Jacob, who had also come from Babylonia; he governed many years, and died about the year 1500." Do Couto's last date cannot be correct. The story of the single deacon who assumed the work of a priest is also told about A.D. 1490. It is possible however that at times the priesthood had practically died out in Malabar. From a report by Mesopotamian bishops, who came to Malabar in 1555 and visited the Syrian Churches during two years and a half, we learn

¹³⁹ R. P. A. Kaliancara is a fictitious name. The author died a few years ago.

there were only 5 priests left. Cf. Fr. Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 32. By 'Greek Patriarch' do Couto understood a Nestorian Patriarch. According to him the Greek Patriarch who sent Mar Xabro and Mar Prodh was a Nestorian.

John de' Marignolli met the Patriarch of the St. Thomas Christians (c. 1348), but whether at Mylapore or in Malabar or at Bagdad, which he also visited, is not stated.

Gouvea (*Jornada*, 1606, fol. 76r) states that, in the Church of Diamper in which the Council of 1599 was held, lay buried a Nestorian bishop.¹⁴⁰ He does not however give his name or his period. He only remarks that Diamper had been the see of some Nestorian bishops. In 1599 they showed still at Diamper some of the things which had belonged to the said bishop, among them a very short and narrow bed on which he slept for penance. "Going to sleep on it one night, he did not rise for Matins." Possibly, his name is still remembered at Diamper, and his grave shown.

Le Quien, quoting many weighty authors (Tom. II, Paris, 1740, pp. 1086-87-88) says that the Patriarch of Antioch used to appoint 'Catholicoses' who had not the title of Patriarch, although they were in authority above the Bishops, and that these Catholicoses were consecrating Bishops to govern the above-mentioned countries [India, Persia, etc.]. The same Le Quien in the same place says that in A.D. 1000 the Nestorian Patriarch Abraham II. of Babylon sent up a petition to the Caliph of Bagdad, stating that a Catholicos under the Patriarch of Antioch was during night time consecrating bishops for the territories under his jurisdiction. Thereupon the consecrating Catholicos and the consecrated bishops were seized and imprisoned. A letter of Peter, Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch in communion with Rome, written about 1050 A.D. to Dominic of Graden, throws further light on the subject (Le Quien, *ib.*). The Patriarch claims that his actual jurisdiction extends to the far East, including India, that he appoints Catholicoses for Babylon, and other regions, and that these Catholicoses have supervision over several bishops, but that they do not take the title of Patriarch. Cf. Bernard of St. Thomas, *op. cit.* p. 12. Nilos Doxopatrios, notary of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who wrote (c. A.D. 1143) a history for King Roger of Sicily, states that the Patriarch of Antioch still appoints and sends a Catholicos to Romogyris¹⁴¹ in India. Cf. Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen*, Gütersloh, 1877, p. 163, n. 1. Several Portuguese writers note that at times Jacobite bishops as well as Nestorian bishops came to India before the arrival of the Portuguese. [Has Peter in communion with Rome, c. 1050?]

We have purposely included this list of bishops in this study. It must prove that Malabar itself can help in the reconstruction of its Christian history. If in 1820 the Syrians could look back 1000 years, up to A.D. 825, it was possible for them, who never passed from barbarism into civilisation, to do the same in A.D. 825, and to reach down to St. Thomas himself. Chronology was a tradition in the East. It had a cult for genealogies. In 1599, Menezes met a man in Malabar who was 123 years old, and who could give not only the years, but the months and days he had lived. He had scored on sticks the days and the months and the years. (Gouvea, *Jornada*, fol. 108r.) Our list ought to stimulate further research in Malabar for the period 825-1500. For the earlier period we look for help chiefly to Mesopotamia. A considerable amount of facts and dates has been gathered already for the period 300-825. More must exist. Even here Malabar can help, when it can give us in a MS. of c. 1700, discovered by Mr. T. K. Joseph, the dates 293 for Mānikka Vāchakar's persecution of the Christians of Kāvērīpattānam, and 315 for his coming to Quilon. [In spite of Menezes', Van Goens' and Tippu's holocaust of Malayalam and Syriac MSS. it is extremely gratifying to see that several valuable historical records still survive among us in Malabar. They have yet to be published.]

¹⁴⁰ Perhaps Mar Sapor or Mar Prodh of A.D. 825.

¹⁴¹ Romogyris seems to be formed from (Ko)ṭungalore (Cranganore) by aphesis, mutation of *l* into *r* (the reverse of lambdacism) and the addition of a Greek suffix. Cerebral *ḡ* is by Europeans sometimes represented by *r*.

NEW TYPES OF COPPER COINS OF THE SULTANS OF GUJARAT.

By C. R. SINGHAL.

In 1923, while cutting a passage through the hill north-east of Marole near Andheri railway station in Salsette for laying the Tansa Pipe Line, the labourers of the Tata Construction Company discovered a copper vessel measuring four feet two inches in circumference and one foot in height. Half of this vessel was filled with coins covered with such a thick layer of verdigris that it was a difficult task to make out anything from them. This vessel was removed from its find spot to Vakola on the east of Santa Cruz, where it remained for sometime with Mr. Master, who was acting as an Agent to the Tata Construction Company.

I have seen the exact spot where these coins were found. The vessel containing coins was found at a depth of about four feet from the surface of the elevated rock which was being cut for making a passage for the Tansa Pipe Line. Round about this spot, there are hills and jungle, and no traces of earlier or present habitation are found. The present village of Marole is also at a distance of about two-and-a-half miles from this place. It is very strange that a big hoard of coins like this should be found in such a solitary place. It does not seem to be the work of thieves, as the vessel with coins is too heavy to have been carried away by them from a distant place and been buried in this hilly area; nor was the intrinsic value of the coins so great as to induce them to undertake such an enterprise. There is, however, a small stream with flowing water just at the foot of this hill; and as I was told by the representative of the Tata Construction Company that there are some old bridges a little higher up on the east, it is not unlikely that the site may have been very near to some trunk road connecting Gujarât with the Deccan. How and under what conditions the treasure was buried remains a mystery all the same.

Mr. H. B. Clayton, I.C.S., the Municipal Commissioner of Bombay, communicated this information to the Museum authorities, and was kind enough to offer this find to the museum if it had any numismatic importance. Three of these coins sent by him for examination were found to be of the Sultans of Gujarât. It was expected that such a big hoard of coins was sure to reveal some new dates and types of the coins of the Sultans of Gujarât, and accordingly I was deputed to bring the whole find, intact with its receptacle, on a bullock cart from Vakola to the Museum.

As stated above, these coins were covered with such a thick coating of verdigris that it was not possible to decipher the inscriptions and assign them to any king. Besides some of them had stuck together in the form of big lumps which could not be separated without endangering the surfaces of some of the specimens. After some difficulty the services of a chemical assistant were made available, and the work of scientific cleaning and decipherment etc., could then be taken in hand in right earnest.

This find, consisting of about 6100 coins, is presumably the largest and one of the most important finds of the coins of this dynasty. In the first instance the collection was roughly examined, and coins were separated according to different Sultans of Gujarât. Next more detailed and minute examination was made, when the dated were separated from the undated; and ultimately those bearing new dates and representing new types were separated for purposes of publication.

About half a dozen scholars have written learned articles on coins of this dynasty, but Indian Numismatists will ever remain grateful to the late Dr. G. P. Taylor, who published his scholarly and exhaustive article on the coins of the Gujarât Sultanat in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1903.

Incidentally it was noticed by me that Mr. E. E. Oliver had contributed an article to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (vol. LVIII, 1889, pp. 1-12), wherein he described thirty-two coins of the Sultans of Gujarât. Coins No. XI to XIII are assigned to Mahmûd Shâh I of Gujarât, while really they are of Mahmûd Shâh and Kalim Ullah of the Bâhmanî Dynasty, as pointed out by Dr. Taylor in his article. Coins No. XVI and XVII are described by him as doubtful. Dr. Taylor also made a negative statement to the effect that they are not of the

Sultāns of Gujarāt. These coins belong to the Nizām Shāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar. Recently in 1926, Professor S. H. Hodivala has contributed a learned article on the unpublished coins of the Sultāns of Gujarāt to the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

The coins which will be described in this paper are believed to be altogether new types and have not been published anywhere so far. This find consists of coins of the Sultāns of Gujarāt from Ahmad I to Bahādur Shāh, but it is specially rich in the coins of Mahmūd I to Bahādur Shāh. The coins of Ahmad I and Bahādur Shāh found in this hoard bear dates 843 and 941 A.H., respectively. Therefore these coins cover a period of about a century. As the coins of Bahādur Shāh are of so late a date as 941 A.H., it is, therefore, believed that this hoard of coins was buried in the earth somewhere in the closing year of Bahādur Shāh's reign. This hoard also contains a large number of specimens of Muẓaffar Shāh II, out of which the dated coins are of 930 A.H., the last two figures written in the reverse position. Besides it may be interesting to note that one coin of Firūz III, Tughlaq, (752-790 A.H.), two coins of Husain Shāh of Jaunpur (863-881 A.H.) and one coin of Shāh-i-Hind (published by Dr. G. P. Taylor in *Num. Suppl.* No. 33) are also found in this hoard.

I am not in a position to explain how these coins got mixed with this hoard of the coins of the Sultāns of Gujarāt. The presence of these four coins may be the result of some oversight. It would not be safe to make any more definite suggestion.

The new types which I am going to describe belong to Mahmūd Shāh I, Muẓaffar Shāh II and Bahādur Shāh.

From the historical point of view, the coins of Mahmūd Shāh I are the most important, as they appear to extend the period of Mahmūd Shāh's reign to 919 A.H.

Coins of Mahmūd Shāh I.

Coins of Mahmūd Shāh I bearing the date 919 A.H. have not been noticed so far. All the historians and other learned authorities say with one voice that Mahmūd I reigned up till 917 A.H.=1511 A.D. In the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, part 1, 1896, pp. 248, there is the following statement :—

“From 1508 Mahmud remained at his capital till his death in December A.D. 1513 at the age of sixty-seven years and three months, after a reign of fifty-four years and one month.” Now the year 919 A.H. began on the 9th March 1513 A.D., and Mahmūd died in December 1513 A.D., i.e. nine months later. The coin, therefore, corroborates the statement in the *Gazetteer* and extends the period of Mahmūd's coinage right up to the year of his death, i.e. up to 919 A.H. There is one more important coin of this Sultān which has on it the mint town Muhammadābād. Dr. Taylor says in his article, on page 317, “In silver the issue must have been considerable—my cabinet contains some thirteen specimens—but I have never found a single copper coin bearing the name of this mint.” Silver coins of this Sultān of the later dates are found; copper coins have been noticed of dates up to 911 or 912 A.H. only, but this hoard contains coins of all the years from 911 to 919 A.H., except 918.

Coins of Muẓaffar Shāh II.

There are four new types in the coins of Muẓaffar Shāh II. The interesting coins are those which bear خاند الله ملك below the name of Muẓaffar Shāh. In one case the legend is written in such an unusual way that it becomes altogether inexplicable. Silver coins with this legend are found, but I have not come across any copper coin bearing it. Dr. Taylor has described one silver coin of Muẓaffar Shāh II with خاند الله ملك as legend (*vide* No. 50, page 333 of his article). But he says “this coin may be Muẓaffar Shah III, to whom it is assigned in the British Museum Catalogue, Muhammadan States, No. 440.” I have seen a photograph of the coin in the British Museum referred to by Dr. Taylor, and I am of opinion that both these coins belong to Muẓaffar Shāh II, as the coin which I have got is more or less similar to them.

Coins of Bahādur Shāh.

The coins of Bahādur Shāh are very important in as much as they contain about eight new varieties not published so far. Muhammadan numismatists, I believe, will be

delighted to see these coins as they present quite a new way of inscribing the legends. Some of the coins bear the same inscription on the obverse and reverse, while others have obverse of one type and reverse of another type. This may be the result of the illiteracy of the workmen who were employed to strike these coins. These coins will be fully described in the catalogue given below :—

CATALOGUE OF COINS.

Mahmūd Shāh I.

No. 1. 214 grains : Mint ? : A.H. 919.

Obverse. Same as T. 22.

Reverse. Same as T. 22, but 919 as date.

Coins of this date are not known so far.

No. 2. 216 grains : Mint Muḥammadābād : A.H. (9) 15.

Obverse in circle.

محمد آباد

السلطان

شاه شاه

محمود بن محمود

Reverse. Same as T. 22, but [9]15 as date.

Copper coins with Muḥammadābād as mint town have not been found so far.

No. 3. 141 grains : Mint ? : A.H. ?

Obverse in circle.

السلطان

شاه

محمود

Reverse. Same as T. 26.

Muḥaffar Shāh II.

No. 4. 220 grains : Mint ? : A.H. 929.

Obverse in circle.

مظفر (شاه)

۹۲۹

خالد (الله ملك)

Reverse. Same as T. 44.

No. 5. 219 grains : Mint ? : A.H. ?

Obverse in circle.

(السلطان)

مظفر

الله

Reverse. Same as T. 44.

No. 6. 217 grains : Mint ? : A.H. ?

Obverse in circle.

(السلطان)

مظفر

الله

Reverse. Same as T. 44.

Copper coins of Muḥaffar Shāh II with خالد الله ملك have not been described up till now. Coin No. 6 is similar to No. 5 but it presents the strange way of writing خالد الله ملك. This coin proved difficult to decipher because the upper stroke of د is joined with ل, thus giving a strange appearance.

No. 7. 220 grains : Mint ? : A.H. 930.

Obverse in circle

السلطان
مظفر شاه
٩٠٣
خلد الله ملكه

Reverse same as T. 44.

In the date the last two figures are inscribed in the reverse position. I have got about 90 coins in which the date is inscribed in this fashion.

Bahādur Shāh.

No. 8. 216 grains : Mint ? : A.H. 938.

Obverse in circle.

ذو القعدة
٩٣٨
السلطان

Reverse same as T. 52, but date 938.

In this coin Muẓaffar Shāh is inscribed at the top while Bahādur Shāh is in the middle.

No. 9. 219 grains : Mint ? : A.H. 933.

Obverse in circle.

السلطان
مظفر شاه

Reverse, Illegible.

This is altogether a new type. The inscription on the reverse is very complicated. These coins range in dates from 932 to 934 A.H. These coins may be the earliest specimens of Bahādur Shāh.

No. 10. 145 grains : Mint ? : A.H. 932.

Same as above.

This is a smaller specimen.

No. 11. 218 grains : Mint ? : A.H. 934.

Obverse in circle.

السلطان
مظفر شاه
٩٣٤

Reverse same as T. 52.

The inscription on obverse is written in a different way altogether.

No. 12. 218 grains : Mint ? : A.H. 93X.

Obverse same as above.

Reverse.

السلطان
المظفر
عليه السلام
(وآله)

The reverse of this coin is same as T. 52 but it bears **ابوالفضل** in the place of **السلطان**.

No. 13. 219 grains : Mint ? : A.H. 93X.

Both reverse impressions.

One is same as the illegible reverse of No. 9 above.

The other is same as reverse of T. 52.

No. 14. 219 grains : Mint ? : A.H. ?

Obverse and reverse same as reverse of T. 52.

NUMBER
OF
COIN

OBVERSE

REVERSE

1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



NUMBER
OF
COIN

OBVERSE

REVERSE

9



10



11



12



13



14



15



16



No. 15. 216 grains : Mint ? : A.H. ?

Obverse and reverse same as obverse of coin No. 11 above.

No. 16. 218 grains : Mint ? : A.H. ?

Both obverse impressions.

One is same as obverse of No. 9 above.

The other is same as obverse of No. 11 above.

Coins Nos. 13 to 16 may be considered as mistakes in minting.

[NOTE.—Professor S. H. Hodivala, the well-known authority on Gujarāt numismatics, on reading the above article in the first instance, made several comments, which were referred back to the author. Omitting points that have been settled or which are not of essential importance, the issue of the correspondence may be briefly summarized below for the benefit of our readers.

Professor Hodivala considers the most important point to be the question of the date of the death of Mahmūd I. He has examined six specimens of the coins which Mr. Singhal reads as of 919 A.H., and thinks that the figures on three of these (written in the reverse order) not improbably stand for 914. The *Bombay Gazetteer*, he suggests, is at best a second-hand authority; and the statement therein is, moreover, discounted by the fact that the compiler has not quoted the source of his information, in view of the discrepancy of two years from the date found in the most accredited Persian histories, such as the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, *Tārīkh-i-Firishā*, *Mirdt-i-Sikandarī* and *Mirdt-i-Ahmadi*. He points out that while there are Mahmūd I coins of 917 and, as now described, of 919, there are none of 918; and he also draws attention to the fact that two copper coins of Mazaffar II, are registered by Mr. Nelson Wright (*Indian Museum Catalogue*, II, Gujarāt, Nos. 57 and 58) which are clearly dated in 918. He thinks it would be hazardous to base on these coins a theory for upsetting the accepted chronology of the two reigns concerned. Prof.

Hodivala also pointed out that the phrase *خالد الله ملك* is a common adjunct on the silver coins of Muzaffar. Mr. Singhal says as to this that he only referred to the peculiar way in which the letters were inscribed, and to the fact that, though found on silver coins, copper coins with this legend had not hitherto been described.

To Professor Hodivala Mr. Singhal's coin No. 8 is the most interesting of those described, as he finds the style or script very similar to that of the 'Shāh-i-Hind' coins, of which he possesses a large number of specimens, on some of which the margins, which have hitherto defied decipherment, can be read without much difficulty, and about which he has been preparing a paper to show that they were struck, not by Babur or Humāyūn, but by Bahādur.

Numbers 13 to 16 Mr. Hodivala would prefer to class as freaks.—JOINT EDITOR.]

BOOK-NOTICE.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA: ANNUAL REPORT, 1924-25. Edited by J. F. BLAKISTON. 12½×9½; pp. xiii, 270; 43 Plates. Calcutta, 1927.

Mr. Blakiston, who edits this report, fitly precludes it with a feeling reference to the great loss sustained by the Department in the untimely death towards the close of the year of that distinguished archaeologist, D. Brainerd-Spooner.

Section I contains a summary of the conservation work (including repair), which forms so essential a part of the functions of the department, carried out during the year. Due attention is being paid to the protection from erosion and other destructive agencies of important inscriptions. Under this head we notice a reference to exploration work beneath the Tughlaq mausoleum at Tughlaqābād, which has shown that the graves within are the real sepulchres, and that there is no crypt beneath, as had been thought.

Section II deals with exploration and research. At Taxila substantial progress was made in the excavation of the older city on the Bhir Mound and of the later Scytho-Parthian city of Sirkap under the supervision of Sir John Marshall, who records an important find of 1167 silver coins, mostly punch-marked Indian issues, including some in the shape of oblong bent bars from 1½ to 2 inches

in length, but also 3 Greek coins of special interest and a well worn *siglos* of the Persian empire. Two of the Greek coins are of Alexander the Great and one of Philip Aridaeus. Apart from the fact that this is the first recorded find of such coins in India, the discovery helps to confirm previous conclusions as to the period when Indian punch-marked coins were in circulation and to fix the date for the upper strata of buildings on the Bhir Mound. Among other interesting antiquities found at these sites may be mentioned 18 copper coins of Kadphises I and 2 of Azes II, and 4 terracotta "votive tanks," recalling those in use in ancient Egypt as far back as the third dynasty. Exploration conducted by Mr. H. Hargreaves on mounds near Sibi, Kuchlak, Saranan and Mastung in Baluchistan indicated that the sites had been occupied for a considerable time before and after the Christian era; but it seems unlikely that the remains can throw any light on Indo-Sumerian history or art.

The chief interest of the report, however, undoubtedly lies in the further details afforded of the work being carried on at Mohenjo-daro in the Larkana district of Sind and at Harappa in the Montgomery district of the Panjab, which reveals to us the existence of a prehistoric civilization on the plains of the Indus comparable with that of Sumer

and of Elam, and carries us back all at once to a period as far anterior to the times of Cyrus the Great as his age lies from us. The site at Mohenjo-daro, covering an area of about a square mile of rolling mounds, seems to have lain originally on the western bank of the Indus, which has since shifted its channel further to the east. "Wherever trenches have been sunk in these mounds," writes Sir J. Marshall, "the remains have been disclosed immediately below the surface of a finely built city of the Chalcolithic period (3rd millennium B.C.) and beneath this city of layer after layer of earlier structures erected successively on the ruins of their predecessors." The buildings exposed in the uppermost stratum comprise temples and dwelling houses constructed of kiln-burnt and sun-dried bricks. The houses are bare of ornament, but "remarkable for the excellence of their construction and for the relatively high degree of comfort evidenced by the presence of wells, bath-rooms, brick flooring and an elaborate system of drainage, all of which go to indicate a social condition of the people surprisingly advanced for the age in which they were living," that is to say in the transition stage between the stone and copper ages. They were using stone knives or scrapers of the crudest types, yet were familiar with the working of copper, gold, silver and lead and probably of mercury also, and were engraving seals "in a style worthy of the best Mycenæan art." On these seals we find the tiger, elephant, rhinoceros and various other animals, delineated but not, as it seems, the horse, which Sir John suggests was probably imported into India at a later date by the Aryans. The inscriptions on these seals are all in the pictographic script of the period, and have yet to be deciphered. Among the mass of antiquities so far recovered mention may be made of two striking paste stamp seals, one with a "Brahmani bull" (*Bos indicus*) device in relief and another with a representation of the sacred fig tree (*Ficus religiosa*), as the details of the leaves clearly show. The handsome and well preserved painted vase, 2 ft. 5 in. in height, found at site D and the other pieces of painted pottery at once suggest comparison with the painted pottery from Susa and that recently discovered by Mr. Langdon at Jemdet-Nasr in Mesopotamia. It is noteworthy that among the finds registered during the season, which we are told far exceeded the total recorded in a single season at any other site in India, were 177 shell objects, indicating an extensive use of sea-shells for purposes of inlay as well as for personal ornaments. At the present time Mohenjo-daro must be some 200 miles from the sea by the shortest land route, and making allowance for the advance of the deltaic coast-line in the course of five millennia, the ancient city must have lain about as far from the mouth of the Indus by river. A maritime connexion at least is clearly suggested, though there be yet no definite evidence of intercourse with Sumer and Elam by sea, as Professor Sayce has pointed out.

At Harappa, in the Montgomery district of the Panjab, some 450 miles away, by the side of an old

bed of the Râvi (or was it in ancient times a still more important river?) have been found remains of very similar character, generally speaking. Attention was first drawn to this site by Masson in 1826, and five years later by Burnes. Cunningham examined the site in 1853, 1856 and 1872-3, and it was in his report for the latter year that the famous 'Harappa seal,' the first of the 'Indo-Sumerian' seals to be found, was described and illustrated. We are told that several previously unknown sites in this vicinity have been revealed by an experimental aeroplane survey along some fifty miles of the old bed of the Râvi.

Important as are the finds recorded in these pages, much more has been discovered during the three years that have since elapsed, as we gather from an account communicated to the *Times* newspaper, especially at Harappa, where antiquities have been found of a type even earlier than those obtained so far at Mohenjo-daro. It would be difficult to exaggerate the value from the point of view of the history of early civilization of the discoveries already made at these two sites and of those likely to follow when adequate staff and funds are available to conduct operations on a scale commensurate with their importance. Scholars are becoming impatient for a comprehensive and up-to-date report on discoveries that must mark an epoch in the history of archaeological research, and necessitate a complete re-adjustment of previous views on the so-called "Aryan" civilization of India. Long cherished beliefs are indeed being shattered, and old theories revolutionized; and we begin to realize that archaeological exploration is still more or less in its infancy. All interested in the subject will also eagerly await the results of the exploration and excavation work recently carried out by Sir Aurel Stein in Makrân, the Gedrosia, inhabited by Ichthyophagi, of Arrian, where will probably be found traces of one at least of the lines of intercourse by land between ancient Sumer and Elam and the Indus basin.

In Section III, which deals with epigraphy, attention is drawn to several important inscriptions either discovered or deciphered during the year. Progress is being made with the publication of the *South Indian Inscriptions*. We would welcome similar work in some of the northern provinces. Under *Miscellaneous Notes* in Section VIII a description is given of a Mathura image of the Nâga Dadhikarna of the Kushâna period, and a new find is recorded of 15 Andhra lead coins from the Guntur district, some of which are of Gautamîputra Śātakarni and Vāsishîputra Pulumâyî. The numerous plates are excellently produced. What we chiefly miss in these annual reports are maps showing the position at all events of the principal sites where exploration has been carried out, in relation to the surrounding country or to geographical features marked on the available Survey sheets.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

KĀTHAKA UPANISAD.

TRANSLATED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.

By PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER, UPSALA.

(Continued from page 207.)

FIRST ADHYĀYA.

Vallī I.

*Uśan Vājaśravasa*⁵⁴ forsooth gave away all his earthly possessions. His was a son, *Naciketas*⁵⁵ by name (1). While the sacrificial gifts were taken away⁵⁶ longing⁵⁷ took possession of him though he was only a young boy⁵⁸. And he thought to himself: (2)

"These (cows) have drunk water, chewed grass, given milk and are barren⁵⁹; verily, bliss⁶⁰ are those worlds to which he goes who gives such ones away." (3)

⁵⁴ *Uśan* generally is translated by 'in zeal' (Wh.), 'with zeal' (H.), 'gern' (B.) etc., which gives no sense. For, if the man gave away all his possessions it is quite obvious that he did it willingly or even with zeal. Weber, Oldenberg and Geldner have thus rightly seen in it a proper name. I would suggest that this text (as well as *Taitt. Br.*) did originally read *Uśā ha vai Vājaśravasah* etc., i.e., the name was originally *Uśan*, which was identical with the Avestan *Ušan* (nom. *Uša*, cf. Bartholomæ *Altiran. Wb.* 406). When this was later misunderstood it was altered into the senseless *Uśan ha vai* etc. On *Vājaśravasa* cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, ii, 201 sq.

⁵⁵ On this name cf. *supra* p. 205.

⁵⁶ Another translation is attempted by Hillebrandt, *ZDMG.*, lxxviii, 580. But H. has slightly misunderstood the situation, and we need not follow him here.

⁵⁷ *Śraddhā* invariably is translated by 'faith' or 'Glaube' (just as in v. 13 *śraddadhāna* is translated by 'who have faith'). But even the very artificial explanations show that there is something wrong in such a translation; and 'faith' in our sense of the word has got nothing to do with the feelings of the young *Naciketas*. Longing for a happier world, to which both the giver and the gifts are to proceed, is what he feels. *Śraddhā*, according to the dictionaries, has this sense only in the epics and the classical literature, but this is by no means sure. Simply to translate the word by 'faith' in texts like the *Rigveda* is certainly wrong, as it creates in modern readers an impression which is totally foreign to the Vedic hymns. It is quite true that the Latin *credo* and etymologically connected words in the Celtic languages mean 'to trust, to believe,' but this proves nothing for *śraddhā*; nor does the Avestan *xraz-dā-* always mean the same. The original sense of *Śraddhā-* is, of course, 'to put one's heart upon a thing,' which may just as well mean 'to long for' as 'to trust.'

⁵⁸ The commentary on *Taitt. Br.* iii, 12, 8, 1 explains *kumāra* by *upanayanayogyavayaska*, which is certainly correct. As *Naciketas* was a Brahman boy he consequently ought to have been about eight years of age (cf. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 50 sq.)

⁵⁹ *indriya* originally has a very concrete sense, viz., that of *potentia virilis*; (cf., e.g., *Maitr. S.* IV, 7, 4); later on it also means power of procreation in both sexes. Consequently *nirindriya* when used of a man means *impotens*, when of a woman *sterilis*, 'barren.' To translate *nirindriyā* by 'deren Sinne befriedigt sind,' as does Professor Sieg (*Festgabe R.v. Garbe*, p. 129) is grammatically and etymologically impossible.

⁶⁰ Curiously enough I have found no single translator who has understood this passage correctly. Hillebrandt, for example, looked upon the first line of the verse as being wholly senseless, and in his translation simply left it out (*Aus Brahmanas u. Upanishaden* p. 117); and we need not go further into the various interpretations as none of them is satisfactory. We must read, instead of the senseless *anandā* in the second line, *ānavitā nāma te lokā*, 'bliss verily are those worlds.' The idea is this: the barren (*nirindriyā*) cow is the *vaśā*, the *vacca sterilis*, which is the sacrificial gift (*niśkṛiyā*) especially apt to be given to the Brahmins. Ample materials concerning this opinion are found in a work by the late Professor Johansson, *Etymologisches u. Wortgeschichtliches* (posthumously edited by the present writer, Upsala, 1927), p. 60 sq. Consequently, the Sacrificer (*Yajamāna*) who gives away such cows goes to heaven, to the realm of bliss (cf. *R. V.* ix, 113, 11: *yātrānanaś ca mūdāś ca mūtah pramūda āsate | kāmasya yātrāptāh kāmāh* etc. I venture to think that in this way the passage becomes wholly sensible. The parallels to the first words quoted by Hume, *Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, p. 341 n. 2, are without any importance.

He said to his father : " Dad, to whom doest thou give me ? " A second time, a third time. He (the father) said to him : " I give thee to Death." ⁶¹ (4)

Naciketas : " I arrive⁶² as the first of many (men), I arrive in the company of many⁶³ (people) ; what then hath Yama to be done that now he wants to do through me ? " (5)

Mṛtyu (?) : " Look forward : as (did) the former ones—look backward !—so (do) the later ones ; mortal man ripens like seed, like seed he is born again.⁶⁴ " (6)

*Naciketas*⁶⁵ : " Like (Agni) Vaiśvānara the Brahman enters every house as a way-faring guest. " ⁶⁶ Him they appease thus : fetch (me) water, thou son of Vivasvān ! (7)

" Hope and expectations, sociability and good fellowship, the reward of sacrifice and good works⁶⁷, all sons and cattle—all this the Brahman wrenches from that man of small wit in whose house he dwells not being offered food." (8)⁶⁸

Yama : " Because, O Brahman, for three nights thou hast dwelt fasting in my house, though a worshipful guest—hail to thee, O Brahman, and welfare to me !—therefore choose thou just three boons⁶⁹." (9)

Naciketas : " That Gautama may be at peace in his mind, of happy thoughts, and not worrying about me, O Death, that full of joy he may greet me when let loose by thee, this I choose as the first of three boons⁷⁰." (10)

⁶¹ All the translators have assumed (in accordance with the commentary on the *Taitt. Br.*) that the father utters these words in anger at having been importuned by the seemingly senseless questions of the son. But if we read, as has just been suggested, *anandā* instead of *anandā* in v. 3 the question of the son is not senseless at all, and there is no need for the father to feel any anger. Hillebrandt, *ZDMG.* lxxviii, 581, correctly stated that the father does not speak in anger, and Professor Sieg. *l.c.* p. 129 sq. follows him—*Mṛtyu* should be translated by 'Death' (not 'death') ; he is the messenger of Yama according to *AV.* xviii, 2, 27 (cf. the Buddhist idea of the *devadāta*, Morris *JPTS.*, 1885, p. 62).

⁶² Correctly Böhlingk *SB.*, 1890, p. 130 : *emi* = *agacchāmi* ; *Naciketas* apparently announces his arrival in Yama's house.

⁶³ *bahūnām madhyamah* = *bahūnām madhye*. There is no discrepancy between these words and the preceding ones. No help towards the interpretation is rendered by Professor Sieg., *l.c.* p. 130.

⁶⁴ The first half of this verse is not very clear, and it is very uncertain to whom we ought to attribute it. I have hesitatingly suggested *Mṛtyu*, the messenger of Yama, who has fetched *Naciketas* and accompanies him to his master's house. Wh. thinks that it is spoken by *Naciketas* himself, in which he is followed by Hume ; H. thinks of a person accompanying him ; G. of the 'secret voice,' the (*daivā*) *vāk*, which is, however, only a fancy of the *Taitt. Br.* and its commentary ; B. speaks of a 'bailiff of Yama' which is mainly the same point of view as my own. But it must be admitted that this is all very uncertain.

⁶⁵ This verse generally is attributed to Yama's bailiff or to the 'Secret Voice.' Both attributions are fanciful and unnecessary. Yama now has arrived on the scene, and the proud Brahman boy announces himself to him.

⁶⁶ We have got to remember that Agni Vaiśvānara and the Brahman are alike the welcome guests of every human lodging. Thus *grhān* does not mean 'a house' ; it is pregnantly plural in sense and means something like 'every house.'

⁶⁷ *isāpārte* certainly cannot be interpreted in the way suggested by Hume, *l.c.* p. 342 n. 5. Cf. *At.* Br. viii, 15 : *isāpārte te lokam sukṛtam āyuh prajām vṛjīya*, etc.

⁶⁸ The contents of this verse exactly correspond to *Taitt. Br.* iii, 11, 8, 3-4, where, in reply to Yama's questions, *Naciketas* tells him that on the first night he has consumed his offspring, on the second night his cattle, and on the third night his good works.

⁶⁹ Whitney, *l.c.* p. 94, complains of the metrical disorder of the second half-verse, but his own efforts to repair it are futile. In *c* we have simply to read *suasti* (so already Böhlingk p. 131) ; in *d* we should apparently read : *tasmāt pratīrtn (u) vādn vṛjīva* (*u* occurs in 1, 14 ; 2, 1 ; 4, 9 etc.) All this is fairly simple.

⁷⁰ This verse has been misunderstood all through ; there is just as little talk of the father being angry with the son here as before. *ātmananyu* means 'free from worries' just as in *M.Bh.* 1, 6114 etc. The father is, however, in grave doubt and anxiety as to the fate of the son. From these he ought to be liberated, and *Naciketas* himself set loose by Yama.

Yama : "As of old he will be full of joy⁷¹; the son of Uddālaka Āruṇi has (already) been let loose by me⁷². In peace will he sleep every night, free from worries when having seen⁷³ thee released from the jaws of Death." (11)

Naciketas : "In the heavenly world there is no fear of any kind, (for) thou art not there, nor does one (there) fear old age⁷⁴. Having overcome both, hunger and thirst, having left sorrow behind one rejoices in the heavenly world." (12)

"Thou, O Death, knowest the (sacrificial) fire leading to heaven; proclaim it then to me who am longing⁷⁵ (to know). Those in the heavenly world partake of immortality. This I choose as my second boon." (13)

Yama : "I proclaim it to thee—and do thou listen carefully to me—being conversant with the fire that leads to heaven, O Naciketas! Know it as the obtainment of the eternal world and its basis, know it as being deposited in the secret place." (14)

He taught him of that fire which is the beginning of the world, which bricks (are needed) and how many and how (to be laid). And this one (Naciketas) repeated it word after word. Then Death, well pleased, again spoke to him. (15)

⁷⁶To him with a loving mind spoke the great one : "I now grant thee one more boon. This fire shall be (known) by thy name; and take thou also this multicoloured chain⁷⁷." (16)

"Building three Nāciketa-fires⁷⁸, entering into union with three⁷⁹, and performing three actions⁸⁰ one goes beyond birth and death. Having known and meditated upon (the texts) *brahmajajñānam* and *devamidyam*⁸¹ he for eternal time goes to this peace⁸²." (17)

⁷¹ Viz., when the son returns to him.

⁷² This seems the only possible translation. Geldner's translation : "Zurückgekehrt ist der Sohn des Uddālaka Āruṇi, den ich gehen liess" is very clever but scarcely possible. Hillebrandt, however, quite correctly, says : "Āruṇi, Sohn des Uddālaka, ist [hiermit] von mir entlassen." Previous translators, misled by Śaṅkara, have taken *Uddālaka* to be = *Uddālaka* which is, of course, impossible. Yama implicitly tells Naciketas that he is already free to go back.

⁷³ *dadṛśān*, Kern, *S.B.* 1891, p. 86; Whitney, *l.c.* p. 94.

⁷⁴ Böhlingk (in accordance with Pāp. i, 4, 25) would prefer *na jarayā bibhēti*. The grammar of our text is far from Pāpinese, but still the instrumental (*jarayā*) seems scarcely possible.

⁷⁵ Cf. n. 57 *supra*.

⁷⁶ Most scholars, as M. Müller *SBĒ*, XV, 5 n. 1; Whitney, *l.c.* p. 96; Hillebrandt, *l.c.* p. 175; and Sieg, *l.c.* p. 130, consider vv. 16-18 as being a later interpolation on altogether futile reasons. On the contrary they are absolutely necessary in order to understand the text: cf. Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* iii, 154 n. 1.

⁷⁷ The word *śṛṅgā* occurs here and in 2, 3, but is otherwise unknown in the literature. The explanations are manifold, and differ from each other to a great degree. Śaṅkara apparently knew an old and fairly correct interpretation, which he renders by *śabdavatī ratnamayī mālā* 'a rattling chain of jewels'; but his other explanations (*dhūtsitā gatiḥ karmamayī* and *śṛṅgā kutsitā mādhanāpravṛttā*) show us that he was in a hopeless muddle as to the real sense of the word. The Petersburg dictionaries hesitatingly translate it by 'way', while M. Müller, Deussen and others interpret it as meaning 'chain' or 'garland' (Cf. Hume, *l.c.* p. 344). Böhlingk, Roth, Kern and Garbe all have explanations which are more or less fanciful and unconvincing, while Whitney left the word untranslated. The late Professor Johansson, in an unpublished paper, tried to establish the sense of 'cornucopia', but that idea is unknown to the Hindus. The word simply means, 'garland' or still better 'chain'. It is a chain of gold and jewels which symbolises at once worldly riches and the snare (*pāśa*) of Death. Etymologically it seems closely connected with *śṛṅgā* 'garland'. Professor Sieg, *l.c.* p. 130, following Madhva, has given a fairly accurate interpretation of our passage.

⁷⁸ *tridācika* (an irregular formation) is difficult and obscure; but I suppose it means that one should build all the three sacrificial fires (*dāhavyā*, *gārhapatya*, and *dakṣiṇa*) according to the special rules laid down by Yama to Naciketas. I am unable to follow Sieg here.

⁷⁹ Śaṅkara (followed by Böhlingk and Hillebrandt) says that the three mean father, mother, and guru, which gives little sense. It possibly means *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma*, the three goals of every man's life.

⁸⁰ Viz., *yajana*, *adhyayana*, and *dāna*; but cf. also *Taitt. S.* VI, 3, 10, 5 (Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* iii, 152).

⁸¹ Correctly interpreted by Hillebrandt (and, though not so well, by Geldner and vaguely suggested already by Whitney p. 95). For *brahmajajñānam* see *AV.* iv, i, 1 sq., while *devamidyam* alludes to some unidentified Agni-hymn. This, like the preceding verses, alludes to Agni as the basis of the universe and identified with *brahman-ātman*.

⁸² *Sānti* is nothing but the Buddhist *nirvāṇa* and, of course, also *brahma*.

"He who, building the Nāciketa-fires and having got to know this triad, who thus knowing builds the Nāciketa, pushes forth in front of him the snares of death and, having left sorrow behind, rejoices in the heavenly world.⁸³ (18)

"This fire, O Naciketas, leading to heaven is thine, thou hast chosen it by thy second wish. This fire men will proclaim [as thine].⁸⁴ Choose thee now a third⁸⁵ boon, O Naciketas." (19)

Naciketas : "This is the doubt concerning the dead man : some say 'he exists,' others say 'he exists not.' This I should want to know through thy instruction. This is the third of (my)⁸⁶ wishes." (20)

Yama : "On this point even the gods doubted at one time ; this is not easy to understand ; it is a subtle question. Choose another boon, O Naciketas, trouble me not, let me off here⁸⁷." (21)

Naciketas : "Verily, on this point even the gods doubted, and thou, O Death, hast said that it is not easy to understand. Nor can one obtain another declarer of this like thee ; nor is there any other boon equal to this one⁸⁸." (22)

Yama : "Choose thou sons and grandsons who live a hundred years, herds of cattle, elephants and gold, horses ; choose thou a great stretch of land and live as many autumns as thou desirest⁸⁹." (23)

"If thou deemest this boon equal to that one⁹⁰ choose then riches and a long life. Be thou, O Naciketas, prosperous on (thy) great land⁹¹. I make thee a partaker of worldly pleasures.⁹² (24)

"All the (sexual) pleasures that are not easily obtainable in the world of men, those pleasures ask for at will. Look ! these lovely girls⁹³ with their chariots⁹⁴ and instruments

⁸³ This verse is clumsy and somewhat obscure. With the *mṛtyupāśā* mentioned here cf. the *śṛṅkā* in v. 16.

⁸⁴ *lavaiśa* correctly abolished by Böhtlingk.

⁸⁵ *trītyam*, like *dvītyena*, suits the metre badly. Forms like **dvītya* and **trītya* are not acknowledged as existing in Sanskrit, but must undoubtedly have existed because of the corresponding *Prākṛt* formations. One might suggest that we ought to read here *dvītyena* and *trītyam* ; but this is, of course, very uncertain.

⁸⁶ We may probably read : *varāṣām eṣa (me) varas trītyaḥ*.

⁸⁷ Böhtlingk, l.c. p. 135, proposes to read *me* instead of *mā*, which is certainly unnecessary. Geldner reads *na hi suvijāneyo 'sur eṣa dharmah*, which is also unnecessary.

⁸⁸ Whitney wants to omit *yad* in the first line, and he is probably right. Hillebrandt translates this verse in a somewhat different way, which is quite possible but scarcely needed.

⁸⁹ Possibly without *ca* and with *yāvad iccheḥ* because of the metre. A later editor who knew *yāvas* only with the indicative might easily have altered it into *yāvad icchasi*.

⁹⁰ Thus, correctly, Geldner.

⁹¹ M. Müller, Böhtlingk, Whitney, Deussen and Geldner wrongly adopt a *varia lectio*, *māhān bhāmau*. Only Hillebrandt correctly retains *māhābhāmau* = *bhāmer mahaty ayatane* (cf. v. 23). Already Śaṅkara quite correctly explains : *mahatyām bhāmau rājā tram bhāva*.

⁹² Hillebrandt, l.c. p. 175, considers this verse to be an interpolation, but on insufficient grounds ; for, if in Indian literature we should look upon repetitions in general as interpolations, how would, e.g., the Pāli canon fare ? Professor Sieg. again, l.c. p. 131, wants to keep 24a (with slight alterations) + d and join this line with the first line of 25 into one Triṣṭubh. This does not give bad sense, but the alteration is far too violent and contravenes every principle of text-criticism.

⁹³ Geldner, l.c. p. 204, calls them Apsaras (the same idea as already held by Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, ii. 204). But how do those heavenly beings come into the world of Yama ? Cf. also Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 63.

⁹⁴ Whitney, l.c. p. 97, thinks *sarathāḥ* to be wholly out of place, but I am unable to share that opinion. Beautiful girls in cars and accompanied by music are certainly not altogether unknown in Indian literature, and besides *vāhāḥ* in v. 26 prove it to be fairly correct. But I admit that the metre is out of order, though I do not know how to mend it. One might try to read *sasurathāḥ* if *suratha* could mean something like 'a good charioteer' ; but that is not very convincing.

—such ones, forsooth, are not obtainable by human beings. I ⁹⁵ bestow them (upon thee); do thou play with them⁹⁶! But, O Naciketas, ask not concerning dying.” (25)

Naciketas: “Those, O God of Death, are ephemeral things⁹⁷ which make blunt the keenness of all the senses. And is not all life very short? To thee belong the chariots, to thee dance⁹⁸ and song.⁹⁹ (26)

“Man cannot be satisfied by wealth only. Shall we get (real) wealth even if we have asked thee?¹⁰⁰ We shall live as long as thou shalt order. But this boon is just the one to be chosen by me. (27)

“What mortal man, himself growing old and well knowing his inferior position¹⁰¹, having noted the undecaying age¹⁰¹ of the immortals, and meditating upon the illusions¹⁰² of beauty and sexual pleasure, could delight in an over-long life? (28)

“That as to which people doubt, O Death, what happens at the great farewell¹⁰³ tell us now. This wish goes deep into the secret; Naciketas chooses none but this one.” (29)

Valli II.

Yama: “One thing is spiritual welfare (*śreyas*), another thing is earthly pleasure (*preyas*); both of them, though of different aim, bind a man. Well (is it) with him who chooses spiritual welfare; he who chooses earthly pleasure misses his aim.¹⁰⁴ (1)

“Spiritual welfare and earthly pleasure alike come to man; the wise (man) takes good note of them and makes his choice. Verily, the wise man prefers spiritual welfare to earthly pleasure, but the dullard prefers earthly pleasure to (spiritual) well-being¹⁰⁵. (2)

⁹⁵ *Mat* is metrically superfluous, but cannot well be left out.

⁹⁶ *Paricārayasva* has been correctly explained by Kern, *S.B.*, 1891, p. 86, with the aid of parallels from Buddhist literature. It means much more than ‘have thyself attended with them’ (Wh.) or ‘by these be waited on’ (Hume).

⁹⁷ *Śvabhāva* retained by Böhtlingk and Geldner, seems to me impossible in this passage, though the word occurs in Kātyāyana’s *Śrauta S.* xii, 8, 28. Geldner’s translation: *die neuen Morgen, o Tod, machen alt*, etc., is masterly, but I fail to see how *śvabhāva* could really mean that. Thus I have reluctantly followed Whitney, Hillebrandt and the Poona ed. in reading *śvabhāvā*.

⁹⁸ Poley mentions a v. l. *nrtaḡṭe*.

⁹⁹ All the translators seem to take these words to mean something like: ‘thine be the vehicles, thine be dance and song!’. But that is scarcely the sense. Naciketas means that all this *vanitas vanitatum* belongs to the realm of the senses, the unreal world over which rules the God of Death (*Antaka* or *Mṛtyu*).

¹⁰⁰ I should prefer to read *apṛākṣma* instead of *adrākṣma*. This and the following verse are the answer to Yama’s offer in v. 24 a-b.

¹⁰¹ Whitney seems to be the only translator who has recognised the real sense of this difficult verse. Though *ajūryatā* is a *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον* it can well be kept and makes good sense, though perhaps *ajūryatā*, as suggested by Wh. would be easier. The absurd-looking *kvadhasthaḥ* (read *kuv*⁹) is a spontaneous formation from *ku* + *adhastha* (Weber, *Ind. Stud.* ii, 196, n. adopts the v.l. *adhasthaḥ* with disappearance of the Visarga, but that is scarcely necessary, cf. Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.*, i. 342 sq.) The v.l. *kva tadasthaḥ* reported by Śaṅkara and adopted by Professor Geldner seems futile.

¹⁰² Kern, *S.B.* 1891, p. 86, takes *varṣa* to be = *rāpa*, which seems correct. We must, however, read *pramohān* instead of *pramodān*.

¹⁰³ *Sāmparāya* = *mokṣa* (thus, correctly, Rāghavendra followed by Professor Geldner).

¹⁰⁴ In the first line *te* (Kern) and in the second *bhavati* should be rejected.

¹⁰⁵ Curiously enough only Roth, *S.B.* 1891, p. 88, has seen the obvious parallelism which forces us to take *yogakṣema* as = *śreyas*. Professor Geldner unnecessarily adopts the inferior v.l. *yogakṣemān*. In this same line Whitney correctly rejected (a) *bhi* before *preyas*.

"Thou, O Naciketas, hast meditated upon the lovely and lovely-looking pleasures and hast let them go¹⁰⁶. Nor even hast thou accepted this chain of wealth in which many people get tied up.¹⁰⁷ (3)

"Far away from each other, differing entirely are ignorance and that which is known as knowledge¹⁰⁸. Naciketas seems to me desirous of knowledge; the many (sexual) pleasures do not badly hurt thee¹⁰⁹. (4)

"Those who are living in ignorance, thinking themselves wise, believing themselves to be very learned¹¹⁰, those fools run to and fro like blind men led by a blind one.¹¹¹ (5).

"The great transition is unintelligible to the dull-witted, the heedless fellow befooled by the illusion of great wealth. 'This world exists but not the other one,' thus believing he from time to time falls into my hands. (6)

"Many do not even attain to hearing him, many if they heard him would not understand him : a wonder is a clever preacher of this, (a wonder) the attainer, a wonder the knower instructed by the clever one¹¹². (7)

"Taught by an incompetent person this one¹¹³ remains difficult to understand, even when frequently meditated upon. And there is no way to him unless he be taught by another, for he is inconceivably more subtle than the measure of an atom. (8)

"This doctrine, which thou hast obtained, cannot be obtained by pure speculation ; it is easy to understand when taught by another, O my darling. Upon my word, thou art of true perseverance ! May I not¹¹⁴ get another questioner like thee, O Naciketas ! (9)

"I for one know that the treasure (of good works) is something perishable ; not by unreal things can that real one¹¹⁵ be obtained. Thus I built the Naciketa-fire, with perishable materials I obtained the imperishable¹¹⁶ (10)

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *abhidhāyan varṇaratipramohān* (cf. n. 102 *supra*) in 1, 28 : *atyasrṅkṣh* again in 2, 11.

¹⁰⁷ The false reading *majjanti*, which was adopted by Śaṅkara, has obscured the real sense of *śrīd* in this verse. We should read *sajjanti* and then everything tallies beautifully. Long after I had found this out I noticed to my great pleasure that Professor Geldner, *l.c.*, p. 205 n. 6, has already proposed this emendation. This seems to me all the more admirable because Prof. Geldner is apparently in the dark as to the real meaning of *śrīd*.

¹⁰⁸ Read probably *avidyā yā(yā)ca vidyeti jātā* ; Böhtlingk's *jāte* is quite unnecessary.

¹⁰⁹ *Lolupante*, according to Pāṇ. iii, 1, 24, should be *lolupyante*, a slight alteration. But we have already observed more than once that the text is not Pāṇinian in its grammar. I can see no obstacle to translating *lolup(y)ante* as I have done above, and in that case the sense fits very well.

¹¹⁰ Perhaps we should read *paṇḍitammanyamāndā* with Rāghavendra.

¹¹¹ The *variae lectiones* in *Maitr. Up.* vii, 9 and in *Mund. Up.* ii, 8 are of no value. This is perhaps the first time that we meet with the well-known *andhaparamparā* of the Sāṃkhya.

¹¹² This verse seems slightly out of order, metrically as well as in meaning ; but Whitney's suggestion *kusalo'nusīṣṭaḥ* scarcely helps us.

¹¹³ Viz., the Ātman.

¹¹⁴ All the translators take *no* to be = *naḥ* and render the words : 'may there be for us, N., a questioner like thee,' which according to my opinion entirely misses the sense of the passage. Yama never liked to give his knowledge away ; he tries as far as possible to withhold it. *bala* expresses astonishment or even slight anger, and *no* is = *na* 'an emphatic na. Yama wishes that he may never meet another man as persevering in his questions as Naciketas.

¹¹⁵ Viz., Brahman-Ātman.

¹¹⁶ Only Professor Geldner (and possibly Böhtlingk) has correctly attributed this verse to Yama. Whitney and Hillebrandt think of Naciketas as the speaker, and Professor Sieg, *l.c.* p. 131, attributes it to the illusory *praṇā* of the preceding verse. Yama, who has hitherto only given introductory phrases, now for the last time tries to make his hearer be content with his knowledge of the Naciketa-fire—but, as he knows himself, without success.

"Obtainment of carnal desire¹¹⁷, the foundation of the living world, the eternity of sacrifice, the other shore of fearlessness the firm foundation hast thou, O Naciketas, wise in thy firmness let go.¹¹⁸ (11)

"The wise man who, by concentrating all his thought on the Ātman, has understood him who is hard to see, who has entered the dark space, the concealed one, living in the depth, the old one to be (the only) god leaves joy and grief behind. (12)

"When mortal man has heard and fully understood this, when he has flung away *dharma*¹¹⁹ and arrived at this atom-like one (*viz.*, Ātman) then he rejoices, having obtained a reason for rejoicing. The house to me seems wide-open, O Naciketas!¹²⁰ " (13)

Naciketas: "Whatever thou seest which is neither good nor bad, neither done nor not done, neither past nor to be, that proclaim to me." (14)

Yama: "The word which all the Vedas repeat and which¹²¹ all the penances proclaim, to obtain which they lead a student's holy life, that word will I tell thee in brief: *Om*, thus is it. (15)

"This (eternal) syllable,¹²² forsooth, is Brahman, this (eternal) syllable is the very highest, he who has come to know this (eternal) syllable obtains whatever he wishes. (16)

"This is the very best support, this is the very highest support. He who has come to know this support enjoys bliss in the Brahman-world. (17)

"The seer¹²³ is neither born nor does he die; he comes from nowhere, nor did he become anyone else. Unborn, everlasting, eternal is the ancient one. He is not slain if the body be slain.¹²⁴ (18)

"If the slayer thinks that he slays, and if the slain believes himself to be slain, then both these do not know: he¹²⁵ neither slays nor is he slain.¹²⁶ (19)

¹¹⁷ Kern, S.B. 1891, p. 83, reads *kāmanyādvāptim*.

¹¹⁸ This verse is perhaps the most obscure one of all the dark passages in our text, and all previous translators differ more or less from each other without being able to render satisfactorily the sense of the two lines. Personally I am first of all absolutely unable to translate the words *stomamahadurugāyam*, which must needs be corrupt; already Śaṅkara apparently understood nothing of them. Hillebrandt, l. c. p. 121, is the one who has tried a real translation when he renders it: *das durch Stomas mächtige Urugāyalied*—but what does that mean? Professor Sieg, l. c. p. 132, has tried a rearrangement of the construction, but without obtaining any intelligible meaning. He is, however, right in translating *kratu* by *Opferwerk*; *krator ānantyam* (cf. Pāṇ. V, 3, 24) means either 'sacrifice lasting for an eternal time,' or rather 'eternal life won by sacrifice.' Böhtlingk is also right in rejecting the unnecessary *dytā*, which was certainly put in by a commentator who understood nothing of the verse. The only possible clue to an explanation seems to me to be this: in 1, 14 (*supra*) Yama calls the Naciketa-fire *anantalokāptim atho pratisthām*. This must be the same in this passage too. What Naciketas has let go is the fire which Yama has taught him, and which here he praises in most exalted language. Naciketas wants something still higher, *viz.* the knowledge of the fate of the liberated (*mukta*) after death, the solution of the riddle of the Ātman. In his persistence he is wise and firm.

¹¹⁹ With Böhtlingk and Geldner we ought no doubt to read *dharma*; but the expression *pravṛṭhya dharmam* is puzzling and not solved by the translations known to me—'flung away' (so also Whitney) is only a weak attempt to render it.

¹²⁰ The last words are obscure and possibly corrupt; I follow Professor Geldner in reading *naciketa's sammanye*.

¹²¹ Read *tapāṃśi saradāṃ ca yad vadanti* with Kern, S.B., 1891, p. 86. With this verse cf. *Bhagavad-gītā*, viii, 11, which gives exactly the same ideas in somewhat different words.

¹²² Note the double sense of *akṣara*. As being the expiration of Brahman, *Om*, of course, is eternal.

¹²³ *Vipaścit* = Ātman.

¹²⁴ Cf. *Bhagavad-gītā* ii, 20; but there the words *nāyam bhūtvā bhavitā vā nā bhūyāḥ* are no immediate paraphrase of the expression *nāyam kutaścin na babhūva kaścit* of our text.

¹²⁵ *Viz.*, the Ātman.

¹²⁶ Professor Sieg, l. c. p. 132, suggests that this verse is only a misrepresentation of *Bhagavad-gītā* ii, 19: *Yā enaṃ veti hantāraṃ yāś cainaṃ manyate hatam | ubhau tau na vijānto nāyam hanti na hanyate*, and that not even Professor Geldner's clever interpretation can save it. This is unintelligible to me. The *Gītā* verse is, of course, younger, and both of them give absolutely the same sense.

" More subtle than the atom, greater even than the greatest, this Ātman abides in the secret place of this living being. Not sacrificing¹²⁷, free from grief, one sees the greatness of the Ātman through the grace of the Creator¹²⁸ (20)

" Sitting he walks far away, lying down he goes everywhere. Who but myself deserves to know that god who is joy and not-joy¹²⁹ ? (21)

" Bodiless in the bodies, settled amongst the unsettled, great, all-pervading—the wise man knowing Ātman as such does not come to grief. (22)

" This Ātman cannot be understood by teaching¹³⁰, not by wisdom, nor by extensive learning. He is understood by whom¹³¹ he chooses ; this Ātman reveals his own person.¹³² (23)

" He who does not desist from bad conduct, who is not at peace nor self-concentrated nor peaceful in his mind will not reach him by sole knowledge. (24)

" To whom clergy and nobility are only a rice-porridge and Death only the sauce—who does really know where he is ? " ¹³³ (25)

Vallī III.

" Those both, who in the world of good actions¹³⁴ drink righteousness and who have gone into the place of secrecy in the most distant quarter, the Brahman-knowers, the *pañ-cāgni*-knowers,¹³⁵ the builders of three Nāciketa-fires call Shadow and Light.¹³⁶ (1)

[" May we bring forth the Nāciketa-fire which is a bridge to the sacrificers, the eternal, highest Brahman, fearlessness to those who want to cross to the other side. (2)] ¹³⁷

" Know that the Ātman is the passenger and the body the chariot itself ; know also that the intellect is the charioteer and the mind is the rein. (3)

" The senses they call the horses, and the objects their goals ; the wise call Ātman joined by the senses and the mind the enjoyer.¹³⁸ (4)

" He who is without understanding and with a mind continuously unyoked, his senses are uncontrolled like the vicious steeds of a charioteer. (5)

" But he who possesses understanding, whose mind is continuously yoked, his senses are duly controlled like the brave steeds of a charioteer. (6)

¹²⁷ *Akratuh*, cf. *kratu* in 2, 11 *supra*.

¹²⁸ *Dhātuprasāddāt* is very doubtful. I have followed the v. l. *dhātuh prasāddāt* (thus Wh., H. and G.). This verse occurs in *Taitt. Ar.* X, 10, 1 and *Svet. Up.* iii, 20, with slight variants, which do not help us.

¹²⁹ Thus already Śaṅkara and nowadays Hillebrandt and Geldner. Other translations are not correct.

¹³⁰ This sounds strange when compared with vv. 7-9 above.

¹³¹ *tena* should be abolished ; it was added by someone who did not understand the construction *labhyaś tasya*.

¹³² The last words have been thoroughly misunderstood by all except by Geldner and Hillebrandt.

¹³³ Professor Sieg, l.c. p. 132, translates *yasya* by *in Vergleich zu welchem*, which seems scarcely possible and gives no better meaning. S., like Śaṅkara and others, reads *odanah*.

¹³⁴ In spite of Śaṅkara, *svakṛtasya* is out of reckoning ; we must read *sukṛtasya*.

¹³⁵ I.e., those who know the doctrine of the five fires as expounded in *Chānd Up.* V, 4 *sq.* (thus, correctly, Professor Geldner), not those who maintain five sacrificial fires.

¹³⁶ Ātman and Brahman. But as these two are original we need not adopt the somewhat artificial interpretation of the first line suggested by Professor Geldner.

¹³⁷ Though I do not like to assume interpolations without the very strongest reasons, I still think that this verse must be rejected. It is without meaning here and is chiefly made up from materials taken from 2, 11 and 16. The suggestion of Professor Geldner, that we should read *Nāciketaṁ* and identify this with *Nāciketasam*, is, unfortunately, impossible.

¹³⁸ *°yuktaṁ* in the second line seems impossible ; Böhtlingk alters it into *°yuktaḥ* which is, however, wrong. We must then read *°yukto*. The meaning, however, is not doubtful.

" He who is without understanding, thoughtless, always impure, he does not arrive at that place, he comes into the circle of metempsychosis. (7)

" But he who possesses understanding, full of thoughts, ever pure, he arrives at that place from whence he is not born again. (8)

" That man whose charioteer is understanding and whose rein is mind, he arrives at the goal of the road—that is Viṣṇu's highest abode.¹³⁹ (9)

" Higher than the senses are the objects, higher than the objects is mind ; higher than mind is intellect, but higher than intellect is the great Ātman. (10)

" Higher than the great one is the unmanifested, higher than the unmanifested is the Spirit¹⁴⁰ ; there is nothing whatsoever beyond that Spirit, he is the goal, he is the highest resort. (11)

" This Ātman, hidden in all living beings, does not show himself. But he is seen by subtle thinkers by means of the most pointed, subtle intellect. (12)

" The wise man should restrain voice and mind, he should restrain it within that Self which is knowledge ; that again within the great Self¹⁴¹ ; and that he should restrain within the peaceful Self. (13)

" Stand ye up ! Awake ye¹⁴² ! Having obtained boons¹⁴³ give ye attention ! The razor's edge is whetted, difficult to traverse¹⁴⁴ ; this the seers call the dangerous part of the way. (14)¹⁴⁵

" Having meditated upon the soundless, touchless, formless, unalterable, the eternally¹⁴⁶ tasteless and scentless, the one without beginning or end, the one higher than the great, the real one, he is liberated from the jaws of Death.¹⁴⁷ (15)

[" The wise man who recites and listens to this ancient Nāciketa-episode proclaimed by Death enjoys bliss in the Brahman-world. (16)

" When one recites in an assembly of Brahmins this highest secret or (recites it) with devotion at a sacrifice to the ancestors it makes him fit for eternal life." (17)]¹⁴⁸

(To be continued.)

¹³⁹ *Viṣṇoḥ paramam padam* is the heaven of light on the top of the universe where is the well of *amṛta* (cf. *R.V.* I, 154, 5 ; *Viṣṇoḥ padā paramā mādhuḥvā āśaś*) and the abode of the blessed. That is, according to a later idea, the *Brahmaloka* (as in our text, cf. 2, 17 ; *brahmaloka mahityate*) and the abode of the *muktas* with the Jains.

¹⁴⁰ *Puruṣa* (=Brahman).

¹⁴¹ Probably Böhtlingk is right in considering *niyacchet* to be an interpolation.

¹⁴² The correct form, according to Böhtlingk, would be *jāgrta* (found in one MS.) ; but how it could be four-syllabic baffles me. Read perhaps : *uttiṣṭhata* [ca] *jāgrta*.

¹⁴³ Śaṅkara : *varān prakṛtīdāryān*, which is certainly wrong.

¹⁴⁴ The razor's edge (*kṣurasya dhārā*) is an old symbol fetched from the Indo-Iranian ideas of the way into the other world. It is peculiarly clear in Zoroastrian eschatology, but traces of it are found also in India.

¹⁴⁵ This verse seems entirely out of connection with its surroundings.

¹⁴⁶ Thus, correctly, Whitney, differing from the other translators.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. I, 11 *supra* (*mṛtyumukhāt pramuktam*).

¹⁴⁸ These two verses, forming a *Śravaṇaphala* in the epic style, are apparently a late addition. They do not in the slightest degree prove that the original Upaniṣad was at an end here.

A NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE LATER PRATIHĀRAS.

By NIHARRANJAN RAY, M.A.

THE career of Mahendrapāla, one of the ablest, most powerful and best remembered of the Pratihāra kings of Kanauj, came to an end in the last years of the first decade of the tenth century A.D. Indeed, the last known date of his reign is 964 v.s., which corresponds to A.D. 907-8.¹ He had at least two queens to whom we are introduced by the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the Mahārāja Vināyakapāla.² Queen Dehanāgādevī gave her king Mahendrapāla one son, the illustrious Mahārāja Bhojadeva (II) and queen Mahīdevīdevī (Mahā according to the Pratābgarh inscription³) gave another, the illustrious Mahārāja Vināyakapāladeva. The Aśni inscription of v.s. 974⁴ mentions one *Mahīṣapāladeva* (Mahindapāla as Kielhorn reads it) with his son Mahīpāla as Mahārājādhirājas. Mahīṣa or Mahindapāla has been identified with Pratihāra Mahendrapāla, and so we are introduced to a third son of this monarch, namely Mahīpāla. A passage in Rājasekhara's *Prachandā Pāṇḍava* seems to support the information obtained from the Aśni inscription.⁵ From this passage we come to know that the play was staged before an assemblage of guests who were invited by Mahīpāla, born of the lineage of Raghu, son of Nirbhayanarendra, Lord of Āryavarta. The identification of this Nirbhayanarendra with Mahendrapāla Pratihāra of Kanauj is also an accepted conclusion, so that there remains very little doubt as to Mahīpāla's being a third son of Mahendrapāladeva.

Dr. Kielhorn, while editing the Khajurāho inscription of the Chandela king Yaśovarman, v.s. 1011=953-54 A.D.,⁶ and the Siyadonī stone inscription, v.s. 1005=948-49 A.D.,⁷ came of the opinion that the Hayapati Devapāla, son of Herambapāla of Yaśovarman's inscription is identical with the Paramabhattachāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameswara the illustrious Devapāla, son of Kṣitipāla of the Siyadonī inscription. Kṣitipāla and Herambapāla must thus naturally have been the one and the same person. And as Kṣiti and Mahī were synonymous, it was easy to conclude that Mahīpāla, Kṣitipāla and Herambapāla were all identical. While reconsidering the dates and the genealogical data of the Dighwā Dubauli Plate of Mahendrapāla and Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of Vināyakapāla, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar pointed out that, Heramba and Vināyaka being synonymous, Herambapāla should be identified with Vināyakapāla.⁸ Kielhorn's chronology, therefore, stood thus:—

Dehanāgādevī = Mahendrapāla = Mahīdevīdevī.

Bhojadeva (II)	Mahīpāla
(Kielhorn) {	
<i>alias</i> Kṣitipāla	
<i>alias</i> Herambapāla } (Bhandarkar).	
<i>alias</i> Vināyakapāla }	

After the discovery of the Pratābgarh inscription of the time of Mahendrapāladeva (II) of Mahodaya, v.s. 1003=945-46 A.D., Pandit G. H. Ojha reconsidered the genealogical arrangement. He accepted the identification of Mahīpāla and Kṣitipāla, but rejected that of Vināyakapāla and Herambapāla on the grounds (1) that Hayapati Devapāla could not be the same as Devapāla of Mahodaya 'on the casual mention of the former in an inscription

¹ Siyadonī Inscriptions, line 4, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 162 ff., Kielhorn.

² Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of Vināyakapāla, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XV, p. 140. Fleet.

³ Pratābgarh Inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIV, p. 178. G. H. Ojha.

⁴ The Aśni Inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 170-71.

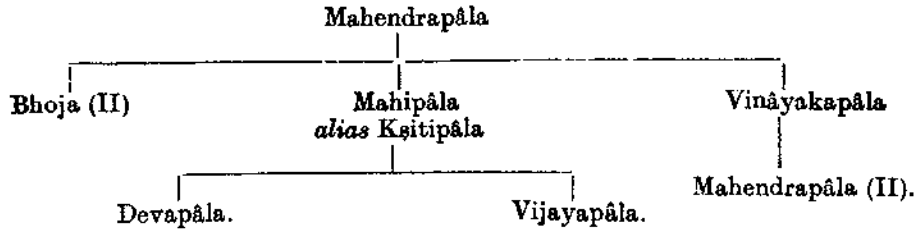
⁵ The Date of Poet Rājasekhara, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVI, p. 177. Fleet.

⁶ Khajurāho Inscription of Yaśovarman, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 172. Kielhorn.

⁷ *Op. cit.* For the views of Kielhorn, see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 122 ff. and p. 162 ff.

⁸ *Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, vol. XXI, pp. 406-7. Bhandarkar.

of a king of a dynasty other than his own; (2) that Hayapati was never the recognised appellation of any of the Pratihāra kings; and (3) that the dates of Mahipāla and Vināyakapāla did not overlap. According to his view the genealogy stands like this.⁹



Dr. R. C. Majumdar, who last contributed on the subject, strengthened the arguments of Pandit Ojhā by adducing further reasons in his favour.¹⁰ But even admitting the force of Pandit Ojhā's arguments, Dr. Majumdar could not accept the chronological arrangement proposed by the Pandit, but reverted back to the arrangement of Prof. Kielhorn. He based his conclusion on the fact that there was no reference to Mahipāla in the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of Vināyakapāla, whereas one brother Bhoja (II) as well as his two predecessors with their titles were mentioned. According to him, it was 'difficult to explain the omission of Mahipāla's name if he had really been a separate king.'

There were thus two distinct arrangements as regards the chronology of the later Pratihāras, and the writer of this note thinks that there is still the possibility of a third one.

First, as to Kielhorn's identification of Hayapati Devapāla with Devapāla, son of Kṣitipāla, Pandit Ojhā and Dr. Majumdar's objections certainly carry weight and they are sufficient to set the identifications aside.

Secondly, the identifications of Herambapāla and Vināyakapāla cannot also be accepted for the only reason that Heramba is synonymous with Vināyaka. Whether the Khajurāho inscription was put up after the death of Yaśovarman or during his lifetime, it is certain that not only Yaśovarman but also his son Dhangaadeva continued to acknowledge the paramount supremacy of Vināyakapāla; for in the end of the inscription 'Vināyakapāladeve pālayati Vasudhām' is expressly mentioned. Agreeing that it was put up by Dhanga after the death of his father, we should accept that Dhanga did not resent the supremacy of Vināyakapāladeva. But if we accept this, it is difficult to reconcile why, in the same inscription, Yaśovarman or Dhanga should in one place (verse 43) refer to their paramount lord as Herambapāla and in another (concluding verse) as Vināyakapāladeva. If Herambapāla and Vināyakapāla had been the same person such a different naming would have been simply unnecessary; in fact, the writer as well as the master of the inscription did really mean two individual persons in the two names. This, I think, should raise serious objection to the identification of Vināyakapāla with Herambapāla, apart from the arguments already put forward by Pandit Ojhā.

The identification of Kṣitipāla with Mahipāla has been universally accepted and unless positive proof to annul the identification be forthcoming we have no reasons to reject it.

The identification of Mahipāla with Vināyakapāla stands on the validity of the identification of Mahipāla = Kṣitipāla with Herambapāla. But Pandit Ojhā has shown that Kṣitipāla and therefore Mahipāla cannot be identical with Herambapāla. So the identification of Mahipāla and Vināyakapāla must naturally fall to the ground. But Dr. Majumdar stands for accepting the identification in view of the reason already cited. But he himself admits that 'there are many records in which no mention is made of the royal brothers intervening between the reigning king and his father.' Apart from this and apart also from the possibility of internal dissension between Mahipāla and Vināyakapāla, Dr. Majumdar's

⁹ *Op. cit.* Pratabgarh Inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIV, pp. 176 ff. Ojhā.

¹⁰ *J. of the Dept. of Letters, Cal. University*, vol. X, pp. 60-62, Majumdar.

objection to the separate individuality of the two kings is not convincing. Even accepting his objection to be tenable, the view that is going to be presented here would accommodate his objection too.

Pandit Ojhâ and Dr. Majumdar have shown that the dates of Mahîpâla and Vinâyakapâla do not overlap. All the earlier records, at least upto 917-18, systematically refer to Mahîpâla, and the mention of Vinâyakapâla is made for the first time not earlier than 931 A.D. The last known date of Mahîpâla's father, Mahendrapâladeva, is 908 A.D. ascertained from the Siyadonî inscription. Bhoja (II) must, therefore, have flourished between 908 and 914 A.D. It is noteworthy that except in the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of Vinâyakapâla, for once and for all, Bhoja is nowhere mentioned as the son of Mahendrapâla or brother of Vinâyakapâla or as king of Kanauj, whereas Mahîpâla is mentioned at least in two records apart from his mention by Râjasekhara. Nor has Bhoja left us any record to his credit or any definite date of his reign. Is it likely that Bhoja (II) and Mahîpâla were identical, so that Mahîpâla Bhoja begotten on Dehanâgâdevî reigned between 908 and 931 A.D., the earliest known date of Vinâyakapâladeva? The identification seems to be plausible, and there is at least one reason for this identification apart from the facts noted above.

We know that Bhoja is, like Vikramâditya, a mere title only and not a name; and kings having such titles came to be more popularly known by their titles than by their names. Such was the case with Chandragupta, who came to be more known by his title of Vikramâditya. In the dynasty of the Pratihâras, too, there was Bhoja (I) whose original name was probably Mihira, but he came to be more popularly known as Bhoja. So, it seems, was the case with Bhoja (II), the grandson of Bhoja (I) for whom it was all the more natural to assume the title of his grandfather. It seems that his original name was Mahîpâla, by which he has been mentioned in the records, but the grant of his brother Vinâyakapâladeva has introduced him with his title only, *i.e.*, Bhoja. The writer of this note would, therefore, like to identify Mahîpâla (of date 914 and 917 A.D.) with Bhoja (II), son of Mahendrapâla. And even if this identification be accepted, the chronology of the later Pratihâras would not differ in any very considerable degree from what is at present known. But besides this identification, there are other things which, when considered, would greatly modify the existing genealogical and chronological arrangement of these kings.

We have seen that the last known date of Mahîpâla Bhoja (II) *alias* Ksitipâla is 917 A.D.¹¹ and the earliest known date of Vinâyakapâla is 931 A.D. (obtained from copper plate inscription).¹² For Vinâyakapâla we have also another date from the stone inscription of Dhanga of the year v.s. 1011, 'while the illustrious Vinâyakapâladeva is protecting the earth.'¹³ My attention to this date was drawn by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. The date 1011 v.s. corresponds to 953-54 A.D. It had hitherto been accepted that Vinâyakapâladeva of the copperplate inscription of date 931 A.D. was identical with the king of the same name of the stone inscription of date 953-54 A.D. But this does not seem to have been really the case.

For, in the first place we are introduced by the Pratâbgarh inscription of v.s. 1003=945-46 A.D. to Mahendrapâla (II), son of Vinâyakapâla. Now, if Mahendrapâla's father Vinâyakapâla had been reigning in 953-54 A.D., how can the son (*i.e.*, Mahendrapâla) himself be reigning in 945-46 A.D.? It seems, therefore, that the two Vinâyakapâlas are not identical and that Mahendrapâla, the son of Vinâyakapâla had later on been succeeded by another Vinâyakapâla. But this second Vinâyakapâla was certainly not the immediate successor.

For, between Vinâyakapâla of date 931 A.D. and Vinâyakapâla of date 953-54 A.D., there is, besides Mahendrapâla (II), another king, namely Devapâla of date 1005 v.s.=947-48

¹¹ Aenî Inscription, *op. cit.*

¹² B. A. S. grant of Vinâyakapâla, *op. cit.*

¹³ Khajurâho Inscription, *op. cit.*

A.D., son of Kṣitipāla, *alias* Mahipāla, *alias* Bhoja (II) of the Siyadonī inscription. We thus see that Vināyakapāla (I) of date 931 A.D. was followed by his son Mahendrapāla (II) of date 946 A.D.; Mahendrapāla (II) was followed by Devapāla of date 947-48 A.D. and Devapāla by Vināyakapāla (II) of date 953-54 A.D.

Here we are introduced to another Gurjara-Pratihāra king by the Byānā Utkha Mandir inscription of Chitrakēkhā, noticed by Mr. R. D. Banerjee in the *Pro. Report of the Arch. Survey of India, Western Circle, 1919*.¹⁴ The inscription, to which my attention was drawn by Prof. Bhandarkar, was incised in the month of Māgh, v.s. 1012=957-58 A.D., and records the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu by a queen named Chitrakēkhā during the reign of an emperor Mahārājādhirāja Mahipāla. Mr. R. D. Banerjee has shown that this Mahārājādhirāja Mahipāla was certainly a later Pratihāra king and that he must have come after Devapāla of date 947-48 A.D. As Vināyakapāla of date 953-54 A.D., is earlier than this Mahipāla (whom it is convenient to designate as Mahipāla II) of date 957-58 A.D. we may assume that Devapāla was succeeded by Vināyakapāla (II) and Vināyakapāla (II) by Mahipāla (II).

The Rājagadh inscription of Mathanadeva of date 960 A.D.¹⁵ introduces us to a Pratihāra king named Vijayapāla, who is said to have meditated at the feet of an emperor called Kṣitipāla. Whether this Kṣitipāla had been the same as the father of Devapāla of the Siyadonī inscription (*alias* Mahipāla, *alias* Bhoja II) or whether Kṣitipāla was, as is probable, a synonym and only another name of Mahipāla (II) of the Byānā inscription of Chitrakēkhā, it is difficult at present to ascertain. As the latter one is highly probable, there is also no strong ground against the former assumption, for the son of the father who had been reigning in 917 A.D. might well have reigned in 960 A.D.

Vijayapāla was probably succeeded by Rājyapāla and Rājyapāla by Trilochanapāla, for all these three kings are said to have reigned in succession in the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of Trilochanapāla of date 1027 A.D.¹⁶

It is true that the mutual relations of these kings cannot definitely be ascertained, but the order of succession, as given below, seems to be vouchsafed by the respective dates assigned to them.

To make a possible and convenient suggestion, it is probable that the 5th king Vināyakapāla was the son of the 3rd king Mahendrapāla (II), for it was natural for him to take the name of his grandfather, as had so often been the case in ancient Indian royal dynasties. In the same way, it is also probable that the 6th king Mahipāla (II) was the son of the 4th king Devapāla, whose father was again Mahipāla (I). And as Mahipāla (I) had another name, Kṣitipāla, so also Mahipāla (II) might possibly have another name (like his grandfather), namely Kṣitipāla, who according to Mathanadeva's inscription was the immediate predecessor and probably the father of Vijayapāla.

According to the arrangement made below we have four kings, Nos. 3-6, i.e., from Mahendrapāla (II) to Mahipāla (II) reigning in succession within the short span of less than ten years i.e., from 945-46 to 954-55 A.D. But such instances are not at all rare in history,¹⁷ and there is nothing to be surprised at in this, especially when we remember that with Mahipāla (I) *alias* Bhoja (II) the glorious days of the Pratihāra empire were gone, and the disruption had begun. Nearer home feudatories were daily declaring independence and striking their blows at the

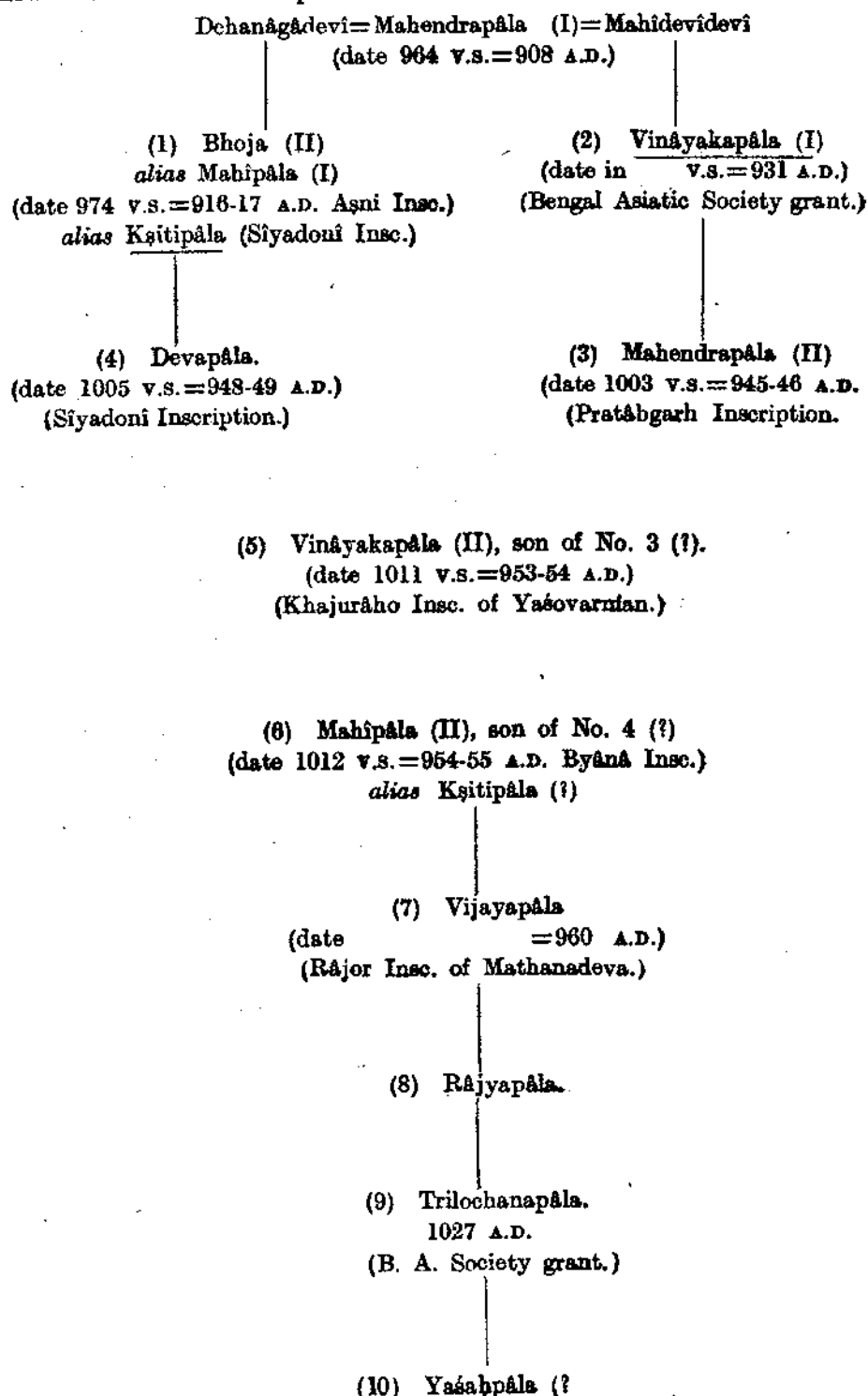
¹⁴ Byānā inscription of Chitrakēkhā. *Pro. R.A.S., Western Circle, 1919*, pp. 43-44. R.D.B.

¹⁵ Rājagadh inscription of Mathanadeva. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 265.

¹⁶ Bengal A. S. grant of Trilochanapāla, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 33 ff., in which is mentioned the names of three kings Vijayapāla, Rājyapāla and Trilochanapāla who reigned in succession.

¹⁷ "In Vengi three Eastern Chālukya monarchs, viz., Vijayāditya IV, his son Ammarāja I and Ammarāja's son, another Vijayāditya, ruled only for seven years, six and a half months. In Kāśmīra five kings, viz., Suravārman I, Pārth, Samkaravardhana, Unmattāvantī and Suravārman II, ruled within six years (A.D. 333-39); and three generations of kings, viz., Yaśaskara, his uncle Varaha, and his son Samgrāmadeva, ruled for ten years (A.D. 939-949)." *Political History*, p. 365, 2nd ed. Raychaudhuri. Other instances might also be cited.

worn-out gates of the imperial city and in farther corners the armies of Islam were sharpening their swords for the final stab. Nor are we to assume that after Vināyakapāla (I) the dynasty was divided into two houses, one descended from Vināyakapāla (I) and the other from Mahilapāla (I) *alias* Bhoja (II) *alias* Kṣitipāla. For, there is no evidence whatsoever to show that the Pratihāra empire was ever divided between two rival houses.



THE EMPIRE OF ORISSA.

By PROF. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

I. Kapilendra or Kapilēśvara (1435—70).

VERY little is known about the founder of the most powerful dynasty of Orissa, the Sūrya-varṇsa dynasty, which ruled over the eastern coast of the Indian Peninsula for a little over a century. In the South Arcot District the founder of this dynasty was known as the Kumāra-Mahāpātra even in 1464-65. In two inscriptions only, one at Gopināthpur in the Cuttack District, he is stated to be descended from the race of the Sun¹. Kapilēśvara's relation, Gaṇadēva, Rāutarāya, the viceroy of Koṇḍavidu in 1455, also mentions him as being descended from the Solar race.² We are totally ignorant about the circumstances which brought him to the throne after the extinction of the Eastern Gangas. According to inscriptions, discovered up to date, Narasimha IV is the last known king of this dynasty and his latest known date is 1397 A.D.³ The late Manmohan Chakravarti notes that there is an inscription of this king in the Śrī Kurmām temple, on the eleventh pillar of the *maṇḍapa*, which is dated 1402-3 A.D.⁴ The accession of Kapilendra or Kapilēśvara cannot be placed earlier than 1434-35. The date given in the records of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri is decidedly wrong.⁵ According to that record the accession of the king took place at camp Kirtivāsa on Wednesday Kākarā 2, Su. 4. But Sewell mentions that Kapilēśvara's accession took place in 1454⁶ and he follows Hunter, who places that event in 1452. All of these dates are incorrect, as Manmohan Chakravarti has already proved. The correctness of Manmohan Chakravarti's calculations is corroborated by the *Burhān-i-Ma'asir*.⁷ The local accounts of Orissa such as the *Puri Record* (called *Mādala Pāñji* in Oriyā) places another king between Narasimha IV and Kapilēśvara. He is called Bhānudeva⁸. As Kapilēśvara's accession did not take place till 1435 there is plenty of room to place two or three scions of the Eastern Gangas after the last known date of Narasimha IV and before the beginning of the Sūrya-varṇsa dynasty.

During the last days of the Gaṅga dynasty Orissa had lost her prestige and she was being hard pressed by the independent Sultāns of Bengal from the north, the Bahmani Sultāns from the west and the emperors of Vijayanagara from the south. Sewell's list supplies us with a clear instance of changes in the overlordship of Koṇḍavidu, when it was in the possession either of the kings of Orissa or the emperors of Vijayanagara. One Lāṅgultya Gajapati was succeeded by the Reddi king Rācha Veṅka (1420-31). Then came two sovereigns of Vijayanagara, who are named Pratāpadeva (Devarāya II) and Harihara. They were succeeded by king Kapilēśvara of Orissa⁹. The date of the rise of Kapilēśvara coincides with that of the commencement of the decline of Vodeyar or Yādava dynasty of Vijayanagara. He ascended the throne of Orissa during the lifetime of Devarāya II and continued to rule till the Śāluva usurpation. It opened a glorious career for him and permitted him to conquer the whole of the Eastern coast of India, at least as far as Trichinopoly District of the Madras Presidency. No other king of Northern India and no sovereign of Orissa ever succeeded in ruling over such a large portion of Southern India. The conquest of the Tamil country by Kapilēśvara was no temporary occupation. The Eastern Tamil Districts and practically the whole of the Telugu country remained in his occupation for over ten years. This is proved by an inscription of the reign of the Vijayanagara emperor Virupāksha, according to which, on account of confusion caused by the invasion of the king of Orissa the festivals in the temple of Śiva at Jāmbai in the South Arcot District ceased for ten years, sometime before 1472-73 A.D. The drama *Gaṅgāddesa-Pratāpavilāsam* also refers to an invasion

¹ *JASB.*, vol. LXIX, 1900, pt. 1, pp. 173-79.² *Above*, vol. XX, 1891, pp. 390-93.³ *JASB.*, vol. LXIV, pp. 133.⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. LXIX, 1900, p. 182, note 1.⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 181 note.⁶ Sewell, *A Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 48 and note 3.⁷ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXVIII, 1899, p. 285.⁸ *JASB.*, vol. LXIX, 1900, p. 182.⁹ *Sketch of South Indian Dynasties*, p. 48.

of Vijayanagara by the king of Orissa.¹⁰ Another inscription in the South Arcot District records that in 1464-65 the village of Munnur was actually in the occupation of *Kumāra Mahā-pātra* Kapilēśvara, son of Ambīradeva. We have therefore to admit that from 1464 till the date of his death in 1470 Kapilēśvara was in possession of the whole of the Eastern Coast of the Indian Peninsula from the Balasore District of Orissa to the extreme south of the Trichinopoly District. We have no means so far of deducing the exact chronology of events in the process of these conquests, but we obtain some help from Musalman histories. The best of these are no doubt Firishta and the *Burhān-i-Ma'asir*. Kapilēndradeva was the contemporary of Sultān 'Alāuddīn Ahmad II, who ascended the throne on the 21st February 1435. One of the earliest events connected with the king of Orissa, in the *Burhān-i-Ma'asir*, is a statement of the condition of western part of the Telugu country. It is stated in this work that the leader of the Hindu chiefs of the country above the Ghāts was an Oriyā. Kapilēśvara is not mentioned by name, but the statement made about the number of elephants which this Oriyā chief possessed proves that the king of Orissa himself had come to occupy the most prominent position among the Hindu chiefs of the Telugu speaking country. It is stated that at that time a chief named Sanjar Khān was occupied in the delightful pastime of capturing innocent Hindu villagers of the plains of Telingana and transporting them as slaves into the interior of Deccan.¹¹ At this time Sultān 'Alāuddīn Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī is stated to have said that it was dangerous to meddle with a man who possessed more than two hundred thousand elephants, while the Bahmanī monarch did not possess more than one hundred and fifty. This is just the beginning of Kapilēndra's interferences in affairs outside Orissa proper. The next mention of Telingana in the *Burhān-i-Ma'asir* is in connection with the rebel chief Muḥammad Khān, to whom the district of Rāyāchal in that locality was assigned.¹² Gradually Kapilēndra came to be regarded as the suzerain of Telingana, and the occasion soon rose to put him to the test. Though Varangal had been occupied in 1423, the districts of Telingana both above and below the Ghāts still remained to be conquered. According to Firishta, Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī determined to conquer Devārkoṇḍā and sent Khwājah-i-Jahān with a large army, and the fort was besieged. He sent an appeal for help to Kapilēndra, who marched so swiftly with his army that he caught the Muhammadan general unawares. The besieged also sallied out and attacked the Musalmans from the other side. Caught between two armies, Khwājah-i-Jahān was defeated and compelled to fly.¹³ The Muhammadans never attempted to rally, and Musalman historians had to find some other excuse for Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī, as he never attempted to cross swords with Kapilēndra, so long as he was alive.¹⁴ It is probable that on this occasion Kapilēndra wiped out the Reddi sovereigns of Koṇḍavidu and other places.

A drama named *Gaṅgādāsa-Pratāpavilāsam* by Gaṅgādhara mentions that Kapilēndra had united with the Bahmanī king and invaded the territories of the Voḍeyar or Yādava dynasty of Vijayanagara. In view of his hostile relations with the Sultāns of Bidar, it is not possible to believe that he had invaded Vijayanagara in alliance with any Musalman power. The subsequent reference to his wars with the Bahmanī Sultāns prove definitely that he, at least, was at no time in amicable relation with any Musalman king. The *Gaṅgādāsa-Pratāpavilāsam* says that immediately after the death of Devarāya II of Vijayanagara in 1446, Kapilēndra allied himself with 'Alāuddīn Ahmad II Bahmanī and advanced as far as Vijayanagara, but had to retire after a defeat in the hands of Mallikārjuna.¹⁵ This story was

¹⁰ Report of the Asst. Arch. Supdt., S.C., 1906-7, p. 84.

¹¹ Ind. Ant., vol. XXVIII, p. 237.

¹² Ibid., p. 238.

¹³ This is known as the battle of Devārkoṇḍā and its date is approximately 864 A.H. = 1459 A.D. according to Firishta.

¹⁴ Briggs's *The Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*, vol. III, pp. 456-58; I. A., vol. XXVIII, p. 244.

¹⁵ S. K. Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Madras, 1919, pp. 65-66. The author omits to identify Pāvāchala with Pāvāgadh near Champaner in the Panch Mahals District of Bombay. It is the Pāvāgadh of Marāṭhā chronicles.

evidently an invention of Vijayanagara Court chroniclers to hide the shame of their sovereign after his defeat at the hands of the Orissan Monarch, whom they referred to as "the Oddiyān" contemptuously. This supposed joint expedition of 'Alāuddīn Ahmad II is not mentioned in Musalman histories also. Though the chroniclers of Vijayanagara say that in 1446 Mallikārjuna defeated Kapilēndra, we find that correct statements are made in South Indian inscriptions about the state of the Tamil country which Kapilēndra had conquered. Kapilēndra's conquest of northern Tamil Districts is not a myth as supposed by Prof. Aiyangar of the Madras University. "The aggressiveness of Orissa is seen in the claim made in behalf of the Gajapatis of a successful advance by them as far as Kanchi, in a dramatic romance called the Kāñji-Kāveri-Pothi."¹⁶ An inscription, No. 93 of 1906, states that on account of the confusion "caused by the Oddiyān (i.e., the king of Orissa)" the festivals in the temple of Śiva at Jāmbai in the South Arcot District had ceased for ten years.¹⁷ This inscription is dated 1472-73. From another inscription, dated 1470-71, of the reign of the Śāluva chief Narasimha(?) we find that great confusion was caused by the invasion of the king of Orissa about eight or ten years earlier, and the temple of Viṣṇu at Tirukoilur could not therefore be repaired.¹⁸ Two inscriptions from Muṇṇur in the South Arcot District prove that that part of the Tamil country was actually in the possession of Kapilēndra in the Śāka year 1386=1464-65 A.D. Both of these records are incised on the walls of the Āḍavallēśvara temple in the village of Muṇṇur in the Taluka of Tiṇḍivanam. Both of them mention "*Dakṣiṇa-Kapilēśvara-Kumāra Mahāpātra* son of Āmbīra." No. 51 of 1919 records "a gift of land for 'Ahamvīrabhogā' festival (?) and repairs to the temples of Tirumūḷattanamudaiyar-Mahādeva and Perumal-Purushottama in the same village."¹⁹ The same record is repeated once more on the walls of the same temple (No. 92). In dealing with this inscription the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Shastri state "these are dated in the Śāka year 1386 (A.D. 1464-65) and epigraphically confirm the statement about the southern invasion of the Orissa king noticed on page 84 of the *Annual Report* for 1907 . . . our inscriptions clearly prove that this southern conquest by the combined armies was an event that happened about six years later. It establishes also that the earlier conquest by Gajapati was not a passing inroad only, but almost an occupation of the southern country right up to Tiruvarur in the Tanjore District and Trichinopoly."²⁰ The obsession of South Indian writers about the joint invasion of Vijayanagara by the Bahmanī Sultān and Kapilēndra continues from the date of Gaṅgādhara up to our own times. It is therefore necessary to prove first of all that Kapilēndra of Orissa could not have been an ally of any of his contemporary Sultāns of Bīdar. 'Alāuddīn Ahmad II Bahmanī died in 1457 and was succeeded by his son 'Alāuddīn Humāyūn, who ruled over the Bahmanī empire for four years only. Inscription No. 1 of 1905 clearly indicates that the occupation of the South Arcot and Tanjore Districts took place about ten years before 1471, i.e., in 1461, i.e., about or immediately after the death of 'Alāuddīn Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī. Firishta and the *Burhān-i-Ma'asir* agree in stating that immediately after the death of 'Alāuddīn Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī and the accession of his infant son Sultān Nizām Shāh Bahmanī, Kapilēndra invaded the Bahmanī empire with a large army and almost reached the gates of Bīdar, the Bahmanī capital. The details of the campaign are not given, and from the tone of Firishta it appears that the Bahmanī army, unable to cope with the invaders in the field, retired within the walls of the capital. Most probably Kapilēśvara and his ally the Kākatiya chief of Varangal, who is described by Firishta as the Rāy of Telingana, were purchased off. It appears that after the crushing defeat of the Musalmans at the battle of Devārkoṇḍā the Bahmanīs never sallied out into the plains from the Deccan plateau, and after the death of Humāyūn Shāh, Kapilēndra crushed the Bahmanī power and invaded the metropolitan district, paralysing

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁷ *Annual Report of the Asst. Arch. Superintendent, Southern Circle*, for 1906-7, p. 84.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1918-19, p. 52.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

the Musalman attacks and inroads till the date of his death. After the death of Devarāya II of Vijayanagara and the consequent confusion in the southern Hindu empire, the control of the empire of Vijayanagara over the eastern coast of Bay of Bengal ceased and Kapilēndra, secure from attacks from the west, extended his dominions as far as Tanjore and Trichinopoly. The Munṇur inscription gives the area of his southern dominion in the following words, 'Kapilēśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra', as the chief is called, was the son of Āmbiradeva, and is stated by both records to have been previously the *Parīksha* (Viceroy) of Koṇḍaviḍu.²¹ But at the time of the inscription he was in the position of the *Parīksha* of Koṇḍaviḍu, Koṇḍapalle, Addanki, Vinukondā, Pāḍaiviḍu,²² Valudilampattu-Uśāvādi, Tiruvarur, Tiruchchilapalle (Trichinopoly) and Chandragiri.²³ This list shows that the eastern Tamil country with the exception of Madurā and Tinnevely in the extreme south had been conquered by Kapilēndra from the emperors of Vijayanagara, just as he had wrested Telingana above the Ghāts from the Sultāns of Bidar. There could have been no loss between Kapilēndra of Orissa and the Bahmani Sultāns, and consequently the dramatist Gaṅgādhara's statement in the *Gaṅgā-dāsa Pratāpavilāsam* cannot be regarded as accurate. There is further epigraphical corroboration about Kapilēndra's relations with the Sultān of Bidar in the Krishna plates of Gaṇadeva of Koṇḍaviḍu dated 1435 A.D. Gaṇadeva claims to have defeated two Turushka princes, evidently of the Bahmani dynasty, as there was no other Musalman monarchy in South India at that time except the Bahmani empire. It cannot be understood why at Munṇur, a place included within the dominions of Kapilēndra, he is called *Kumāra* and *Mahāpātra* ten years after the date of the Krishna copper-plates. Of course in his own country Kapilēśvara was acknowledged as the king in all inscriptions with proper titles. He is called *Gauḍeśvara*, *Gajapati*, *Karṇāṭa-Kalabarakeśvara* and *Mahārāja*. Most of these titles are given in the short votive inscriptions in the temples of Jagannāth of Puri and the Lingarāj temple at Bhuvaneśvar.²⁴ They are not given in detail in the Gopināthpur inscription.²⁵ In Gaṇadeva's copper plate grant he is called Kapilēndra Gajapati in the metrical portion. There cannot be any doubt therefore of the fact that the titles *Kumāra* and *Mahāpātra* in the Munṇur inscription are due to the ignorance of the scribe about the titles and real position of Kapilēśvara.

Gaṇadeva's Krishna inscription raises some interesting points, which were not decided when it was deciphered in 1891. Gaṇadeva was clearly the viceroy of Koṇḍaviḍu, but he came of the same family as the emperor Kapilēśvara himself. His grandfather's name was Chandradeva and his father's name was Guhideva. Yet he is called Rāutarāya. The Telugu scribe spells it Rautarāya as well as Rāhuttarāya, but this is really the same as the Oriyā term Rāutarāya, which is applied to the younger sons of Oriyā chiefs of the present day. I learn that in the Mayurbhanj State the king's eldest son is called *Tikāit*, the second son the *Chhoṭarāya* and the third son *Rāutarāya*.²⁶ *Rāuta* cannot be *Rāhutta*, but on the other hand is the same as the *Rāvat* of Rajputana. The Krishna inscription shows that in the sixteenth century a man of a collateral branch of the royal family also could be called *Rāutarāya*. Another interesting term is the adjective *Ayapa* applied to Gaṇadeva. *Ayapa* is the corruption of

²¹ Mr. H. Krishna Sastri thinks that he was Viceroy of the Koṇḍaviḍu and Daṇḍapāda. In reality Daṇḍapāt means a Vicerealty in Oriyā and is not the name of a place.

²² Mr. Krishna Sastri uses the word Daṇḍapāda a second time after Vinukondā, which shows that this place was the seat of the Oriyā Viceroy of the extreme south.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

²⁴ *JASB.*, vols. LXII, 1893, pp. 92-93. In 1926 I succeeded in saving these valuable inscriptions at Bhuvaneśvar, but the authorities of Puri Temple have destroyed these valuable records in their own temple by covering them with cement and plaster. My attempts to clean them failed.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. LXIX, 1900, pp. 175-78.

²⁶ *Twenty-five questions addressed to the Rajahs and Chiefs of the Regulation and Tributary Mahals by the Superintendent in 1814, and the answers given thereto illustrating the established practice in regard to succession to the gaddie, &c.*, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, reprinted 1905, p. 5.

Sanskrit *Āryaputra* "the Lord's son." Details about other achievements of Kapilendra are to be found in the form of slight allusions in the Gopināthpur inscription. He is called the lion of the Karnāṭa elephant, the victor of Kalavaraga (Gulbarga of the Bahmanis) the destroyer of Mālava (the Khalji Sultāns of Mālwa), the defeater of Gauḍa (the independent Sultāns of Bengal of the second dynasty of Ilyās Shāh). We are at a loss to understand how he could come in touch with the Khaljis of Mālwa, because the powerful Gond kingdoms of Chanda and Deogadh and the Haihaya Rajputs of Bilāspur intervened between him and Mālwa. But most probably he allied himself with the Gonds of Chanda and Deogadh in an attack of the eastern frontier of Mālwa. According to tradition, for which there is no corroboration, the independent Sultāns of Bengal lost southern Bengal to Kapilendra, and no attempt was made by the former to recover Midnapur and Howrah Districts from the Oriyās till the reign of 'Alāuddin Husain Shāh. Henceforth all kings of Orissa and even the petty Gajapatis of Khurda or Puri assumed the high sounding title *Nava-koṭi-Karnāṭa Kalavarakesvara*, "the lord of the nine lakhs of Karnāṭa and Gulbarga," and Gauḍesvara.

In the Gopināthpur inscription Gopinātha Mahāpātra states that Kapilēśvara was in possession of Khandagiri and Kāñchi. Evidently this inscription was incised after the completion of the conquest of the Tamil country by Kapilēśvara.

According to Oriyā tradition, as recorded in the *Mādala Pāñji*, Kapilendra breathed his last on the banks of the Kṛishṇā on Pausa Kṛishṇa 3, Tuesday, a date which the late Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti could not verify. His latest known date is still "41st *anka*, Dhanu, Sukla, 7=Sunday, 14th December 1466."²⁷ The traditional date of the death of Kapilēśvara given by Hunter and earlier writers is mistaken and incorrect. This is proved by the statement in the *Burhān-i-Ma'asir*²⁸ quoted above. This event, which took place in A.D. 1470., was hailed with great relief by the Musalmans of Southern India.

(To be continued.)

BOOK-NOTICES.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY FOR THE YEAR 1926. Published by the Kern Institute, Leyden. 12½" x 9½"; pp. x + 107; with 12 plates and 3 illustrations in the text. Leyden, 1928.

This publication is intended, we are told in the Foreword, "to contain the titles, systematically arranged, of all books and articles dealing with Indian archaeology in its widest sense, that is, the investigation of the antiquities not only of India proper, but also of Further India, Indonesia and Ceylon and in fact, of all territories influenced by Indian civilisation, as well as the study of the ancient history of those countries, the history of their art, their epigraphy, iconography and numismatics." The volume before us consists of an Introduction surveying the literature dealing with the more important exploration and research work carried out during the year, followed by a classified bibliography, arranged according to geographical areas and subjects. The contents of each publication have been briefly but adequately noted, and in many cases extracts from review notices quoted, the editors themselves abstaining from criticism. In the case of historical works, the entries are mainly

restricted to writings relating to the pre-Muhamadan period of Indian history. The desired data, we are informed, were not received from Italy, Japan and Russia; and it is thought probable that the information supplied regarding books and papers published in the Indian vernaculars is incomplete. Otherwise the selection of matter worthy of record seems to have been carefully and judiciously made. The experience gained as the compilation continues, and suggestions received from scholars using the work will indicate whether any modification or amplification can be introduced in future issues. The extensive survey of the literature relating to the more important work done during the year contained in the Introduction (pp. 1-28) is of special merit. Concise and clear, it describes the essential matters in each case, and bears the cachet of a scholar familiar with the history of the subjects discussed.

The importance to scholars and to all students of Indian Archaeology and history of a scientifically prepared bibliography of this character cannot be exaggerated; and the present volume will be widely welcomed as the beginning of what should supply a long-felt need. It should find a place in the library of every one interested in the antiquities

²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. LXIX, 1900, p. 183.

²⁸ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXVIII, p. 285.

and ancient history of India and the Far East. As the utility of such a work of reference becomes fully realized and its use extended, it is hoped that co-operation towards its preparation will no longer be withheld, and financial assistance will be more generously accorded.

The index, which is restricted to authors' names, having regard to the general arrangement of the contents, has been suitably prepared; the plate reproduction is of outstanding excellence; and the paper and printing leave nothing to be desired; in fact the whole out-turn of this inaugural volume is worthy of the three distinguished scholars forming the editorial board, who are to be congratulated on its appearance.

C.E.A.W.O.

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS IN
MITHILĀ. Volume I (Smṛiti Literature.)

The B. & O. R. Society under the patronage of the Bihar and Orissa Government, has been carrying on a very fruitful search for Sanskrit and Prakrit literature during the last ten years or so. Nine years of this decade were devoted to the search in Mithilā and the district of Puri in Orissa, the two important centres of Sanskrit learning. During this period of investigation very valuable manuscripts have been found, which are now being catalogued by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri, the two learned Editors of the Society's *Journal*. The manuscripts so far discovered in Mithilā have been arranged in ten or eleven different sections such as Smṛiti, Vēda, Vyākaraṇa, etc., the anonymous or the modern ones being separately classed as Miscellaneous with a view to issuing their catalogues in different volumes. The catalogue under notice is the first of the series. It gives us a descriptive list of various Smṛiti works and Nibandhas or digests, including the highly interesting *Ratnakaras* of Chandeśvara, with which, thanks to Mr. Jayaswal's laudable devotion to the cause of our ancient learning, we are already familiar, and enables us to have a *sindhadalākāṇa* of not less than 455 such books. The Smṛitis, I believe, were written according to the exigencies of time, and their value for the social history of India can hardly be overrated. As Mithilā had all along been one of the chief centres of Brahmanic or Hindu learning where Smṛiti literature seems to have had an uninterrupted development, the manuscripts described in this volume—some of which seem to be indigenous to it—will amply repay study. The erudite

editors have done a great service to the cause of Indology by bringing out this useful catalogue and we feel indebted not only to them and the B. & O. R. Society but also to the B. & O. Government for bringing to light such valuable material for the study of early Indian culture. One would, indeed, be justified in remarking that it is 'one of those good deeds which will be never lost.'

HIRANANDA SASTRI.

MANGALORE, A Historical Sketch by GEORGE M. MORAES. Preface by FATHER HERAS, S.J. Mangalore, Codialbail Press, 1927.

This little book of 94 pages is, Father Heras tells us, "the first product of the St. Xavier's College Indian Historical Research Institute" by a research student, and has been written clearly under the guidance of a tutor. As such, it is a useful little work and puts together much information about that west coast port.

The author has under the conditions set about his history in the right way, and I may say at once that his effort has resulted in a book which may well be imitated by other research students. He prints his "unpublished documents" in a series of appendices and gives a full list of his "published documents," some of which must be quite rare, reminding us of an old saying—"a book is not necessarily published because it has been printed."

Mangalore has never been an important town, but like many others of its kind, it has taken its share in general history. So in discussing its separate history we are taken into the doings of the greater personages and peoples that have worked and struggled round it. In this way sidelights are thrown on the work of the early Christians, the Portuguese, the Nayaks of Ikeri, and travellers like Pietro della Valle. Incidentally "the King of the Gioghi," mentioned by Varthema and others, plays his little part. Lastly we come to Haidar 'Ali and Tipu Sultan, and the not very elevating story of the British occupation. In regard to this tale of the captivity of the Christians at Seringapatam by Tipu, I would refer the author to Harvey's *History of Burma* in relation to figures in Indian and Far Eastern story. He gives his reasons for roughly dividing them by ten to get at something like the truth. By this "rule" the number of the captives is reduced to 6,000, and as 2,000 was the number of those that eventually returned home it would seem to be not far wrong.

R. C. TEMPLE.

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